

because of the shortage of Russian workmen. I find no objection to this and so give my permission on this condition: that every man be compensated for his work with decent pay, and that each be treated not only in a manner which human beings deserve, but in a manner which will also carry out the wish and intent of the wise and humane Autocrat. By treating them justly and giving them honest pay for their labor, you will not only provide the Company with help needed in the business, but you will also use this as a means of making them contented subjects of Russia under the wise administration of our great Empress, and will inspire in them the desire to become subjects of the Russian scepter.

7. Whenever a special expedition is sent to a place you have discovered, when vessels carrying our *promyshlenniks* go there, you should instruct them to try diligently to find new places, places not previously discovered. Thus not only may they claim the discovery of these new areas and thereby gain better trade opportunities for themselves, but also their efforts may be recognized by the Crown with praise and respect. This will also eliminate the constant complaints from one company or another, and the abuse of native inhabitants. Further, it will eliminate the need to search for transgressors, which is required by law, if companies do not remain in one place.

8. Send a detailed description of all vegetation in areas your company visits. If you are in a forested area, identify the trees, state whether there are berries, whether there are fruit trees. Describe the animals and birds that live in that climate. Also describe the quality of the soil and state whether or not it may be possible to develop agriculture there.

[Signed] Ivan Iakobii

✻ 23 ✻

Czartoryski's Account of the Events Surrounding the Assassination of Paul, 1801

One of the most tragic rules of eighteenth-century Russia was Tsar Paul (1796–1801). Though he was her first son, Catherine II never showed any love for him, viewed him as hopelessly incapable, and even allowed her numerous favorites to insult him. Paul resented this treatment and blamed Catherine for the death of Peter III. The antipathy between mother and son became so intense that when Paul ascended the throne in 1796 he sought to undo most of Catherine's work. He dismissed many of her favorites and rehabilitated her enemies, including Radishchev. He introduced a strict new law on imperial succession and even sought to improve the condition of the serfs. By these actions Paul, who was inexperienced in the art of government, alienated important groups and caused a great deal of confusion, irritation, and uncertainty. Early in 1801 a conspiracy developed against him. It was masterminded by Count Nikita P. Panin, a vice chancellor; Joseph Ribas, a Spanish soldier of fortune and an admiral in the Russian navy; and Count Peter Pahlen, military governor of St. Petersburg. Paul was murdered and was succeeded by his son, Alexander I (1801–1825), who had been Catherine's choice in the first place.

Then he [Alexander I] spoke to me of his father's death with inexpressible grief and remorse. We often returned to this subject, and Alexander gave me full details of it, which I shall repeat below, together with information communicated to me by other actors in the tragedy. . . .

Alexander told me that the first man who spoke to him about the plans of the conspirators was Count Panin, and he never forgave him. This personage seemed destined more than anyone else to play an important part in the affairs

From *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and His Correspondence with Alexander I*. Edited by Adam Gielgud (London: Remington and Co., 1888), vol. 1, pp. 227–248, 251–255. Prince Adam Czartoryski (1770–1861) was for a number of years one of Alexander's closest associates.

of the Empire, and he had all that was wanted for such an undertaking: a celebrated name, uncommon talents, and much ambition. . . . As will be seen further on, Panin was one of the chief leaders of the conspiracy which brought about Paul's death, though he did not actually take part in it. . . .

The two Counts Panin and Pahlen were at that time the strongest heads of the Empire. They saw further and more clearly than the other members of Paul's Council, to which both of them belonged; and they agreed to initiate Alexander into their plans. It would not have been prudent to attempt anything without being assured of the consent of the heir to the crown. Devoted fanatics or enthusiasts might no doubt have acted otherwise. By not implicating the son in the dethronement of his father, by exposing themselves to a certain death, they would have better served both Russia and the prince who was to be called upon to govern her; but such a course would have been almost impracticable, and it would have demanded an audacity and antique virtue which in these days very few men possess. Pahlen, as Governor of St. Petersburg, had easy means of access to the Grand-Duke, and obtained from him a secret audience for Panin; their first interview took place in a bath. Panin represented to Alexander the evils from which Russia was suffering and would continue to suffer if Paul continued to reign. He said that Alexander's most sacred duty was to his country, and that he must not sacrifice millions of people to the extravagant caprices and follies of a single man, even if that man was his father; that the life, or at least the liberty, of his mother, of himself, and of the whole of the Imperial family was threatened by Paul's inconceivable aversion for his wife, from whom he was entirely separated, that this aversion increased from day to day, and might prompt him to the most outrageous acts; and that it was therefore necessary to save Russia, whose fate was in Alexander's hands, by deposing Paul, which would be the only means of preventing him from inflicting greater calamities on his country and his family, and securing to him a quieter and more happy life. This speech produced a great impression on Alexander but it did not convince him. It required more than six months to enable his tempters to obtain his consent to their plans. Pahlen had at first left all the speaking to Panin, who was an adept at specious arguments; but when the latter was sent to Moscow, Pahlen completed the work of his colleague by hints and allusions, intelligible only to Alexander himself, which were so skilfully introduced with a military frankness which he made almost as effective as eloquence, that Alexander became more and more persuaded that the aims of the conspiracy were just and good.

It was a thousand pities that a prince so anxious and so well qualified to be a benefactor to his country did not hold entirely aloof from a conspiracy which resulted almost inevitably in his father's assassination. Russia certainly

suffered much under the almost maniacal Government of Paul, and there are no means in that country of restraining or confiding a mad sovereign; but Alexander felt and exaggerated in his own mind all his life the sombre reflection of the crime committed on his father, which had fallen on himself, and which he thought he could never wipe out. This ineffaceable stain, although it was brought about solely by his inexperience and his total and innocent ignorance of Russian affairs and the Russian people, settled like a vulture on his conscience, paralyzed his best faculties at the commencement of his reign, and plunged him into a mysticism sometimes degenerating into superstition at its close.

At the same time it must be admitted that the Emperor Paul was precipitating his country into incalculable disasters and into a complete disorganization and deterioration of the Government machine. Paul governed intermittently, without troubling himself about the consequences, like a man who acts without reflection according to the impulse of the moment. The higher classes, the principal officials, the generals and other officers of rank—all, in a word, who thought and acted in Russia—were more or less convinced that the Emperor had fits of mental alienation. His reign became a rule of terror. He was hated even for his good qualities, for at bottom he desired justice, and this impulse sometimes led him to do a just thing in his outburst of rage; but his feeling of justice was blind, and struck at all without discrimination of circumstances; always passionate, often capricious and cruel, his decrees were constantly suspended over the heads of the military and civil officers, and made them detest the man who thus filled their lives with uncertainty and terror. The conspiracy had the sympathy of all, for it promised to put an end to a regime which had become intolerable. A sovereign may commit grave mistakes, bring evils on his country, cause its wealth or its power to decline, without exposing himself to death as a punishment for his misdeeds. But when the sovereign authority weighs at every moment on each individual in the State, and continually disturbs like a fever the peace of families in the ordinary relations of life, passions are excited which are much more formidable than those produced by evils which, though affecting the entire community, are little felt by individuals. This was the real motive of Paul's assassination. I utterly disbelieve the story that English money contributed to this event. For even supposing—and I am sincerely convinced there is no foundation for such a belief—that the English Government of that day was devoid of all feelings of morality, such an expenditure would have been totally unnecessary. The deposition, if not the murder, of Paul had become inevitable in the natural course of events. Even before my departure from St. Petersburg it was the fashion among the young men of the Court to talk freely on this subject, to make satirical epigrams on Paul's eccentricities, and

to suggest all kinds of absurd plans for getting rid of him. The universal aversion to his rule was shown, often without any attempt at concealment, on every possible occasion; it was a State secret which was confided to all, and which no one betrayed, though the people lived under the most redoubted and the most suspicious of sovereigns, who encouraged espionage, and spared no means of obtaining exact information not only of the actions, but of the thoughts and intentions of his subjects. The wish to get rid of the Emperor Paul showed itself more strongly the nearer one approached the Court and the capital, but it did not really become active until almost at the moment of its execution. Notwithstanding the extreme favour with which the conspiracy was regarded in the most distinguished society of the Empire, it could not have attained its objects, and would probably have been discovered, if the appointment of Governor-General of St. Petersburg, which placed at his disposal the garrison and the police, had not been in the hands of the chief promoter of the enterprise.

One day the Emperor said, with a scrutinizing glance at Pahlen: "I hear a conspiracy is being formed against me." "Such a thing is impossible, Sire," replied the General with his frank and good-natured smile; "it cannot be formed unless I belong to it." This reassured Paul, though it is said that his suspicions were aroused by anonymous letters, and that on the eve of his death he had sent for General Araktcheyeff to give him the place of Governor-General of St. Petersburg, after dismissing Pahlen. If Araktcheyeff had come in time, St. Petersburg would have been the scene of many tragic events; he was a man imbued with a strong sentiment of order and with an energy which sometimes grew into ferocity. His return would probably have been followed by that of Count Rostopchin, and Paul might then have been saved. . . .

Although everybody sympathised with the conspiracy, nothing was done until Alexander had given his consent to his father's deposition. The men who undertook to carry out the plan were Pahlen and the two Zuboffs, whom Paul had recalled from exile and loaded with favours, thinking he had nothing to fear from them now he was in his new castle. Their first step was to induce a number of Generals and other officers of rank who were their friends to come under various pretexts to St. Petersburg; and this was rendered more easy by the fact that Paul himself had invited many high functionaries and Generals to be present at the fêtes he was about to give on the marriage of one of his daughters. Pahlen and the Zuboffs took steps to enlist the services of some of the more eminent of the Generals, without stating positively what they intended to do. But it was necessary to act at once, for the slightest imprudence or revelation might place the Emperor in possession of their secret, and he was already so suspicious that he might at any moment take some step which would be their ruin. It was not known whether he had already

sent for Araktcheyeff and Rostopchin. The former lived at twenty-four hours' journey from St. Petersburg and might come at any moment. Doubtless he and Rostopchin would endeavour to moderate the Emperor's excesses, but their influence would probably not be sufficient to put a stop to the severities he wished to exercise with regard to several members of the Imperial family. It was evident that any further delay or vacillation would be most dangerous, and might be the cause of incalculable calamities; and the conspirators accordingly decided to strike the blow on the 3rd of March, 1801.

On that evening Plato Zuboff gave a grand supper, to which were invited all the Generals and other officers of rank who were supposed to approve of the objects of the conspiracy. These were only now clearly explained to them, as the only way to secure the enterprise against accidents was for two or three leaders to prepare it, and not to announce it to the others who were to take part in it until the moment for its execution should arrive.

Zuboff represented to his guests the deplorable condition in which Russia was placed by the insanity of her sovereign, the dangers to which both the State and each individual citizen were exposed, and the probability that new and more outrageous excesses might at any moment be expected. He pointed out that the insane act of a rupture with England was contrary to the essential interests of the Russian nation, dried up the sources of its wealth, and exposed the Baltic ports, and the capital itself, to the gravest disasters; and that none of those whom he addressed could be sure of their fate on the morrow. He enlarged on the virtues of the Grand-Duke Alexander, and on the brilliant destinies of Russia under the sceptre of a young Prince of such promise, whom the Empress Catherine, of glorious memory, had regarded as her successor, and had intended, if she had not been prevented by her death, to place on the throne. He concluded by declaring that Alexander, rendered desperate by the misfortunes of his country, had decided to save it; and that all that was now necessary was to depose the Emperor Paul, to oblige him to sign a deed of abdication, and, by proclaiming Alexander Emperor, to prevent his father from ruining both himself and his Empire. Pahlen and both the Zuboffs repeated to the assembled guests the assurance that the Grand-Duke Alexander approved of their plan. They were careful not to say how much time it took them to persuade him, and with what extreme difficulty and with how many restrictions and modifications his consent was finally obtained. The last point was left vague, and everyone probably explained it after his own fashion.

When the company had been made to understand that Alexander's consent had been given there was no further hesitation. Meanwhile champagne was drunk freely and there was general excitement. Pahlen, who had gone away for a short time on business connected with his functions as Governor-General, came back from the Court and announced that the Emperor did not seem to

suspect anything, and had said goodnight to the Empress and the Grand-Dukes as usual. Those who had been at supper in the palace afterwards said they recollected that Alexander, when he took leave of his father, did not change countenance or show that he was conscious of the scene which was preparing. Probably they did not look at him, for he has often told me how agitated he was, and certainly the risks he ran not only for himself, but for his mother, his family, and many others were enough to make him sad and anxious. The Grand-Dukes were always obliged to maintain an attitude of strict reserve before their father, and this constant habit of concealing their emotions and thoughts may explain why at this grave and supreme moment no one perceived in Alexander's countenance what was passing in his mind.

At the Zuboffs' house the guests had become so convivial that time went fast. At midnight the conspirators set out for the Emperor's palace. The leaders had drunk but moderately, wishing to keep their heads clear, but the majority of those who followed them were more or less intoxicated; some could hardly even keep their legs. They were divided into two bands, each composed of some sixty generals and other officers. The two Zuboffs and General Bennigsen were at the head of the first band, which was to go to the palace direct; the second was to enter through the garden, and was under the command of Pahlen. The aide-de-camp in waiting, who knew all the doors and passages of the palace, as he was daily on duty there, guided the first band with a dark lantern to the entrance of the Emperor's dressing-room, which adjoined his bedroom. A young valet who was on duty stopped the conspirators and cried out that rebels were coming to murder the Emperor. He was wounded in the struggle which ensued, and rendered incapable of further resistance. His cries waked the Emperor, who got out of bed and ran to a door which communicated with the Empress's apartments and was hidden by a large curtain. Unfortunately, in one of his fits of dislike for his wife, he had ordered the door to be locked; and the key was not in the lock, either because Paul had ordered it to be taken away or because his favourites, who were opposed to the Empress, had done so, fearing lest he should some day have a fancy to return to her. Meanwhile the conspirators were confused and terrified at the cries of Paul's faithful defender, the only one he had at a moment of supreme danger when he believed in his omnipotence more than ever and was surrounded by a triple line of walls and guards. Zuboff, the chief of the band, lost heart and proposed to retire at once, but General Bennigsen (from whom I obtained some of these details) seized him by the arm and protested against such a dangerous step. "What?" he said, "You have brought us so far, and now you want to withdraw? We are too far advanced to follow your advice, which would ruin us all. The wine is drawn, it must be drunk. Let us march on."

It was this Hanoverian that decided the Emperor's fate; he was one of those who had only that evening been informed of the conspiracy. He placed himself at the head of the band, and those who had most courage, or most hatred for Paul, were the first to follow him. They entered the Emperor's bedroom, went straight to his bed, and were much alarmed at not finding him there. They searched the room with a light, and at last discovered the unfortunate Paul hiding behind the folds of the curtain. They dragged him out in his shirt more dead than alive; the terror he had inspired was now repaid to him with usury. Fear had paralyzed his senses and had deprived him of speech; his whole body shivered. He was placed on a chair before a desk. The long, thin, pale, and angular form of General Bennigsen, with his hat on his head and a drawn sword in his hand, must have seemed to him a terrible spectre. "Sire," said the General, "you are my prisoner, and have ceased to reign; you will now at once write and sign a deed of abdication in favour of the Grand-Duke Alexander." Paul was still unable to speak, and a pen was put in his hand. Trembling and almost unconscious, he was about to obey when more cries were heard. General Bennigsen then left the room, as he has often assured me, to ascertain what these cries meant, and to take steps for securing the safety of the palace and of the Imperial family. He had only just gone out the door when a terrible scene began. The unfortunate Paul remained alone with men who were maddened by a furious hatred of him, owing to the numerous acts of persecution and injustice they had suffered at his hands, and it appears that several of them had decided to assassinate him, perhaps without the knowledge of the leaders or at least without their formal consent. The catastrophe, which in such a case was, in a country like Russia, almost inevitable, was doubtless hastened by the cries above referred to, which alarmed the conspirators for their own safety. Count Nicholas Zuboff, a man of herculean proportions, was said to be the first that placed his hand on his sovereign, and thereby broke the spell of imperial authority which still surrounded him. The others now saw in Paul nothing but a monster, a tyrant, an implacable enemy—and his abject submission, instead of disarming them, rendered him despicable and ridiculous as well as odious in their eyes.

One of the conspirators took off his official scarf and tied it round the Emperor's throat. Paul struggled, the approach of death restoring him to strength and speech. He set free one of his hands and thrust it between the scarf and his throat, crying out for air. Just then he perceived a red uniform, which was at that time worn by the officers of the cavalry guard, and thinking that one of the assassins was his son Constantine, who was a colonel of that regiment, he exclaimed: "Mercy, your Highness, mercy! Some air, for God's sake!" But the conspirators seized the hand with which he was striving to prolong his life, and furiously tugged at both ends of the scarf. The unhappy

Emperor had already breathed his last, and yet they tightened the knot and dragged along the dead body, striking it with their hands and feet. The cowards who until then had held aloof surpassed in atrocity those who had done the deed. Just at that time General Bennigsen returned. I do not know whether he was sincerely grieved at what had happened in his absence; all he did was to stop the further desecration of the Emperor's body.

Meanwhile the cry "Paul is dead!" was heard by the other conspirators, and filled them with a joy that deprived them of all sentiment of decency and dignity. They wandered tumultuously about the corridors and rooms of the palace, boasting to each other of their prowess; many of them found means of adding to the intoxication of the supper by breaking into the wine cellars and drinking to the Emperor's death.

Pahlen, who seems to have lost his way in the garden, came to the palace with his band immediately after the deed had been consummated. It is said that he had delayed his arrival on purpose, so as to be able to profess to have come to the Emperor's assistance in case his colleagues should have failed. Be this as it may, he was extremely active directly he arrived, giving the necessary orders during the rest of the night, and omitting nothing which could give him a claim to reward as the prime mover and commander of the enterprise.

It will be seen from the above narrative how easy it would have been for the undertaking to have been foiled by an accident, notwithstanding the precautions which had been taken to ensure its success. The conspiracy had the sympathies of the higher classes and most of the officers; but not of the lower ranks of the army. The persons who suffered from Paul's insane fits of rage and severity were usually the higher military and civil officials; his caprices very seldom affected men of the lower ranks, who, moreover, were continually receiving extra pay and rations of bread, wine, and brandy when they were on drill or on a parade. The punishments to which the officers were exposed did not therefore produce any unpleasant impression on the common soldier; on the contrary, they were a sort of satisfaction to him for the blows and ill-treatment he constantly had to endure. Moreover, his pride was flattered by the great importance attached to his calling, for to Paul nothing could be more important than a foot raised too soon on the march, or a coat badly buttoned on parade. It amused and pleased the soldiers to see their Emperor dispensing endless punishments and severities among the officers while he took every opportunity to afford to the men ample compensation for the work and trouble that was required of them. The soldiers of the Guard, many of whom were married, lived with their families almost in opulence, and both they and those of the other regiments were satisfied with and attached to the Emperor. General Talyzin, one of the principal conspirators, who was very popular among the soldiers, had undertaken to bring to the palace one of the

battalions of the first regiment of the Guard which was under his command. He assembled the men after leaving Zuboff's supper, and began to tell them that their fatigues were about to cease, and that they would now have an indulgent and kind sovereign who would not impose upon them the rigorous duties they had hitherto had to perform. He soon perceived, however, that his words were not listened to with favour; the soldiers preserved a gloomy silence, their faces had a sombre expression, and some murmurs were heard. The General cut short his speech, uttered in a sharp tone of command the words "Right wheel—march," and the battalion, which had now again become a machine, marched to the palace, all the outlets from which it occupied.

Count Valerian Zuboff, having lost a leg in the Polish War, could not belong to either of the bands of the conspirators. He entered the palace soon after the death of the Emperor became known, and then went to the guard-room to sound the opinions of the soldiers. He congratulated them on having a new and a young Emperor; but this compliment was ill received, and he was obliged to leave the room hastily to avoid disagreeable manifestations. All this shows how easy it would have been for Paul to crush the conspirators if he had been able to escape them for a moment and to show himself to the guards in the courtyard. It also shows how illusory and impracticable was Alexander's plan of keeping his father in confinement. If Paul's life had been saved, blood would have flowed on the scaffold, Siberia would have been crowded with exiles, and his vengeance would probably have extended to his sons.

I will not describe what happened during this terrible night in the part of the palace which was inhabited by the Imperial family. The Grand-Duke Alexander knew that his father would in a few hours be called upon to abdicate, and without undressing he threw himself on his bed full of anxiety and doubt. About one o'clock he heard a knock at his door, and saw Count Nicholas Zuboff, his dress in disorder, and his face flushed with wine and the excitement of the murder which had just been committed. He came up to Alexander, who was sitting on his bed, and said in a hoarse voice: "All is over." "What is over?" asked Alexander in consternation. He was somewhat dead, and perhaps he feared to misunderstand what was being said to him, while Zuboff on his side feared to state exactly what had been done. This somewhat prolonged the conversation; Alexander had not the least idea that his father was dead, and did not therefore admit the possibility of such a thing. At length he perceived that Zuboff, without clearly explaining himself, repeatedly addressed him as "Sire" and "Your Majesty," while Alexander thought he was merely Regent. This led to further questioning, and he then learnt the truth. Alexander was prostrated with grief and despair. This was not surprising, for even ambitious men cannot commit a crime or believe themselves the cause

of one without repulsion, while Alexander was not at all ambitious. The idea of having caused the death of his father filled him with horror, and he felt that his reputation had received a stain which could never be effaced. As for the Empress, directly the news reached her and she dressed hastily, rushing out of her apartments with cries of despair and rage. Perceiving some grenadiers, she said to them repeatedly: "As your Emperor has died a victim to treason, I am your Empress, I alone am your legitimate sovereign; follow me and protect me." General Bennigsen and Count Pahlen, who had just brought a detachment of men whom they could trust to the palace to restore order, strove to calm her and forced her with difficulty to return to her room. She had scarcely entered it, however, than she wished to go out again, although guards had been placed at her door. At first she seemed determined at all risks to seize the reins of government and avenge her husband's murder. But though she was generally respected, she was not capable of inspiring those feelings of enthusiastic devotion which cause men to act impulsively and without weighing the consequences. Her appeals to the soldiers (which were perhaps rendered somewhat ridiculous by her German accent) produced no effect, and she retired in confusion, vexed at having uselessly disclosed her ambitious views.

I never heard any details of the first interview between the Empress and her son after Paul's assassination. Subsequently they came to an understanding with each other; but during the first terrible moments Alexander was so absorbed by his remorse that he seemed incapable of saying a word of thinking of anybody. His mother, on the other hand, was in a passion of grief and animosity; the only member of the Imperial family that retained her presence of mind was the young Empress. She did her utmost to console Alexander and give him courage and self-reliance. She did not leave him during the whole of the night, except when she went for a few moments to calm her mother-in-law and persuade her to stop in her room and not expose herself to the fury of the conspirators. While in this night of trouble and horror some were intoxicated with triumph and others plunged in grief and despair, the Empress Elizabeth alone exercised a mediatory influence between her husband, her mother-in-law, and the conspirators.

During the first years of his reign, Alexander's position with regard to his father's murderers was an extremely difficult and painful one. For a few months he believed himself to be at their mercy, but it was chiefly his conscience and a feeling of natural equity which prevented him from giving up to justice the most guilty of the conspirators. He knew that there was a general sympathy for the objects of the conspiracy, and that those who had personally taken part in their realization had only decided to do so when they were assured of his consent. It would have been difficult under these circumstances to

distinguish between degrees of guilt; every member of the society of St. Petersburg was more or less an accomplice in the fatal deed, for those who wished Paul to be deposed must have known that his deposition, if resisted, might have involved his death. If the assassins alone had been brought to trial, they would certainly have accused the other conspirators and have referred to Alexander's consent in justification of their action, though the crime had been committed against his express wish. Moreover, he did not for many years know who they were, as all the conspirators were interested in keeping the secret. The assassins all perished miserably, including Count Nicholas Zuboff, who, not daring to show himself at Court, died in retirement, consumed by illness, by remorse, and by disappointed ambition. . . .

The views of the Zuboffs as to the conspiracy were communicated to me by Count Valerian Zuboffs a few days after my return to St. Petersburg. He complained that the Emperor did not declare himself for his true friends, who had placed him on the throne and had not feared any danger they had incurred in his service. The Empress Catherine had acted otherwise; she had always supported those who had helped her, and had not hesitated to maintain them in power. By this wise and sagacious conduct, said Zuboff, she had been able always to reckon on their devotion. No one hesitated to make a sacrifice for her, as such sacrifices were always rewarded; but Alexander was exposing himself by his vacillating conduct to the most serious consequences, and was discouraging his best friends. Zuboff added that the Empress Catherine had expressly enjoined him and his brother to look upon Alexander as their only legitimate sovereign, and to serve him alone with unshaken zeal and fidelity. This they had done, and what was their reward? He said this to exculpate his brother and himself in the eyes of the young Emperor with regard to the assassination of his father, and to prove to him that their conduct was the necessary result of the engagements Catherine had demanded of them as to her grandson. But they did not know that Alexander, and even his brother Constantine, by no means regarded their grandmother's memory with veneration or attachment. During this conversation, which lasted more than an hour, I several times interrupted the Count to explain the young Emperor's conduct. It was evident that the Zuboffs wished me to communicate their views to the Emperor, and though I did not promise, I considered it my duty to do so. Their statements produced but little impression on Alexander, but they showed that the conspirators were still very proud of their achievement, and that they felt convinced they had done a great service to Russia, had a right to Alexander's gratitude and confidence, and were necessary to the security and prosperity of the new reign. They even hinted that their discontent might be dangerous to him. Alexander, however, was deaf both to their arguments and their threats. He could not look with favor on his father's

murderers, or give himself up into their hands. Moreover, he had already dismissed Pahlen, who was perhaps the only one of the conspirators who by his ability, his connections, his boldness, and his ambition, could inspire serious fear or become really dangerous. Alexander also dismissed other leaders of the conspiracy who were not dangerous, but the sight of whom was odious and disagreeable to him. The only leader who remained at St. Petersburg was Count Valerian Zuboff, who was a member of the Imperial Council. His amiability and frankness pleased Alexander and inspired him with confidence, and this feeling was confirmed by the attachment which the Count professed (I think sincerely) to have for the Emperor personally, and also by his indolence, his unwillingness to take appointments to which onerous duties were attached, and especially by his amours, which occupied nearly the whole of his time.

The punishment of Pahlen and the other leaders of the conspiracy was the most painful that could have been inflicted on them, and Alexander punished himself with more severity than the others. His grief and the remorse which he was continually reviving in his heart were inexpressibly deep and touching. In the midst of the pomp and the festivals of the coronation, the young Emperor was reminded of the similar ceremonies which had been passed through by his father, and he saw in imagination Paul's mutilated and blood-stained body on the steps of the throne which he was now himself to ascend. This brilliant display of supreme power, instead of rousing his ambition or flattering his vanity, increased his mental tortures, and he was never, I think, more unhappy. He remained alone for hours, sitting in silence with fixed and haggard looks.

With me, as the confidant of his secret thoughts and troubles, he was most at his ease, and I sometimes entered his room when he had been too long under the painful influence of these fits of despair and remorse. I tried to recall him to his duties; he acknowledged that a painful task was before him, but the severity of his condemnation of his own conduct deprived him of all energy. He replied to all my exhortations and words of encouragement and hope: "No, it is impossible, there is no remedy. I must suffer. How can I cease to suffer? This cannot change."

Those who approached him often feared that his mind would be affected, and as I was then the only person who could speak to him freely I was constantly urged to do so. I think I was of some use in preventing Alexander from succumbing under the weight of the terrible thought that pursued him. Some years later, the great events in which he took a leading and glorious part gave him some consolation and for a time, perhaps, absorbed all his faculties; but I am certain that towards the end of his life it was the same terrible thought that so depressed him, filling him with a disgust of life and a piety which was perhaps exaggerated, but which is the sole possible and

real support in the most poignant grief. When we returned to this sad topic, Alexander often repeated to me the details of the plan he had formed to establish his father in the Palace of St. Michael and afterwards to enable him as much as possible to reside in the Imperial Palaces in the country. "The Palace of St. Michael," he said, "was his favourite residence, and he would have been happy there. He would have had the whole of the winter garden to walk and ride in." Alexander intended to attach a riding school and a theatre to the palace, so as to bring together within its precincts everything that could have amused the Emperor Paul and made his life happy. He judged of his father by himself. There was always in his noble character a feminine element, with its strength and weakness. He often used to make plans which could not be realised, and on this idealistic foundation he raised complete structures which he made as perfect as possible. Nothing was more impracticable—especially in Russia—than the romantic means which Alexander had devised of rendering his father happy, while depriving him of his crown and of the possibility of tormenting and ruining the country. Alexander was not only young and inexperienced; he had almost the blind and confiding inexperience of childhood, and this characteristic remained with him for some years until it was destroyed by the realities of life.

I have not concealed anything in regard to the catastrophe which inaugurated his reign, for this was the best way of doing him justice. The complete truth, without any restriction, exculpates him up to a certain point from an odious accusation, and explains how he was led into an action which he abhorred and why he seemed not to have punished the assassins with sufficient rigour. I have shown how inexperienced and unambitious he was, and what were the plausible and even honourable motives by which he was actuated. We may pity Alexander, but we must hesitate to condemn him.

24

Karamzin's Thoughts on Patriotism and Book Publishing in Russia

Nikolai M. Karamzin (1766–1826) is known primarily as a leading conservative nineteenth century Russian historian. He gained this reputation thanks to publication (between 1816 and 1829) of his monu-

given food will satisfy our need, so [the reader's] moral taste will reveal the true relationship between the subject and his mind. However, this mind can gradually lift itself up, and whoever starts with *The Unfortunate Nobleman* often reaches [*Sir Charles*] *Grandison* [by Samuel Richardson].

All pleasant reading exerts an influence on the intellect. Without it the heart cannot feel and the imagination cannot function. Even the poorest novels contain some logic and rhetoric. Whoever reads them will be a more eloquent and more coherent speaker than the complete ignoramus who has never opened a book in his life. Moreover, contemporary novels are rich in all sorts of knowledge. When an author has decided to write three or four volumes he uses every means to fill them, including all branches of science. He may describe, for instance, an American island, using Busching; or he may explain the nature of the island's flora, varifying it with [the work by] Bomar. As a result the reader learns about geography and natural history. I am convinced that in some German novel the [recently discovered] planet Piazzzi will soon be described more thoroughly than in the *Petersburgskie Vedomosti*.

They are mistaken who think that novels can be harmful to the heart, because usually they either glorify virtue or stress a mortal point. It is true that some characters of novels are both attractive and depraved. But, precisely, how are they attractive? By some good traits with which the author has painted over their bleakness. As a result the good triumphs in the evil itself. Our moral nature is such that the heart will never accept the positive portrayal of villains. They can never be transformed into our favorites. What novels do the people prefer? Usually the sentimental ones. Readers always shed tears from love of the good and they nourish it. No, no. Bad people never read novels. Their mean soul prevents them from accepting the gentle feeling of love, and it does not concern itself with the fate of tenderness. Can a vile cheater or an egoist find himself as the loving hero of a novel? What interest does he take in others? It is indisputable that novels turn the heart and imagination . . . *romantic*. There is no harm in it. Indeed, for us, inhabitants of the cold and iron north, it is quite beneficial! There is not doubt that the cause of the evil in the world, about which we hear complaints everywhere, are not the romantic hearts, but the rough and cold-blooded [reality] that acts as its opposite! The romantic heart brings upon itself more grief than harm to others; at the same time it loves its grief and would not exchange it for the pleasure of the egoists.

In short, it is good that our public reads novels.

25

The Franco-Russian Arrangements at Tilsit, July 7, 1807

One of the most outstanding features of the early reign of Alexander I was his struggle with Napoleon. Alexander entered the conflict in the spring of 1805, when he joined England, Austria, and Sweden to form the Third Coalition against France. The Coalition performed very badly from its inception, and late that year the Austro-Russian forces suffered a great disaster at Austerlitz that induced Austria to withdraw from the Coalition. Early in 1806 Prussia replaced Austria after the latter's untimely exit. The new combination also experienced a number of disasters culminating in the battle at Friedland, June 14, 1807, where the Russians suffered a decisive defeat. On June 22, 1807, Napoleon and Alexander signed an armistice, and three days later both Emperors met near Tilsit, on a raft in the middle of the Nieman River, to negotiate peace. On July 7, 1807, these negotiations produced several agreements that provided a number of advantages to both Empires.

The Franco-Russian Treaty of Peace and Friendship, July 7, 1807

Article 1

From the day of exchanging ratifications of the present treaty, peace and genuine friendship shall prevail between His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia, and His Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy.

Article 2

Both parties shall immediately cease all hostilities at all points by sea and land, as soon as the news of the signing of the present treaty shall be officially received.

The High Contracting Parties shall promptly dispatch [this news] through special couriers to their respective generals and commanders.

Article 3

All ships of war and other vessels belonging to the High Contracting Parties or their subjects, which may have been seized after the signing of this treaty, shall be returned [to their rightful owners] and in case these vessels were sold, the sale price shall be returned.

Article 4

Out of esteem for His Majesty the Emperor of all Russia and to provide him with proof of His sincere desire to unite both nations in a tie of immutable confidence and friendship, His Majesty Emperor Napoleon wishes to restore to His Majesty the King of Prussia, an ally of His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia, all conquered countries, towns, and territories, namely:

A portion of the Duchy of Magdeburg, located on the right bank of the Elbe River;

The Mark of Prignitz, the Uker Mark, the Middle and the New Mark of Brandenburg, except for the District of Kotbus, in Lower Lusatsia, which will belong to His Majesty the King of Saxony;

The Duchy of Pomerania;

The Upper, the Lower and the New Silesia, and the County of Glatz;

A portion of the district of Netze, located north of the main road between Driessen and Schneidemühl through Waldau to the Vistula and following the boundary of the Bromberg district; the navigation of the Netze River and of the Bromberg Canal, from Driessen to the Vistula and back, will become open and free of all tolls; Pomerelia, the Nogat Island, the territories located along the right bank of the Nogat and of the Vistula, west of Old Prussia and to the north of the Kulm and the Ermerland Districts, and, finally, the Kingdom of Prussia as it was on January 1, 1772, together with the fortresses of Spandau, Stettin, Küstrin, Glogau, Breslau, Schweidnitz, Neisse, Brieg, Kosel, and Glatz, and generally all fortresses, citadels, castles, and strongholds, other than those listed above, in the same condition in which those fortresses, citadels, castles, and strongholds may be at present; and in addition to the above, the city and citadel of Graudentz.

Article 5

Those provinces which on January 1, 1772, formed a part of the former Kingdom of Poland and since have at various times been brought under Prussian rule, shall become, except for the territories named or designated in the preceding article, or those which will be listed in Article 10 [of the present treaty], the possessions and sovereignty of His Majesty the King of Saxony under the name of the Duchy of Warsaw, and shall be governed by laws that

will guarantee freedom and privileges of the peoples of this Duchy and which shall be consistent with the security of neighboring states.

Article 6

The City of Danzig with a territory of two miles around it shall be restored to its [former] independence under the protection of His Majesty the King of Prussia and His Majesty the King of Saxony and shall be governed by those laws with which it was governed at the time of its independence.

Article 7

To be able to communicate between the Kingdom of Saxony and the Duchy of Warsaw, His Majesty the King of Saxony shall have free use of a military road through the possessions of His Majesty the King of Prussia. This road, the number of troops which shall be allowed to pass at any given time, and the place they may rest and secure food, shall be determined by a special agreement between the two named sovereigns under the mediation of France.

Article 8

Neither His Majesty the King of Prussia, nor His Majesty the King of Saxony, nor the city of Danzig, shall have the right to interfere in any way whatsoever with free navigation on the Vistula nor to hinder it through the institution of any kind of tolls, taxes or duties. . . .

Article 10

In order to delineate as much as possible the natural frontiers between Russia and the Duchy of Warsaw, the region, which is partly surrounded by the present frontiers of Russia, extending from the Bug to the mouth of the Lososna along the *Thalweg* of that river and that of the Bobra up to its mouth, along the *Thalweg* of the Narew from the above mentioned place to the Surazh, along the *Thalweg* of the Lisa to its source near the Village Mien, along the *Thalweg* of the canal which begins near the said village and empties into the Nurchik, along the Nurchik to its mouth beyond Nur, and, finally, along the *Thalweg* of the Bug upwards to the present frontiers of Russia, shall forever be annexed to the Russian Empire.

Article 11

No person of any rank or estate whatever who resides or has property in the area delineated in the above-mentioned article, or in provinces which comprised the ancient Kingdom of Poland and which are now transferred to His Majesty the King of Prussia, or individuals who live now in the Duchy of Warsaw but who have in Russia immovable property, pensions and other

forms of income, shall be molested, or have his immovable or movable property, pension, and other income confiscated. No person shall be deprived of his rank or status, or be subjected to some other form of punishment on account of his participation in military or political affairs of the present war.

Article 14

His Majesty Emperor Napoleon accepts the mediation of His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia to negotiate and conclude the final peace treaty between France and England, on condition that England will equally accept the mediation within one month following the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty.

Article 15

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia, being desirous on His part of establishing intimate and lasting relations between the two empires, recognises His Majesty Joseph Napoleon as King of Naples and His Majesty Louis Napoleon as King of Holland.

Article 16

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia equally recognizes the Confederation of the Rhine, the present status of authority of each of the rulers comprising this Confederation, and their titles, which many of them have received by the Act of Confederation as well as by subsequent treaties of accession.

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia also promises that, in accordance with information which His Majesty Emperor Napoleon will communicate to Him, He will acknowledge those rulers who will become members of the Confederation of the Rhine stipulated by the Act of Confederation.

Article 17

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia cedes to His Majesty the King of Holland all of His property and sovereignty to the Seigniorage of Jever in East Friesland.

Article 18

The present treaty of peace and friendship shall be mutually binding on their Majesties the Kings of Naples and Holland, and on the rulers of the Confederation of the Rhine, who are allies of His Majesty Emperor Napoleon.

Article 19

His Majesty the Emperor of Russia equally recognizes His Highness Prince Jerome Napoleon as King of Westphalia.

Article 20

The Kingdom of Westphalia shall consist of provinces ceded by His Majesty the King of Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe and those presently in the possession of His Majesty Emperor Napoleon.

Article 21

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia pledges to recognise the changes which His Majesty Emperor Napoleon shall make in pursuance of Article 20, and cessions of His Majesty the King of Prussia (His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia shall be informed about these changes), and the state of sovereignty that shall accrue to these Sovereigns in whose behalf these changes shall have been made.

Article 22

All hostilities shall cease immediately at all points on land and sea between the forces of His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia and those of His Majesty the Sultan as soon as the news of the signing of the present treaty shall be officially received.

The High Contracting Parties shall without delay dispatch special couriers to convey this news as soon as possible to the respective generals and commanding officers.

Article 23

Russian forces shall withdraw from the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, but the said provinces shall not be occupied by the forces of His Majesty [the Sultan] prior to the ratification of the future final peace treaty between Russia and the Ottoman Porte.

Article 24

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia shall accept the mediation of His Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, to negotiate and conclude a peace advantageous and honorable equally to both Empires.

Authorized plenipotentiaries shall be dispatched to a place designated by the interested parties to start and proceed with these negotiations.

Article 25

The time within which the High Contracting Parties shall withdraw their forces from places they are to evacuate, pursuant to the above stipulations, similarly as the manner in which different articles contained in the present treaty shall be executed, shall be determined by a special agreement.

Article 26

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia and His Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy mutually pledge to respect the integrity of their own possessions and those of states that participate in the present peace treaty in the state in which they exist now, and in which they may exist pursuant to the above stipulations.

Article 27

Prisoners of war taken by the Contracting Parties or states participating in the present Peace treaty shall be mutually repatriated simultaneously and without any discrimination.

Article 28

Commercial relations between the Russian Empire on the one hand and the French Empire, the Kingdoms of Italy, Naples, and Holland, and the Confederation of the Rhine on the other, shall be reestablished on the same footing as they were before the war.

Article 29

The ceremonial between the two courts—that of St. Petersburg and the Tuileries—with respect to each other and also with respect to their ambassadors, ministers, and envoys mutually accredited to each other, shall be based on the rights of complete reciprocity and equality. . . .

*Secret Articles, July 7, 1807**Article 1*

Russian forces shall surrender to French forces the land known as Catam [Kotor].

Article 2

Seven islands [of that territory] shall become personal property of His Majesty Emperor Napoleon.

Article 3

His Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy agrees neither to punish nor to persecute directly or indirectly any subject of the Sublime Porte, and especially the Montenegrins, for their participation in whatever capacity in hostile actions against French forces as long as they shall remain peaceful from here on.

Article 4

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia pledges to recognise His Majesty the King of Naples Joseph Napoleon as King of Sicily as soon as King Ferdinand IV shall be compensated either by the Baleric Islands, or the Island of Candie, or some other possession of the same value.

Article 5

If, during the subsequent peace with England, Hanover should be united with the Kingdom of Westphalia, then the territory which His Majesty the King of Prussia has ceded along the left bank of the Elbe, with a population between 300,000 and 400,000, shall be separated from that Kingdom and shall be restored to Prussia.

Article 6

The present heads of [the ruling] houses of Hesse-Kassel, Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, and Nassau-Orange shall receive annual subsidies. These subsidies shall be applicable to the princes and to their wives as well, should they survive them.

The subsidy for the head of the Hesse-Kassel House shall be 200,000 Dutch *florins*.

The subsidy for the head of the Brunswick-Wolfenbittel House shall be 100,000 Dutch *florins*.

These subsidiaries shall be paid by His majesty the King of Westphalia.

The subsidy for the head of the Nassau-Orange House shall be 60,000 Dutch *florins* and shall be paid by His Highness the Grand Duke of Berg.

Her Serene Highness the Dowager Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, who has the right to maintenance from revenues of the Seignioralty of Ever, shall be compensated with an annual pension of 60,000 Dutch *florins* to be paid by His Majesty the King of Holland.

Article 7

The above separate secret articles shall have the same force and significance, word for word, as if they were included in the open treaty concluded today, and they shall be ratified with it. . . .

*The Franco-Russian Secret Defensive and Offensive Alliance,
July 7, 1807**Article 1*

His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia and His Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy bind themselves to act jointly on land as well as on sea, or

simultaneously on land and sea, in any war that France or Russia may be forced to undertake, or in a war against any other European power.

Article 2

Should the opportunity for such a joint action materialize, and whenever it should become a reality, the High Contracting Parties shall agree by a special convention what kind of forces each should supply against the common enemy, and at what locations these forces should be deployed, although they now bind themselves, should conditions so require, to deploy all of their land and naval forces.

Article 3

All military operations shall be undertaken jointly, and neither of the Contracting Parties shall under any circumstances enter into separate peace negotiations without the consent of the other Party.

Article 4

Should England not accept Russia's mediation, or having accepted it should she then decide not to conclude peace by next November 1 [1807], then [France and Russia], having agreed that flags of all nations should equally enjoy freedom of the sea, and having acknowledged that conquests made by her [England] against France and her allies from 1805 on, when Russia joined her, should be restored, in the said month of November [1807], the Envoy of His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia will deliver a note to the Government of St. James. Alongside the expressed concern which the said Imperial Majesty has for the peace of the world and His intention to use all powers of His Empire to secure for mankind prolonged peace, that note shall include a positive and clear statement that in case England should refuse to conclude peace on the above mentioned terms, His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia will act jointly with France. Should the Government of St. James fail to supply Him with a categorical and satisfactory answer by December 1 [1807], then the Russian Ambassador will be instructed to request his passport by a specified day and to leave England immediately.

Article 5

Should the developments foreseen in the preceding article materialize, the High Contracting Parties will jointly and simultaneously request the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to close their harbors to the English, to recall their envoys from London, and to declare war against England. Should any of the three Courts refuse to comply with this request, the High Contracting Parties will deal with them as with the enemy, and should Sweden refuse, then Denmark will be induced to declare war against her.

Article 6

Equally, the High Contracting Parties will act jointly and exert pressure on the Court of Vienna to adhere to the terms stipulated in Article 4, [namely] that it too close its harbors to the English, recall its envoy from London, and declare war against England.

Article 7

Should, however, England conclude peace on the stipulated terms in the prescribed time (His Majesty the Emperor of All Russia shall use His influence to induce her to do it), then Hanover shall be restored to the King of England in compensation for French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies.

Article 8

Equally, if, as a result of changes that have transpired in Constantinople, the Porte should refuse to accept French mediation, or should it fail, after having been accepted, to produce a satisfactory result within a three months' period from the start of negotiations, then France shall act jointly with Russia against the Ottoman Porte, and the two High Contracting Parties will agree to liberate from the Turkish yoke and oppression all provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, except Constantinople and the Province of Rumelia.

Article 9

The present treaty shall be kept secret and shall neither be made public nor revealed to any government by one of the High Contracting Parties without the consent of the other.

It will be ratified and its ratifications will be exchanged in Tilsit within four days.

Tilsit, July 7, 1807.

✂ 26 ✂

Speranskii's Proposed Brief Outline of State Organization, 1809

Alexander I's achievements as tsar can be traced to the influence of three associates. At the beginning of his reign most of his ideas were stimulated by his Swiss tutor, Frédéric C. La Harpe (1754–1838). Between 1806 and 1812 Alexander's dreams were inspired by Michael M. Speranskii (1772–1839). After 1812 General Aleksei Arakcheev (1769–1834) influenced many of his actions. While each left a distinct imprint on Alexander I's reign, of the three men the influence of Speranskii is perhaps the most interesting. The son of a village priest, Speranskii was a self-made man. He developed a familiarity with contemporary political and economic theories and had been exposed to the harsh realities of Russian life. With this rare combination of the theoretical and the practical Speranskii was invaluable to Alexander I, who selected him as his chief adviser from 1806 to 1812. In this capacity Speranskii prepared a plan for the reorganization of the empire. Had Alexander accepted the plan, Russia might have evolved into a constitutional monarchy, but such was not the case. Soon after the proposal was presented, Alexander, frightened by the excesses of the French Revolution and influenced by the opponents of change, dismissed Speranskii and sent him to Siberia.

Basic Components

State power is represented in three branches—legislative, judicial, and executive.

The [State] Council coordinates all activity and passes it on to the sovereign. The State Duma is entrusted with lawmaking.

The Senate is entrusted with courts.

Ministries are entrusted with administration.

From M. M. Speranskii, *Proekt i zapiski (Project and Notes)*, Edited by A. I. Kopanov, M. V. Kukushkina and C. N. Valka (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk, 1961), pp. 222–231. Translation mine. Words in brackets are mine.

Organization of the [State] Council

Departments within the Council

I. Legal

Review of laws, statutes, and proposals presented by commissions and ministries.

II. Military Affairs

Affairs pertaining to the Ministries of War and Navy.

III. State Economy

Internal affairs, land and water communication system. Finance and Treasury. Ministry of Enlightenment.

IV. Civil and Religious Affairs

Police, Justice, and Religious Departments.

Institutions within the Council

State Chancellery

General central execution of all affairs that come before the State Council.

Legislative Commission

Preparation of state laws.

Commission on Petitions

Review of petitions addressed to the sovereign.

Main Components

The [State] Council consists of members appointed by the sovereign. Ministers are members of the Council in accordance with rank. Every department has a chairman appointed every six months. All matters enter departments through ministries. Important matters from departments are brought before a general meeting. In the general meeting the chairman is appointed annually. Nothing emanates from the Council without the approval of the sovereign.

Organization of the State Duma

Composition

The State Duma consists of deputies elected from all free classes at the gubernia dumas.

Competence

Proposed laws are presented by the government, are considered by the Duma, and are approved by the sovereign.

Chairman of the Duma is chosen from among three candidates after the Duma is elected. The Duma has a Chancellor who supervises its rules, archives, and the conduct of its affairs.

The Duma receives ministerial reports in case of an open violation of the State Constitution, the Duma has the right to demand a reply from ministries and to present its view to the sovereign.

Main Components

No new law can be issued without being considered by the Duma. Imposition of new taxes, duties, and obligations is considered by the Duma.

A law that has been considered in the Duma is presented for the sovereign's approval. A legislative measure that has been rejected by a majority of votes [in the Duma] is considered invalid.

For a detailed review of a legislative project the Duma selects temporary committees from among its members.

Organization of the Senate

Composition

The Senate consists of elected senators who will gradually replace the current members.

[The Senate] is divided into departments. Within the Senate there is organized a High Criminal Court in which members of the [State] Council, the Duma, and the Senate participate.

In the Senate there is established the position of a Chancellor of Justice.

Minister of Justice

Competence

All court matters are entrusted to the Senate.

This High Court has jurisdiction over ministries, members of the [State] Council, senators and governor-generals.

He supervises publications and documents of the Senate. He is Minister of Justice in the High Criminal Court.

He supervises legal forms and legal procedures both within the Senate and in other courts.

Organization of Ministries

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Competence</i>
Foreign Affairs	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Foreign Relations
Military	Minister of War	Land Forces
Naval	Minister of Navy	Naval Forces
Internal Affairs	Minister of Internal Affairs Chief Director of Communication Minister or Chief Director of Schools	Agriculture, Industry, Domestic Trade, Posts Communication Administration of schools
Finances	Minister of Finances	Revenues: collection of taxes and dues; administration of mines, forests, customs, etc.
	Minister of the Treasury	Circulation of capital and credit. Administration of currency, banks, etc.
	Minister or Chief Director of Accounting	Control of all accounts
Justice	Minister of Justice	Supervision and protection of courts
Religious Affairs	Ober-Procurator of the Synod	Department of Religious Affairs
Police	Minister of Police	Protection of internal security. State Police

Main Components

Every Ministry has as many departments as there are chief parts. Every department has a director. These directors comprise the Council of the Ministry.

All ministers have a general instruction that determines the picture of their activity, their relation to the Council, and degrees of their power and responsibility.

Matters that require a general meeting of ministers are introduced to the Committee of Ministers.

Organization of the Legislative Order in Gubernias

Composition	Competence
<i>Volost</i> dumas are organized in <i>volosts</i> from all owners of immovable property and from officials of state <i>volosts</i> .	To elect deputies to the <i>okrug</i> дума. To elect judges to <i>volost</i> courts. To elect members of the Council attached to <i>volost</i> administration. To elect a certain number of more distinguished citizens to organize a census in the <i>volost</i> . To account <i>volost</i> expenses and to redistribute new tax obligations. To present needs of the <i>volost</i> .
<i>Okrug</i> dumas are composed of a determined number of deputies elected by the <i>volost</i> dumas.	To elect deputies to the <i>gubernia</i> dumas, to the <i>okrug</i> court, to the council attached to the <i>okrug</i> administration; to elect a definite number of more distinguished citizens from <i>volost</i> rosters to give an account of <i>okrug</i> taxes and to distribute same, and to present needs of the <i>okrug</i> .
<i>Gubernia</i> dumas.	Election of deputies to the State Duma to <i>gubernia</i> courts, to councils attached to the <i>gubernia</i> administration, and so forth.

Main Components

The *volost* dumas represent the first, so to speak, element of legislative order which, emerging in the *volost* gradually rises as a result of elections of deputies every three years, and forms the State Duma.

All dumas have chairmen.

The lists of all *gubernia* dumas are to be submitted to the Chancellor of the [State] Duma. From these lists then is prepared a state list, from which are recruited officials, approved by public opinions, for the performance of certain administrative tasks.

Organization of the Executive Administration in Gubernias

Composition	Competence
The <i>gubernia</i> administration The chief official in the <i>gubernia</i> is the governor (wherever no governor-general exists). <i>Gubernia</i> administration branches are divided into offices: each office has its own chief. Chiefs of these branches under the chairmanship of the governor form the <i>gubernia</i> administration. Important matters are decided at a general meeting; current [matters] in the offices. The governor has an instruction determining the degree of his authority and responsibility. At the <i>gubernia</i> administration is located a Council of Disputes of the <i>gubernia</i> дума for the distribution of annual obligations, for accounting and for presenting needs [of the <i>gubernia</i>]. It meets once a year.	All matters of police, treasury collections, and taxes and general well being, are subjects of the <i>gubernia</i> administration.

The *Okrug* Administration

The chief of the *okrug* is the vice-governor; the government is divided into offices similar to those in the *gubernia* administration. Chiefs of the expeditions under chairmanship of the vice-governor comprise an *okrug* administration. Attached to it is an *okrug* council, consisting of deputies of the *okrug* дума. Local *uezd* police stations, city mayors, and district police officers are part of the *okrug* administration. Through them the *okrug* administration reaches *uezds*.

The same problems as in the *gubernia* administration, except that they are smaller in scope.