

III.—A *Visit to Russia.* By Denis Caulfeild Heron, Q.C., M.P.

[Read Tuesday, 11th December, 1872.]

I HAD the honour of an invitation to the International Statistical Congress held at St. Petersburg last August. This was the eighth of the series of similar Congresses which have been held. The first Congress was at Brussels, in 1852; the second, at Paris, in 1855; the third, at Vienna, in 1857; the fourth, at London, in 1860; the fifth, at Berlin, in 1863; the sixth, at Florence, in 1867; and the seventh, at the Hague, in 1869. All the statesmen of Europe have, on every question of international law or international tariffs, acknowledged the great benefits to Europe and society resulting from these Congresses. And in the present paper I wish only to communicate to the Society, of which I am an humble member, some of the information about Russia which I acquired under the many advantages I enjoyed as a member of the Statistical Congress.

One hundred and twenty-eight foreign members attended the Congress in St. Petersburg, representing every country in Europe except Turkey, and representing also the United States of America, the Empire of Brazil, Egypt, and Japan: 436 Russians attended the Congress from all parts of the Empire. Prince Lobanow, General Greig, M. Quetelet, Dr. Farr, MM. Levasseur, Séménov, Baumhauer, Engel, Meitzen, and Correnti, and other leading men, took an active part in the business of the Congress.

The Congress was opened by an address from the Grand Duke Constantine, President of the Congress, in the Hall of Nobles, on August 10, 1872. His Highness referred to the different opinions on the science of statistics. He said the end of the science was to seek under what laws and what institutions, what physical and economical conditions, the happiness of mankind should be most assured, and also to discover the source of evils which arrested the progress of humanity. The Russian government, acknowledging the honour of receiving the representatives of statistical science from all the civilized countries in the world, considered the actual session of the Congress in St. Petersburg as a pledge of the future progress of statistical science in Russia. His Highness said that the exchange of ideas, and the moral obligation to put in execution the resolutions of the Congress, would serve the cause of statistical science, and contribute to its development in Russia. Russia, enclosing in its limits all climates and territories—plain and mountain, steppes and forests, a multitude of tribes of different races and religions—offered a field of investigation for the statistician. The regularity, the systematic order, and the uniformity of the observations over the entire extent of Russia, and over a population of 80,000,000 of inhabitants, furnished rich materials for the science. His Highness concluded an eloquent address by welcoming the Congress to Russia in the name of his brother the Emperor.

It is right to acknowledge the Imperial hospitality with which we

were honoured. The members of Congress were provided in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Warsaw, with apartments in the best hotels; carriages and droskies were attached to the hotels for the convenience of members, and at their disposal; and the members of Congress received passes to and from the frontier of Russia, by whatever route they selected, to travel over all the railways and by the steam-packets of Russia. We had the honour of dining, by command of the Emperor, at the Imperial palace of Tsarskoé Sélo. The Grand Duke Constantine gave a reception. The Grand Duchess Helena, a munificent patron of the arts, and endeared to the Russian people by her exertions for the wounded in the Crimea, gave four receptions at her palaces in St. Petersburg, and on the Islands. The Yacht Club of St. Petersburg gave a *fete*. On the days of our invitations to Tsarskoé Sélo and Peterhof, the Imperial carriages, about sixty in number, met us at the railway station and place of embarkation for the steamers, and brought us to the palaces, armories, conservatories, picture galleries, gardens, and fountains. We were invited to the launching of the ironclad Peter the Great, and the Imperial Iron Foundry Company gave a magnificent banquet on the occasion. A *fete* was given on the occasion of our visit to Cronstadt. We went from St. Petersburg to Cronstadt in steamers; were received in the boats of the fleet. A great public dinner was given in St. Petersburg, in the Hall of Nobles, on which occasion I had the honour of proposing the toast of the Russian people; and I certainly esteemed it a great privilege to be permitted to say a few words in the capital of Russia, wishing peace and prosperity to a brave, industrious, loyal, and religious nation. The sections of the Congress met in the Ministry of the Interior, where fine rooms were fitted up as a club for us, with all the newspapers of Europe, a coffee-room, and bar. Our names were put down at the clubs of St. Petersburg and Moscow. While at St. Petersburg, we had the honour of receiving the invitation of the municipality of Moscow to visit the city and the Great Exhibition then being held there. At Moscow the Governor-General, Prince Vladimir Dolgorouki, gave a reception and ball. There were several excursions, both from Moscow and St. Petersburg. In Moscow, we who represented the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of America, gave a dinner of friendship in the Hotel de la Paix to M. Séménov and some of the leading Russians, who had exhibited to us such courtesy and attention. Dr. Farr was in the chair. The dinner was a success. The Mayor of Moscow made a capital speech, translated by his son into French, concluding with a hope that England, Russia, and America might ever be united in peace. In Warsaw we had a similar cordial welcome. In every part of Russia we met kindness, courtesy, and the warmest hospitality. Russian society is most agreeable. English is almost universally spoken. In conversation there is great quietness of manner, an apparent wish to please, and more deference to opinion than is shown in Western Europe. The sarcasm and chaff of American and English conversation are unusual. M. Séménov, Director-General of Statistics, exhibited indefatigable industry, and was the principal organizer of the Congress. Mr. T. Michel, Con-

sul-General at St. Petersburg, and M. Sémenow accompanied the Congress to Moscow; and to the courtesy and attention of MM. Sémenow and Michel, we were indebted for much of the happiness of our expedition.

RAILWAYS.

The railway system of the trunk lines in Russia in Europe is now most extended and complete; branch lines remain to be developed. In 1872 the railways opened in Russia measure about 8,750 miles. There is complete railway communication between St. Petersburg through Moscow to Taganrog and Odessa; the railway communication between Odessa, and Lemberg, and Cracow, and thence to Vienna and Berlin, is also complete. This autumn the railway was opened from Poti, on the Black Sea, to Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, a flourishing city, the residence of the Grand Duke Michel, Lieutenant of the Caucasus. This railway will be rapidly pushed on to the Caspian Sea. The Poti-Baku railway may yet be the main line of communication between Europe and India. There is now a complete line of railways from Calais to Odessa; and from Tiflis on the Caspian to Bushire, at the head of the Persian Gulf, is a distance of only 900 miles. By far the shortest route to India is from London *via* Calais, Berlin, or Vienna, Lemberg, to Odessa by rail, from Odessa by steamboat to Poti, from Poti to Tiflis; 900 miles of railway from Tiflis to Bushire, through Persia, remain to be constructed. By this route all the steamboat voyages through the Mediterranean and Red Sea would be avoided. In a few years it will be as easy to ascend Mount Elbruz or Mount Ararat as it is to ascend any of the famous Swiss peaks. Hotels may soon be near the top of Elbruz or Ararat, as they are on the summits of the Righi or the Riffelberg. Good steamers are on the Caspian Sea, plying between Astrackhan and the ports to the south; and the railway joining the Caspian Sea to the Sea of Aral, a distance of only about 400 miles, is contemplated. If the difficulties about Khiva were settled, a steam navigation of more than 600 miles would be opened into the heart of Asia, along the great river Amu, the classic Oxus, across which Alexander the Great led the united armies of Macedonians and Persians for the conquest of Scythia. The railway carriages of Russia are admirable—far superior to our old-fashioned carriages; they are lofty, have sleeping sofas and apartments, and all the comforts of a good house.

In travelling through a country to me so new and interesting, I endeavoured to obtain some information as to the history and results of the legal changes now proceeding in Russia, in reference to the property in the land and the condition of the peasantry.

The greatness of Russia dates from Peter the First, one of the most extraordinary men the world ever produced; who had the rare merit and fortune of being successful to the end of his life; whose exertions and works still influence the prosperity of his empire to a greater degree than any other person within the last two centuries has influenced human fortunes; than whom no one ever better deserved the title of "Great;" and whose memory to this hour is adored by the

empire which he virtually founded, by the people whose independence and prosperity he, by tremendous sacrifices of men and fortune, assured. At the commencement of his reign the Russians were not able to meet in the field, with any chance of success, the Swedish or the Polish soldiers. But the magnificent Swedish army, the finest in Europe, was wasted by disease and famine in the disastrous expedition before the battle of Pultava. In 1709, in this battle, the power of Sweden was broken for ever.

"The power and glory of the war,
Faithless as their vain votaries, men,
Had passed to the triumphant Czar,
And Moscow's walls were safe again."

Since that disastrous day the valiant Swedish nation have never ceased to regret the fatal enterprises of Charles XII., which Swedish patriots believe have prevented their beautiful island city, Stockholm, from being the capital of the North, instead of St. Petersburg.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

Russia, the most conservative state in the world, has, since 1861, given more than 60,000,000 of English acres to the peasantry at a fair price, payable in instalments, the state paying the nobles £70,000,000 compensation, and on favourable terms allowing the peasantry to become the owners of their cottages and homesteads. The Crown peasants have also become proprietors of about 50,000,000 acres, paying a land tax of 2s. per acre to the state. Russia, since 1861, has also given liberty and local government to the peasantry. In addition to the land they own, they have become tenants of about 200,000,000 acres at fair rents. They have universal suffrage in the communal meeting. They are represented in the cantonal district and provincial assemblies.

Before 1861 there were about 48,000,000 of serfs, male and female, in Russia—22,000,000 on the Crown lands, and 23,000,000 on the lands belonging to the nobility, and 3,000,000 on the appanage lands belonging to the Imperial family.

The act of emancipation of the serfs was proclaimed by the present Emperor, Alexander II., on the 3rd of March, 1861. The 23,000,000 of serfs on the lands of the nobility then acquired absolutely personal liberty and civil rights. There was a compulsory allotment of land to each peasant head of a family, from a minimum of one *desiatina* (two and a half acres) to a maximum of twelve *desiatinas*, or thirty acres, in the steppe districts. Facilities were given for the purchase of other lots. The land, whether given to the peasants by these compulsory arrangements or by bargain with the landlords, was purchased from the nobility by the Government; the peasantry were charged five per cent. on the purchase money for varying periods, averaging about thirty-five years, at the end of which time they become proprietors, paying no rent. The Russian Government have paid to the nobles since 1861, over £70,000,000 sterling—an ample and satisfactory compensation for the property taken from them.

I have derived much of my information on the subject from per-

sonal inquiries, from French translations of the different ukases, and from the works and reports of Mr. Michel, Consul-General at St. Petersburg. I may mention one gentleman who gave me valuable personal information on the subject—my friend, M. Trirogoff, of Saratoff, near Astrackhan.

As I have said, in 1861 the peasantry attached to the land of the aristocracy and gentry were 23,000,000, or nearly 10,000,000 of males; of whom three-quarters of a million were domestic serfs, and as such not in the occupation of land, and half a million were attached to various mines and works. The domestic serfs became absolutely free in 1863. Although the act of emancipation of 1861 dealt only with the lands and the peasantry attached to the lands of the aristocracy and gentry, 23,000,000 in number, the act affected indirectly the peasantry of the Crown, 22,000,000 of both sexes, and of the appanages (Imperial family), 3,000,000, who became later the object of special legislation.

These two latter classes of peasantry were better off in their circumstances than the nobility's serfs, properly so called: their rents were lower and less variable than those paid to the landed proprietors; they paid a money rent fixed; and, as their earnings could not be taken from them, they considered themselves free, although their right of locomotion was as much circumscribed as was that of the serfs.

As regards the interest of the serf, the advantages conferred upon him by the Emancipation Acts may be summarized as follows:—

1. The right of a freeman.
2. The right of enjoying, on terms fixed by law, the perpetual usufruct of his homestead, and of certain maximum and minimum territorial allotments, based on the quantity of land which he cultivated prior to the emancipation.
3. The right of converting his liability in service into a money rent on terms fixed by law.
4. The right of demanding the sale of his homestead from the lord, and the right (subject to the consent of the lord) of purchasing his territorial allotment also.
5. The means afforded by the state of fully and finally terminating, by the redemption of homesteads and territorial allotments, his relations of dependence towards the lord of the soil.
6. Communal and cantonal self-government.

The interest of the landed proprietor was secured by several provisions: a money payment, based on the rights he previously enjoyed, was secured to him; he could insist on the serf purchasing the territorial allotment without the homestead; he obtained compensation for the loss of serf labour and the cession of land in Government stock in the proportion of eighty per cent. of the nominal valuation of the land.

The number of proprietors who owned serfs in Russia Proper at that time was 103,158. Of the total area of land in the possession of those proprietors, amounting to about 301,000,000 of English acres, nearly 100,000,000 of acres were then, in 1861, held by their serfs,

either at a rent in money or service, or under a mixed liability both in money and service.

The emancipation act raised to about 239,000,000 of acres the quantity of land in the actual possession of the nobility or gentry, and reduced to a little over 60,000,000 of acres the area of land which the serfs formerly held at a quit rent, or in return for service, but of which the emancipated peasantry were bound by law to become proprietors or tenants at a rate fixed by law.

The tenants of the demesnes of the Crown were always in a better position than the serfs of the nobility ; but the policy of giving a certain amount of land in perpetuity to the head of every agricultural family, was carried out in reference to the Crown lands as well as the lands of the nobles. About 50,000,000 acres were allotted to the Crown tenants. The result in 1869 was that the tenants of demesnes of the Crown, 22,000,000 in number, who were formerly serfs, held a permanent allotment of about ten acres per male head of a family, at a rental or land tax of about two shillings English an acre.

Up to the 5th of November, 1869, the number of male peasants who had become purchasers under the "redemption operation," in Russia Proper, was 3,614,882. The quantity of land allotted to them was 34,765,940, or 9.61 acres per head, and the government payments to the proprietors amounted to 29s. 2d. per acre, the landowners having in less than half the number of cases obtained 20 per cent. more from the peasants themselves, in ready money, or in payment spread over a certain number of years.

Thus, of the tenants under the nobles, 3,614,882 males, heads of families, had then become freeholders under the redemption system, and ultimately, in about fifteen years on the average, will own their lands without paying any rent.

In several provinces of Russia, by arrangement, the terms are more or less favourable to the tenants.

In all upwards of £70,000,000 English, have been advanced by the state to the tenants, to enable them to purchase their lands from the nobles. Although the allotment was compulsory, the nobles were paid in Government stock nearly the entire value of the land so taken.

Together with the emancipation of the serfs, a great system of communal and cantonal government was organized.

The general laws of the country do not interfere between the commune and its members in the re-division of lands, according to certain local customs, every ten years, where the communal system of tenure exists. The commune also regulates the assessment of local taxes, the settlement of civil claims, and the punishment of some offences. The communal system is, however, dying out as the property of each individual peasant in his land becomes certain.

One-third of the cultivable land in Russia is still held by the state, one-fifth by landed proprietors, one-fifth by the peasantry, and the remainder under a variety of forms.

The landholders of Russia may be classified as follows:—The Imperial family, owning lands on which are about 3,500,000 of appanage peasants.

2ndly. The nobility, gentry, and a small class of merchants who have purchased land since 1861, and forming a class of landholders numbering a little over 105,000, exclusive of their families.

3rdly. The peasantry of Russia, now (1872) numbering over 50,000,000 of both sexes, and formerly known as serfs, Crown peasants, and appanage peasants, now occupy, as freeholders, under a variety of denominations, a fifth of the area of cultivable lands, and occupy, as tenants, a much larger portion.

PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

The peasantry of Russia may be divided into three principal groups in respect to the mode in which they have acquired the possession of land :—

1st. Peasants on land not mortgaged to the state.

2nd. Peasants on land mortgaged to the state.

3rd. Peasants settled on Crown lands.

1stly. The peasant proprietors of land not mortgaged to the state consist principally of about 600,000 of the ex-serfs who have accepted the gift of a minimum allotment of land from their former lords, in lieu of purchasing, with the aid of government, or of holding at a fixed rental the lands to which they were entitled under the emancipation act.

2ndly. The peasants on land mortgaged to the state amount to about two-thirds of the total number of ex-serfs, and of all the peasantry of the appanages who have contracted a debt with the state, for the purpose of purchasing the lands allotted to them under the act of emancipation.

In those provinces of Russia where the communal system does not exist, this class of peasants may now be considered as landed proprietors. In the rest of Russia, particularly in the thirty-three provinces of Great Russia, where the proprietary rights in lands allotted to the peasantry are vested in the communes, the peasantry are only tenants of the communes ; but everywhere they enjoy the perpetual usufruct of their homesteads, their houses, and gardens.

3rdly. The peasants settled on Crown lands, hitherto known as Crown peasants, are now known as peasant proprietors. A quit rent or land tax of 2s. per acre, is payable to the Crown, liable to be raised at the end of twenty years ; but these small proprietors have the absolute right of alienating or inheriting their lands, as before mentioned. They number 23,000,000, of both sexes.

FORMS OF TENANCY.

I have now stated the classes of peasantry who may be considered in the class of proprietors, or quasi proprietors. I now proceed to enumerate the forms of tenancy, which may be classified as follows :—

I. Tenancy under legislative acts.

II. Tenancy by mutual agreement.

I.—*Tenancy under legislative acts.*

Under this head may be placed, theoretically :

(1) The great bulk of the peasantry of Russia Proper, whose com-

munes have accepted the aid of Government in the redemption of their lands, and who have not purchased from those communes their individual proprietary rights.

(2) All the communes of ex-serfs which continue to hold their allotments and homesteads at a rental fixed by the legislature, and paid either in money or service. This class of tenancy exists only in the thirty-three provinces of Great Russia, and still includes about 3,000,000 of males, or one-third of the total number of ex-serfs; and

(3) The ex-Crown peasants, who continue to hold under communes that have not paid off the capital of the rent with which the land is burdened, and the payment of which in one sum converts the tenancy into freehold proprietorship.

II.—*Tenancy by mutual agreement.*

As before mentioned, the quantity of land left in the actual possession of the nobility, exclusive of forests or wastes, amounted to about 240,000,000 of acres. The greater proportion of these estates of the landed nobility have been by mutual agreement let to the peasantry, as a general rule, only as tenants from year to year, but frequently for periods extending to twelve years. The nobles actually retain in their own possession, unlet, an average of 2,000 acres for each proprietor. Their ex-serfs are either proprietors, or perpetual tenants of about ten acres per male. The ex-serfs of the appanages have an average allotment, as proprietors, of fifteen acres per male, and the Crown peasants, twenty acres per male. The rest of the Crown lands are now let to the peasants at rents fixed by competition, as in England.

DESCENT OF REAL ESTATE IN CASE OF INTESACY.

In the case of proprietors of the nobility or merchant class, the division of landed property is thus regulated in the absence of testamentary disposition:—

In the descending line, the right of inheritance belongs by preference to the male issue in equal parts, the widow receiving one-seventh part of the real estate, and one-fourth of the personal property; while the daughters, if any, have a claim to one-fourteenth of the real, and one-eighth of the personal property. Failing male issue, daughters and their issue divide the real estate. On failure of lineal descendants, the collateral relations succeed in the following order of preference:—First, brothers and their issue; second, sisters and their issue; third, uncles and aunts of the whole blood, and their issue.

There is no law of primogeniture, although in a few great families estates are entailed. In 1713, Peter the Great attempted to introduce the law of primogeniture, and by ukase enacted that the eldest son should have the general inheritance of the land in fee-simple. The Russian nobility were much opposed to this law, and it was cancelled in the following reign.

Up to the year 1861, the peasantry had no civil rights, accordingly the Act of Emancipation of 1861 declares legal the descent and division of real property according to local usage.

The following are the main features of the local usages:—The property, real and personal, of a peasant is generally considered as the common patrimony of the household or family, the chief of the household being charged with its entire and uncontrolled management.

The several members of a peasant household have no personal rights of property, and, therefore, on the death of the head of the family or household, the property which he administered continues to be the common inheritance of all the members of the family; but its management for the benefit of all devolves on the successor, who may either be appointed or designated by the previous administrator, or who may succeed to the latter by customary right of seniority. In some localities, the brother of the deceased succeeds by seniority—in others, the eldest son. But in many parts of Russia the administration of the household property devolves on the senior in years, irrespective of the degree of relationship; while in others, again, the family elects a capable and trustworthy administrator.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The Russian empire is divided into seventy-six governorships, of which forty-eight are in European Russia, four in Siberia, six in the Caucasus, ten in Poland, and eight in Finland. There are also three regions and one territory (Don Cossack).

Local government exists in various forms, except in Siberia, the Caucasus, and in Poland.

The commune is the legal unit in the local government system which prevails in Russia. It generally consists of an entire village, and the adjacent lands. It is governed by a communal meeting and starosta (or mayor), assisted by certain elected officers, tax-gatherers, inspectors of schools, hospitals, etc. The meeting of the commune is composed of all the male heads of families belonging to the commune, and all the officers elected by it, the starosta occupying the first place, and maintaining due order.

The communal meeting has great powers: it elects officers and representatives for the cantonal meeting, in the proportion of one delegate for every ten householders; it assesses the imperial, local, and communal taxes on the peasantry of the commune; conducts all affairs relating to recruitment. The conscription takes every year eight men for every thousand of the population. The starosta decides petty disputes, but has power only to inflict a fine of one rouble, or give two days' imprisonment.

The canton is composed of several communes, and must embrace a population of 300 males. The cantonal meeting is also composed of peasants; it elects the cantonal tribunal, consisting of four to twelve judges, with a civil jurisdiction up to £13 6s., and limited powers of fine and imprisonment. All local business is conducted by the cantonal council.

Under the ukase of 1864, each government or province has a district assembly and a district court.

The district assembly is composed of representatives elected in three classes. First, by the nobles or proprietors of the district;

secondly, by town or merchant communities ; thirdly, by peasant or village communities.

At the district electoral meetings of landed proprietors, the franchise is exercised by persons holding land of the value of £2,000, or possessing factories or other industrial establishments producing £800 per annum.

In the town electoral meetings, the following persons have the franchise :—All persons having licences, as merchants ; secondly, the proprietors of factories, or other industrial establishments, with a capital of £400 ; and persons of other property qualification, ranging from £400 to £67, according to the size of the towns.

The electors of the peasants must not exceed in number one-third of those who have a right to take part in the cantonal meetings.

With respect to the qualification of representatives,

(a.) The district electoral meeting of landed proprietors can elect members of that body.

(b.) The town electoral meetings may elect qualified members of those meetings, not excluding such landed proprietors as may have a right to take part in the town electoral meetings.

(c.) The village electoral meetings can elect peasants members of the electoral meetings of landed proprietors, or the local orthodox clergy, and church servants generally.

The district assemblies have as their main function, to elect representatives for the provincial assemblies, and the number in the provincial assemblies is regulated by the number of representatives in each district.

The district assembly also has superintendence and control in the distribution of the state taxes among the population of the district.

The provincial assembly has the ordinary powers of a grand jury in Ireland, but has also control over fairs, navigation, roads, charitable institutions, and other very general powers as to local taxation, absolutely subject, however, to the governor of the province, and the Ministry of the Interior.

The provincial court is composed of a president, and six members chosen for three years by the provincial assembly. The payment of the members of the court is optional with the assemblies.

The new Justices of the Peace are elected by the three orders of nobles, burghers, and peasants, in a similar manner. They have extensive civil and criminal jurisdiction.

FUNCTIONS AND COMPETENCY OF THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES OF RUSSIA.

The provincial assemblies are charged with the administration of such rural matters as refer to the whole province, or to several of its districts.

The following matters are also within their competency :

1. The distribution of buildings, houses, roads, taxes, charitable institutions between the district and provincial assemblies, and changes in such distribution.

2. Matters relating to the establishment of new fairs, alterations

of the dates when such fairs are to be held, and changes in the place of holding them.

3. The establishment of new wharves on navigable rivers, and the removal of old wharves.

4. Petitions to place certain roads under the charge of the government.

5. Mutual insurance of property against fire.

6. The distribution of the state taxes among the districts.

7. The examination and settlement of any difficulties that may arise in the preparation of estimates, and the distribution of direct taxes.

8. Examination of complaints against the district courts.

The district assemblies are charged with administration of matters appertaining to each separate district.

The following matters are also within their competency :

1. The distribution of the state taxes among the population of the district.

2. The preparation of preliminary reports for the settlement of the provincial estimates, with reference to the extent and mode of assessing provincial taxes; which reports are to be presented to the provisional courts.

3. The supplying of information and resolutions to the provincial assemblies relative to domestic affairs.

4. Permission to hold public sales and bazaars.

5. Village and district roads, distinctions between, etc.

6. Tow paths along rivers.

7. Local arrangements and supervision at the instigation of the provincial court, in matters relating to the competency of the former.

The assemblies possess an administrative power, and a general supervision over affairs. The courts are charged with the executive, and generally with a closer supervision of affairs relating to the rural body.

The provincial assemblies may issue ordinances locally obligatory within each province, and the district assemblies may issue instructions to the courts of the several districts and to all persons in authority under them, with reference to the execution of the ordinances of the provincial assemblies, and in conformity with the general laws of the empire and the ukase.

The assemblies and courts cannot carry into execution, without the confirmation of the local or superior authorities, such of their resolutions as may require confirmation by law.

The provincial and district assemblies meet once a year; the districts not later than September, the provincial assemblies not later than December.

The district assemblies sit ten days, the provincial twenty days; but the sessions may be prolonged on petition (the provincial by the Minister of the Interior, the district assemblies with the sanction of the Governor of the province).

The Minister of the Interior may convene extraordinary assemblies.

The provincial assemblies are opened and closed by the Governor

of the province in person, the district assemblies by the district marshals of nobility.

The members of these assemblies are required to take the oath usually administered to those who enter the service of the state. The resolutions of the assemblies are legally binding only when one third of the representatives of whom the assemblies are composed, were present when the resolution was carried, and at all events not less than ten.

No member has more than one vote. Votes cannot be given by deputy. Elections and dismissals from service or impeachments of members are decided by ballot; all other questions by open voting. The assemblies will frame the necessary rules in both cases.

All questions are decided by a majority of votes. The President has the casting vote in case of an equality of votes.

It appears from the foregoing statement that a greater social change than any we know of within the historical period, has occurred in Russia since 1861. More than 50,000,000 of peasantry have been emancipated, and have become owners of portions of the best cultivated lands in Russia. I believe up to the present time, that more than £70,000,000, the entire value of the land taken from the nobles, has been given by the state to the nobles. The peasantry have become the virtual owners of 110,000,000 acres—60,000,000 of acres taken from the nobles, 50,000,000 acres of Crown lands. This vast change has been effected in perfect peace. In some respects this is due to the character of the Russian peasantry—their quietness, their submission to authority, their devotion to their religion. No where in Europe is there less crime than in Russia. The great foundling hospital system prevents infanticide. There is scarcely any larceny, except in the great towns. The crimes, such as riot and manslaughter, arising from drunkenness, are few—the Russians, although fond of vodka, being very good humoured when under “the influence,” and rarely having a cross drop in them. But the peaceful character of the change is also due to the ability with which it was conducted by the Russian statesmen, and to the large measures of compensation given to the nobles for the loss of so much land.

POLAND.

Poland is apparently the most fertile, populous, and prosperous district of European Russia. The population of Russian-Poland in 1867 was 5,705,607. Since 1865, the Polish peasantry have received large allotments of the lands, the nobles being largely compensated as in the rest of Russia. The Polish peasantry are now, as I have been informed, since they have acquired the property in their land, becoming conservative in opinion. There is no more certain way of making a poor man belong to what is termed in Eastern Europe the party of conservatism and order, than to enable him to acquire the property in land. The castle, house, or cottage, in which the family have lived for generations, and have a right to live, represents in modern society, peace, order, religion. The Polish peasantry, I think, have obtained under the emancipation acts, terms slightly more favourable than the peasantry succeeded in

obtaining in the rest of the empire. Russian statesmen, in their recent concessions to the Polish peasantry, have no doubt been actuated by the desire to make them loyal subjects of Russia. They have taken the surest means to do so, by allowing them, under favourable terms, to become the owners of their homesteads and farms—annihilating the feudal services which bound them to their landlords. It is broadly asserted by the Russians that the magic wand of property has in Poland, as far as the peasantry are concerned, united them to their government by one of the strongest ties in human affairs—enlightened self-interest. I was assured in Warsaw that the peasantry, since they have obtained the property in their homesteads, have rapidly changed their attitude to their government, and are becoming loyal subjects, devoted to the Czar and to Russia. I was assured that under recent ordinances religious toleration and religious liberty exist to the fullest extent: and that the local government system will be speedily extended to Poland. The Polish peasantry will then have what economists consider among the principal causes of prosperity—religious toleration, plenty of good land as owners, and liberty to manage their own affairs as they please.

Just laws, regulating the distribution and tenure of landed property, are the triumph of statesmanship. The true origin of the rapid development and greatness of Prussia is to be found in the emancipation of the land, commenced by Stein in 1807, and by Hardenberg in 1810. The Polish peasantry of Posen, from 1823 to 1840, acquired the same rights with their German fellow-subjects, and became free proprietors. The success of these measures for Prussia was undoubted. The Russian government have had the advantages of the previous experiments of Prussia, and have acted towards the peasantry with far greater liberality than the German statesmen.

For hundreds of years, Moscow and Warsaw were the centres of mighty governments, and these two great cities inflicted terrible woes upon each other. For a long time Warsaw had the advantage. The Poles inhabit a splendid fertile country. They had an earlier civilization and a great superiority in arms. The climate of Poland is far superior to that of Muscovy. By the magnificent Vistula, a great navigable river, the trade of Warsaw was always open to Western Europe. In size, health, and strength, the Polish peasantry are far superior to the Muscovites. They inhabit a more fertile country, with better climate, and have always had far better food. Warsaw is the centre of a magnificent district; yet all these advantages of nature and fortune have been lost, and the capitals of the empire of the north are St. Petersburg and Moscow, instead of Warsaw. These two great cities, Moscow and Warsaw, waged an internecine war. Wonderful are the chances of history. Sweden, Poland, Muscovy, contended for empire. The fate of Russia would have been different if a stray bullet had killed Peter the Great during the three days' fighting at Pultava. The dismemberment of Poland was a great political crime, the result of fatal intestine dissensions. But Warsaw still continues a great city, with great trade and prosperity, palaces, cathedrals, fine shops, splendid hotels, good tram-

ways. Let us hope that Moscow and Warsaw will forget the historical miseries they inflicted on one another. No one will suppose I undervalue history. From the outset of my college career, I have been a devoted student of history; but recently I have often formed a wish that all the books were burned, recounting the atrocities which, in the struggle for existence, in cruelty and terror, rival nationalities inflicted on each other, whenever they were victorious during the middle ages.

THE CAUCASUS.

The mountain chain of the Caucasus runs for seven hundred miles between the Black and Caspian Seas. It is the dividing range between Europe and Asia. The highest peak, Mount Elbruz, is 18,493 feet high; the next highest, Mount Kasbeck, is 16,500. Mont Blanc, in Savoy, is only 15,750. Circassia Proper is the small district to the extreme north-west of the range, and is one of the eight governments of the Caucasian provinces. The Tcherkesses have made their name famous by their heroic struggle under Schamyl. They are shepherds, having no towns, no trade or manufactures, totally uneducated, living in very small, poor villages, perched up high in the mountain ravines. During their independence, they levied black mail on their neighbours; many were brigands, but brigands of the class of Rob Roy. They sold their children to Constantinople. They profess the Mahommedan religion. The Trans-Caucasian provinces, south of the Caucasus, are eminently beautiful and fertile. Magnificent trees grow to an extraordinary elevation. Oaks, beeches, elms, and limes, grow to a great elevation on the mountains. The box-tree grows as a great forest tree. The juniper is of extraordinary size. In the lower districts fruits and flowers flourish most luxuriantly. The climate is splendid. The scenery of a hundred valleys running down to the Black and Caspian Seas is unsurpassed. The mountains of the Caucasus combine the grandeur of the Alps, with the vivid colouring of Killarney.

In considering the present state of Russia, the great district of the Caucasus, which we call Circassia and Georgia, cannot be overlooked. All the various nationalities of Circassia and Georgia, more than forty in number, have become peaceful and loyal subjects of the Emperor. They are willing to give far more than their quota of eight soldiers per annum, for every 1,000 of inhabitants, to the conscription. The Circassian and Georgian soldiers are among the tallest and strongest men of the Russian army. The good looks of the Circassians have been exaggerated in my opinion. They have what we in the west of Europe term a Jewish cast of countenance: large aquiline noses, and dark eyes and beards. All the mountaineers of Judæa, Syria, Armenia, Georgia, and the Caucasus, are similar in physique—in fact, are the same people. Their regiments are in appearance amongst the best that Russia has, although I consider a regiment of Polish Grenadiers, if one may be allowed to judge from the fine appearance of the Polish peasantry, ought to be the tallest, heaviest, and best-looking amongst the regiments of the Empire of Russia.

In all future wars, Circassia and Georgia, loyal to Russia, and sending to the field the flower of a population of 5,000,000 of shepherds, amongst the hardiest and healthiest of the human race, will have terrible weight in the shock of battles. This result, so important for Russia, has been brought about by statesmanship and good management, over forty quasi-independent tribes inhabiting the Caucasus. The surrender of Schamyl terminated the war; but nearly all the Circassian officers, and most of their men now in the Russian army, were at one time or another engaged in the war against Russia. The native chieftains of Circassia, like those of the Scottish highlands after 1745, very poor in everything but men, have been received into the Russian army. Their title of princes has been recognized. Some little jealousy has been caused by this. Nor have the Circassian officers the education of the Russians, nor their great facility for acquiring languages. But schools and colleges will now be founded, and the intellect and valour of Circassia will receive their due promotion in the service of the Russian Empire.

The Caucasian provinces have all the requisites to become, like Switzerland, a land for tourists. Wild boar and deer are in the forests; game of all kinds abound. The Salmonidæ are said to be plentiful in some of the rivers. The historical associations are unsurpassed in interest. Tiflis, now a railway station, is on the great river Kur—the classic Cyrus, and which falls into the Caspian, after receiving the classic Araxes. The town of Poti, now a railway and steam-packet station—the future Liverpool of the Black Sea—embraces the harbour where the good ship *Argo* cast anchor, when the Argonauts landed in quest of the Golden Fleece, and is the site of the ancient capital of Colchis, where Jason wooed and won Medea. Near Erivan, in Russian Armenia, rises Mount Ararat, 17,323 feet high. Close to Erzeroum, near the frontier of Turkish Armenia, is the hill from which Xenophon and his Ten Thousand, in their retreat, caught the first glimpse of the silver Euxine, and where they shouted "*Thalatta, thalatta.*" What boy reading that famous historic incident has not had it for ever impressed upon his fancy? Across the frontier of Persian Armenia, on the southern shores of the Caspian, is the tremendous pass of the Caspian Gates, through which Darius fled and Alexander pursued after the battle of Arbela.

The charm of travelling is to combine beautiful scenery, hunting, shooting, and fishing, a fine climate, a good market, agreeable companions, and historic and poetic associations. In no part of the world may these conditions co-exist under more favourable circumstances than in Caucasia.

EDUCATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Education in Russia is principally under the direction of the Ministry of Public Instruction. Russia in Europe has a population of 65,000,000. On the 1st of January, 1869, the total number of establishments for general, elementary, and special instruction in Russia, was 21,351, and the number of students in the three classes was 829,928. This list includes 9 universities, with 6,125 students, and 17,678 national schools, with 598,121 students. In the na-

tional schools, 84 per cent. on the general number of pupils are boys, and 16 per cent. girls.

There are 318 periodicals and papers published in Russia, of which 34 are daily, and 94 weekly; 264 of these are in the Russian language; the rest are published in German, French, and also in the Hebrew language, and in the Lettonian and Esthonian and Finnish languages, and I believe in other local dialects.

In relation to the entire population, there is only one pupil to every 100 males, a calculation which corresponds almost exactly with the fact practically ascertained, that out of every 100 of recruits levied, only one man can read and write. Hitherto education has been much neglected. The Russian Government have preferred that the peasantry should be religious and obedient to the laws, and have not encouraged National Education.

To us accustomed in Western Europe to consider the British Parliament, the French Assembly, the American Congress, essential to the liberty and prosperity of nations, an absolute government appears surprising. As I have shown above, there is great development of local government now proceeding in Russia; but there is no parliament, and the Imperial taxation is levied by the order of the Emperor. The Imperial Chancellor of the Exchequer, M. de Reutern, Minister of Finances, has no parliament before which the annual budget must be presented, by which the annual taxation must be voted, and to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer must account. The Civil List of the Emperor and the Imperial family is practically unlimited. There is a censorship of books; there is a censorship of the press; there is no liberty of the press. The liberty of the press is essential to the free development of a nation. I never shall say a word against the public right which we enjoy of speaking and writing freely according to conscience. It is not so often abused. And the public advantage of free discussion is so great, that the occasional private mischief and suffering, though undeserved, must be endured. Yet, some statesmen consider that country happy where libels are impossible, where there are no libels on private character or public conduct, on private individuals or public functionaries; no libels on the administration of justice, or on the government of the realm.

Statesmen in Western Europe and in North America have been doing their best to encourage popular education, and from our western point of view, the record above quoted does not afford an encouraging aspect in regard to the education of Russia. One in one hundred males is able to read and write; the women of the peasant class are scarcely educated at all—in fact, know nothing but their prayers.

Perhaps it may be useful sometimes to look at human affairs from a point of view entirely different from that to which we are accustomed. In Western Europe and North America, National Education and Representative Political Institutions have been developed to the highest extent. Over a great part of Western Europe, National Education is gratuitous and compulsory. The cultivation of the intellect by education is man's highest function and noblest duty. All the resources of a mighty nation meet in Parliament in great and

glorious contention. Parliaments exercise the highest functions of political power in England, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States of America. Still we are not contented. On the other hand, from the despotic point of view, our grand Western institutions appear mistakes. No doubt Russian statesmen consider that men educated beyond their position in life, with no employment for them as linguists, mathematicians, historians, are liable to become puffed up with vanity, and to become dangerous citizens. Russian statesmen believe in the natural necessity of orders of high and low, rich and poor, in every state; they believe it is for the advantage of the state that the peasantry should be obedient to the laws, should revere their priests, should regard with awful terror a breach of any of the Ten Commandments, should almost adore the Czar as a being invested by divine power with absolute authority. They do not approve of the systems of National Education in Western Europe, which they consider ultimately separate the working classes of the state from all the influences of the Christian religion. They consider the course of National Education in Western Europe has been to encourage the absolute independence of the individual—his freedom from any allegiance to authority—his disregard of any obligation to religion—his refusal to acknowledge any duty to society—his disbelief in any moral law or future state.

In Russia, all persons passing a church make the sign of the cross; in Western Europe, the old custom of saluting a priest has almost disappeared. Russian statesmen point to the working classes of England, France, and Germany, and assert it as a rule, that the working men of these countries, in the cities of Paris, Berlin, and London, go to no place of worship—are disaffected to any form of authority—and seek by obtaining political power to accomplish what is termed in Western Europe a more equitable division of property—what is termed in Eastern Europe the plunder of the rich. The Communists of Paris, the complete representatives of such Western progressionist ideas, acquired for a time political power in 1871, and signalized their victory by the burning alike of palaces and cathedrals—showing their hatred of creeds as well as of thrones. The Communists further signalized their political victory by the execution of hostages, by the massacre of bishops, by the plunder of private property: and Russian politicians assert that the plunder of private property is the ultimate end of these Communists of Western Europe—the Communists' massacre of priests, judges, and generals, being merely the expression of their dislike of these external forms of society by which religion, order, and ultimately property, are now with the greatest difficulty preserved.

There is a great development of local government in Russia. As regards representative institutions, the provincial assemblies in Russia, about fifty in number, vote the moneys for police, education, highways, navigation, sanitary purposes, charities, hospitals, and all other local purposes, but the Ministry of the Interior retains an absolute veto on their proceedings. The Grand Duchy of Finland retains its ancient parliamentary constitution, and has a separate taxation and coinage. But these local assemblies have no political power. Vir-

tually all political power is concentrated in the Emperor and the Ministry at St. Petersburg. There is no Parliament for the Empire. The seventy-six governors of the provinces report to the Emperor and his ministers. The Ministry of the Interior exercises a complete veto on all the proceedings of the district and provincial assemblies. The Emperor strikes the Imperial taxation to support the Civil List, and to pay army, navy, and interest on the national debt. There are no political meetings. The censorship of the press prevents all inquiry into the conduct of public officials. Nevertheless trade, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures flourish. Beyond a doubt, the emancipation of the peasantry, and the virtual gift to them, in perpetuity, of their cottages, homesteads, and gardens, has been a great financial, social, and political success. And nothing has ever succeeded like success. We must accept facts as we find them. In reference to the land question, nowhere in Europe have the peasantry been so well treated as in Russia. In consequence, they are willing to let the historical bygones be bygones. The peasantry are grateful for the benefits they have received. And Russian statesmen believe and assert that in Poland and Lithuania, the peasantry, suddenly transformed into proprietors of the lands which they held at the will of another, and secured for ever against capricious eviction or exaction, regard the Czar as their deliverer from the feudal burthens once imposed by their nobles, and have become loyal subjects, conservative in opinion. Over all Russia in Europe, the peasantry are improving their houses, drawing out the old secret hoards, laying out money on their lands, purchasing better clothing for their wives and children.

POPULATION.

Of the entire population of the Empire, about sixty millions are Slavonians, speaking one language, professing the one creed, with an intense feeling of a common nationality, and devotion to the Czar and to "holy Russia." The phrase "holy Russia" is the national term by which the Russian peasantry speak with affection and devotion of their fatherland. According to the census of 1871, the Roman Catholics, chiefly Poles, number 2,882,991; the Mahomedans, in the south and east of European Russia, are 2,358,766; the Protestants, principally Lutherans, in Finland and the Baltic Provinces, are 2,234,112; the Jews, 1,829,100. In the country of the Don-Cossacks, and in Astrackhan and Perm, the Pagans and Buddhists number 255,503. This estimate is exclusive of the population of Asiatic Russia. The total population of the empire, according to the census of 1871, was 81,925,428.

ARMY.

The army of Russia is divided into five grand armies: the army of Russia in Europe; the army of the Caucasus; the army of Orenberg; the army of Turkestan; the army of Siberia.

These are now numbered as follows, with the colours, in 1871 :—

	Officers.	Men.
1. Army of Russia in Europe	18,979	502,386
2. Army of the Caucasus	3,425	122,218
3. Armies of Orenberg, Turkestan, and Siberia	1,289	51,850

According to the projects relative to the re-organization of the armed forces of Russia, the troops will be divided into troops of the line and local troops. Troops of reserve will also be formed, and a national militia. According to this scheme the army will have with the colours, in time of peace, 23,407 officers and 730,000 men, without reckoning Cossacks or national militia. The Cossacks number 4,091 officers, 185,084 men, and 232 cannons.

Regular Troops in time of War.

	Cannons.	Officers.	Men.
Russia in Europe	2,278	32,817	1,332,543
Caucasus	192	4,071	163,211
Siberia, Turkestan, and Orenberg	104	14,066	157,639
Officers in Administra- tions			
	<hr/> 2,474	<hr/> 50,954	<hr/> 1,633,393

The total force of regular troops capable of being mobilised in Russia in Europe in time of war, may be estimated as follows :—

	Men.
Infantry, 876 battalions	948,860
Cavalry, 280 squadrons, and 396 sotaias of Cossacks	109,000
Artillery, 2,888 cannons	81,800
Engineers, 16 battalions	19,000
Parks of Artillery	31,000
Ambulance	44,800
	<hr/> 1,234,460

NUMBER OF LIVE STOCK.

The number of live stock in Russia, as shown in the statistical works of 1870, is as follows, and I contrast them with the census of the United Kingdom for 1871 :

	Russia.	United Kingdom.
Horses in the Russian Empire	20,000,000	2,581,306
Horned cattle	28,500,000	9,235,052
Sheep	64,500,000	32,786,783
Goats	1,000,000	—
Pigs	11,000,000	3,650,730
Rein-deer (trained)	308,000	—
Camels (exclusive of Siberia and Turkestan)	62,250	—
Buffaloes	10,000	—

Number of live stock in Russia compared with the number that would be there, if in the same proportion to population as in the United Kingdom. 81,925,428 for Russia, and 31,609,910 for United Kingdom, or as 2.6 to 1.

Live Stock.	Number in Russia in 1870.	Number for Russia, if in same proportion to population as in United Kingdom.	Number in Russia greater than English proportion.	Number in Russia less than English proportion.
Horses	20,000,000	6,708,000	13,292,000	—
Horned Cattle ...	28,500,000	23,111,000	5,389,000	—
Sheep	64,500,000	75,246,200	—	10,746,200
Pigs	11,000,000	9,492,600	1,607,400	—

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

The nineteenth century is the era of great nations. The Empire of Russia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the United States of America, govern larger portions of the world, possess greater wealth, can set more legions in the field, or squadrons on the ocean, than the old Roman Empire of the Cæsars in their mightiest days. Russia is now the most conservative state in the world. In human affairs one lesson from history is, that mighty and rapid changes, conducted by violence, produce wars between nations, intestine seditions, and ruin in states. Whatever legal changes are to come in Russia, the conservative power of the nobles, the tremendous influence of religion through the clergy, will cause such changes to be made peacefully.

We in Ireland, in this most remote part of Western Europe, scarcely known by name to the grand old nationalities of Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, or the Ukraine, which have coalesced with the original Great Russia, may be permitted to express a hope that the Emperor Alexander, and his great ministers, may prosperously continue the career auspiciously commenced in 1861. Since that time the Emperor Alexander has given land and liberty to 50,000,000 of peasants. In the history of the world very few men have had the happiness to do so much good to mankind. On a gigantic scale, the Emperor Alexander has done for Russia what Stein and Hardenberg less generously did for the Prussian peasantry, what Mr. Gladstone, through all the difficulties of representative government, has endeavoured to accomplish for Ireland. Since that time the Emperor's Minister of Justice, Count Pahlen, has established trial by jury in weighty civil and criminal cases. On trial by jury being developed and the independence of the judges being established, an educated and accomplished bar will come into existence. Since 1861, the Emperor's Ministry of the Interior have established a complete form of communal, and cantonal, and provincial governments; all local officials and local judges being elected by the three orders of the people, nobles, burghers, and peasants. The Emperor's Chancellor of the

Exchequer has pledged the Imperial credit for the great Russian railways.

In every respect Eastern Europe is in a rapid state of transition. A vast change is coming over Asia. The railways alone bring civilization. When the railway bridge shall cross the Hellespont, the towering rock from which Hero held her torch for Leander will be a railway station. Railways into the heart of Asia will soon open to the industry and cultivation of Europe districts in Southern Siberia, with a soil and climate equal to France and Italy, the communication with which is now interrupted by the steppes and deserts, where now roam the nomad tribes of Turkestan. One of the contemplated lines to India is to run by Tiflis, the Caspian Gates, Teheran, Meshid, Herat, Cabul, and the Khyber Pass, to Peshawur—the route by which Alexander the Great led the Macedonian veterans to the Indus. The contemplated Russian-Persian lines will run through districts once the most flourishing on the earth, and whence the "Great King," the terror of Greece, drew his legions. And at the Congress a Privy Councillor of Japan informed me his government had signed concessions for four hundred miles of railway, and that the government foundries in Japan were building locomotives and ironclads. The sons of the nobility and gentry of Japan are coming in numbers to the cities of Europe and America to learn the languages, the laws, the trades, and manufactures of the most advanced nations. The national colleges of Japan are adopting the English language.

In the progress of the world, Russia will keep one of the foremost places. The accomplished Russian diplomatists will still continue to hold their own with the keenest wits of the world. The valiant Russian generals will, by recognition of national worth, and by their soldierly courtesy, continue to form Cossacks and Circassians into national regiments, which are amongst the best and bravest soldiers of the Emperor. The brave horsemen of Turkestan will soon become national regiments of the cavalry of the Imperial Guard of Russia.

Nor are the problems of peace neglected.

This year, by the invitation of the Emperor, some of the ablest men in Europe discussed in St. Petersburg many of the intricate questions of international law; an international system of the registration of births, marriages, and deaths; the statistics of industry and commerce; international sanitary and medical registration; an international system of judicial statistics; an international nomenclature of crimes; an international system of weights and measures; an international system of decimal coinage for all the nations of the world. And surely these things, when accomplished, will be amongst the most wonderful works of man. In St. Petersburg, the representatives of the United Kingdom and of America met the representatives of every other state in the world at the International Congress of 1872. There Egypt and Japan aspired to be reckoned amongst the progressive, peaceful, and industrious nations of the world, and Russia gave to all the noblest hospitality.

The gigantic power of Russia can be compared only with the increasing strength of America, or the matured energy of England. In

Russia an enlightened despotism directs the fortunes of 80,000,000—a mighty nation—under an aristocracy magnificent in lineage, wealth, diplomacy, arts, and arms. In America, Democracy allows absolute freedom to the individual, and government is there conducted without a landed aristocracy, or a permanent standing army. Under both systems of government, the trade, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of the people flourish. In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, both systems of government are united. As Tacitus says, “*Res olim dissociabiles principatum ac libertatem miscuerunt.*” We have united monarchy with liberty, things once incapable of being united. Let us hope that the three great nations of the world, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the United States of America, and the Empire of Russia, governing, under most different systems of political administration, gigantic masses of mankind, may continue to enjoy their present mutual goodwill and peace—the greatest happiness with which the Almighty can bless the human race.

IV.—*Report on the Differences in the Law of England and Ireland as regards the Protection of Women*: By William G. Brooke, M.A., Barrister-at Law.*

[Read Tuesday, 21st January, 1873.]

REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF THE STATISTICAL AND SOCIAL INQUIRY OF IRELAND.

GENTLEMEN,—In the execution of the task you have intrusted to me—namely, to report on the difference in the Law of England and Ireland, as regards the Protection of Women—I shall endeavour to confine my remarks within the strict limits of the subject. It will not, therefore, lie within my province to enter upon any general examination of the laws relating to the position of women, nor to dwell upon any subjects, however interesting or prominent they may be, as to which the law in both countries presents no variety of feature. There is, therefore, necessarily excepted from my consideration all questions arising on the presumed imperfections of the law of seduction, and the law of married women's property; all questions either on the subject of the 40th section of the Mutiny Act; or on the subject of the Contagious Diseases Acts. With such enquiries, as I find one uniform law for both countries, I have nothing to do. My duty has a more limited sphere. It is to direct attention to that system of legislation which enforces one set of laws for England and another for Ireland—which confers rights, privileges, and immunities on the women of one country, refusing them to the other; and to show in what branches of the law the distinctions prevail which result in such unequal rights.

* This report has been made and paid for out of the donation of Alexander Thom. Esq., Vice-President, for “*Reports on questions in Irish Jurisprudence.*”