ST. PETERSBURG

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SLEDGING WITH THE "PRISTYAZHKA," OR SIDE-HORSE

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OR SIDE-HORSE

ST. PETERSBURG

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Preface

THE Author, Mr. G. Dobson, who was for many years correspondent of the *Times* in St. Petersburg, aims at giving as complete an account of the Russian capital as could possibly be contained within the comparatively small compass of the present volume. The following chapters accordingly include the history of the origin of St. Petersburg, an explanation of the political ideas and objects connected with it, a critical description of the city as it appears to-day and as it impressed other writers in earlier years, and sketches of the life and types of its inhabitants. Some little attention has also been given to a somewhat neglected part of the story of its origin, that is to say, to the state of affairs in this region long before the time of Peter the Great, which rendered the creation of such a settled basis on the Neva a vital necessity for Russia's progress on European lines.

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ST. PETERSBURG

CHAPTER I

FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Characteristics—Spaciousness—Remoteness of St. Petersburg from other centres—Its surroundings—Approaches to St. Petersburg by land and water—Contrast with Germany.

In starting to describe a foreign city, with which the author has long been perfectly familiar, probably the best method to adopt will be to recall his first impressions of it. Naturally, in the course of some thirty years the external character of St. Petersburg has undergone many changes. Every effort has been made, as far as concerns outward appearances, to place it as nearly as possible on a level with the great capitals of the West. Consequently, the visitor of to-day will not meet with as many survivals of the past as the author did when he first landed on the banks of the Neva. The alterations that have since been

made must be classed amongst improvements common to the development of all great cities of the present day. The foreign visitor, therefore, will find repeated many of the features of his own native capital. On the other hand, St. Petersburg exhibits features which are peculiarly its own, and which have remained unaltered not only for the last thirty years, but from its very foundation. A pretty good idea of these peculiarities of the city and its locality may perhaps be conveyed to the reader if the author points them out here in the light in which they first interested him many years ago.

His attention was first of all struck by the spaciousness of the place, the extensive scale on which the Imperial City had evidently been laid out, and the immense waste of land in which Peter the Great had planted his so-called 'Paradise.' The author could not help noticing the handsome appearance of the principal buildings and the extreme lowness of the geographical situation. There was also a look of relative emptiness about many of the large, open squares and wide, long thoroughfares, which at times seemed too big for the small number of inhabitants straggling through them. After London and Paris, there was some-

thing of the air of a provincial town in comparison, in some places, of an enormous village, although one of palaces and cathedrals. The largest buildings seemed dwarfed by the great open spaces surrounding them. The immediate neighbourhood of the celebrated St. Isaac Cathedral presented a striking contrast to that of St. Paul's, so disgracefully hemmed in by bricks and mortar on Ludgate Hill. The houses built round this magnificent Russian temple were kept at a most respectful distance from the very first. Two fine public gardens, one of which is quite a park, were subsequently laid out on two sides of it, and yet so much free space has been left all round the sacred edifice that a military review could be held in front of it without the least difficulty. In arrangement of streets it was easy to see that the town had not been left, so to speak, to make itself, but had been marked out on a regular plan of straight lines intersecting one another at more or less right angles. This plan is best seen on the Vassili Ostroff, the largest island of the Neva delta, and a very important part of St. Petersburg. The most peculiar feature of this district is the nomenclature of the streets. The inhabited area is divided into rectangular blocks of buildings, which form a series of parallel avenues

at right angles with the Nicholas Quay of the river. These avenues, or streets, have no separate names or numbers, as in New York, but each side of a street is called a 'line,' so that there are two lines in each street, and these lines are numbered 1 to 27. Cutting straight across them at considerable intervals of distance, and running parallel with the Quay, are three very long thoroughfares called the Big, Middle, and Little Prospects. This word 'prospect' is applied instead of street or road to many other main thoroughfares in all parts of the city, the most important of them all, of course, being the Nevsky Prospect. For the most part, this regularity of construction is disturbed only where rows of houses were made to follow the windings of natural streams, utilized to form the network of canals, which run through the southern part of the town.

Everything at first seemed to have an air of newness and modernity. The whiteness and light-coloured tints of the stuccoed fronts of houses, which never get black, thanks to the general use of wood fuel instead of coal, helped to strengthen this impression. There were no remains of antiquity. We should perhaps make an exception in this respect for the two Egyptian

EMPEROR AND EMPRESS IN ANCIENT DRESS

of the Tsar and Tsaritsa of the old Muscovite Empire, as worn at an historical costume ball in the palace.

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sphinxes, brought from ancient Thebes, and set up on the river quay, opposite the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. These Egyptian relics occupy a similar position to that of Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames Embankment. Nothing outside of collections in museums and palaces dated back farther than the time of Peter the Great and the reign of Queen Anne in England. The author in his rambles came upon no eyesores in the form of congested slums, and there appeared to be no narrow, tortuous lanes and alleys, no obstructive blocks standing in the way of modern requirements. The city must have been projected with large ideas as to the future growth of its street traffic, and although this has greatly increased during the writer's experience, there is still ample accommodation for its further development. I believe there has been only one insignificant example of the widening of thoroughfares in St. Petersburg to meet the necessities of increasing traffic in the whole course of its history. This occurred recently, when two or three canal bridges were widened to give more room for the new electric trams.

When Peter the Great set about building St. Petersburg, he was not content to construct the

nucleus of it only in one particular spot, leaving its expansion to take place in the usual natural way. He had various establishments placed on both sides of the river at immense distances from each other. The Alexander Nevsky Monastery, for instance, was built at one end of the Nevsky Prospect, nearly three miles from the Admiralty at the other end, and it took more than a century to fill up the intervening space.

It has often been objected that St. Petersburg is so very remote from all other great centres of Russia, as well as from those of neighbouring countries generally. It stands far aloof from all other lines of communication, both in Russia and on the rest of the European continent. It lies on the road to nowhere in particular, except, perhaps, the Arctic Seas. So much has this been felt to be the case in recent years that the more direct railway routes from the Baltic to Moscow, and into the very heart of the country, have been assiduously exploited at the expense of the capital. In short, as far as regards land communication, St. Petersburg is situated at the most inconvenient and outlandish end of Russia that could possibly have been chosen for it. Peter the Great, who only hankered after 'sea power,' cared nothing for land

routes. Although he was only distantly, or scarcely at all, related to the Vikings, who founded the older Russian dynasty of the Ruriks, he nevertheless inherited and revived in a remarkable degree their peculiar predilection for boats and waterways. The inconveniences of this remote ness of St. Petersburg from the older centres of its own 'hinterland' has been referred to by the Russian writer Naryshkin in the following manner: 'A State which has its capital at one of its extremities is like an animal with its heart on one of its finger-tips, or its stomach on the end of one of its big toes.'

It may not be a matter of much consequence today, in view of the prospects of racing motors and our contempt for distance, and still less will it be so probably in the near future, when the airship comes into general use; but one cannot help thinking that, had the Russian capital been placed in a somewhat more accessible position, it would have been better for the outside world as well as for Russia. No one is prepared to say where else it could have been put, but all seem to agree as to the inconvenience of its present position. It might have been more to the advantage of the inhabitants if Peter had begun to build a mile or two farther

up the river at Okhta, where he compelled the Swedes to leave off. On all sides of St. Petersburg there are no other towns of any importance for hundreds of miles, either on Russian territory proper, or across the Russo-Finnish frontier in its close vicinity. Tver is 300 miles and Moscow 400 miles south-eastward; Vilna, the former capital of Lithuania, is more than 400 miles south-westward; and Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, is nearly 300 miles to the north-west. If we turn due north, there is nothing in that direction but Archangel, another 600 or 700 miles away, and the North Pole. The nearer towns of Novgorod, Pskoff, and Narva, which were once of such great importance in Russian politics and trade, have long since sunk into provincial insignificance. They at one time carried on an extensive commerce with the western world, and in truth constituted Russia's real 'window into Europe' centuries before Peter the Great opened his window on the Neva. The first two centres of early Russian self-government, Novgorod and Pskoff, of famous memory, were crushed and reduced by Ivan the Terrible for the benefit and aggrandisement of Moscow. All three towns were subsequently superseded by Peter's new capital.

EASTER EVE

Priest blessing the first food after the Lenten fast outside a church on Easter Eve

St. Petersburg thus stands, comparatively speaking, in the midst of a wilderness, surrounded by swamps and forests. Many of these swamps are still indicated on detailed maps as 'Nicholas Bog,' 'Round Bog,' etc. Balakirieff, the Court jester of Peter the Great, described the position of his master's new capital in the following melancholy strain: '*Na odnoi storonye more na drougoi gore, na traitye mokh, na chetvertoi okh!*' (On one side the sea, on the other sorrow, on the third moss, on the fourth a sigh). At the same time, notwithstanding the lowness of the situation and unhealthy condition of the soil, a number of beautiful summer retreats are to be seen in the environs of St. Petersburg, many of them having been established for members of the Imperial Family. There are also villas of the aristocracy and wealthier citizens, as well as humbler wooden cottages for the poorer inhabitants. If, however, you venture to go among the rural population of the surrounding country, you may chance to come upon Russian, Esthonian, and Finnish peasants still leading an existence as primitive and cheerless as that of their ancestors ages ago. The proximity of the chief city of the Empire seems to have had little or no influence over them for good. Of course, one must

be careful in drawing general conclusions, as extraordinary contrasts and exceptions are to be met with. Considerable changes also in this respect are expected to result from the great political reforms of the last four years. For the present these very reforms only help to make the contrast between the enlightenment of the better classes and the degradation of the lower orders all the more striking. Of all European countries of today, Russia is the only one in which we can witness a struggle going on between the newest ideas of the most modern civilization and such an awful state of things as that depicted by Count Tolstoy in his ‘ Power of Darkness,’ and by Maxim Gorky in his ‘ Creatures that once were Men.’

When the author made his first visit to St. Petersburg by sea, he thought the latter part of the route extremely uninteresting. It was particularly so when one considered that the last portion of it for a couple of hundred miles or more lay through the Finnish Gulf, which in some places, I believe, is not more than about thirty miles from one coast to the other. It is true the passage amongst the rocks and islets of the Finnish side is a delightful one, but that is a dangerous coast, and the larger steamers steer wide of it, far out in the gulf.

Therefore, there was nothing to attract attention, and no coast scenery to admire, after leaving Scandinavia. What appeared strange was that there were no indications of our being near to such a great city as St. Petersburg, even within a few miles only of its actual site. After having seen the picturesque and charming view of the channel leading into Stockholm, the approach to St. Petersburg was certainly not inviting. The only relief of the monotonous outlook was that of the warning lights at night, and an occasional glimpse of low-lying shores in the day-time, until we neared the end of the voyage. Finally, we came in sight of the mid-water forts of Cronstadt, stretching across the entrance to the mouth of the Neva.

At that time there was no sea canal to enable vessels of deep draught to proceed up the river in safety. Passengers had either to tranship into Russian river boats, which landed them at the quays of the town, or else to cross over the channel at Cronstadt to the small settlement of Oranienbaum, whence they were able to reach St. Petersburg by train. The only change since made in these arrangements is that visitors, if they choose, may now come right into St. Petersburg port on

ocean-going steamers through the sea or Cronstadt Canal.

After leaving Cronstadt, there was no sign of St. Petersburg being immediately in front of us until we caught sight of a brilliant glitter in the hazy distance, which, we were told, was a reflection from the gilded dome of the St. Isaac Cathedral, the Russian St. Paul's, and the highest building in the city. As the boat brought us nearer to this luminous landmark, the city itself seemed literally to rise out of the water. This aspect of the situation was afterwards fully confirmed to us when we mounted to the top of the dome of St. Isaac's, and looked down upon the immense volume of water in which the city seemed to float.

On a later occasion, when the author selected the land route for his next trip to St. Petersburg, he found the last half of the journey to it, through Russian territory, even less inspiring than the voyage through Russian waters. The most wonderful sight of all was the glaring difference between Russia and Germany. The transition from the one country to the other was a revelation in itself. Probably no other two neighbouring countries in the world ever exhibited such a distinct contrast on

THE LATE FATHER JOHN OF CRONSTADT
IN HIS GARDEN

His surname was Sergieff.

their very boundaries between different states of culture as that presented by Russia and Germany near the frontier stations of Eydtkuhnen and Verjbolovo. On the German side of the small stream forming the frontier line strict order, discipline, and neatness, well-tilled fields, tidy farms and homesteads, deer-stocked parks, and well-kept woods were the rule. The other side of the line is best described by saying that it exhibits just the reverse of all this. Right up to St. Petersburg clusters of wretched wooden huts and log-cabins, many of them in a broken-down condition, and without the least traces of gardens or comfort of any kind, were passed in monotonous repetition, one village being exactly like every other. A poverty-stricken look hung over the dreary, flat landscape. Only near Vilna was there any enlivenment of the scene, and here, too, there was actually a railway-tunnel, a thing unheard of over thousands of miles of Russian railway outside the Crimea and the Caucasus.

The arrival at St. Petersburg by rail was just as abrupt as the arrival there by boat. There were no suburbs to serve as an introduction; no running of the train between miles of houses on a level with the first-floor windows. The railway-station

was right on the edge of the city, where it stands at the present day.

The general *coup d'œil* of St. Petersburg is certainly a magnificent one when you get there, but it cannot be said that the city is located in the midst of a rich and prosperous-looking part of Russia.

CHAPTER II

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF ST. PETERSBURG

Struggle between old and new—Revolutionary influence—Cradle of new ideas—The Constitution—Slavophiles and Westerns—Liberal reforms—Nihilists—St. Petersburg, Persia, and Turkey—Reaction—The Dooma.

THE subjects which have always most interested the author in his Russian studies are what may perhaps be called the ideological and political aspects of St. Petersburg. As a city which represents a long struggle brought down to the present day of the new against the old, of Europe against Asia, it seems to occupy quite a unique position. As everybody knows, it did not spring from any national growth, but was the deliberate creation of one single mind in the person of the 'most imperious of crowned revolutionists.'* The work of that one man eventually revolutionized Russia in a way that he could never have expected.

* "L'Empire des Tsars," by Anatole Leroy Beaulieu.

It is from this point of view that the present chapter is written.

Six years ago, in 1903, St. Petersburg celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of its foundation. This year (1909) the whole of Russia celebrates the bicentennial jubilee of the great victory of Poltava, by which Peter the Great secured the safety and the future of his new capital. That crushing defeat of the Swedish enemy, whose one idea was to destroy Peter's work on the Neva, was called by him the 'resurrection' of Russia. Posterity has fully confirmed this opinion of the immense importance of that decisive battle in shaping the destinies of the Russian Empire. From that moment St. Petersburg was free to pursue unmolested the task assigned to it of transforming and modernizing the old Muscovite system. In following this aim ever since with more or less consistency, it has at last turned Russia into a constitutional country. The Constitution may not be a perfect one, seeing that so far it gives the Dooma control over legislation only, without any real power over the administration, but the establishment of the new legislative institutions is an immense advance in the right direction. It is a result that Peter himself could

A TROIKA

never have had the least notion of bringing about, for, as we know, while in England he expressed an unfavourable opinion on the limitation of royal power by a parliament. He was not so much interested in the inoculation of Russia with foreign political ideas as he was in the introduction rather of the practical and technical sides of West European civilization. St. Petersburg was established by the autocratic will of Peter as a means of reforming the Russian people, and gaining the respect of foreign powers; it has now succeeded in reforming autocracy itself. Without St. Petersburg this could never have been done.

From the first days of its existence St. Petersburg became the centre of new ideas in opposition to the old order of things at Moscow. All modern tendencies have invariably penetrated into Russia through St. Petersburg. Going back as far as the eighteenth century, we know that Catherine II., surrounded by her famous statesmen, contemplated a most thorough reorganization of Russian life and administration. The far-reaching nature of the hopes of the great Empress in this respect are clearly indicated in the well-known observation which she made to Diderot, to the effect that it was her intention to introduce the *tiers état*. At

that time there was no middle class in Russia. The population was divided principally into peasantry and nobility, the merchants being merely trading peasants. Although most of the reforms which Catherine had in view were never practically realized, it may be safely asserted that no ideas of the kind could have ever originated in the centre of old Muscovy.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century St. Petersburg was the cradle of all new political ideas. This time, however, they emanated not from the Sovereign, but from the people, or rather from the nobility. This refers, of course, to the Decembrist movement in 1825, which distinctly aimed at the liberation of the serfs and the establishment of a constitutional form of government. That movement engulfed a number of officers serving in the first regiments of the guard, and representing the best families in Russia. Some of them lost their lives on the scaffold, and hundreds more perished in the mines and wilds of Siberia.

Beginning with the thirties of the last century, Russian intellectual life came to be divided into two camps: the Slavophiles and the Westerns. The headquarters of the Westerns, led by Granofsky

and Belinsky, was in St. Petersburg. The essence of their teaching was to make Russia European. The idea of the Slavophiles of Moscow, headed by such men as Samarin, Aksakoff, and Khomiakoff, was to keep Russia as she was. Therefore, the ideals of the Westerns were in the future; those of the Slavophiles in the past.

The sixties saw the commencement of the realization of the ideals of the Westerns. With the accession to the throne of the Emperor Alexander II., many European principles of political life began to be adopted, and history leaves no room for doubt that the embodiment of those principles met with the most stubborn resistance from the partisans of the old Russian system. It was only due to the magnanimous determination of Alexander II. that Russia was recast in moulds borrowed from the West. In that process St. Petersburg was the laboratory of all the measures then introduced. Such were the emancipation of the serfs, the establishment of local self-government, of county and municipal councils, the reform of the judicial institutions, and a modified freedom of the press. It cannot be denied that these measures were radically new and uncongenial to the great mass of the Russian people. Many Russians, there-

fore, detested St. Petersburg, which, it is true, was very far away from the Russia endeared to them by history and tradition. Subsequent experience, however, proved that these great reforms were gradually accepted by the people, and that they contributed most powerfully towards the national progress in civilization.

St. Petersburg has been the centre of all political movements. Right away from the commencement of the sixties Nihilism and other forms of revolutionary activity, which in many respects have exercised such an unhappy influence on the development of political institutions in Russia, have always been centralized in St. Petersburg. Such movements were greatly checked at times, especially during the severe reign of Alexander III., when the revolutionists seemed to be completely suppressed; but discontent burst forth again with renewed vigour during Russia's disastrous war with Japan, and culminated in the establishment of Russian representative government.

It is not too much to say that revolutionary St. Petersburg has also helped in no small degree to revolutionize and 'constitutionalize' the countries of the Near East. The subtle influence of the great northern capital has penetrated far and wide

ONE OF THE PALACE GRENADIERS

doing sentinel duty at the Alexander Column in front of the Winter Palace. The men of the Palace Grenadiers are tried veterans from the army, who do sentinel duty at the imperial monuments, and form a Guard of Honour in the palace on State occasions.

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through the Caucasus and the Transcaspian, where Russia has no ethnographical frontiers, as in Western Europe, which cut her off completely from her next-door neighbours.

St. Petersburg has thus been the inlet for the European culture required by Russia in her civilizing mission in the East, and Turkey and Persia with their newly established constitutions have indirectly felt the effects of what has occurred on the banks of the Neva.

Long after the original Slavophile opposition from Moscow had apparently died out, the baneful influence of St. Petersburg on 'Holy Russia' was again the theme of reactionary writers and Chauvinists in the Russian press. In the very mildest of their criticisms these journalists treated the St. Petersburg period of reforms as having been, at least, premature and disastrous for the nation. The revival of such an agitation was favoured by the unfortunate circumstances attending the accession to the throne of the present Emperor's father, Alexander III. The latter's father, Alexander II., had just been cruelly murdered in the streets of St. Petersburg, and this set the new Tsar against all liberal ideas. Moreover, his well-known Russian tastes and anti-German feelings

created an atmosphere extremely favourable to the Moscow agitators. The prime mover in this new campaign against the modern capital was Katkoff, the famous editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, the champion of Russian 'orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality.' He or one of his colleagues raised the cry in the press of 'back to Moscow,' thereby meaning a return to the old national ideals as distinguished from those of the West, to which they believed the Tsar Emancipator had fallen a victim.

Some enthusiasts of that time, who were in favour of re-Russianizing Russia, even went so far as to send their letters through the post addressed to 'Petrograd' instead of St. Petersburg, *grad* or *gorod* being the Slavonic word for town or the German *burg*. The German names which Peter the Great was so fond of giving to everything were always an eyesore to the old-world Russian, and are not altogether pleasing to the Russian patriot of to-day. The Emperor Alexander III. himself was influenced against this German nomenclature, and although he did not change any of the names adopted by Peter, he consented to give back to the university town of Dorpat its old Slavonic name of Yourieff, and to make corresponding

alterations in the names of several other places in the Baltic provinces.

The old Slavophiles of the thirties and the Reactionaries under Alexander III. were in reality working for the same old ideals, which the influence of St. Petersburg had rudely shaken. Russian orthodoxy and nationality had been greatly weakened by Peter the Great's German bureaucracy, but there had been no apparent weakening of autocracy. That was no part of Peter's intention, for he exercised his autocratic function with irresistible and brutal effect. As Alexander III. proclaimed at the beginning of his reign, the autocratic power was handed down 'unimpaired' by Peter to his heirs and successors. The Bureaucracy, however, continued to strengthen itself at the expense of the Autocracy, without this fact being clearly discerned by the occupant of the throne. The most arbitrary and cruel acts were performed in the name of the autocratic power without ever coming to the knowledge of the Emperor. It was, of course, impossible for the Sovereign to control the legion of minor autocrats who held undisputed sway in his name in all parts of his vast dominions. Finally, as we have seen, the Autocrat of all the Russias had to call into existence representative institutions

in order to save the situation. This all-important step was, without any doubt, a great triumph for St. Petersburg, and the legitimate outcome of its influence.

Until this establishment of a Russian constitution, the efforts of Slavophiles and Reactionaries above described against the progressive ideals of St. Petersburg were considered to be the last that would ever be heard of the old opposition to Peter the Great's 'window into Europe.' Recent events have thoroughly proved the fallacy of this forecast. The assembling of an elected Dooma was the signal for the organization of more violent reaction by the so-called 'Union of Russian People.' This ultra-patriotic association recruited an army of scouts and hirelings (*boyevaya droozjeena*) under the name of 'black gangs,' which showed that the old Adam of Russian home politics was still alive, only disporting itself under a new guise. It is also noticeable that it was again a rabid reactionary editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, the late M. Gringmuth, who was the soul of the movement in the ancient capital.

The leaders of these 'black gangs' even threatened to mar the celebration of the great victory of Poltava by making a demonstration in

THE STATE DOOMA

A member speaking from the tribune

that town during the ceremonies and festivities in the presence of the Emperor and the Court, but their intentions were frustrated in time by official interference. At the moment of writing this chapter their late president is under citation to appear before a Finnish court of justice as a suspected accomplice in the political murder of a member of the Dooma named Herzenstein. He has so far refused to obey the summons on the ground that as a Russian he does not recognize Finnish law, and there seems to be no authority strong enough to compel him.

It will thus be seen that St. Petersburg is richly interesting in regard to the ideas which it has always propagated, as also in regard to those with which it has always been at war. An entirely new policy was embodied in its very buildings, and it still represents a great foreign influence in the country of which it is the capital. It remains significant of the violent break with all that went before it, and of the introduction of what was completely at variance with the deep-rooted habits and traditions of the people. In short, it remains emblematic of the Europeanization of Russia, the end of semi-Asiatic Muscovy, and the establishment of the modern State. Even to-

day it is not typical of the Russian 'hinterland' away off the main lines of communication which run through the few principal towns.

The latest and most important creation of the forces and influence spread by St. Petersburg throughout the country is, of course, the national Dooma, and the author ventures to spell the name of it in a different way from the usual one for the following reason:

This word, which is comparatively new in English print, has already, however, become fashionable in a form that does not convey the proper Russian sound of it. One constantly hears it pronounced with the more usual sound of the English *u*, as in 'tune.' Its proper pronunciation is exactly the same as that of the English word 'doom' with the addition of a short *a* sound at the end. In this spelling no mistake could possibly be made in the pronunciation. What more natural, therefore, than to write it 'Dooma' instead of Duma? I venture to suggest this alteration in the spelling of Duma with considerable diffidence, notwithstanding the obvious reason for it, because any attempt to correct the orthography of a foreign word which has already received general currency in the British press is liable to be

resented as a pedantic interference with established usage.

In the next place, it may be mentioned that the word 'Dooma,' as meaning the Russian Parliament, is called in Russia the 'State Dooma' (*Gosoodarstvennaya Dooma*). With this qualification it is distinguished from a municipal dooma or council (*Gorodskaya Dooma*). England has just begun to make the acquaintance also of these town 'doomas' in connection with a loan floated for the Dooma of Moscow. In the 'renovated' Russia of the immediate future, these other doomas will probably be heard of quite frequently. The word is derived from a Russian root meaning thought, reflection, etc.

From the historical point of view it may be interesting to note that the term 'dooma,' as signifying an institution of the realm, did not appear for the first time in 1906, or in connection with the establishment of the municipal councils in 1872. Institutions called by that name date back as far as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when they exercised most important functions in the old system of Russian government. The 'Dooma' of those days was the Council of the Russian Boyars, the Barons of Russia. Like all old parliaments, it was a mere consultative body,

but no measure of importance was ever passed into law without the advice and consent of the Boyars. It was only after the introduction of Ivan the Terrible's policy of crushing all forces which tended to modify the autocracy that the old 'Dooma' of the Boyars began to lose its importance, and eventually it completely disappeared about the time when Peter the Great came to the throne.

THE MEMBERS LEAVING THE DOOMA.

THE MEMBERS LEAVING THE DOOMA

CHAPTER III

SITE OF ST. PETERSBURG IN THE PAST

History of the Neva region—England's sea trade with Russia—Finns and Novgorodians—Neva route in the time of Saxon England—Hanseatic league—Slavs and Scandinavians—Roman-Swedish crusade—Victory of Alexander Nevsky—Teutonic knights—Swedish and Russian fortresses—Civil war—Treaty of Stolbovo.

THE character and achievements of Peter the Great quite eclipsed the fame of his predecessors on the Russian throne. The new Russia which he inaugurated, and which he and his successors forced upon the world's astonished attention, soon caused the old order of things at Moscow to be forgotten. The originality of Peter's genius and policy made it difficult to associate his work with anything that had gone before it. The old semi-Asiatic Russia seemed to fade into myth and legend in comparison. Peter's reign was so wonderful that it completely overshadowed everything that had led up to it, and seemed to detach him entirely from the history of the past. This was particularly the case with regard

to the antecedents of the region in which he established St. Petersburg.

The position of affairs on the banks of the Neva prior to the period of Peter the Great attracted no attention in England, for obvious reasons. It is a question whether anything at all was known about it. The Baltic was nearly a Swedish lake, and other seafaring nations were excluded from it as much as possible. England's first intercourse with ancient Russia and the Muscovite Government was conducted almost exclusively through the more remote northern port of Archangel. It was at this place that Russia was accidentally discovered by Englishmen in 1553, when Richard Chancellor strayed into the White Sea while trying to make the north-eastern passage to China. Instead of a new passage to China this unexpected discovery opened up a new sea-route to Russia. The Swedes then held sway in the Baltic Sea, and tried to prevent us from trading direct with Russia through that channel. The Poles, as well as the Swedes, opposed all commerce—especially English commerce—with Russia in the Baltic and Gulf of Finland, while they at the same time endeavoured to prevent Russia's expansion towards open water in that direction. Their policy was to repress their great

Muscovite neighbour, and keep him as much as possible out of touch with the Western world. The Kings of Sweden and Poland both became exasperated against England, on account of advice and assistance given to the Tsar by Queen Elizabeth's envoys and the English merchants at Moscow. In 1569 the Poles seized some English ships on their way to Narva, and King Sigismund subsequently declared war against England for paying no heed to his remonstrances. Thus access to Russia through the Baltic was rendered exceedingly difficult for the English 'merchant adventurers' of those days, and business with Moscow was therefore carried on almost entirely by way of the long and circuitous route round the North Cape. They never attempted apparently to penetrate farther into Russia by sea through the Gulf of Finland, for if the Baltic Sea was nearly a Swedish lake, the Finnish Gulf was probably quite one.

When Peter the Great appeared on the Neva and crippled the sea power of Sweden, it seemed as if the history of this almost unknown part of Russia was only then beginning. In this connection it was generally believed that St. Petersburg had been founded in the midst of quite uninhabit-

able swamps and forests. This was true only as far as concerns the existence of these swamps and forests, but not as regards the absence of population. The whole country hereabouts, covering an area larger than that of the United Kingdom, was then, and still is to a great extent, swampy. And this seems to have been an advantage in one respect, for it was the bogs and forests that protected old Novgorod, 120 miles south of St. Petersburg, against the hordes of Tartar horsemen when they overran and devastated the rest of Russia. The entire lake region of this part of Northern Russia is essentially part and parcel of the adjoining 'land of the thousand lakes,' which is the most watery country in the world. Its beautiful lake system fully answers to this poetical appreciation, but its native name, *Suomenmaa* (the Swampy Region, alias Fenland or Finland), is not so attractive. There can be no doubt, therefore, about the swampy character of the site of St. Petersburg. But this did not prevent it from being a place of human abode long before either Swedes or Muscovites appeared on the scene. One of the hardiest of human races, the Finns, settled here in very remote times, and gave Finnish names to every part of the Neva delta.

THE TSAR REVIEWING HIS TROOPS

Peter the Great renamed all these places, or turned their Finnish names into Russian. This fact alone proves that the inhabitants of St. Petersburg were by no means the first dwellers on the Neva. What did swamp matter to the adamantine Finn? His very name, denizen of the swamp (*Suomalaine*), seemed to argue a preference for this kind of country. His power of resistance to the unhealthy effects of local conditions, which afterwards helped to destroy so many other lives in St. Petersburg, was part of his early reputation. Eventually, notwithstanding these unfavourable conditions of the country, the Finn became one of the chief causes which induced the other races of Northern Europe to endeavour to obtain a footing on the banks of the Neva. In pursuit of this purpose, the Novgorodian Russians and the Swedes followed the Finns into these parts. They built here castles and founded settlements, which changed hands between them several times over during the long struggle for permanent possession.

In the earliest times of which there is any record of this part of Russia, the Neva served as an artery of trade between Europe and Asia. The whole region through which this river flows was part of the territory of Novgorod called the 'Vodsky Fifth.'

The city of Novgorod was divided for administrative purposes into five sections, each of which had outlying territory attached to it. The 'fifth' in question was called after one of the three tribes of aboriginal inhabitants of Finnish stock, named Izjora, Korelia, and Vod—who dwelt along the banks of the Neva. Their names were identical with those of the districts which they inhabited, and two of these names, Izjora and Korelia, exist at the present day. This Vodsky Fifth extended from Lake Ladoga, along the left bank of the Neva and the shore of the Finnish Gulf in the direction of Revel, and on the right bank of the river and northern shore of the gulf as far as the little river Sestra, which is now distinguished by a fashionable watering-place named Sestroretsk, about eighteen or twenty miles from St. Petersburg.

According to Arabian and Persian chronicles, in the period of our Saxon Kings of England the Persians, and even the Hindus, received wares from the West along this trading-route. These goods were either landed at the mouth of the Dvina, or brought to Novgorod along the waterway now commanded by St. Petersburg, whence they were conveyed down the Volga to Eastern markets. Evidence of this ancient traffic between East and

West has been brought to light in discoveries of large accumulations of Saxon and Arabian coins, dug up in several places at the mouth of the Neva, and on the shores of Lake Ladoga. Nestor, the patriarch of Russian literature (eleventh century), wrote that 'the Neva served as a means of communication between peoples of the West and Novgorod through the Volkhoff; by the Neva they went into the Varangian Sea, and by that sea to Rome.' That was when the Russians were still on good terms with the Varangians, or Scandinavians, whose Princes they had once invited to come and rule over them. Later on the Russians and Swedes began to quarrel, through the efforts of both peoples to secure the allegiance of the Finns. The Novgorodians appear to have begun the conflict by making themselves masters of a part of Southern Finland. And thus it was that the Russians entered upon the long series of hostilities with the descendants of their former friends and helpers, the Variags, which lasted for no less than six centuries. In fact, it may be said that the great political struggle which Imperial Russia has waged with the Finnish Constitutionalists for the last ten years or more down to the present moment is essentially a Swedish question. Everything in

the religion, culture, laws, and political life of Finland which goes to make opposition to Russia is of Swedish origin. It is, therefore, only natural that the Finns should be inspired by Swedish ideals in preference to dictation from St. Petersburg.

When the Hanseatic League began to flourish, a considerable business was worked up through the channels of the Neva and the Volkhoff with the 'Sovereign Great Novgorod,' as that city was then styled by its independent citizens. This was facilitated by the Hanseatic towns having direct water communication with Novgorod through the Gulf of Finland, the Neva, and the Ladoga Lake, into which the Volkhoff empties itself. At the junction of the Volkhoff with the lake there appears to have been a town or settlement, with guest-houses and storage, belonging to Russian and German merchants.

A notable part in this trade between the Russians and the Hansa towns was played by the ancient city of Wisby, the capital of the island of Gotland, in the Baltic, near the Swedish coast. This rich and important member of the great commercial confederation was the principal depot and distributing centre for the Oriental wares which were brought to Europe along the rivers of Russia. It had

ICE-CUTTING ON THE NEVA

ICE-CUTTING ON THE NEVA

its representatives in Novgorod, and in a commercial sense that Russian city has been called the daughter of Wisby. It is pretty certain that, through the transactions of Wisby and her neighbours with the Russians, the latter were better known to Western Europe in those early days than they were later under the despotism of the Moscow Tsars. The merchants of Wisby were renowned for their wealth, and its shippers for their seamanship. Their celebrated *Water-recht*, or Sea Code, passed into the maritime law of nations, and in an old ballad it was said that 'the Gotlanders weighed out gold with stone weights, and played with the choicest jewels; the swine ate out of silver troughs, and the women spun with distaffs of gold.'

This profitable commerce, however, suffered considerably from the strife which gradually sprang up between Slavs and Scandinavians over the allegiance of the Finns and the command of the Neva. In 1143 the Swedes, assisted by the Finns, attacked the Russians at Ladoga, and were repulsed. From that time the contest became serious, and, in spite of several treaties of peace, it went on intermittently for 600 long years. A stop was finally put to it, once and for all, by the

Peace of Åbo in 1743, which finally confirmed Russia in possession of the whole of the Neva district and the Gulf of Finland.

Besides the Swedes on the one hand, the Danes began to approach through the Baltic provinces on the other. In 1223 Pope Innocent III. persuaded Voldemar II. of Denmark to lead his troops through Esthonia, and build a castle at Narva, on the River Narova. Then came the Teutonic Knights and Brothers of the Sword, who also tried to extend their conquests into the region of the Neva. The struggle with these German intruders took place in the south-western part of the present province of St. Petersburg, and lasted about 400 years. In the end their possessions in the Baltic provinces were divided between the Swedes and the Poles.

The ostensible object of those German and Livonian Knights was to spread Christianity by dint of the sword amongst the 'Baltic heathen and Russian schismatics,' and their example was followed with great enthusiasm by the Swedes. It is strange to think nowadays that Russia, who was the great champion of Christianity against the savage pagans from Central Asia, was herself to be made the victim of a religious war at the hands of Western

Christians. A holy crusade was, in fact, undertaken against the 'heathen Russians' at the behest of the Pope, conveyed in a Bull to the Archbishop of Upsala in 1237. Pope Gregory IX. promised absolution and eternal happiness to all who took part in this war, and great preparations were made for it during two years. Exciting sermons were preached in all the churches, and the priests pointed to a comet, which appeared at the time to the east of Sweden, as a sign from the Almighty indicating the direction to be taken by the crusaders. Large numbers of volunteers were recruited from all parts, and adventurers of all kinds were induced to join the ranks. The Swedes took with them also many Norwegians and Finns, and a great many of the clergy, including several Bishops. The head of the expedition was the famous Jarl Birger, brother-in-law to King Erick of Sweden. Just as if they were marching against the infidel and 'unspeakable' Turk, the Swedish regiments embarked with the singing of hymns, while their priests held aloft the cross and bestowed the blessing of the Church. The Swedish war-ships set sail for Åbo, then the capital of Finland, and thence, up the Gulf of Finland, into the Neva.

It was the intention of Jarl Birger first to attack

Ladoga, and then seize Novgorod, and convert the Russians to Latinism. He landed his forces at the mouth of the Izjora, a tributary of the Neva, where in ancient times there had been a prosperous town or settlement in connection with the Hanseatic trade. This spot is only about fifteen miles up the River Neva above St. Petersburg. From this halting-place Jarl Birger sent out an insolent challenge to the Grand Prince, or Grand Duke, Alexander Yaroslavovitch, who was then the elected Prince of Novgorod. Prince Alexander at once gave orders to muster all available troops, and hastened to the old Cathedral of St. Sophia, where he was surrounded by a crowd of alarmed and weeping citizens. In front of the altar he prayed long and fervently before setting out against the foe. The religious element in this campaign especially roused the patriotic sentiments and ardour of the Russians. At the same time the Grand Duke was greatly impressed by an incident which occurred to a trusty servant of Novgorod—a sort of warden of the marches in the Izjora territory—named Pelagoosy. This man was a Finn, converted from paganism, and he was devoted to the Russians and Eastern Orthodoxy. He related how, while watching the enemy day and night, he had once seen the

Russian saints Boris and Gleb standing in a boat on the Izjora, and had heard them urge the boatmen to row faster, as they wished to help their kinsman the Grand Duke Alexander. This story, told confidentially to the Grand Duke, helped to fire his pious ardour, and was accepted as a presage of coming victory.

The Russian troops drew near to the camp of the Swedes at the mouth of the Izjora without, it seems, rousing the least suspicion of their approach. There was no idea of the Russians moving so quickly, and Jarl Birger and his men were quietly resting after the long voyage. Their confidence was apparently so great that they took no trouble to send out scouts or make reconnaissances. At any rate, the Swedes suddenly found themselves attacked in the very midst of their tents, on the morning of July 15, 1240. So sudden and so furious was the Russian onslaught that many of the crusaders had no time to recover themselves, and fled for refuge to their boats. The Grand Duke himself tried to engage Birger, and dealt him such a blow in the face that, according to the Russian chronicle, he 'set his seal on the physiognomy of the Swedish commander.' Prodigies of valour are recorded of the Russians on this occasion. History has preserved

the names of many who plied their favourite weapon, the axe, with awful effect among the foe, and of others who leapt into the water in pursuit of the retreating Swedes, and killed them in their boats. The Swedish and Norwegian crusaders were completely routed.

The author has dwelt on some of the details of this important battle because of the great value attached to it by the Russians in connection with the site of St. Petersburg. For this exploit the Grand Duke was canonized under the name of St. Alexander Nevsky, or St. Alexander of the Neva. One of the first things which Peter the Great considered it his duty to do, when he began the foundation of St. Petersburg, was to have St. Alexander Nevsky made the patron saint of his new capital, and cause a magnificent monastery to be built in his name for the reception of the saint's remains. This establishment, the well-known Alexander Nevsky Lavra, is conspicuously situated at one end of the Nevsky Prospect, near the left bank of the Neva, and only a few miles from the spot where the famous victory was gained.

On receiving the good news, the Novgorodians joyfully exclaimed that the 'Romans had been defeated and disgraced.' By this, of course, they

referred to the part taken in the expedition by the Roman Catholic Church, and it clearly shows the importance of the religious element on this occasion. The Swedes and Germans had, in fact, now undertaken to convert the Russians to Roman Catholicism at the point of the sword.

This great victory, however, only checked the Swedes for a time. Meanwhile the Russians were beset by other enemies, the Teutonic Knights, who had captured Pskoff—the " younger sister of Novgorod "—and other places on Russian territory. These crusaders would also soon have been on the Neva had the Novgorodians not marched against them in 1284, and destroyed their fortress at Korporye.

In 1300 the Swedes, who were then strong in Finland, established the castle of Viborg, and reappeared on the Neva. This time they endeavoured to establish a fortified position, which they named Landskron, or Crown of the Land, on the riverside, near the outlet of the small river Okhta. But the work was not allowed to go on long, for the next year it was completely destroyed by Prince André, a son of Alexander Nevsky. This was the first attempt to establish a Swedish town within the limits of the present Russian capital.

In order to be able to offer greater resistance to these continual encroachments, the Russians in 1323, built a fortress at Ladoga, on a small island at the head of the Neva, where that river flows out of the lake. They called it after the name of the island, Oryekhoff, or Oryeshek (a nut), because the island was shaped like a hazel-nut. This fortification of the source of the Neva somewhat troubled the Swedes, and King Magnus was induced to send ambassadors to conclude peace. But in 1384 that same King not only renewed the war, but he himself sailed into the Neva, at the head of the Swedish fleet, and summoned the inhabitants of the district to choose between death and acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith. After anchoring off Birch Island, now the Petersburg side, where Peter the Great, over three centuries later, laid the foundation of his new city, the Swedish King proceeded to Ladoga, and captured Oryekhoff. The name was then translated into Swedish as Nöteburg, from *nöt*, a nut. Not very long after the return of the King to Sweden this fortress was retaken by the Novgorodians, and 800 of the Swedish garrison were either killed or wounded.

In 1411 Oryekhoff, alias Nöteburg, was seized a second time by the Swedes, and held by them for

more than a hundred years. Once again it became Russian, and then once more Swedish. At last, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, circumstances became particularly favourable for the Swedes. Novgorod had lost its independence to Moscow, and Russia's national power was greatly weakened by sedition and rivalry for possession of the throne. In this state of things Charles IX. of Sweden even assisted the Russians in their difficulties by sending an army against the false Demetrius and the Poles who supported that pretender. For this service the Russians promised to accept the younger son of Charles as their Tsar, but the honour was never conferred.

During this so-called *Smootnoe Vremya*, or period of troubles, the Swedes took advantage of the opportunity to settle themselves firmly on the Neva and Lake Ladoga. After the first Romanoff had been elected to the throne, they were confirmed in possession by the Treaty of Stolbova, a village near Ladoga. This treaty was made with the first Tsar of the new dynasty on February 27, 1617. There was again war with the Muscovites, but in the long run the Swedes remained masters of the situation on the Neva down to the advent of Peter the Great.

CHAPTER IV

THE SWEDES AND PETER THE GREAT ON THE NEVA

Swedish proselytism—Nyenskantz, the nucleus of St. Petersburg —Trade under the Swedes—Peter the Great's conquest of the Neva.

After the fall of Novgorod as an independent unit, the Moscow Tsars took measures to colonize the old dependencies of that once Republican city. The Swedes did the same, especially after the Treaty of Stolbovo, when all the lands of the Neva and Izjora basins were formally incorporated into the Swedish province of Ingria, or Ingermanland. By that treaty, Russian noblemen, monks, and other subjects of the Tsar on the ceded territories, were allowed to leave within a fortnight if they so desired. All Russians remaining after that short notice came under the Swedish Crown. Nevertheless, large numbers continued to go over to Moscow long afterwards, and of this the Swedes complained. Consequently, in October, 1649, the Tsar, Alexis

Michailovitch, father of Peter the Great, undertook to pay Sweden for the runaway Russians, and promised to receive no more of them. It is pretty certain that religious dislike had a good deal to do with this flight, for Sweden did not cease to proselytize, although she had given up crusading proper, and had become the champion of Protestantism. The zeal of the King of Sweden for the cause of the Reformed Church expressed itself in the establishment of a Russian printing-press at Stockholm, whence religious literature was issued for distribution among the orthodox Russians in Ingermanland and Korelia. The same was done for the Finns, and in this way the Swedish Church taught every Finnish peasant to read the Bible. Its chances of doing this for the Russians were limited, and the Russian Church itself is a very long way from having accomplished it even at the present day.

It is related that Gustavus Adolphus had the idea of sending Mecklenburg peasants to colonize Korvu-saari, or Birch Island, on which Peter afterwards began the work of building the new city. This was suggested by one of the King's Generals, who had taken part in the long struggle with the Russians, and who knew the local conditions.

Some of the Swedish commanders had been rewarded with valuable estates on the Neva, and they must have been well aware of the importance of having a strong colony there. Such a plan was no doubt a feasible one during the Thirty Years' War. In all probability, many Mecklenburgers would have then been found willing to leave their desolated homesteads and settle in a new country under the protection of the Protestant hero; but the fall of Gustavus Adolphus, at the Battle of Lützen, put an end to the scheme.

The most important enterprise of the Swedes on the Neva at this time was undoubtedly the establishment of Nyenschantz, or Nyenskantz—now Okhta—at the mouth of the small tributary of the Neva bearing that name. This took place at the suggestion of the well-known Swedish General De la Gardie, whose descendants eventually entered the Russian service. A small fortress was first built on the right bank of the Neva in 1632, and a small but flourishing town soon grew up in the neighbourhood. On the same spot there had been a Russian commercial settlement prior to 1521, in which year it was destroyed by sea-pirates. At a much earlier date Landskron, the first attempt at a Swedish settlement here, was also located in this

KAZAN CATHEDRAL

With semicircular and arched colonnade of 136 pillars, in imitation of St. Peter's at Rome

vicinity. To-day the same site is occupied by a populous and important suburb of St. Petersburg called Big and Little Okhta. Opposite to it, on the left bank of the Neva, is Smolny, with its fine Cathedral by Count Rastrelli, and Institute for Daughters of the Nobility. Not far from Smolny Institute is the Taurid Palace, the seat of the State Dooma, originally the mansion of Catherine's renowned favourite and General, Prince Potemkin, the conqueror of the Crimea.

In the seventeenth century Smolny was a colony of Russian tar-distillers, from whom it derived its name (*smolà*, pitch). The colony was dependent upon Nyenskantz, and an interesting fact in connection with it illustrates the attitude of the Swedes towards the Russian colonists in general at this period. The Russians at Smolny were under the religious control of the authorities of the Swedish Church. The Chief Superintendent of religious matters in Ingermanland was then the Bishop of Narva, the learned Gezelius, who had studied at Oxford and Cambridge. His duties included periodical visits to the Swedish and Finnish clergy at Nyenskantz. On such occasions he inspected their churches and schools, and crossed over to Smolny to hear the Russian priests put the

members of their flock through a catechism that had been drawn up by the ecclesiastical authorities at Stockholm.

This circumstance not only gives an insight into the relations between Swedes and Russians in the flourishing period of Swedish rule on the Neva, but also shows that this locality in the *dopetrofskiya*, or 'ante-Peter' times, came to be something more than the haunt of a few Finnish fishermen. Former writers who described it as such were apparently not acquainted with all the historical data on the subject. There was no lack of fisherfolk here, it is evident, and the Neva salmon were famous; but there was also a prosperous commercial body, carrying on a considerable trade with Lübeck and Amsterdam. For example, during the summer of 1691 over 100 foreign vessels discharged their cargoes on the Neva, the goods being probably sent up the River Volkhoff to Novgorod. There is also evidence that the commercial community of Nyenskantz was a wealthy one, if we may judge by the fact that one of its merchants, by the name of Frelius, was able to lend a large sum of money to Charles XII. in his war against Russia.

The floating traffic between Smolny and Okhta,

two very important parts of St. Petersburg, has been on the increase ever since this period of Swedish rule. Its growing requirements have long demanded the construction of a bridge across the Neva at these two points, where direct communication is still carried on only by means of a ferry and a service of small steamboats. For many centuries boats and barges have been used here to communicate between the two banks. Only this summer (1909) the Municipal Dooma started the construction of a bridge, after a discussion of the question which had lasted for thirty years.

On Swedish maps of the year 1670 some forty-five villages and farms are dotted over the area now occupied by St. Petersburg. There was good pasture-land, abundance of water-fowl, and plenty of winged and four-footed game in the surrounding woods. The elk was then hunted here by the Swedes, as it is still by the Russians, in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Petersburg. One extensive preserve, owned by a Swedish nobleman, skirted that part of the river-side which is now the Palace Quay, and the gamekeeper's lodge was not far from Princess Soltykoff's mansion, now occupied by the British Embassy.

Such was the state of things on the Neva when

Peter the Great began to turn his serious attention in that direction. The great reformer had returned from his historical visits to England and Holland, had put down rebellion in Moscow, and made an unsuccessful attempt to wrest Narva from the grasp of the Swedes. He was now resolved to attack Nöteburg and Nyenskantz, and get control of the Neva.

Immediately after Peter's defeat at Narva, he set about preparing for another campaign with extraordinary energy and resource. What he himself achieved and what he forced others to accomplish so rapidly is simply marvellous when we consider the condition of the country and the people at the time. The survivors of the disaster at Narva were rallied, fresh recruits mustered from all sides, ships built, hundreds of cannon cast out of bells taken from churches and monasteries, and religious services, which took up so much time, were suspended to enable priests and monks to take part in the one absorbing task of the hour. While all this was going on, the chief centres of activity being Moscow and Novgorod, Peter somewhat suddenly marched off with five battalions of troops to Archangel. This expedition was supposed to be the effect of a rumour that the Swedes intended to

assail that port. There is reason, however, to believe that Peter availed himself of the diversion to screen his plans against Nöteburg, for we find him sending secret orders to have the fact of his northern journey bruited about in the foreign press, with the object of deceiving the Swedes. It was even rumoured abroad that he had set out from Archangel for the coast of Sweden.

On arriving at Archangel, Peter witnessed the launch of two small frigates, which he named the *Holy Spirit* and the *Courier*. He then had them dragged overland from the Bay of Onega to the northern end of the Onega Lake, where they were relaunched, and sent on the River Svir into Lake Ladoga. For this purpose many miles of road had to be made, with enormous labour, through thick forests and swamps; and the work of moving these vessels on rollers placed under their keels as they were drawn along, and prevented from listing, was exceedingly difficult. In fact, seeing the obstacles naturally presented by the stumps of felled trees, it is not easy to understand how this was accomplished. Peter shared in all this manual toil much like a common soldier or workman, sending out orders all the time to Moscow and Novgorod.

Before Peter could get to Ladoga, the Swedish

squadron on that lake was defeated by Colonel Tirtoff with a flotilla of Cossack boats. The Swedish Admiral Nummers retreated to Viborg, with a loss of five ships and 300 men, thus leaving the waters of Lake Ladoga in the possession of the Russians.

Peter reached Ladoga at the end of September, 1702, and there met Field-Marshal Sheremetieff, with an army of 12,000 men from Novgorod. The Tsar's original plan of attacking Nöteburg on the ice in the preceding winter had been abandoned on account of a very unusual thaw. The town of Ladoga surrendered without any resistance, but the beleaguered garrison in Nöteburg fought a good fight under its Commandant, Schlippenberg. The bombardment was carried on fiercely for eleven days. On October 11, when a great conflagration broke out in the fortress, and the battered walls were being scaled by the besiegers, the Swedes lowered their flag, and the Russians were again masters of their old citadel of Oryeshek. Only 83 Swedes were left unwounded. In this siege the Russians had 564 officers and men killed, and 938 wounded. The ammunition expended by them amounted to 15,196 cannon-shot, bombs, and hand-grenades, and 72 tons of gunpowder.

The key of the fortress, which was handed over by the Swedish Commandant, was nailed by Peter's orders to the top of the principal bastion, and Oryeshek, alias Nöteburg, was renamed Schlüsselburg, from the German word *Schlüssel*, a key. With this key Russia again unlocked for herself the door to the Baltic.

Peter went in triumph to Moscow for the winter, and returned to Ladoga in the spring of 1703, to make preparations for the capture of Nyenskantz. At the end of April, Sheremetieff's troops from Ladoga were enabled to get close to the fortress of Nyenskantz, under cover of the intervening woods. The Tsar himself passed in front of it on the river, with sixty boats full of soldiers, under a heavy fire from the ramparts. His object was to intercept any assistance for the Swedes likely to arrive at the mouth of the Neva from Viborg. Peter landed these troops on the island of Viti-saari, now Gootooefsky, and returned at once to Sheremetieff's camp.

The reduction of Nyenskantz was not difficult. The garrison consisted of only about 800 men, and after one night's bombardment the Swedish Commandant Apollof consented to negotiate. On May 1 he and his men were permitted to retire to

Viborg, and the Russians entered into possession of what proved to be the nucleus of modern St. Petersburg.

One of the first things which Peter did was to rename the place Schlotburg, or Slottburg, although the Russians had much earlier given it the name of Kantz, from the last part of the word Nyenskantz. Peter had a mania for bestowing new names in German, instead of in his own language. Judging from specimens of his composition, the use of his native tongue, both as regards handwriting and style, was not one of his strong points. His autograph often looks as if it had been produced under the influence of great nervous excitement. In all probability the constant twitching and jerking of his face and limbs, reported of him by many of his contemporaries, had something to do with the ugly scrawls which he has left to posterity.

The surrender of Nyenskantz had only just been effected when the Swedish Admiral Nummers appeared at the mouth of the Neva with a relief squadron. Being quite unaware of the transfer of the fortress, he signalled to it by firing twice, and Peter ordered an answer to be given in the same manner. Then, during the night, Peter sallied

SCHLÜSSELBURG FORTRESS, ON LAKE LADOGA

The object of centuries of strife between Russians and Swedes, and subsequently used as a prison for important political offenders down to 1906

forth from behind the island of Gootooefsky with a flotilla of thirty boats, and surrounded and attacked two of the Swedish ships which had approached closer than the others. After a fierce struggle he captured them both, having killed or wounded nearly everybody on board. The Russians had only small firearms and hand-grenades, and yet they gained the mastery, in spite of the hail of shot poured into them, not only from the two ships actually being attacked, but also from the others, which were obliged to lie off at a distance on account of low water. It is strange how powerless the Swedish war-vessels seem to have been against the Russian boat crews. Peter himself was, it is said, the first to board one of the ships with a grenade in his hand.

In all the operations on Lake Ladoga and the Neva, which Peter really conducted in person, it pleased him to assume inferior rank under his Field-Marshal, Sheremetieff. When he was in Holland he had himself called *Min Her* Peter Mikhailoff, the shipwright; in conquering the site of St. Petersburg he styled himself Mr. Bombardier Captain Peter.

There was still some fighting to be done with the Swedes at various other points, and the position on

the Neva had yet to be rendered perfectly secure by the subsequent capture of Narva and the defeat of Charles XII. at Poltava, but for all practical purposes it was now completely in Peter's grasp. He was able to proceed at once to realize his cherished ideas of founding a European city and making Russia a naval Power.

CHAPTER V

ST. PETERSBURG IN THE MAKING

Foundation of St. Petersburg—Attitude of Swedes—Cronstadt—St. Petersburg fortress—Beginning of trade—Opposition—Compulsory settlement.

AFTER the capture of Nyenskantz, Peter the Great lost no time in setting to work to carry out his project of establishing a commercial town in connection with the utilization of the mouth of the Neva. Nyenskantz itself was unsuited to the purpose, being situated a little too far up the river, where the latter makes a sharp bend towards the south. It was therefore decided at a Council of War to select a spot nearer to the sea. After careful exploration, Peter's choice fell upon the point where the Neva, before entering the Gulf of Finland, branches into three main channels, with several minor ramifications, which form a number of islands of different shapes and sizes. On the first of these islands—a very small one, known by the Finnish name of 'Yanni-saari' (Janni-saari) or

Hare Island—Peter started the building of the fortress of St. Petersburg. Immediately behind Yanni-saari, across a narrow watercourse forming a natural moat at the back of the fortress, was the large island called in Finnish 'Koivu-saari,' or Birch Island, now the Petersburg side, on which the first buildings outside the fortress were erected.

On May 16, 1703, Peter the Great, surrounded by his officers and friends, cut the first turf in the centre of Yanni-saari, and buried a stone casket containing relics of St. Andrew the Apostle, and a few gold coins. Having turned up a couple of sods with a soldier's spade, he placed one on the other in the form of a cross, and commanded a cathedral to be built here, within the walls of a fortress, dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul. Artillery salutes were fired, and Peter received the congratulations of the assembled company.

Tradition states that during the ceremony an eagle was observed soaring over the head of the Tsar, attention having been directed towards it by the noise of its wings, which was distinctly audible. Shortly afterwards it settled upon a rough kind of triumphal arch marking the position of the future gate of the fortress, and which was made by the stems of two tall birch saplings bent towards each

other and tied together at the top. The bird was brought to the ground, and taken alive. The record of what took place is somewhat confusing, but the eagle was apparently shot at and wounded by one of the attendant soldiers. In any case, the incident greatly delighted Peter, who regarded it as an augury of future success. He had the eagle's legs bound together with a handkerchief, held it perched on his gloved hand while the clergy performed the rite of consecrating the improvised gateway, and then took it with him in his yacht back to Nyenskantz. It became a tame favourite in the palace, and was finally kept by Peter's orders in the guard-room of the fortress at Cronstadt, under the name of 'The Commandant.' Peter seems to have had a liking for birds and animals, for besides favourite dogs he subsequently kept various other four-footed creatures and a large aviary in the garden attached to his summer-house on the southern side of the river.

Wooden barracks and houses were rapidly put up to accommodate the troops from Nyenskantz, and the chief officers and civil officials. Russia being essentially a country of wood, this building material was naturally the first to be used. For himself, Peter had a small hut with only three

rooms, built of logs and roofed over with shingles, just outside the fortress on the adjoining island of the Petersburg side, and later on he had it enclosed in a second building to protect it against the weather. We may infer from this that he intended to preserve it for the edification of future generations, and accordingly this more than modest abode for so mighty a monarch still exists as an object of curiosity, and a depository of various relics of the founder of St. Petersburg. His bedroom here has been turned into a chapel, where prayers are frequently offered up in front of the holy image which accompanied him in all his campaigns, including that of Poltava. Peter disliked large and lofty dwelling-rooms. The relative smallness and rather cramped appearance of the apartments in the old palace at Moscow had not spoiled him in this respect. The so-called 'palaces' which he first built for himself on the Neva—that is to say, the first hut near the fortress; his summer-house still standing in the garden close to the British Embassy; even the first winter palace, the Monplaisir pavilion at Peterhoff, and another house at Cronstadt—were all mere cottages or shanties in comparison with the magnificent structures raised by his luxurious successors. James Keith, afterwards the

famous Prussian Marshal, who entered the Russian service for a time, after Peter's death wrote of him: 'He loved more to employ his money on ships and regiments than sumptuous buildings, and was always content with his lodging when he could see his fleet from his window.'

The work of founding St. Petersburg was carried on almost under the eyes and guns of the Swedes, who threatened to interfere all the time by land and sea. Two months only after beginning the fortress Peter sent General Chambers with a force to repel the enemy under General Kronhjort on the old Finnish border at the River Sestra, whilst Admiral Nummers, with nine Swedish men-of-war, lay anchored off the mouth of the Neva all through the summer of 1703. The Swedes appear to have shown great indecision at this juncture. When they did take the offensive, a little later, Peter's position on the Neva was too strong for them. They failed at first to take Peter's work here seriously. At Stockholm it was the subject of much joking. Among other criticism or satire, it was proposed that the Tsar should call his new town not Petropolis, after himself, but Leperopolis, after the name of the island (Hare Island) on which the fortress was begun, and in malicious

allusion to the first battle of Narva, when the Russians were reported to have run away in a panic like hares. Some of the members of the Swedish Council of State prophesied that it would soon be destroyed by the floods. When Charles XII. received the first news of its foundation, he merely said: 'Let the Tsar tire himself with the useless work of founding new towns; we shall reserve to ourselves the glory of taking them.'

Peter's energy and activity at this period were prodigious. In October of the same year, when the ice had already begun to float down the Neva, and the Swedish squadron had withdrawn to Finnish waters, he sailed eighteen miles out from the mouth of the river to Kotlin, now Cronstadt, where he took soundings, and resolved at once to fortify that island and construct a midwater fort, which he named Kronslot (again a Swedish name, be it observed, instead of a Russian one), to protect the navigable passage. This fort was built with great labour and difficulty in sinking the submarine foundation during the ensuing winter; and once Cronstadt was fortified, the fortress at St. Petersburg became practically useless. As Eugene Schuyler states in his 'Peter the Great,' this fortress, 'on which so much money and so much

life was spent, protected nothing. Its guns could never reach the enemy unless the town had been previously taken. It now protects nothing but the Mint and the cathedral containing the Imperial tombs. During the reigns of Peter's successors its walls were used as a suitable background for fireworks and illuminations, and its casemates have always been found convenient for the reception of political prisoners. Strategically it may have been necessary to protect the mouth of the Neva, but this was done by Cronstadt.' At first some of its casemates were placed at the disposal of traders for storing wine and other wares; and one of the first political prisoners to be incarcerated here, and done to death in a way that has always remained a mystery, was Peter the Great's own son, Alexis.

Nevertheless, this useless fortress was reconstructed in all seriousness with more solid material some six or seven years later. Its ramparts and six bastions were at first built of wood and earth, which was subsequently replaced by stone revetments and masonry. Of the six bastions, the work on one was superintended by the Tsar himself; that on each of the other five respectively by Menshikoff (the first Governor-General of St. Petersburg), and the other principal men round Peter—

Golovin, Zotoff, Troubetskoy, and Naryshkin. There were four rows of wooden buildings within the walls, and opposite to the guard-house stood a wooden horse with a very sharp back, on which delinquents from the army were forced to sit for hours; and also a post surrounded with spikes in the ground, where similar offenders were made to stand or walk, attached by a chain fastened on one arm. In the immediate vicinity of these instruments of torture, so characteristic of Russian conditions at the time, was the house of the first Ober-Commandant of the fortress, Jacob Bruce, one of the many Scotchmen then in the service of Russia.

Next to the fortress, Peter gave the greatest attention to the building of the Admiralty and shipbuilding yards on the opposite side of the Neva, where the Tsar's favourite work was soon going on at a rapid pace. In fact, the left bank of the Neva, on which the principal quarter of the city eventually developed, was partly peopled in the first instance by shipwrights—Dutch and other foreign experts in naval construction — together with great numbers of workmen.

In November of the first year of St. Petersburg's existence Peter was immensely pleased at the arrival of the first foreign merchant-vessel in front

of his embryo fortress. This was a Dutch boat, laden with wines and salt, from one of Peter's old acquaintances at Zaandam. It has been said that Peter himself went out to meet this vessel, and personally acted the pilot in guiding it up the river, but this has since been contradicted by Bozjerianoff, who states that Peter had gone to Moscow at the time. At any rate, Peter gave orders that this lucky vessel, which was named the *St. Petersburg*, should be allowed ever afterwards to bring goods into the Neva free of all taxes and dues; and on this occasion its skipper, Auke Wybes, was feasted by Menshikoff, and presented with 500 gold ducats. The men of his crew also received 30 thalers. The next ships to arrive, one English and another from Holland, were treated in a similar manner, the gratuities to their captains being 300 and 150 ducats respectively. By means of these and other encouragements Peter soon attracted foreign trade to St. Petersburg, and ruined the prospects of Archangel — that creation of British merchant adventurers—for many years to come.

Nothing has yet been said about the employment of labour by Peter in his gigantic enterprise. The brilliancy of his genius was such that it tends to throw a glamour over the brutality of his methods,

and seems to palliate the terrible suffering which the execution of his high designs inflicted upon vast numbers of his long-suffering subjects. And yet this is the most painfully interesting detail of Peter's work. Although he assumed the European title of Emperor, he still remained a real autocratic Tsar of Muscovy. The slavery of ancient Egypt, which produced the pyramids, could not have been worse than that which produced St. Petersburg. The whole of Russia was compelled to take part in the making of it, and it has been estimated that over 100,000 persons perished in course of the operations. Some even put the figure at double this number. Twenty thousand navvies, including the Swedish prisoners, were engaged only on the construction of the fortress, and, as far as concerns the Russians, their primitive habits were such that, in the absence of a proper supply of implements, they raked the soil up with their hands, and carried it to the ramparts in pieces of matting, and even in the tails of their shirts. Men were driven here against their will from all parts of the Empire, not only Russians, but also Tartars, Calmucks, and other Asiatics. There was frightful mortality amongst them, owing to the severity of the climate and the unhealthy conditions in which they were

forced to live. Those who fell ill simply dropped down on the ground and obstinately refused all medical assistance, preferring to die. The new capital which Peter forced upon an unwilling Russia began by filling its cemeteries from the very first, and its evil reputation for overcrowding them out of all proportion to its population has been steadily maintained down to the present time. In its early days sickness and the death-rate were greatly increased by frequent floods. During Peter's reign there were no less than seven more or less serious inundations, and it seems a marvel that the town was not washed away in its infancy. It was only the tenacity of Peter himself that saved it at this early stage. At one of the Tsar's parties, or 'assemblies,' as he called his first social gatherings, the water suddenly invaded the rooms of the palace, and Peter and his guests had to escape by wading through it ankle-deep. The one or two available routes leading to the town were strewn with decaying carcasses of horses and cattle, sunk deep in the mire of numerous bogs. Everybody, nobleman and peasant alike, hated the place, while Peter loved to write about it as his 'paradise.' Many of the soldiers and workmen ran away whenever they could get the chance, but most of them were soon

caught and brought back. Deserters from their regiments who voluntarily gave themselves up were ordered, as a special act of clemency in consideration of their repentance, to be thrashed with the knout and sent to hard labour in building St. Petersburg. Although the governors of the provinces had a very hard time under Peter, not one of them, it was said by Prince Gregory Dolgorooky, cared to come to live on the Neva. The Princess Mary, half-sister to Peter, remarked to an intimate friend: 'Petersburg will not endure after our time. May it remain a desert!'

No volunteers could be found, either for work or residence, in St. Petersburg. Peter therefore had to contend against the opposition of his people as well as natural difficulties. Such a state of things made progress too slow for this headlong reformer, and he soon resolved to resort to the most drastic measures of compulsion. Accordingly, in 1710, he ordered 40,000 workmen a year for three years to be sent to St. Petersburg from the provinces, and with a view of attracting masons, he further commanded that no stone buildings should be erected in any part of the Russian Empire outside of St. Petersburg under penalty of banishment to Siberia and confiscation of property. Is it surprising if,

after this, the Russian interior continued to be built of wood? By another ukase the Tsar ordered that everybody entering St. Petersburg should bring with them a certain quantity of stone. In 1714 the authorities of the province of Archangel were ordered to send 3,000 men to work on the fortifications at Cronstadt. All officials, nobles, and landowners possessing not less than thirty families of peasant serfs were obliged to settle in St. Petersburg, and build for themselves houses either of wood or stone, according to their means. One of Peter's decrees, dated May 26, 1712, reads as follows: '1. One thousand of the best families of the nobility, etc., are required to build houses of beams, with lath and plaster, in the old English style, along the bank of the Neva from the Imperial palace to the point opposite Nyenskantz. 2. Five hundred of the best-known merchant families, and five hundred traders less distinguished, must build for themselves wooden houses on the other side of the river, opposite to the dwellings of the nobility, until the Government can provide them with stone houses and shops. 3. Two thousand artisans of every kind—painters, tailors, joiners, blacksmiths, etc.—must settle themselves on the same side of the river, right up to Nyenskantz.' In

this autocratic way the young city of Peter's making was built up in an incredibly short space of time. Its durability, however, was not very great. Very few of its buildings remain among the great piles of brick and stone as well as wooden houses which constitute the Petersburg of to-day.

Peter and his advisers seem to have been unable to fix definitely upon any one spot as a centre. The extremely unfavourable conditions of the geographical situation probably made this impossible. The consequence was that a great many persons had to continually shift their homes in accordance with Peter's frequent changes of plan, and this only increased the general discontent. The first settlement was near the fortress, where stood the Government offices, the wooden Church of the Trinity, and the famous tavern called the 'Osteria,' at which Peter and his boon-companions used to take their drams. After many persons had settled down in that neighbourhood they were made to build houses on the opposite side of the river. At one time the Tsar wished to make Cronstadt a commercial town, and compelled the provinces to put up large buildings there, which were never used. Then he had a special plan for making a regular Dutch town, or a second Venice, of the

Vasili Ostroff (in Finnish, Elk Island, where that animal was hunted in the times of the Finns and Swedes), with canals running through all the streets. The nobility were consequently ordered to erect expensive houses in that quarter, but they soon had to abandon them, owing to the discovery that the lowness of the situation, and the difficulties of communicating with the mainland during the seasons of floating ice on the river, rendered the scheme quite impracticable. At the same time there was long a lingering doubt as to the new city being made the actual capital. It would appear that only after the victory at Poltava, in 1709, Peter finally made up his mind to make it the permanent capital, and had all Government institutions still remaining at Moscow transferred to the banks of the Neva.

CHAPTER VI

IMPERIAL ST. PETERSBURG

Under Peter I.—Death of Peter I.—Peter II.—Catherine II.—Succeeding Monarchs—Paul I.—Expenditure of Grand Dukes.

For more than twenty years Peter the Great was enamoured of the building up of his new European capital. Even when the calls of war and other serious matters demanded his presence elsewhere, he never forgot the interests of his beloved 'paradise' on the Neva. From the battle-field of Poltava, on the night after the great victory, he wrote to Apraxin: 'Now, with God's help, the last stone has been laid of the foundation of St. Petersburg.'

At the same time, while opening up a window into Europe, this new position in the north, far removed from the trammels of old Muscovite influence, enabled him to enforce those extraordinary changes in Russian life and government which he carried out in the teeth of so much obstinate resistance. There was naturally an intimate connection between the work of creating the first

European city of Russia and the introduction of European methods and customs. Foreigners were amazed at the wonderful and rapid transformation of old Muscovite dress and manners into the ways and fashions of Europe which took place in St. Petersburg under Peter's dictation. He made innovations everywhere, and such innovations affected private life as well as every department of Church and State. Not only were the long beards and still longer skirts of his ultra-conservative subjects clipped short at the word of command, but even in such a trivial matter as the soles of their boots they did not escape the interference of this revolutionary reformer. For some reason or other he objected, it seems, to the use of hob-nails and iron boot-protectors. Accordingly, in 1715, a ukase was issued forbidding the wearing of boots and shoes with these additions, and threatening all persons dealing in such articles with hard labour and confiscation of property. Peter's favourite governor of St. Petersburg, Prince Menshikoff, even went farther than his Imperial master. On one occasion, in order to please the Tsar, he invited a whole batch of Russians to his palace, and compelled them then and there to throw off their Asiatic garb and put on ready-made suits of European clothing. They

naturally protested, but this had been provided for in anticipation; a number of sledges were drawn up in front of the street-door, ready to take them off to Siberia without more ado. In such circumstances, of course, they reluctantly submitted to be turned externally into Europeans.

And not only in externals such as these did Peter exercise his zeal in reforming his unprogressive subjects. His directions, for instance, for rooting out official corruption were not to be misunderstood or evaded like the orders of some of his more lenient successors. The leading functionary of the Senate, which Peter established to control the administration, once read a report to the Tsar on the discovery of a whole series of robberies by Government officials, and in concluding the perusal he asked, 'Shall I lop off the branches only, or lay the axe to the root of the evil?' Peter's instantaneous reply was, 'Hack out everything to the very core.'

Peter also introduced a totally new social life among his people in St. Petersburg, while his own free and easy manners must have been quite shocking in comparison with the secluded grandeur in which the old Russian Tsars had been wont to live and rule. He started theatres; organized social

MONUMENT OF PETER I.

Erected by Catherine II. A celebrated work of Falconet.

MONUMENT OF PETER I.

Erected by Catherine II. A celebrated work of Falconet

gatherings, which he called 'assemblies,' in French, because he said there was no suitable word for them in Russian; arranged pyrotechnical displays, of which he was very fond, and even played the rôle of a Sherlock Holmes in detecting plots and surprising conspirators. He also frequented taverns, and often took his one-rouble dinner like any ordinary customer at Felton's, the eating-house of a German, who catered for the officers of the garrison. His other favourite occupations of ship-building, forging iron bars, filling fireworks, drinking heavily, and otherwise enjoying his intervals of relaxation, are they not recorded in the history of this great Russian Sovereign? And a fascinating history it is. When once taken up it cannot easily be laid aside, and taken up it must be by anyone who treats of St. Petersburg. An account of the Russian capital without reference to the genius who created it and set it going would be worse than omitting all mention of the ghost in 'Hamlet.' In fact, the ghost of Peter the Great still follows one down the years into modern Petersburg, as it followed poor Evjenie on the Neva Quay in Pooshkin's celebrated description of the great inundation of 1824. Of late years Peter and his exploits have frequently been the subject of national celebrations and new monuments. There are now four

statues erected to him in the capital, one at Peterhoff and another at Cronstadt. Two of those in St. Petersburg are equestrian, with the great Tsar attired as a Roman, one of them being the celebrated work of Falconet. Another is a standing figure of Peter in front of the old wooden church built by him on the Samson Prospect to commemorate the victory of Poltava. The fourth statue, recently set up on the Admiralty Quay, represents Peter rescuing drowning sailors at the mouth of the river in the autumn of 1724. That heroic deed gave him a severe cold, which helped to bring about his death in the following January. As he lay dying in the old Winter Palace, his only recorded utterance was the sad remark made to his weeping Empress, Catherine I.: 'You now see by me what a poor creature is man.' The fittest memorial to this extraordinary Russian monarch and reformer would be a repetition in some conspicuous part of St. Petersburg of Sir Christopher Wren's epitaph in St. Paul's Cathedral: *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*—'If you seek his monument, look around.'

The progress of the infant city of St. Petersburg under the personal guidance of such a man as Peter was naturally very rapid. Within eight or ten

years of its foundation there were a dozen streets and about 1,000 houses. The paving of the streets was begun in 1717, and in 1725 Peter ordered lamps to be put up. There is not much left intact to-day of the building work of Peter's time, but the chief point on each side of the Neva, whence the city first developed under Peter's initiative, is still marked by two of the most conspicuous objects in St. Petersburg. These are the tall needle-like spires that crown the old Admiralty and the Cathedral in the fortress. In sunlight and clear frosty weather these gilded spires shine like shafts of fire shooting upward to the sky, and they are all the more striking inasmuch as they bear no resemblance to the cupolas and belfries of the Russian churches around them. The mellow tone of the old Dutch chimes beneath the one on the Fortress Cathedral is a pleasant relief from the discordant style of Russian bell-ringing, and it reminds one irresistibly of old Holland and Germany.

After Peter's death, his widowed Empress and his grandson, Peter II., did nothing for the advancement of St. Petersburg. On the contrary, Peter II. transferred his Court to Moscow, and entertained the idea of divesting Petersburg of its

rank as the capital of the Empire. The mere attempt was immediately disastrous. Houses were deserted, and thousands of persons left this hated spot. Before the reinstallation of the Imperial Court on the Neva, under the Empress Anne, recourse was again had to compulsory measures to bring back the deserters. In 1729 an Imperial decree ordered all merchants, artisans, and drivers, with their families, to be sent back at once, under pain of severe punishment. Then came an epidemic of incendiarism, from which it was evident that many of those obliged against their will to remain in this detested city were determined to revenge themselves by trying to burn it down to the ground. In one case a number of men were hanged at the four corners of a block of buildings to which they had set light only a few hours before. In 1737 over 1,000 houses were destroyed by fire, and many hundred persons perished. Nevertheless, and in spite of popular aversion, arson, floods, and disease, the Russian nation was forced by the iron will of autocracy to conquer its dislike of St. Petersburg. Finally, from being an object of the utmost repulsion it gradually became a place of the greatest attraction, and estates in the provinces were kept going only for the purpose of providing

A DROSHKY-DRIVERS' TEA-STALL

money to be squandered by their owners in the dissipations of the new Russian capital.

The real successor to Peter the Great, as far as concerns the continuation of his work on the Neva, was Catherine II., during whose reign the city made great progress. Many handsome buildings and useful institutions established under that great Empress are still among its finest embellishments. Succeeding monarchs also exercised their 'inflexible wills' upon it in such a way that no other country possesses a capital the rise of which has been to the same extent the result of the wants and wishes of its Sovereigns and their relatives. If Vienna is a real Kaiserstadt, as the Austrians were proudly wont to call it, there is far more reason to apply the title of 'Imperial City' to St. Petersburg, which in the very nature of things Russian has been so completely identified with the Emperors and Empresses of Russia from its very inception. It never could have attained to anything like a prominent position had the Imperial Family not continued to maintain it as the residential city of the Sovereign and the seat of the Imperial Government. Without this powerful support it must have fallen into decay, and in the long run the waves of the Finnish Gulf would have doubt-

less completed its final ruin. A dozen Imperial autocrats since Peter have therefore kept its head above water, and St. Petersburg of to-day is very much what they have caused it to be made.

An interesting fact in this connection may be mentioned in order to show how the Grand Dukes of the Imperial House have contributed towards this result. The Emperor Paul established an institution called the Imperial Appanages, for the purpose of providing for the minor members of the reigning dynasty. However mad Paul may have been in some respects, he certainly showed great practical wisdom in looking after the material interests of his relatives and descendants. He started the Appanages Department as a special fund, which has now become a rich source of revenue derivable from many kinds of agricultural, industrial, and commercial operations. From this source the numerous Grand Dukes and Duchesses draw the means of maintaining their positions. Only the reigning Emperor and his heir-apparent do not draw upon this fund, as they have the Treasury, the State domains, and other sources of income. About thirteen years ago it was officially calculated that the Imperial Grand Dukes and Grand Duchesses—and it must be remembered that their number has been continually on the increase—had received from these

appanages during the course of a century altogether more than 236,000,000 roubles, or about £23,600,000. The greater part of this sum was, of course, expended in St. Petersburg, including nearly 57,000,000 roubles exclusively laid out in erecting and keeping up Grand Ducal palaces. There are now at least twenty palaces in St. Petersburg and the surrounding districts belonging to different members of the Imperial Family. Two or three of them have been converted into museums and other institutions, while it is a remarkable fact that many of the fine mansions of Russia's ancient but impoverished aristocracy have of late years been acquired by the Grand Dukes.

We thus see that even the collateral branches of the Imperial dynasty have been greatly instrumental in building up St. Petersburg. Their position at present is naturally very different from what it was before the State Dooma declared that none of the Grand Dukes should any longer hold any responsible posts under the Government. But before that they were all-powerful. Their convenience and pleasure were first considered in all cases, and St. Petersburg owes many of its public improvements to the fact that they were first introduced for the benefit of members of the Imperial Family.

CHAPTER VII

ST. PETERSBURG CRITICIZED

Russian, English, and other foreign criticism—The poet Pooshkin's description.

No other capital city in the world has ever been criticized as much as St. Petersburg. Russians themselves have always complained of its defects, and not without good reason. Foreigners also have given it a bad reputation, and its ruin has often been predicted. Its depreciation by English and other foreign writers, however, was more in fashion when Russophobia was rampant. Russian constitutional reform and popular liberty, although as yet existing more in principle than in practice, have taken the political sting out of foreign criticism. The evil spoken and written of St. Petersburg to-day is chiefly in reference to its inherent failings, which it must be admitted are very great. In spite of all its external splendour, it has come to be known as the unhealthiest and most expensive capital in Europe. It stands first among the large

cities of Europe, and even of Russia, both as regards the rate of mortality in general and the high death-rate from infectious diseases. Typhoid and cholera are the periodical scourges of its population. Since the thirties of the last century there have been seven outbreaks of cholera, and the epidemic has prevailed altogether no less than twenty-five years.

The foundations of public health have been too long neglected in favour of the outside glitter of modern civilization. Although the subject of sanitation has been under discussion for the last quarter of a century at least, there is still no proper drainage and no pure water-supply. St. Petersburg is now the fifth in point of size among the great capitals of Europe, with nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants, and yet this mass of humanity, in addition to the rigours of the climate and the insalubrity of the situation, is obliged to put up with primitive arrangements for the disposal of sewage which in these days constitute nothing less than a national scandal. These arrangements may be briefly referred to as a system of filthy cesspools in the back yards of all houses, with rough wooden carts to carry away the contents at night and pollute the atmosphere by the operation. At the same time,

as though this were not enough, the citizens are supplied with water which nobody valuing his or her life dares to drink unboiled, and which is drawn from a river contaminated by human dirt and teeming with bacteria and the vibrion of cholera. This is the Russian scientific opinion of the beautiful, fast-running, and limpid stream of the Neva during the cholera epidemic of 1909. What a contrast with the opinion enunciated eighty years ago by a distinguished English physician (Dr. Granville), who wrote, after a visit to St. Petersburg: 'After all, the best, the purest, the most grateful, the most healthy, the most delightful and really national beverage of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg is the water of the Neva.' This praise now reads like satire, for, in order to avoid Neva water altogether, many persons are paying a shilling a bottle for ordinary spring water, brought from Duderhoff, twenty miles outside the city.

Russian and foreign criticism of St. Petersburg has also proceeded from other points of view. It is curious that formerly the Muscovite Slavophile and the English Russophobe unconsciously joined hands in reviling it from very different motives. The one disliked it because it stood for everything foreign, and did not represent the real Russia; the other

abused it because it represented Autocratic Russia and the supposed enemy of British rule in India. In its early days it was so cordially hated by Russians themselves, especially by the priesthood, who regarded Peter the Great as Antichrist, that they loudly prophesied for it the fate of Babylon, Nineveh, and Gomorrah. During the terrible inundation in the reign of Alexander I., several fanatics of this class, who were undergoing imprisonment for their opposition, were drowned in their cells in the fortress. Even Karamzin, the great Russian historian, called its foundation 'the immortal mistake of the great reformer.'

In order to show what kind of views were held by English and other foreign authors in the last half of the nineteenth century, it may be interesting to quote two or three passages.

About the time of the Crimean War, considerable importance was attached to a work called 'Revelations of Russia,' by an anonymous Englishman, long resident on the banks of the Neva. This author wrote that St. Petersburg was 'a city of barracks and palaces, a vast encampment of lath and plaster, the stuccoed walls of the buildings always peeling in the gripe of the keen frost of winter and blistering sun of summer, a city which each successive genera-

tion of its inhabitants had to build afresh by instalments of annual repairs, otherwise the marsh would again take its place, the stucco would become dust, the walls it covers ruins imbedded in the mud, and the cold, spongy moss of this northern climate would again creep over it. The prevalence of west winds such as, if rare, will probably occur once in a century or two, would suffice to raise the waters of the Gulf high enough to sweep away the devoted city. It will be remembered how nearly this happened in the reign of the first Alexander. The Marquis Custrine wrote: 'This city, with its quays of granite, is a marvel, but the palace of ice in which the Empress Elizabeth held a banquet was no less a wonder, and lasted as long as the snowflakes—those roses of Siberia. The ancients built with indestructible materials beneath a conservative sky; here, where the climate destroys everything, are raised up palaces of wood, houses of planks, and temples of stucco. Russian workmen spend their lives in remaking during the summer what the winter has undone.' According to Count Vitzthum, Saxon *Chargé d'affaires* in Petersburg in 1853, 'the city, as seen from the majestic Neva, presents an imposing aspect when the golden domes of the Isaac Church are glittering brightly through the

ON THE ROAD TO EXECUTION IN FORMER DAYS

These public processions to the gallows have been suppressed for many years past

morning mist. The first impression, however, soon vanishes, for St. Petersburg, at all events in summer, notwithstanding its spacious but desolate squares, and its interminable, broad, but empty streets, bears, or then bore, in comparison with Paris and London, the stamp of a provincial town. In that sea of houses, raised by the will of a powerful ruler out of a bottomless morass, it is evident that soil and ground, as well as human life, have not yet the same value as in older capitals of natural growth.'

Less unfavourable views may, perhaps, be found in more recent descriptions; but, as a rule, both native and foreign critics have been far from complimentary towards the 'Palmyra of the North.' The best antidote to all adverse criticism of St. Petersburg has been given by Russia's greatest poet, Pooshkin. It is to be found in the prologue to his 'Bronze Cavalier,' and it is here offered to the reader in the excellent rendering into English made by the late Mr. Charles Turner, who was for many years English Lector at the University of St. Petersburg, and a friend of the author of these chapters:

'On the waste shore of raving waves
He stood, with high and dread thoughts filled,

And gazed afar. Before him rolled
The river wide, a fragile barque
Its tortuous path slow making.
Upon the moss-grown banks and swamps
Stood far asunder smoky huts,
The homes of Finnish fishers poor;
Whilst all around, a forest wild,
Unpierced by misty-circled sun,
Murmured loud.

'Gazing far, he thought:
From hence we can the Swede best threat;
Here must I found a city strong,
That shall our haughty foe bring ill;
It is by Nature's law decreed,
That here we break a window through,
And boldly into Europe look,
And on the sea with sure foot stand;
By water path as yet unknown,
Shall ships from distant ports arrive,
And far and wide our reign extend.

'A hundred years have passed, and now,
In place of forests dark and swamps,
A city new, in pomp unmatched,
Of Northern lands the pride and gem.
Where Finnish fisher once at eve,
Harsh Nature's poor abandoned child,
From low-sunk boat was wont his net
With patient toil to cast, and drag
The stream, now stretch long lines of quays,
Of richest granite formed, and rows
Of buildings huge and lordly domes

The river front; whilst laden ships
From distant quarters of the world
Our hungry wharves fresh spoils supply;
And needful bridge its span extends,
To join the stream's opposing shores;
And islets gay, in verdure clad,
Beneath the shade of gardens laugh.
Before the youthful city's charms
Her head proud Moscow jealous bends,
As when the new Tsaritza young
The widowed Empress lowly greets.

'I love thee, work of Peter's hand!
I love thy stern symmetric form;
The Neva's calm and queenly flow
Betwixt her quays of granite stone,
With iron tracings richly wrought;
Thy nights so soft with pensive thought,
Their moonless glow, in bright obscure,
When I alone, in cosy room,
Or write or read, night's lamp unlit;
The sleeping piles that clear stand out
In lonely streets, and needle bright
That crowns the Admiralty's spire;
When, chasing far the shades of night,
In cloudless sky of golden pure,
Dawn quick usurps the pale twilight,
And brings to end her half-hour reign.
I love thy winters, bleak and harsh;
Thy stirless air fast bound by frosts;
The flight of sledge o'er Neva wide,
That glows the cheeks of maidens gay.
I love the noise and chat of balls;

A banquet free from wife's control,
Where goblets foam, and bright blue flame
Darts round the brimming punch-bowl's edge.
I love to watch the martial troops
The spacious Field of Mars fast scour;
The squadrons spruce of foot and horse;
The nicely chosen race of steeds,
As gaily housed they stand in line,
Whilst o'er them float the tattered flags;
The gleaming helmets of the men
That bear the marks of battle-shot.
I love thee when with pomp of war
The cannons roar from fortress-tower;
When Empress-Queen of all the North
Hath given birth to royal heir;
Or when the people celebrate
Some conquest fresh on battle-field;
Or when her bonds of ice once more
The Neva, rushing free, upheaves,
The herald sure of spring's rebirth.

'Fair city of the hero, hail!
Like Russia, stand unmoved and firm!
And let the elements subdued
Make lasting peace with thee and thine.
Let angry Finnish waves forget
Their bondage ancient and their feud;
Nor let them with their idle hate
Disturb great Peter's deathless sleep!'

COSSACKS OF THE GUARD AND IMPERIAL BODYGUARD

COSSACKS OF THE GUARD AND IMPERIAL BODYGUARD

CHAPTER VIII

ST. PETERSBURG SOCIETY

Peter the Great's bureaucracy—Foreign influence—Government departments and official titles—Merchants—Hospitality—Social and political life—Court balls and ceremonies.

THE development of St. Petersburg society has been so powerfully influenced by the stamp of officialdom and bureaucracy first set upon it by Peter the Great, that, in order to understand its real character, we must again invoke the shade of the great reformer. His famous ukase compelling all persons of noble or gentle birth to serve the State, had very far-reaching effects on Russian life in general, and particularly on the formation of society in St. Petersburg. Those members of the superior classes who were unable to join the army were called upon to enter the Civil Service, which Peter organized on the plan suggested to him by the German philosopher Leibnitz. According to this system the government of the country was not carried on by individual ministers, but by

colleges or boards of administrators, and their transformation into the modern ministries was fully effected only in 1802. The present home of the University on the Vasiliefsky Ostroff was the original head-quarters of this organization, and the long red front of that building still shows the twelve architectural distinctions, which corresponded with the number of the so-called colleges.

Peter employed the most drastic measures against those who attempted to avoid becoming officers or *tchinovniks.** He even went so far as to threaten them with branding. The consequence was that all the gentry, who, until quite recent years, represented the one intelligent element of the population, were marshalled into the ranks of the Government service, and taken away from private enterprise. It is true that, under Peter III. or Catherine II., the compulsion in this matter was abolished, but what had once been a law had now become a fashion, and any other callings than those of an officer or an official came to be looked upon as unbecoming the position of a gentleman. This is the case, to a great extent, even at the present day. It is impossible to estimate the evil done by Peter in thus checking the development of the

* *Tchin* = rank, grade.

natural resources of the Empire, for Russia then had no class of merchants to speak of, and the peasantry were in a state of serfdom, which precluded them from following any other career than that of tilling the land of their masters.

This system determined in an unmistakable manner the aspect of St. Petersburg society, developing it on quite different lines from those followed by the evolution of society in Moscow. There has always been a striking contrast in this and other respects between the old and new capitals. Moscow is Russia's commercial centre, and the merchant is a characteristic type of its leading class. St. Petersburg is a city of Government servants, civil and military, the great bureaucratic chancery of the Empire. There is hardly a street in it of any size or importance that does not contain one or more Government buildings or regimental barracks.

The influence of foreigners, who were the allies of the great Tsar in recasting Russia, has given to St. Petersburg the appearance of a foreign city. Until quite recently the principal commercial firms were foreign, and the real Russian merchant scarcely penetrated to the banks of the Neva. Owing to the impetus given by Peter the

Great, and to the fact that the Empire was ruled through a great part of the eighteenth century by sovereigns of foreign birth and extraction, the upper classes of society became in a great measure 'foreignized' in their predilections and outward habits. Everything was placed on a foreign basis. Few other cities in the world could vie with St. Petersburg in the matter of foreign institutions. The Press and the Drama were also established under alien influence, which has not even yet disappeared. There is still a French theatre, maintained out of the funds of the Imperial Court, and two foreign daily newspapers supported by the Imperial Government. The *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, in French, is the semi-official organ of the Russian Foreign Office, and the *St. Petersburger Zeitung*, in German, still bears the Imperial Arms on its title-page, in token of its official origin. Both journals have the privilege of drawing revenue from the publication of judicial notices and advertisements.

In spite of a repeatedly professed resolve to introduce measures of decentralization, the Government has, nevertheless, become more and more centralized, and the number of officials has in consequence been increased. It would probably

COURT BALL

The Emperor leading the Empress through the ball-room

be no exaggeration to say that they now number very many thousands.

St. Petersburg society is deeply interested in Government departments and official titles. This interest is manifested in the existence of a numerous class of 'attachés' to different ministries, whose occupation, if any, may be anything but the performance of official duties. One seldom meets a man of moderate education and position who does not possess some Civil Service rank. If an Englishman's dream is a title, a Frenchman's the red ribbon of the Legion d'Honneur, it may be said that the ambition of a Petersburgian Russian is to obtain the rank of Actual State Councillor, which confers upon him the privileges of hereditary nobility, and the right of being addressed as 'Excellency.' It has become common to meet merchants, traders, directors of banks, and industrial managers with the Civil Service titles of 'college secretary,' or councillor, and other grades of Peter's table of ranks. This feature pertains, more or less, to all classes of Russians, excepting the humble peasantry, but it pervades St. Petersburg society to a degree unknown in other parts of the Empire. The great merchant families of Moscow are represented, as a rule, by men who remain true to the

original calling of their fathers. In St. Petersburg, on the contrary, the sons of considerable merchants are pretty sure to be found abandoning the business of their sires in order to take to scribbling in some Government department.

Russian bureaucracy, be it said, is highly democratic. Among the actual bureaucrats—that is to say, the officials actually employed in the various departments—are to be met Princes and Counts belonging to the best families of the realm side by side with the sons of the humblest class of the community. These latter are the 'sons of cooks,' whose accession to the privileges of education gave so much uneasiness to the late M. Katkoff, the famous editor of the *Moscow Gazette*.

As already indicated, the type of a St. Petersburg merchant is a foreigner, or a Russian subject of alien race. In fact, a great part of the Vasiliefsky Ostroff—Vasili, or Basil Island—is populated chiefly by foreigners engaged in commerce, and foreign speech, mostly German, may be heard on all sides. This important district abounds in many other details of foreign urban life, such as German beer-houses, and German shops of every description; and if it were not for the majestic buildings of the Academies of Science and Arts, and the historical

mansion of Prince Menshikoff, the present location of the Cadet Corps, on the one hand, and the labourers and droshky drivers on the other, a man of vivid imagination might easily fancy that he was in a German town.

There are not many very wealthy people in St. Petersburg, judging according to English ideas. Circumstances and conditions do not favour the accumulation of riches on any very extensive scale. The remuneration of a Russian official is not very high, and life and amusements in the capital are very expensive. Nevertheless, the Russian will have his pleasures at any cost, and he strongly objects to economy and thrift. Many Russian social usages in general have, of course, been adopted in St. Petersburg, the most agreeable of them all being a very generous hospitality. A Russian is always glad to entertain a guest. Improvised visits, therefore, without any previous invitation, form one of the most characteristic traits of Russian life. Absence of social ceremony is the keynote among the middle classes. From this point of view there is great freedom in St. Petersburg society, and for that matter in Russian society in general. Russian social life has hitherto been free and unconventional inversely to its want of political

liberty. Having been debarred from all political life, the Russians have devoted their best energies to really enjoying themselves socially. The author hesitates to consider the possible changes which may eventually result from the present transitory period of dawning political freedom; but although Russia has now been placed in a very fair way towards coming up level with Western nations in the matter of political institutions, yet one can still go to a theatre in St. Petersburg in a morning coat or any other decent attire and present tickets for boxes or stalls without any risk of being turned away at the doors. And if you are invited to an ordinary dinner and omit to put on evening dress, your host and hostess, as well as any other guests, will probably be all the more pleased with you on that very account. This, of course, would not apply to comparatively small aristocratic circles, where foreign manners and customs have become a second nature. The English custom of dressing for dinner may also be gradually spreading, but to the ordinary educated Russian evening dress is still more a civilian's uniform in which to pay official visits, generally early in the morning, attend great ceremonies, and make formal calls at Easter and on New Year's Day.

EASTER DAY

Presenting Easter Eggs.

EASTER DAY
Presenting Easter eggs

The events of 1905 and the two following years have had their effect on the life of St. Petersburg. A unanimous outcry for reform has been the result, and the 'renovation' of Russia has become the watchword of a new era. All classes now understand the power and the methods of organization. New parties and factions are constantly springing up both inside and outside of the Dooma. If it were not for the severe restrictions put upon trade and professional unions, St. Petersburg, as well as the country at large, would swarm with these and similar combinations. The normal articles of association allowed by the Government for all such bodies debar them from touching on politics in the remotest way. Unfortunately, few of them are able to avoid altogether this forbidden ground, and the least thing which can be construed into a tendency in the wrong direction is immediately seized upon as a justification for cutting short their existence. The well-known Literary Fund of St. Petersburg, for example, was recently suppressed simply for having given alms or a small pension to the distressed families of one or two Socialists.

Public attention, which was formerly almost entirely engrossed in social scandal and gossip, is

now kept occupied by politics, political duels, intrigues, and quarrels. Social life is also enlivened in a new way during the winter months by parliamentary receptions and political dinners. Even the droshky driver and the *moozhik* have begun to read their daily paper. The newspaper press and publishers generally have not been slow in taking advantage of the altered situation to deluge the city with cheap and sensational literature. There is now a popular political journal called the *Kopeck*, which, as its name implies, is being sold for the amazingly low price of a kopeck, or one farthing, per number. Its increasing circulation has already reached a quarter of a million copies daily. This probably beats the world's record of cheap and enterprising journalism.

Another very remarkable change has come over the scene in regard to the Imperial Grand Dukes, who have quite lost their former predominance, and have completely disappeared from public view. On the other hand, the agrarian disorders and plundering of provincial mansions have led to the sale of estates in the interior, and the settlement of many former landlords in St. Petersburg.

The prolonged absence of the Imperial Court

from St. Petersburg has been a great loss to society and trade. One almost begins to forget the brilliant Court ceremonies and entertainments which used to be the chief attraction of the fashionable season in the Russian capital. These, however, will soon be resumed on their traditional scale of magnificence, when the Imperial Family return to take up residence in town again, instead of continuing to pass the winters in retirement at Tsarskoe Selo.

It is the custom of the Tsar to open the season in January by a grand ball in the great halls of the Winter Palace. This first ball is generally attended by some 2,000 persons. All the men present, with perhaps one or two exceptions, display the most gorgeous and varied uniforms, which glitter with a dazzling assortment of orders and decorations, while the ladies wear on their heads the old Russian *kokoshnik*, ornamented with pearls. There is no Court dress for civilians who have no rank, and a solitary example of black evening dress in the midst of such a showy multitude is at once a very conspicuous object. Then follow, during the period beginning with the New Year and ending with Lent, a whole series of Court festivities, at each of which there is a diminished number of

guests. The selection is made by confining the invitations each time to officials of higher rank and position, until only the very highest dignitaries are, as a rule, asked to the last parties of the season. On all these occasions, and especially at the great balls, their Imperial Majesties lead off the dancing in a stately manner, as shown in one of the illustrations in this volume. Afterwards, at supper-time, when the great assembly has been accommodated in groups at round tables in the midst of a profusion of palms and flowers, the Emperor leaves the table, at which His Majesty sups with the Empress and other members of his family, and walks through the immense halls to see that all his guests are comfortably seated and served. When the vast company disperses after midnight, many of the departing guests pluck flowers from the tables as souvenirs of the evening. These festive gatherings round the Imperial Family, as well as the different *sorties* and military parades inside and outside the palace, are magnificent spectacles.

One of the most picturesque of such ceremonies is that of the Blessing of the Waters on January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany, which takes place in a temporary pavilion, erected on the edge of the Neva, right in front of the Winter Palace. Here,

BLESSING THE NEVA

Emperor and Metropolitan at the blessing of the water of the Neva on the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6 (old style)

surrounded by white-robed priests, and soldiers with all the colours of the regiments in garrison, the Tsar witnesses the immersion of the Metropolitan's cross in the river through a hole cut in the thick ice. His Majesty is then supposed to take a drop of the water thus consecrated.

Many years ago, when Nicholas II. was heir-apparent, his English tutor, the late Mr. Charles Heath, ventured to remonstrate with His Imperial Highness for wishing to drink raw water on one of these occasions, in view of the contamination of the Neva, in the opinion of Russian doctors. But there is another danger connected with this ceremony, and that is on account of long exposure, without movement, to the extreme cold, which nearly always prevails at this time of the winter. Everybody present, including the Sovereign and the crowds kept at a distance by the police, have to remain bareheaded the whole time. The ceremonial is a long one, and full parade uniform has to be worn, if possible, without overcoats. For these reasons the Imperial ladies and foreign diplomatists look on from behind double windows in the comfortable warmth of the Winter Palace. Some persons have been known to wear wigs on this occasion as a substitute for their caps. It was at one of these

ceremonies that Peter the Great caught the final cold which brought on his death. The great reformer had already contracted a severe chill while rescuing drowning sailors at the mouth of the river, and yet with his customary determination he insisted upon going out to the Blessing of the Waters. The consequence was that he immediately afterwards took to his bed, and never got up again. Such drawbacks there certainly are to some of the outdoor functions; but, to sum up the life of the Court as a whole, it may be truly said that Russian Imperial ceremony and hospitality are provided on a lavish and gigantic scale, and in a setting of luxury and splendour such as cannot be surpassed, or perhaps even equalled, by any other Court in Europe.

CHAPTER IX

ST. PETERSBURG 'HURRYING UP'

Its insalubrity—Impending sanitation—Contaminated water—Increased activity—Electric trams—Police and traffic—Changes and improvements—Shops—Sports.

For reasons mentioned in the preceding chapter, many changes have been going on in St. Petersburg since the beginning of the new century. Russia's breakdown in the Far East, and her 'liberating movement' at home, imparted a stimulus to developments which were previously held in check, and the effects of these are now becoming more and more manifest.

But of all the changes now taking place, or yet to come, none can compare in vital importance for St. Petersburg with the proposed work of sanitation, which is the one thing above all others needed in the interest of public health on the banks of the Neva. At last the city of Peter the Great is really destined to be endowed with the advantages of an up-to-date system of drainage and a good supply

of pure water. Since reference was made to this subject in Chapter VII., and while this book has been passing through the press, the Russian Cabinet of Ministers have introduced a Bill into the State Dooma for obtaining compulsory powers to compel the adoption of these two indispensable requirements of every great modern aggregation of human beings. The preamble of the measure constitutes a severe condemnation of the existing state of things, and an indictment equally severe of the City Dooma for having so long failed to establish a remedy. For instance, it is pointed out that in 1908 the mortality (44,311) exceeded the births (44,133) by 178 cases, and that no less than 19,487 children died under the age of five, or 44 per cent. of the total number of deaths.

The very complexion of the great bulk of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg points to unhealthy conditions of existence. How can a robust look be expected from a population brought up on a swampy, often inundated soil, only three or four feet above sea-level in many places, and which for the past 200 years has been gradually undergoing saturation with all kinds of filth. For this reason the winter is regarded as the healthiest time of the year, when the surface of land and water is frozen

A RUSSIAN WET NURSE

A RUSSIAN WET NURSE

hard, and the microbes are rendered less active. The case is made worse by the fact of the water-supply being contaminated at its very source. One fails to understand how it could ever have been supposed that the water would be anything else but contaminated if taken out, as it is at present, from a part of the River Neva within the city bounds, where the dirt and refuse from mills, factories, villages, cemeteries, and barges are floated down from up-stream, right over the intake in front of the waterworks. Besides this, the filters constructed in recent years have turned out defective and inadequate, so that they, too, it seems, are now polluted even more than the river itself.

Confronted with ugly facts like these, which have been forced home by the lingering cholera epidemic of 1908-1909, the new constitutional Government has been roused to a sense of responsibility for the health of the Imperial Metropolis, and thanks to the Prime Minister Stolypin the sanitary reform of St. Petersburg is no longer 'beyond the hills,' as the Russian expression goes; it has been raised from the level of merely local interest to the higher plane of questions of national importance. The only drawback to the prospect is the enormous expense which the

work will entail. To begin with, a small loan of 100,000,000 roubles—about three and a quarter times more than the annual municipal budget—will be required, which will have to be paid off by the citizens in the shape of fresh and increased taxation, and this can only tend to make living in the Russian capital more expensive than ever.

St. Petersburg is probably the only city in Europe, or perhaps in the world, where danger-signals in the form of placards with glaring red letters are posted up on house-fronts, inside tramcars, and in most places of public resort, warning all and sundry against drinking raw water. There must be thousands of the inhabitants who have never in their lives tasted ordinary water in a natural state, and never will, for when they find themselves in localities where the water is perfectly pure and wholesome, they still take it only boiled from sheer force of habit and fear. The samovar and kettle are in request from morning till night, and many persons are afraid to wash their faces in water not first boiled. In cholera times free drinks of boiled water may be had from huge boilers wheeled about the streets and from cans, barrels, etc., placed inside and outside certain shops, institutions, at railway-stations, and so forth. In fact, when there is more than

the usual danger from cholera and typhoid, a great deal of the time and energy of the local authorities is expended in trying to make the inhabitants drink boiled water, and keep themselves clean. Nevertheless, the lowest and most ignorant class of the people, especially those coming from the provinces, have the greatest contempt for cholera and for all precautions taken against it. In their humble opinion the scourge is nothing else but the infernal doings of the devil, or the diabolical work of the doctors. A sprinkling of chloride of lime for disinfecting purposes has been taken by Russians of this sort for the cholera in its visible and tangible form. And the author has seen dirty workmen slake their thirst with water dipped out in their greasy caps from the foulest canals of the city, while cautionary notices just described were staring them full in the face only a few yards off. Only education can, of course, gradually change the uncultured habits of the lower orders, but much can be done meanwhile to minimize the evils of their present state of ignorance by the introduction of such sanitary measures as those now decided upon by the Central Government.

Down to the time when the Japanese struck the blow which gave Russia the greatest shock since

the onslaught of the Tartars under Chengis Khan, or the invasion by Napoleon, St. Petersburg continued to go on as usual, lagging far behind all its Western contemporaries. Foreign crazes like bridge, diabolo, and American jig-saw puzzles, caught on fast enough, but the adoption of serious improvements and conveniences of civilization has been a terribly slow process. One had to go to Berlin to get into touch with the real life of Western Europe. St. Petersburg has always had to yield the palm in this respect to the German capital, which so astonished everybody by its rapid and marvellous transformation after the Franco-Prussian War. Unfortunately, Russia, unlike Germany, has never received any milliards of money to spend on the needs of her Northern capital, not even as the result of her most successful campaigns; and the 'City Fathers' of St. Petersburg have never been able to cope successfully with all the difficulties of a rather difficult situation. It may be advanced on their behalf that the civic authority lost its nerve, from the very first, under the overruling influence of the all-powerful Gradonatchalnik,* the 'head' or 'chief of the city,' who, according to old

* *Gorod, grad* = town, city; *natchalnik* = chief, principal.

NEVSKY PROSPECT

Before the days of electric trams

autocratic regulations, may exercise the right of veto and dictation whenever he considers that circumstances call for his interference. The consequence is that the position of a mayor of St. Petersburg, when viewed in the light of that of an English Lord Mayor, or a German Burgomeister, is a relatively insignificant one, and the prestige of the municipal body suffers accordingly. Under the so-called 'temporary' administrative regulations for preserving public order, the Gradonatchalnik still possesses very considerable arbitrary powers, but it is hoped that as soon as the new state of things introduced theoretically by recent constitutional reforms is allowed full scope of action, Russian municipal institutions will be able to play a more independent and important part in the life of the nation.

Apart from the energetic steps taken by the Imperial Government to urge on the City Corporation in the matter of sanitation, St. Petersburg, since the beginning of the latest reform period in 1905, has been 'hurrying up' in many other ways. Persons who have watched it for many years past are conscious that its pulse now beats far quicker than ever it did before. There is no doubt that the establishment in its midst of a legislative assembly

of representatives from all parts of such a vast and diversified Empire as that of Russia has greatly added to the life and animation of the city. Within the last decade, nay, even within the last five years, great changes have come over the aspect of things in the streets. Any observer who remembers what the Neva capital was like only a very few years since cannot fail to be struck with the evident increase of population and activity. Less than ten years ago it could still be said with a certain amount of truth that St. Petersburg consisted of only two main avenues, towards which everybody seemed to gravitate—the Nevsky Prospect and Great Morskaia Street—the Oxford and Regent Streets of the Russian capital. To-day many other important thoroughfares, such as the Sadovaya and Gorokhovaya Streets, and the Litainy, Soovorofsky and Voznesensky Prospects, are equally busy and crowded arteries of traffic. The crowds also have considerably mended their pace, which was formerly a crawling one in comparison with the bustling throngs in other European capitals.

The most remarkable of the new features of outdoor life in St. Petersburg are those resulting from the successful operation of the new electric trams, which, since they began to replace the old

horse traction at the end of 1907, have accelerated locomotion to a degree little short of producing a revolution amongst easy-going pedestrians and careless droshky drivers. They seem to have stimulated the life of the city in general. They are also enabling the population to spread out wider afield, away from the congested and expensive centre, for the sake of cheaper house accommodation. The city, which, without its suburbs, covers an area of about forty square miles of land and water, is now being supplied in all directions with neatly appointed electric trams. Only a few of the old horse tramcars are still running, while on the lines extending to the remoter outskirts of the city steam-traction has long been in use. The public are taking the fullest advantage of the new method, for it offers the only expeditious means of locomotion combined with cheapness, with the exception of about a dozen motor-buses, there being no overhead metropolitan railway, and, considering the nature of the ground, it is not likely there will ever be any twopenny tubes. During the busy hours of the day the new cars are everywhere overcrowded with strap-hangers, and it is not unusual to see as many as fifty or sixty tramcars at one time along the Nevsky Prospect, a thoroughfare as wide as Portland

Place, running right through the heart of the capital for over two miles.

It was not, however, without considerable sacrifice of life and limb that this improvement in the means of getting about St. Petersburg was effected, for people were knocked down and killed or injured every day for many months until the population had been drilled into the new system of 'hurrying up.' The drivers of the new electric cars had also to be trained not to endanger the lives of the public by giving too much rein to the national temperament for indulging in extremes. Finding that instead of the former exertion of whipping up jaded horses, the mere touch of a small handle sufficed to produce the necessary movement, these men began to send their new electric cars whizzing through the streets at the speed of express trains, and in trying to stop short in front of a droshky or *lomovoi* across the track the passengers inside the car were generally thrown all of a heap, or jerked right off their seats. The casualties and confusion resulting from this innovation led to another novel arrangement, which had never before been seen in systematic operation on Russian streets—namely, the regulation of the traffic by the police. The universal renown of the London constable's uplifted hand had, of course,

A DISH OF TEA FROM A SAMOVAR

The samovar is used in private houses only, and never for workmen in the *traktirs*, or tea-shops of St. Petersburg.

A DISH OF TEA FROM A SAMOVAR

The samovar is used in private houses only, and never for workmen in the *traktirs* or teashops of St. Petersburg

reached St. Petersburg, and it was resolved to attempt something of the kind with the Russian policeman, who, with all his good qualities, was apt to turn away in disgust from any entanglement of traffic, leaving the drivers of colliding vehicles to curse and swear at one another to their hearts' content. But no respect for the mere hand of a policeman in Russia could be expected from a people whose endless struggles against oppressive officialism have taught them to regard its representatives as natural enemies. The passport system alone is enough to account for this unfortunate state of feeling. Any police force in the world having to administer such a system of annoyances, not to say cruelties, would infallibly incur the odium of the public upon whom they were inflicted. So it was decided to give the St. Petersburg policeman standing at important street crossings another symbol of authority in addition to the arsenal of weapons which he already carries on his person. This is a wooden truncheon painted white, of the kind used, the author believes, by the French police in Paris, but first brought out by the old London police as organized in the days of Sir Robert Peel. The Russian *gorodovoi* is now being trained to overawe reckless drivers and chauffeurs by holding

this staff up before their astonished gaze instead of joining them, as was formerly his wont, in gesticulating and swearing, and occasionally, when nobody in particular was looking in his direction, giving a very impertinent *izvostchik* a 'dig in the ribs' with the hilt of his sword. The latter being loosely slung from the shoulder, he is able at close quarters to use it in this way without taking it out of the scabbard. But the new duty is not yet congenial to him, and he is performing it in a somewhat perfunctory manner. In most cases, however, an officer close by has got him under control, and, with the adaptability of Russian nature, he will soon get accustomed to the innovation. At the same time, this is not all that had to be done to put order into the new evolution of things on the streets. And here came into operation the paramount authority of the Gradonatchalnik, who happened to be the present energetic and capable holder of that office, General Dratchefsky. In his name imperious instructions, threats of condign punishment, orders of arrest, and lists of fines, often amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of roubles a week, were launched forth from the Prefecture daily. Only in this way can proper respect be secured for new regulations in

Russia. A simple police notice with 'By order' written at the bottom would produce no effect whatever.

Other remarkable changes and improvements have signalized the first few years of the new political era. For one thing, there has been a great extension of electric lighting and the use of other bright illuminants, although in the suburbs and on the edges of the city kerosene is still used in many of the streets. All the principal thoroughfares are now brilliantly lighted at night, and, weather permitting, present a very gay and lively appearance. In winter the effect is heightened by the reflection from the snow and the frequent flashing of blue sparks from the overhead conductors as the contact rods of the tramcars slide along them. On the other hand, the character of winter locomotion has been modified in another way not so pleasing. St. Petersburg has been the last of great European cities to be invaded on an extensive scale by motor carriages, taxi-cabs, and other motor vehicles, which, together with the electric tramways, have simply transformed it in the cold season from a quiet into a noisy city. Formerly every kind of conveyance, with few exceptions, was put upon runners in the winter, and not a sound was to be heard as the

sledges glided noiselessly over the hard snow-covered roads. All this is now being rapidly changed by the latest application of modern motive power. Unfortunately it is not possible to make a motor sledge without wheels, and even if it were, we should still have the noise of the other appliances of the motor vehicle. In short, the buzzing and rushing of electric tramcars, the throbbing of motors and snorting and piping of motor-horns and whistles, have become almost as great a nuisance in St. Petersburg as they are in the older cities of the West.

Another notable development, adding to the architectural embellishment of the two principal streets and to the advantage of the community in other respects, has taken place of late in the insurance and banking businesses of St. Petersburg, the increasing prosperity of which may be inferred from the construction of many handsome and palatial buildings for office accommodation, in spite of revolutionary troubles and "expropriations." Nevertheless, as the outlying portions of the town are approached, we may still see large numbers of wretched old wooden houses of 100 years ago, jammed in, as it were, between the larger modern buildings of brick and stucco.

PUBLIC SLEDGE, HALFPENNY FARE

A variation has also begun to show itself in the peculiar tendency of St. Petersburg to multiply indefinitely the enormous number of its small and badly aired shops, many of them having their floors much below the level of the pavement. Nothing gives such a good idea of the addictedness of the Russians to small trading, and of their lack of the enterprise necessary to build up large retail businesses, as the great extent of the petty shopkeeping still carried on in St. Petersburg. Had it not been for Imperial prohibitions against trading in some of the more aristocratic parts of the city in the early days of its existence, there would probably not be a single house or street to-day without some kind of small shop. As it is, there are few houses and streets without them. One or two big firms, like Elisayeff Brothers and Tcherepenikoff, have long been famous as very large dealers in all kinds of fruit and native and foreign dainties, but the creation of a Russian Maple, Shoolbred, Waring, or Peter Robinson, seems at present to be rather a remote possibility. Still, as already mentioned, there are signs of a change in this respect. It would seem that capital is beginning to find its way into retail trading, as a number of large stylish establishments, and one or two huge stores, espe-

cially one belonging to the Army and Navy Co-operative Society, have lately sprung into existence.

A walk in the streets, after an absence of about five years, discloses also an extraordinary development of much-patronized cinematograph shows and cafés, the latter being a business in which St. Petersburg was, until quite recently, very deficient. There is, furthermore, the introduction of the English system of pictorial bill-posting, with many of the posters evidently printed after English models, which is a novelty for St. Petersburg, where public advertising is still in its infancy. St. Petersburg has also only just made acquaintance with the "sandwich-man" and the shoeblack, the latter plying his craft only during the summer months, as boots are kept clean in winter by the wearing of goloshes. For some reason or other, before the revolutionary outbreak, every attempt to establish these two street occupations ended in failure.

Last, but not least, reference must not be omitted to the great growth of interest in gymnastics and outdoor sport, taking into account, of course, the difficulties of climate and the long northern winters. St. Petersburg has been inoculated with this interest chiefly by Englishmen and Swedes, and only persons intimately acquainted with Russian life can

understand what it spells in the way of change of habits among the younger generation in such enervating conditions as those prevailing in St. Petersburg. A certain number of the inhabitants have always been partial to hunting and shooting in a very comfortable fashion over the surrounding country, being cordially joined in this by the numerous German residents. Skating and snow-shoeing have also increased, but the St. Petersburg Russian has generally been averse to unnecessary exertion of any kind. It is not a little surprising, therefore, to see great excitement over football matches between the large number of clubs and school teams organized for this game which have lately come into existence, and the great attention given to their doings by the native press. In fact most British games, except cricket, are now coming into fashion. This is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that not many years since football and cricket matches played by members of the British colony in St. Petersburg were regarded with astonishment, and referred to with derision by Russian parents and schoolboys. The war with Japan and contact with the practitioners of jiu-jitsu have changed all that. Wrestling matches are now very popular.

CHAPTER X

TYPES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ST. PETERSBURG

Peasant element—Migration into and out of the city—Summer workmen—Barracks and Government buildings—Working population—Lomovoi—Izvostchik—Dvornik—Policeman.

THE great capitals of Europe have now become so much alike in all the chief manifestations of city life and activity that the foreign traveller from one to the other, once he has noticed the racial differences between their respective inhabitants, is rarely struck by any other remarkable peculiarities. He finds similar fashions in dress, similar vehicles, and much the same manners and customs in all of them. St. Petersburg, however, has not yet gone quite as far as this along the lines of modern uniformity. It still exhibits characteristics of another world existing outside, although the immediate aim of its foundation over 200 years ago was precisely to make it a model European city, and through its influence to Europeanize Russia. Survivals of a more remote and ruder state of things

A RUSSIAN SERVANT IN SUMMER DRESS

A RUSSIAN SERVANT IN SUMMER DRESS

have not all been swept away by the spurt of progress and improvement during the last few years. The immense inert mass of peasantry in the far-reaching provinces, from which the strength of St. Petersburg is continually recruited, were too much for the enterprise of a single reformer, although a man of such commanding genius and energy as Peter the Great. The drastic measures and expeditious methods which that great sovereign employed to make his subjects look and act like other Europeans had no effect upon the conservative peasant. Peter was only able to cut off the beards and trailing skirts of his courtiers and officials, and in general to remodel the manners of the old boyars. He did this pretty effectually for the upper classes, because they were too small in number and too closely interested to offer any effective resistance; but he was naturally quite unable to reform the millions of stolid peasantry, whose descendants to-day continue to leaven the results of his work in St. Petersburg by constituting over 60 per cent. of its total population. The number of inhabitants of the peasant category in 1900, at the time of the last census, was 61 per cent. People of this class visit the city for temporary employment, or they settle there as traders, petty shopkeepers, salesmen,

drivers, carters, domestic servants (the latter alone being computed at about 200,000 persons), porters, dockers, workmen and labourers of all kinds, and also beggars.

A great change has come over the predilections of this class of Russians since the results of their emancipation began to induce them to desert their wretched villages in favour of St. Petersburg, where so many of them find early graves. In the first years of the capital the severest pains and penalties had to be enforced to deter them from running away after they had been brought into the city under compulsion; now nothing can keep them from gravitating towards it in ever increasing numbers. The rapid growth of the population of St. Petersburg is mainly due to this influx of the rural element. According to the municipal census ten years ago, the inhabitants who had come from the provinces constituted 69 per cent. of the population, so that less than one third of the citizens were native born.

There is also an annual migratory movement in connection with St. Petersburg which is peculiar. It is calculated that some 100,000 workmen of the peasant class come into the city regularly every spring, and leave it every autumn. These are the

bricklayers, masons, carpenters, plasterers, and other handicraftsmen, mostly in the building trades, who come to work on new houses and to repair old ones, which in many cases have suffered from the severities of the northern winters. They may be seen any summer evening tramping in straggling crowds along the main thoroughfares, going to their short night's rest in holes and corners which serve them as lodgings in the densely populated Alexander Nevsky and Rozjdestvensky wards. Or glimpses of them may be had through the windows of *traktirs*, or tea-houses, where these workmen sip weak tea and listen to the gramophone. As a rule, the police keep them to the roadways, when they appear in any numbers, on account of their clothes, which are often mere rags covered with the dirt of their work, and perhaps also because of the unpleasant odour from Russians of this class. It occasionally happens that perfumes have to be used after them in rooms and palaces, especially in winter, when it is too cold outside to air the apartments by opening the windows. And yet the Russian workman, in one respect, is very clean. He generally goes once a week to a public bath, where he scalds himself in the steaming chamber, and he may also have his body thrashed

with birch twigs until his skin becomes the colour of a boiled lobster. This is a kind of massage, of very ancient origin, and peculiar to Russia in combination with the popular bath. The only objectionable circumstance is that the peasant or labourer wears the same clothes until they get too dirty, and somehow or other he cannot be induced to keep them the least bit clean.

As the workmen trudge to and from their occupations many of them may be seen carrying in their girdles their beloved axes, the favourite Russian implement, with which a peasant can make almost anything in wood without any other tool, from a log hut down to a child's toy. Being a denizen of a woody country, the Russian is naturally skilful in all manner of practical wood-work. The writer has seen a perfectly going wooden watch made by a Russian peasant, with the mechanism all of wood excepting the springs.

The nomadic character of a great many of these 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' may be verified by a visit to any one of the four big railway stations late in the autumn, when large crowds of rough and grimy peasants day after day besiege the ticket offices, and sit about for hours on their

OFFICER AND SENTINEL

dirty bundles, waiting for cheap trains to take them back to their villages.

An event contributing towards this movement into and out of the capital is the annual gathering of recruits at the different military stations. The conscripts of St. Petersburg city and province are sorted out every November in the large military riding-schools, and after having had their backs chalked like so many cattle, to indicate the regiments to which they have been allotted, they are marched off triumphantly through the streets to their respective barracks, headed by lively military music.

The large garrison of St. Petersburg, some 20,000 or 30,000 strong, has recently been the subject of discussion in the native Press with regard to the advisability of removing the many barracks, which occupy so much valuable space, to some suitable locality outside the city. This would allow of cheap and decent housing accommodation being provided for the poorer classes, who are very much in need of it. There are barracks and military schools in nearly all parts of St. Petersburg. Many streets are almost entirely taken up by them. In one part of the city, where the Izmailofsky guards are quartered, a whole series of

streets are named *roti*,* and numbered after the different companies of that regiment. In order to give the reader an idea as to how far there is justification for the view that St. Petersburg is a 'city of barracks and Government offices,' it will suffice to quote the following figures, showing the estimated value of house property on the banks of the Neva. Government and official buildings are valued altogether at 876 million roubles, private buildings at 936 million, and municipal buildings at 140 million roubles. Therefore the value of buildings belonging to the Government is over 45 per cent. of the total.

There is also a migration of factory hands and other workers into St. Petersburg for winter employment, and out of it again in spring for field labour. If these men remained all the time in their snowed-up villages, they would do little else but sleep on their brick stoves at home. Of course, there is likewise a permanent factory population, for St. Petersburg is now one of the largest industrial cities in the world. These permanent workers in mills and factories are the men whom the ill-fated priest, Father Gapon, made use of, and who helped the revolutionists to

* *Rota* = company, squad of soldiers.

bring matters to a political crisis in 1905. Their places of abode are principally along the banks of the upper stream of the Neva, among the many large mills and works in the outskirts of the city. They present a very ugly and forbidding appearance when seen in large crowds, and they continue to give the authorities no little anxiety in regard to the future. The total number of factory workers in St. Petersburg and its surroundings cannot be far short of 200,000, and with their families there are probably about 400,000 persons, which is about one-fifth of the entire population.

The industrial and trading importance of St. Petersburg being such as it is, one would expect to find it furnished with the best means of transport, quite apart from the gradual 'motorization' of its traffic in common with other European cities. As a matter of fact, leaving out of account a few commercial motor vans and lorries recently introduced, the conveyances still widely used for the carriage of heavy goods are of the most nondescript and antediluvian kind. Some of them look as though they might have been introduced by the Huns, or any other barbarian invaders of the early centuries. They are all inseparably associated with one of the four principal

street types of St. Petersburg—the *lomovoi izvóstchik*, or carter. The other three types, the *legkovoi izvóstchik*, or droshky driver, the *dvornik*, or yard porter, and the *gorodovoi*, or policeman, will be referred to subsequently.

The *lomovoi izvóstchik* is not much seen in places like the Nevsky Prospect, or the Palace Quay, for in such fashionable quarters he is prohibited as a nuisance; but off the central thoroughfares you may see any number of his class with their small loads on very strange and dirty wheeled contrivances, slowly wending their way in Eastern caravan fashion, and interfering considerably with the rest of the traffic, especially with anybody in a hurry. Their *telyegi*, or carts, if they may be dignified with the name, consist of one or two beams laid across a couple of axletrees fitted with two small and two larger wheels. Goods are roped straight on to this primitive conveyance, or it supports a detached and very rough sort of receptacle like a trough, or a box, which is simply pushed over into the road when the contents have to be unloaded. On sledge roads in winter these superstructures are simply placed on runners. Like other Russian vehicles of peasant origin, the shafts are fastened or lashed to the axles or boxes of the

wheels, and the other ends of the shafts are made fast to the inevitable *doogá*, which arches over the horse's head. There is no seat for the driver, who either walks at the side, or else lies down on his load and often sleeps on it, while his miserable-looking horse instinctively follows behind its companions. As Russians colonize only in whole villages, never as isolated individuals, so also the *lomovoi*, with his cart, never moves alone if he can possibly help it. He believes strongly in the virtue and safety of numbers, and goes through the streets, as a rule, in one long file of fifty or more together.

These Russian carters present a typical scene when they stop in some by-street to get their half-pint bottles of *vodka*, or gin, at one of the Government spirit stores. Not being allowed to drink it on the premises, they toss off the gin in the street, and return the empty bottles to the shopman. Having first removed the sealing-wax from the cork, the latter is made to fly out by a smart rap with the flat of the hand on the bottom of the bottle, and the contents are then poured down the gullet with the head held back without once pausing to take breath. Russians of the educated classes also have a peculiar way of taking

vodka, which they literally throw down their throats out of small liqueur glasses, in order to enjoy the effects of it without having the taste.

The most conspicuous of all the types of street-life in St. Petersburg is the *legkovoi izvóstchik*,* the Russian cabman, more commonly called simply *izvóstchik*. He is generally the first to attract the stranger's attention, for he lies in wait for all new-comers at every available point, and thrusts the offer of his services upon them with persevering insistence. Formerly he and his competitors used to surround you at railway stations, theatres, etc., pull at your coat-sleeves, and argue with you in the most persuasive manner. This habit of pestering foot passengers at such close quarters is now seldom indulged in, as the police regulations warn the *izvóstchik* off the pavements, and compel him to keep to his seat. The droshky, on which he sits and waits in every street (there being no regular cab-ranks), is a small barouche, or victoria, with more of a pony than a horse in the shafts. In its present form, with rubber tyres and lifting hood for rainy weather, it presents a great improvement on what it was twenty-five years ago, when George Augustus Sala described it as a perambulator on

* *Lyogki* = light, easy. *Vozeet* = to convey, carry.

four wheels, built for one and a half, and licensed for two, with a *moojick* on the box driving like a London costermonger. But although the droshky is thus being gradually modernized, thanks to continual presssure from the police authorities, its driver, the *izvóstchik*, still remains a peasant from the country, utterly indifferent to all progress. More change has taken place in his droshky in the course of a few years than in the whole race of *izvóstchiks* for the past century or more. The political reforms which have bestirred other classes have left him unmoved, and he seems to be resigning himself to the prospect of being superseded by electric trams, taxi-cabs, and other self-propelling vehicles. At the worst, however, he will simply go back to his fields, for, like most other members of the working-classes in St. Petersburg, he keeps up his connection with the land, and probably sends a part of his earnings to his family in the village. As regards outward appearance, he continues to wrap himself from head to foot, over and above his other clothes, in the same kind of *armyak*,* of dark blue cloth that was worn by his predecessors in the earliest years of the Russian capital, with a red

* *Armyak* = very long, wide-skirted, and collarless peasant's overcoat.

or green band round the waist, and his legs and feet are so completely swathed in the ample folds of this strange garment that he is quite incapable of exercising any agility in case of danger. He is in a still more difficult position if his horse runs away while he is sitting with one or both of his legs in the well of his sledge, which takes the place of the droshky in winter. But this applies more to the private coachman, whose splendid high-mettled trotter is far more likely to bolt than the weakly, jaded horse of the public *izvóstchik*. And then, the coachman of a rich master, by reason of the traditional ideal, according to which he is generally selected and to which he endeavours to conform, is much too bulky to be capable of any great exertion on an emergency. This ideal requires that the perfect Russian coachman should be very stout and massive, with a fine full beard, and a very broad back to shelter the persons sitting behind him in the sledge from wind and snow. He is also swaddled in the *armyak*, and when wearing fur beneath it in winter his portly form assumes enormous proportions.

The only change in the original costume of both coachman and *izvóstchik* in modern times has been in their headgear, their present summer hat resem-

COACHMEN OF NEVSKY PROSPECT

Izvóstchiks soliciting fares on the Nevsky Prospect

bling that of the Yeomen of the Guard, or Beefeaters, minus the trimmings, and with the brims very much curled up at the sides. In the case of the ordinary *izvóstchik* this hat is generally somewhat battered, and, like the rest of his dress, rather dirty. The only wonder is that his whole turn-out is not in a worse state, considering the horribly squalid condition in which he lives. He is a careless and sometimes reckless driver, and occasionally slashes the passenger behind him across the face with the ends of his reins or the thong of his short whip, in throwing the one or the other back over his shoulder so as to take a better aim at his horse. He is also an inveterate bargainer, and feels offended if you refuse to go beyond the tax fixed by the police. The Emperor Paul once had all droshky drivers expelled from St. Petersburg on account of some important person having been run over. On the whole, however, the *izvóstchik*, with all his failings, is a good-humoured, unsophisticated Russian, and one who is exposed to more rigours of climate and weather, probably, than any other member of his calling in the world.

A still more curious factor of Russian life on the banks of the Neva has now to be described. You may stay in any of the half-dozen cosmopolitan

hotels of St. Petersburg, and hardly be aware that you are living in Russia, but if you lodge in a private house or hired apartment, the *dvornik* is pretty sure to remind you sooner or later of the country in which you are residing. You cannot get away from the *dvornik*, who is a type quite unique, not as a man, or a Russian, for he belongs to the same great peasant class as the *izvóstchik* and the carter, but he is altogether peculiar with regard to the strange combination of duties which he undertakes to perform.

Every house must have its *dvornik*, and every head *dvornik* has, at least, one or two assistants. As the word implies, the *dvornik** is keeper of the house-yard; in reality he looks after the entire house as well, and is, in fact, a sort of house policeman. There is no house without one or more of these court-yards, where the contents of cesspools (as long as there is no drainage) are periodically removed in carts, and logs of firewood are daily chopped up to be delivered to the occupants of the different flats. The *dvornik* attends to all this, and much more besides. He not only does the dirty work of the house, being paid therefor by a monthly wage exacted from each of the tenants, but he does the

* *Dvor* = yard, court.

dirty work also of the police, who are his immediate and absolute masters. All passports of the inmates of the house must pass through his hands to the police, and he is constantly 'writing you in' and 'writing you out' at the police-station, and claiming various small gratuities for the trouble and annoyance that he gives. Early every morning he is bound to report personally to the chief police officer of his district, and woe betide him if he fails to disclose anything suspicious or unlawful about the behaviour or doings of the lodgers which subsequently turns out to be serious. Of course, a *dvornik*, we may suppose, can hardly be blamed if the head of the Russian detective force gets blown to pieces in a private lodging by a man whom he deliberately visits, knowing that his host is connected with the revolutionists, and with the purpose of trying to use him as a cat's-paw to catch other conspirators.

In addition to all this, the *dvornik* is an understudy of the policeman in the street. A Russian constable never takes anyone whom he arrests to the police-station if he can possibly help it; he always calls up a *dvornik* to do that unpleasant duty for him, so as not to be absent from his post. The *dvornik* and his assistants have also to take turns in standing or sitting at the gateway of the

yard and in front of the house day and night, especially at night, with brass badges and numbers on their breasts, and watching everybody who goes in and out. On all occasions of crowds in the streets the *dvorniks* have to render assistance to the police, and obey the latter's orders. They have, further, to keep the roadway clean in front of their domicile, and make themselves generally useful. The dens—for they can be called nothing else—in which they live in the yards are mostly half, or quite, underground. It is calculated that, with more than 30,000 houses in St. Petersburg, besides mills, factories, etc., there is an army of about 90,000 of these uncouth peasants, who, without any training whatever, virtually control the indoor organization of the Russian capital.

The *dvornik's* immediate superior, the *gorodovoi*,* or policeman, deserves honourable mention on account of the great dangers which he braved during the extraordinary outbreak of 'expropriation,' indiscriminate murder, and hooliganism three years ago. Hundreds, if not thousands, of policemen all over Russia were then killed and injured, and those of St. Petersburg came in for their full share of suffering. One of the surviving effects of

* From *gorod* = town.

THE FROZEN-MEAT MARKET

THE FROZEN-MEAT MARKET

that period of jacquerie may still be seen when money is being conveyed from the State Bank or the Mint. A troop of cavalry with drawn swords and armed policemen on bicycles surround the waggons carrying the coins or notes, and no one is allowed to come within reach of the sabres of the escort, which are swung about in a menacing manner if any attempt is made to approach too near to the treasure thus being carted through the streets. And yet the St. Petersburg constable has not been more brutalized, as might be expected, by all that he has had to go through since 1904. On the contrary, he is much less rough, and far more attentive to the general public. He now hesitates to provoke retaliation by too much rudeness towards the lower orders, who are beginning to show signs of a nascent self-respect. It must be admitted in this connection that the police have been severely taught to be civil to the public by the present Gradonatchalnik.

With all this training into civil ways and habits, however, the *gorodovoi* still remains more a soldier than a policemen. His appearance is now more than ever that of a corporal or sergeant in full marching order, with sword, revolver, truncheon, whistle, and, in the case of the police at Tsarskoe

Selo, also with a telephone apparatus in a metal case slung over one shoulder for communicating with headquarters over the telephone-wires in the streets.

Some years ago an attempt was made to make the St. Petersburg policeman more like a civilian guardian of the peace by abolishing the obligation to give the military salute to passing officers, who appear on the streets at almost every step. So much of his attention was taken up by paying this respect to rank and uniform that his proper duties were liable to be neglected at the most critical moments. The inbred instinct was so powerful that, although an imminent danger to himself or some other person might be averted by promptness of action, the St. Petersburg policeman would nevertheless stand to attention and salute before attending to anything else, as soon as he caught sight of an officer. It is impossible to turn him into a servant of the public, especially as long as the latter entertain so little respect for the law and the system which he represents: that would be a complete perversion of the Russian idea of a policeman. His functions have been much narrowed down since the great development of the detective force and the secret police, combined with the gendarmes

—a small army in themselves, and a much-dreaded body of men—who are the executive police in political matters. At present the work of the ordinary police appears to consist entirely in worrying people about passports, regulating the street-traffic in the daytime, and 'running in' drunkards and dissolute females at night.

The St. Petersburg policeman has no beat, and you never see him prying into shop-windows looking after burglars, or trying door-locks at night. He keeps to the roadway as much as possible, as though he felt out of place on the pavement. He is posted at certain points, and only moves about to keep himself warm or from falling asleep. When the thermometer sinks ten degrees below freezing-point log-fires are lighted up in the streets by the ever-useful *dvorniks*, and around these cluster the policemen and *izvóstchiks* to keep themselves from being frozen to death.

CHAPTER XI

FURTHER CHARACTERISTICS

Summer flitting—Winter gaiety—Students—Mixture of races—British Colony—Antiquated survivals.

ST. PETERSBURG completely changes its appearance with the turn of the principal seasons of the year. During the short summer everybody who can, and many who cannot, afford it go to their country villas or estates, and the city is left chiefly to workmen, especially builders and repairers, and to merchants and others connected with shipping. For business people in any way interested in the import and export trades the period of open water and navigation is naturally the busiest time of the year, and this keeps the men in town, but their wives and families are sure all the same to go away like the rest. The exodus of women and children in the summer is so general as to be quite peculiar to St. Petersburg. Other great cities are theoretically 'empty' when society leaves for the country or abroad, but there is no perceptible falling off in the

THE OUTSIDE PORTER

The *dvornik*, or yard-porter, asleep

crowds on all the main thoroughfares to indicate the fact. In St. Petersburg, on the contrary, the effects of the summer flitting at once become apparent in the streets, which are all but empty at hours of the day and evening when in winter they are always most crowded. If there be any large number of people on the street in the height of summer they constitute quite a different kind of public.

As soon as the last snows of winter disappear, and the increasing power of the sun begins to release the Neva from its bonds of ice, a feverish restlessness takes possession of families of all classes, quite like that observable in migratory birds at the change of seasons when confined in cages. All the talk is of the *datcha*, the country house, or of journeys farther afield. The people who most enjoy living in St. Petersburg in winter hate it most in summer. The unhealthy indoor life in winter, with hermetically puttied-up double windows, overheated rooms, and no ventilation worth speaking of—this makes them intolerant of residence there in summer. They long to get away from their winter wrappings and the stifling atmosphere of houses, and to be free to roam about in rural retirement without hats or coats

And nowhere is the return of summer hailed with more delight than in St. Petersburg. It is even officially celebrated by the annual ceremony of opening the navigation of the Neva. As soon as the ice has moved away seaward the first vessel to be launched on the stream is always that of the Commandant of the fortress, who is rowed across the river in his state barge to the Palace under a salute from the guns on the ramparts.

The winter is the gay and festive season, when both the city and its inhabitants undergo a complete transformation in outward appearances, owing to the mantle of snow covering everything, the change from wheeled conveyances to sledges, and the wearing of fur coats and caps. The frozen canals support throngs of merry skaters, gliding over the ice to the strains of military music; some twenty theatres and other places of entertainment are in full swing, headed by the finest Imperial opera and ballet representations in Europe, and night is turned into day. The streets are quite lively at three or four o'clock in the morning, for nowhere else are such late hours so generally indulged in. All goes on beautifully as long as it keeps cold and frosty. A thaw soon spoils everything. The conditions for making winter enjoyable, for instance, in London have to

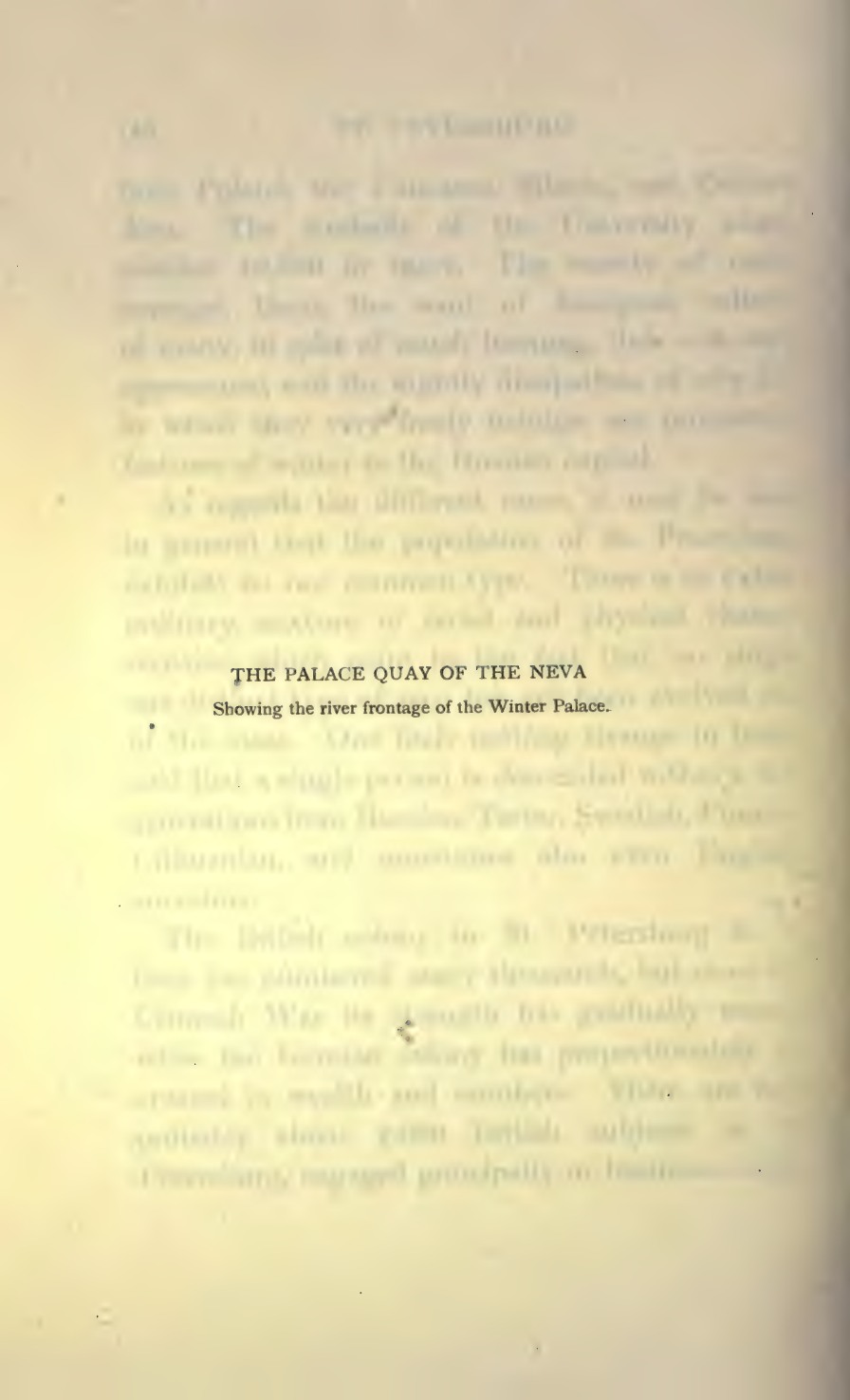
be entirely reversed for a successful winter in St. Petersburg. Instead of a fall of snow interfering with traffic, it only facilitates it. The more snow the better for getting about in sledges, although a very heavy fall of it involves the authorities and private householders in considerable expense for removing it from roofs and yards. Here, again, the useful man-of-all-work, the *dvornik*, is brought into requisition, and it must be admitted that St. Petersburg knows how to deal with its snow. There is one exception, however, which is particularly noticeable when conditions of weather require the roadways to be cleared of caked snow and accumulated filth, and that is their dirty and sometimes almost impassable state in front of many Government buildings and barracks.

St. Petersburg is the educational and intellectual focus of the Russian Empire, and its large number of educational institutions regulate to a very great extent the movements and habits of a vast proportion of the population. When all these institutions close their doors at the beginning of summer, everybody leaves town; when they open again in September, everybody comes back to work and pleasure. Then the city perfectly swarms with students in uniform, including young men from all parts—

from Poland, the Caucasus, Siberia, and Central Asia. The students of the University alone number 10,000 or more. The variety of races amongst them, the want of European culture of many, in spite of much learning, their unkempt appearance, and the nightly dissipations of city life in which they very freely indulge, are prominent features of winter in the Russian capital.

As regards the different races, it may be said in general that the population of St. Petersburg exhibits no one common type. There is an extraordinary mixture of racial and physical characteristics, which point to the fact that no single one distinct type of race has yet been evolved out of the mass. One finds nothing strange in being told that a single person is descended within a few generations from Russian, Tartar, Swedish, Finnish, Lithuanian, and sometimes also even English, ancestors.

The British colony in St. Petersburg in its time has numbered many thousands, but since the Crimean War its strength has gradually waned, while the German colony has proportionately increased in wealth and numbers. There are now probably about 2,000 British subjects in St. Petersburg, engaged principally in business—mills,



THE PALACE QUAY OF THE NEVA

Showing the river frontage of the Winter Palace.

THE PALACE QUAY OF THE NEVA

Showing the river frontage of the Winter Palace

factories, farming, and teaching—and they support charitable institutions, libraries, a well-endowed church, and two Nonconformist chapels. There is also the New English Club, of which the British Ambassador, the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Nicolson, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., is President, and Arthur W. W. Woodhouse, Esq., His Majesty's Consul, is a Vice-President. These able representatives of British interests, worthily seconded by their respective assistants, Councillor of Embassy H. J. O'Beirne, Esq., C.V.O., C.B., and Vice-Consul Cecil Mackie, Esq., take an active part in all that concerns the welfare of the British community, and are doing much to promote the development of British business in Russia.

As already pointed out, St. Petersburg has been losing some of its old characteristics. Nevertheless, there are still many strange survivals side by side with modern innovations. For example, at many places not far from the centre one may see streets which are not a bit better than those of the most out-of-the-way provincial towns, and in some of the outlying parts of the city the commonest kerosene lamps still light the streets at night. Only the principal thoroughfares are decently paved, hexangular blocks of wood being

chiefly used, whilst the other streets are covered with cobble-stones, which used to shake one up horribly when driving over them before the general use of rubber tyres. Fires, too, are still watched for from the tops of wooden towers, and signals are hoisted above them to show the position of a conflagration, although the latest electrical signalling posts have been introduced for communicating with the fire brigade. The firemen also drive with barrels of water to a fire, together with the latest kind of steam fire-engine. Again, alongside the modern public conveyances we have wretched primitive vehicles for passengers which ought to be all destroyed, except one specimen to be kept in the Imperial Carriage Museum as an historical curiosity. A similar contrast of old and new is presented in the matter of bridges. Two handsome bridges have been built across the Neva within the last twenty years, and a third is now under construction; but an old wooden bridge of planks laid on anchored barges still stretches across the river right in front of the Winter Palace, and leads to such important points as the Exchange and the Customs House. This bridge, the planking of which has to be continually renewed, is often raised so high above the level of the banks

in stormy weather that no traffic can pass over it. A number of other wooden bridges unite the different islands of the city.

Another characteristic, which is gradually passing away, probably in proportion to the decrease in the illiterate portion of the population, now about 40 per cent., is the custom of painting pictures of articles sold in shops on their signboards outside. This kind of picture-writing, which was formerly so common on all shop-fronts, is disappearing from the more fashionable streets where articles on sale are now so much better displayed in the shop-windows.

Nothing has been said in this book on the Ermitage and other picture-galleries, museums, exhibitions, and academies, for which St. Petersburg is justly famous, as these have been so fully dealt with by other English writers in various handbooks and guides.

CHAPTER XII

ENVIRONS OF ST. PETERSBURG

Tsarskoe Selo—Pavlovsk—Krasnoe Selo—Peterhoff—Gatchino—Oranienbaum—Sestroretsk—The islands.

WHAT are usually called the environs of St. Petersburg are, properly speaking, not environs at all. The term is inaccurately applied to a very large area of country, and made to include many villa-settlements, summer resorts, villages, and even separate towns, such as Tsarskoe Selo and Peterhoff, situated at considerable distances away from the capital. More or less historical interest attaches to many of these places in connection with St. Petersburg, but at the present day only the two towns just mentioned are of any real importance.

Tsarskoe Selo, where the Emperor and Empress have resided in winter since the beginning of the revolutionary movement in 1905, is a town of some 25,000 inhabitants, fifteen miles off from St. Petersburg. The railway running to it in a southern direction was the first line of rails laid down in the

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Russian Empire, the next having been the line to Moscow. It was the work of English engineers, and the Emperor Nicholas I. made his first journey over it in 1837, sitting with the Empress in an open carriage, which was placed on an ordinary platform truck. Parallel with this line there is now a second railway to Tsarskoe Selo, which is reserved exclusively for the Imperial Family and Court.

The town stands on elevated ground as compared with St. Petersburg, and is regarded as a very healthy spot relatively to the latter city. It was begun on the site of an old Finnish village called *Saari Muis*, or Elevated Farm, the word *Saar* having been gradually Russianized into *Saarski*, and then into Tsarskoe Selo, without any original intention, it seems, of calling it the Tsar's Village, as at present. The village was presented to Catherine I. by Peter the Great in 1708, and that Empress had a palace built there, and adopted it as a summer residence. It is celebrated in medical annals as the only locality in the district of the Russian capital that has never been attacked by cholera. Every year there is a religious procession through its streets to commemorate the immunity of Tsarskoe Selo during the terrible outbreak of the epidemic in the middle of the last

century. It has the further advantages of being supplied with good and pure water, and a drainage-system, which makes it the healthiest settlement, probably, in all the province of St. Petersburg.

The town itself is in no way remarkable, being laid out in wide streets and boulevards, with a number of fine summer mansions of the nobility and gentry, and of persons attached to the Imperial Court. The interest and importance of the place centres entirely in its Imperial palaces and the large parks, with lakes and gardens, which surround them. For the most part these parks are more like woods, owing to the large number of old trees which cast a gloom over most of the avenues and pathways. The Empresses Elizabeth and Catherine II. erected here many handsome and fantastic buildings, enriched the palaces with valuable treasures, and ornamented the parks with monuments, Chinese pagodas, artificial ruins, and statuary. There are two principal palaces, in one of which the Emperor and Empress reside, while the other is now used only for State receptions and ceremonies. This latter, the old palace, is celebrated for the splendour of its apartments. The walls of one of its rooms are faced entirely with amber in various designs, and the walls of another

are covered with incrustations of lapis-lazuli. The latter room also has ebony flooring beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

About three miles from Tsarskoe Selo there is a smaller town of about 5,000 inhabitants, called Pavlovsk, which, like all these adjuncts of St. Petersburg, owes its origin to the Imperial Family. The locality was given as a present to the Emperor Paul, while he was yet heir-apparent, by Catherine II. Here are more beautiful palaces, with fine wooded parks and lakes, but the place is best known and appreciated for its excellent orchestra of music, which performs here in the summer evenings, and attracts thousands of visitors from St. Petersburg to the concert-house attached to the railway-station.

Some eight miles west from Tsarskoe Selo, and about half-way between the latter place and Peterhoff, is Krasnoe Selo, the location of the great summer camp of the garrison of St. Petersburg.

Peterhoff, which in summer shares the honour of being one of the two residential towns of the present Sovereign, is situated on the shore of the Finnish Gulf, opposite to the island of Cronstadt. It owes its existence to the Empress Catherine I., who suggested to her husband, Peter the Great, the advisability of his having some near retreat in

which to take rest and shelter in stormy weather while engaged in superintending the construction of the fortifications of Cronstadt Harbour. His first building here was the small pavilion on the shore, which he called 'Monplaisir.' He afterwards constructed a magnificent palace and grounds on the plan of the French Versailles. The glory of Peterhoff scenery is the fountains, which constitute an entire avenue of spouting jets from the palace to the sea. At the head of them all, in front of the terrace leading up to the palace, is the principal fountain, a gilded figure of Samson forcing open the jaws of a lion, whence a column of water rises 70 feet into the air.

Another Imperial seat is Gatchino, now the summer retreat of the Empress Dowager, twenty-seven miles from St. Petersburg, with some 15,000 summer residents, and a palace containing 600 rooms. Then comes Ropsha, where Peter III. met with his mysterious death, Oranienbaum, Strelna, and other smaller places, all creations of Peter the Great or his Imperial successors. All these towns and settlements are situated on the south side of the River Neva. On the north, or Finnish side, there are a few summer settlements of the inhabitants of the capital, such as Ozerki,

PETERHOFF

The fountains in front of the palace at Peterhoff.

PETERHOFF
The fountains in front of the palace at Peterhoff

Shouvalovo, Pargolo, and Sestroretsk, the latter having been also a creation of Peter the Great.

Only the islands of the Neva remain to be mentioned as part of the more immediate suburbs of St. Petersburg. On these, which are joined by several wooden bridges across different branches of the river, the inhabitants who are obliged to stay in town during the summer take the fresh air. It is often remarked in hot sultry weather that without these islands St. Petersburg would be quite uninhabitable. They are well provided with restaurants, public gardens, theatres, and café chantants, and a fashionable pleasure in spring is to drive to a place on one of them called the 'Point,' to admire the glowing splendour of the setting sun.

When Professor Oscar Browning, of Cambridge, was in St. Petersburg in 1909, entertaining Russian society with his lectures on English literature, he addressed to one of the Russian journals the following sonnet, which may be fitly reproduced here in concluding this volume:

ST. PETERSBURG.

Fair child, engendered by a despot's thought,
Queen of the North, enthroned on confluent streams,
Goal of his strivings, pagod of his dreams,
From churlish nature by persistence wrought.

Prove worthy of thy mission, slowly taught
By triumph and disaster, wear thy crown;
Clutch not at hasty issues, be thine own,
Too oft by misdirected good distraught.

Then the bright spirit of the Slavic mind,
Condemned too long to an unworthy part,
Led by thy gentle governance, shall find
New worlds in letters, music, life, and art.
Awake, proud city of the golded domes!
Thy winter past, the joy of harvest comes.

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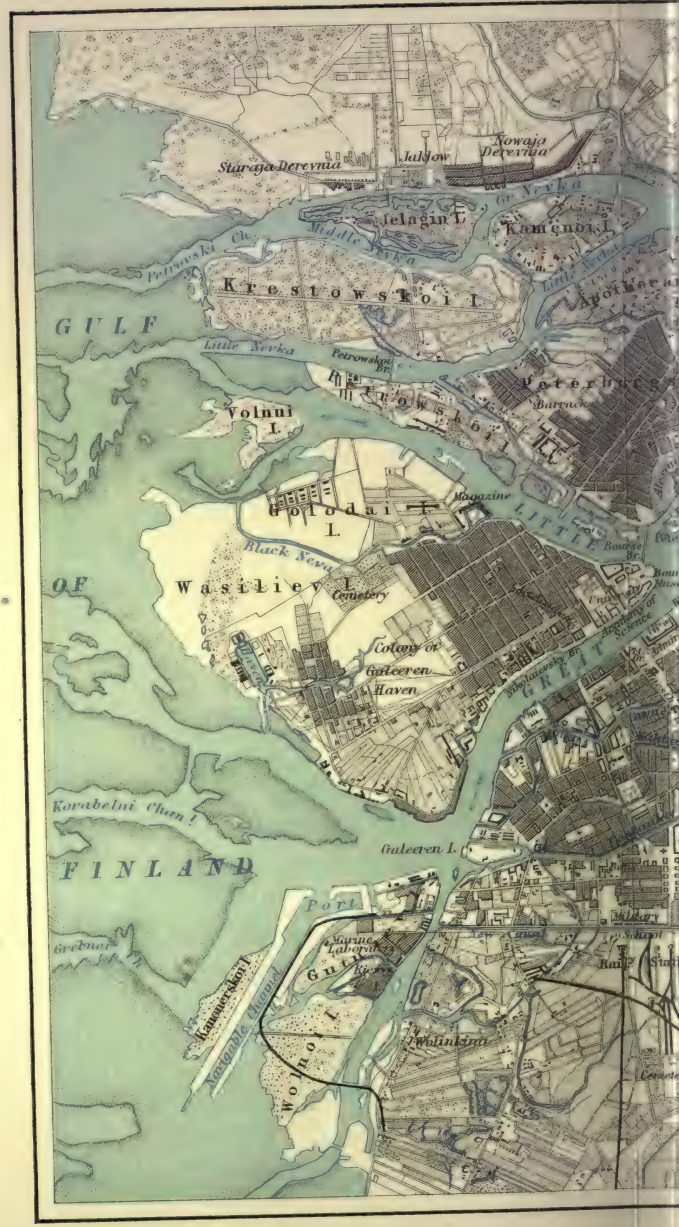
Staraja Derevnia
Julkow
Nowaja Derevnia
Ostrow Jelagin I.
Kamenoi I.
Middle Nevka
Petrowski Ch.
Krestowskoi I.
Little Nevka
Petrowskoi Br.
GULF
Volnui I.
Golodai I.
Black Neva
Wasiliev I.
Cemetery
OF
Colony of Galeeren Haven
Kovabelni Churn
FINLAND
Galeeren I.
Port
Grebnoi
Kamenoi-Skoi I.
Volnui I.
Petersburg
Barracks
Magazine
Bourse Br.
Admiralty
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Mytnaia Br.
Marine Laboratory
Dy. Yard
Gut
Wolinskaia
Cemetery
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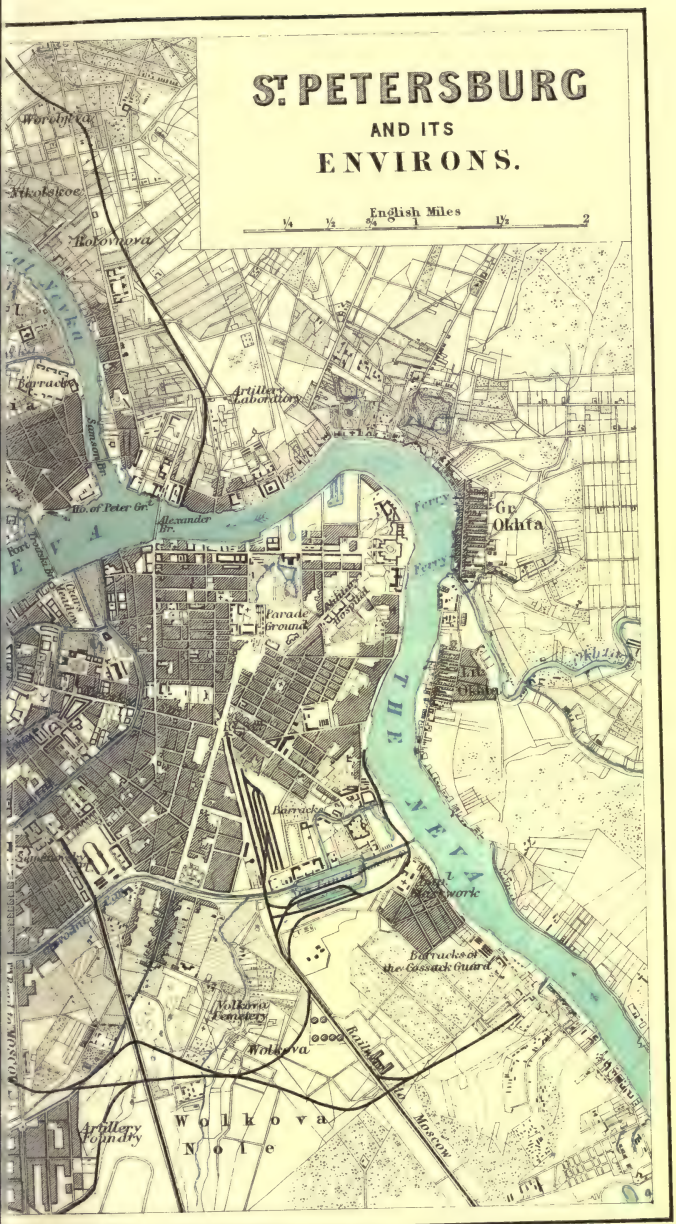

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(*The black type references indicate illustrations.*)

THE END

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