"She would n't give me the satisfaction. I 'd like to go, if it was only to show her I 'm not the dirt under her feet."

"Oh, no, not for that; but to dance with me. You need not mind Mrs. Dansken, or any of the women."

"I can't go, and I never meant to go, Mr. Embury, whatever you may think. I 've got my reasons."

Frank hesitated, thinking of the brother with whose memory Milly might be shyly keeping faith, through all his obtrusive blandishments. He felt rebuked and drew away from her, out of respect for the modest grief he had been wounding.

"Could n't you tell me what the trouble is? I did n't mean to tease you, but I did want you to have this one good time."

"It 's my clothes," said Milly, reluctantly. "I 've got nothing I 'd look fit to be seen in."

Frank laughed. His respectful mental distance from Milly instantly decreased, and he said gayly, "Oh, we 'll fix that all right, if that 's all."

"But Mrs. Dansken 's got all my wages for two months back, and I won't go to her — not for a penny!"

"Of course not. I will send you a dress, Milly. I can't send you a bouquet, because there are no flowers to be had; but you shall have the prettiest dress in Leadville, and it won't cost more than the flowers a girl carries sometimes to a party in New York. I speak of it so you won't mind taking it."

"I could n't take it from you, Mr. Embury. She 'd know I never bought it."

"You are in the cruelest position that ever a girl was in in this world, and I intend to set you right, to put you where you belong. Who are they, I should like to know, setting up to tell us whom we shall dance with! A man dances with the girl he chooses, as a general thing. I have chosen you, dress or no dress. But we will see about the dress. I shall be here Thursday, at the same time. I shall expect you. Now run home with your parcel!"

Frank had got to the point of believing that the Old World and all its traditions were wrong, for the sake of proving that he himself was in the right. He even persuaded himself that it was a romantic and touching thing that he should be clothing his partner out of his own pocket for the dance. He went about his purchase with shy ardor, wishing that he had studied the details of a girl's evening costume more thoroughly; for he was resolved that nothing should be wanting to complete Milly's triumph, and his own.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

Mary Hallock Foote.

THE RUSSIAN POLICE.

THERE is probably no country in the world where the police power occupies a wider field, plays a more important part, or touches the private personal life of the citizen at more points than it does in Russia. In a country like England or the United States, where the people are the governing power, the functions of the police are simple and clearly defined, and are limited, for the most part, to the prevention or the detection of crime, and the maintenance of order in public places. In Russia, however, where the people are not the governing power, but hold to that power the relation of an infant ward to a guardian, the police occupy a very different and much more important position.

The theory upon which the Government of Russia proceeds is, that the citizen not only is incapable of taking part in the management of the affairs of his country, his province, or his district, but is incompetent to manage even the affairs of his own household; and that, from the time when he leaves his cradle and begins the struggle of life down to the time when his weary gray head is finally laid under the sod, he must be guided, directed, instructed, restrained, repressed, regulated, fenced in, fenced out, braced up, kept down, and made to do generally what somebody else thinks is best for him. The natural outcome of this paternal theory of government is the concentration of all administrative authority in the hands of a few high officials, and an enormous extension of the police power. Matters that in other countries are left to the discretion of the individual citizen, or to the judgment of a small group of citizens, are regulated in Russia by the Minister of the Interior through the imperial police. If you are a Russian, and wish to establish a newspaper, you must ask

the permission of the Minister of the Interior.[1] If you wish to open a Sunday-school, or any other sort of school, whether in a neglected slum of St. Petersburg or in a native village in Kamchatka, you must ask the permission of the Minister of Public Instruction.[2] If you wish to give a concert or to get up tableaux for the benefit of an orphan asylum, you must ask permission of the nearest representative of the Minister of the Interior, then submit your programme of exercises to a censor for approval or revision, and finally hand over the proceeds of the entertainment to the police, to be embezzled or given to the orphan asylum, as it may happen.[3] If you wish to sell newspapers on the street, you must get permission, be registered in the books of the police, and wear a numbered brass plate as big as a saucer around your neck. If you wish to open a drug-store, a printing-office, a photograph-gallery, or a book-store, you must get permission. If you are a photographer and desire to change the location of your place of business, you must get permission. If you are a student and go to a public library to consult Lyell's "Principles of Geology" or Spencer's "Social Statics," you will find that you cannot even look at such dangerous and incendiary volumes without special permission. If you are a physician, you must get permission before you can practice, and then, if you do not wish to respond to calls in the night, you must have permission to refuse to go; furthermore, if you wish to prescribe what are known in Russia as "powerfully acting" medicines, you must have special permission, or the druggists will not dare to fill your prescriptions.[4] If you are a peasant and wish to build a bath-house on your premises, you must get permission. If you wish to thresh out your grain in the evening by candle-light, you must get permission or bribe the police. If you wish to go more than fifteen miles away from your home, you must get permission. If you are a foreign traveler, you must get permission to come into the Empire, permission to go out of it, permission to stay in it longer than six months, and must notify the police every time you change your boarding-place. In short, you cannot live, move, or have your being in the Russian Empire without permission.

The police, with the Minister of the Interior at their head, control, by means of passports, the movements of all the inhabitants of the Empire; they keep thousands of suspects constantly under surveillance; they ascertain and certify to the courts the liabilities of bankrupts; they conduct pawnbrokers' sales of unredeemed pledges; they give certificates of identity to pensioners and all other persons who need them; they superintend repairs of roads and bridges; they exercise supervision over all theatrical performances, concerts, tableaux,

[1] Mr. Innokenti Kuznetsoff (In-no-kén-tee Kooz-net-sóff), one of the wealthy mining proprietors whom we visited in the Siberian city of Krasnoyarsk (Krass-no-yársk), has been trying at intervals for years to get permission to establish there a weekly newspaper. All his petitions have been denied, notwithstanding the fact that there are only four newspapers in Siberia, and of that limited number one has recently been gagged for eight months by an order of suspension. The citizens of Nerchinsk, in Eastern Siberia, have been trying to get a newspaper in their town ever since I passed there in 1886, but without avail. They have the necessary capital and the requisite brains, but they cannot get the indispensable permission. The editor of the "Siberian Gazette" in Tomsk told me that the Minister of the Interior had repeatedly refused to allow him to publish his paper three times a week instead of once — for what reason nobody could find out.

[2] Many of the ladies whom I found in exile in Siberia had their first collision with the authorities as a result of undertaking without permission to open schools, or to teach a few peasant children in some private house. An instructive illustration of the obstacles thrown by the Government in the way of people who try to establish private schools in Russia may be found in the well-known Russian magazine "Annals of the Fatherland" for February, 1881, p. 145. The story there told is too long to be quoted here, but it is very characteristic of Russian police methods.

[3] The order giving the police control over charitable entertainments was embodied in a circular letter sent by the Minister of the Interior to provincial governors in August, 1882. By that letter notice was given to all whom it might concern that concerts and other entertainments for charitable objects would be permitted only upon condition that the tickets should be sold and the proceeds turned over to the beneficiaries by an agent of the police, or under the direct personal supervision of such an agent. The reason assigned for this order was, that evil-disposed persons were giving concerts or getting up entertainments, ostensibly for some worthy object of charity, but really for the benefit of political prisoners, exiles, or revolutionists. An abstract of the Minister's letter was printed in the St. Petersburg "Eastern Review" for August 26, 1882, p. 14.

Nothing of a public nature in Russia seems to be too trivial for state regulation. While we were in Siberia some of the cultivated people of the town of Krasnoyarsk undertook to organize a small musical society. They were obliged to lay their plans before the Minister of the Interior, obtain his permission, and then submit to him for examination and approval their constitution and by-laws. ("Eastern Review" for November 6, 1886, No. 45, p. 4.) Even scientific bodies, like the geographical societies of Irkutsk and Omsk, are subjected to more or less vexatious control. For example, they may elect a presiding officer, but such officer cannot serve until his election shall have been approved and confirmed by the all-powerful Minister of the Interior; they may publish their proceedings, but not until such proceedings shall have been submitted for censorial supervision to the provincial governor.

[4] Chemists and apothecaries, both in the cities and in the provinces, are furnished by the police with a complete list of names of all physicians who have the right to prescribe "powerfully acting" medicines, such as anæsthetics, narcotics, and poisons. If a doctor's name is not on this list, the chemists dare not fill his prescription for any drug that might be used by a "terrorist" for the attainment of illegal ends. (See "Eastern Review" for June 30, 1883, No. 27, p. 15.)

theater programmes, posters, and street advertisements; they collect statistics, enforce sanitary regulations, make searches and seizures in private houses, read the correspondence of suspects, take charge of the bodies of persons found dead, "admonish" church members who neglect too long to partake of the Holy Communion, and enforce obedience to thousands of multifarious orders and regulations intended to promote the welfare of the people or to insure the safety of the state. The legislation relating to the police fills more than five thousand sections in the Svod Zakónof, or collection of Russian laws, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that in the peasant villages, away from the centers of education and enlightenment, the police are the omnipresent and omnipotent regulators of all human conduct — a sort of incompetent bureaucratic substitute for divine Providence.

In order to give the readers of THE CENTURY an idea of the nature and infinite variety of the transactions regulated in Russia by the Government through the police, I will quote, almost at random, the titles or subjects of a few of the circular letters of instruction sent by the Minister of the Interior to the governors of various Russian provinces between 1880 and 1884.[1] They are as follows:

1. To regulate religious instruction in secular schools.

2. Concerning measures to be taken to prevent horse-stealing.

3. Concerning a list of dramas that are unconditionally permitted to be put on the stage.

4. To prohibit the sale of Shimanski's pills.

5. To prohibit peasants from cutting young birch trees with which to decorate churches and houses on holidays.

6. Prescribing the manner in which the censor shall supervise the reports and accounts of private societies.

7. Concerning a removal of the restrictions upon the transportation of rendered tallow.

8. Concerning personal identification-marks in the passports of Jews.

9. To regulate the use of mineral waters by sick or wounded officers of the army.

10. Concerning an order for the sale of all grain by weight instead of by measure.

11. Setting forth the circumstances under which and the times at which the police and other employees of the Ministry of the Interior can wear white linen covers on their caps.

12. Concerning the question who has the right to collect subscriptions in the Empire for the holy places in Palestine.

13. To abolish the long chains used for the purpose of chaining together marching criminals in gangs of six.

14. To regulate printing on the paper of cigarettes.

15. Concerning the prohibition, at meetings of provincial assemblies and town councils, of the expression of such opinions or judgments as may, from their nature, lie outside the limits of the jurisdiction of such bodies.

16. Concerning an order prohibiting the emigration of dissenters to the Trans-Caucasus.

17. Concerning regulations for the proper construction of houses in peasant villages.

18. To control and regulate the transportation of animal bones.

19. To regulate advertisements of medicines.

20. Forbidding the use of all school-books and appliances of instruction not approved by the Minister of the Interior and the ecclesiastical authorities.

21. Concerning the proper method of measuring the legs of recruits for the army.

22. Concerning meetings of school-teachers.

23. Prescribing the manner in which permission shall be obtained for concerts, readings, theatrical performances, and other public entertainments.

24. To require printers to send to the Department of Police copies of all newspapers, magazines, and almanacs printed by them.

25. To prevent the sale of quinine that is not of good quality.

26. To regulate the censorship of price-lists, printed notes of invitation, and visiting-cards.

27. Concerning the construction of water-closets according to the removal or barrel system.

28. Providing for the censorship of the seals, rubber stamps, and cards of private individuals and business corporations.

29. To regulate begging for ecclesiastical institutions and for the holy places in Palestine.

30. To regulate the sale by apothecaries of certain "cosmetics"— namely, soap, starch, brilliantine, tooth-brushes, and insect-powder.

These are only a few of the countless thousands of orders, directions, and regulations that come within the jurisdiction of the imperial police. Of course they are not all carried into effect. The enforcement of such a multitude of prohibitions and restrictions, affecting every province of human life, is beyond the power of any one man or any set of men; but whether they are enforced or not, they operate constantly as a bar to individual enterprise, a network to restrain every free impulse, and a clog upon all human activity.

It is difficult for Americans to realize that such relations can exist between the people of a country and the Government as those shown by these circulars to exist in Russia. Imagine a governor of New York State issuing an order requiring all the citizens of that State to send in their seals, rubber stamps, and visiting-cards for censorial supervision. Or imagine a Postmaster-General writing a circular letter to the

[1] All of these circulars have been printed by the Ministry of the Interior, and can easily be obtained by any one who reads Russian and takes an interest in Russian methods of government. I have copies of them all, and if I do not give their dates and numbers and explain the significance of the most remarkable of them, it is simply for want of space.

governors of all the States prescribing rules for the regulation of the sale of soap, starch, brilliantine, tooth-brushes, and insect-powder! Such an extension of the powers of government is to us almost inconceivable, both on account of its tyranny and on account of its preposterous absurdity; and yet such regulations are not regarded in Russia as anything extraordinary, and one sometimes finds the police engaged in work that is even more remarkable than the regulation of the sale of tooth-brushes and insect-powder. I have in my possession the original report of a Russian police pristav, written upon a printed form, in which the officer notifies his superior that, in compliance with instructions of such and such a date, he has called upon such and such persons, who are named, and has "admonished" them that they must partake of the Holy Communion, "upon penalty of an administrative calling to account [pod opaseniem v' protivnom sluchae kazennaho vziskania]." This document bears in capital letters at the top of the first page the words "Ukase [oo-káz] of his Imperial Majesty the Autocrat of all the Russias." In the newspaper "Sibir" (See-béer) for July 10, 1883, it is stated, as a matter of news, that the police authorities of the city of Irkutsk have just received orders to admonish all persons who have been neglectful of religious duty, and to oblige them to partake of the sacrament. The use of the police power as a means of compelling indifferent or backsliding Christians to partake of the Holy Communion — the sending of an armed man in a blue uniform to drag another man to the table of the Prince of Peace, and to compel him to eat and drink the symbols of the broken body and shed blood of Christ — is something that has not often been seen, I think, outside of Russia, since the dark ages.

It is my purpose in the present paper to sketch hastily the organization of the body of officials upon whom devolve such extraordinary duties as these, and then to bring together as many illustrations as I may have room for of this peculiarly Russian method of government by the police power.

The police of Russia may be divided into four great classes — namely, first, the rural police, comprising the uriadniks (oo-riád-niks), appointed by the state, and the sotski (sóte-skee) and desiatski (day-sýat-skee), elected by the peasants; second, the common metropolitan police of the cities, whose duties do not differ materially from those of our municipal police; third, the detective and secret police; and fourth, the gendarmes. This classification is not strictly accurate. There are two or three different kinds of gendarmes, and the secret police and detectives should be subdivided. For my purpose, however, these four classes will suffice.

The secret police and the gendarmes were until recently under the control of what was called the "Third Section" of the Tsar's chancellery, and were organized as an independent department of state police, dealing exclusively with political offenses and offenders. When, however, the "Third Section" was abolished, all the police in the Empire were put under the direction and control of the Minister of the Interior. Statistics with regard to the numerical strength of the several classes of Russian police are not obtainable, and all estimates must necessarily be very untrustworthy. According to the well-informed Russian newspaper "Golos," the amount of money appropriated in 1882 for the police of the Empire was 12,000,000 rubles. If it be assumed that the average pay of the police is 300 rubles a year per man, 12,000,000 rubles a year would pay about 40,000 men. The numerical strength of the entire force is probably much greater than this, but how much greater I am unable to say. There is the same uncertainty with regard to the numerical strength of the rural constabulary elected by the peasants themselves, and known as "sotski" and "desiatski." On the 1st of May, 1886, the "Official Messenger" published a complete list of all the cities, villages, and settlements in European Russia where intoxicating liquor was sold at retail. The number was 268,928. In every settlement where intoxicating liquor was sold there would probably be at least two rural constables, and, if so, the 268,928 settlements would have a constabulary amounting in the aggregate to more than half a million men. The "uriadniks," or rural police appointed by the Government, are said to number between 5000 and 6000. They are organized into "stans," or stations, each of which comprises a district of greater or less extent and is under the direction of a "stanavoi (stan-a-vóy) pristav," or district chief. Every group of two or three stans is under the control of an ispravnik (iss-práv-nik), and next above the ispravnik comes the governor of the province. In Siberia the organization is practically the same, except that the police districts are much larger, and an officer called "zasedatel" (za-sed-át-el) takes the place of the stanavoi pristav. The uriadniks, or rural state police, are supposed to wear uniforms, and are armed with sabers and revolvers. The salaries paid them are extremely small — from fifty to a hundred dollars a year for a private, and from two hundred to three hundred dollars a year for a stanavoi pristav, or chief of a district. It is, of course, very difficult, if not impossible, to get honest and capable men to serve for such salaries, and the natural result is that the rural police represent the worst elements of the whole population. A large proportion of them are ig-

norant and stupid, while those who have brains are generally dishonest, and use the innumerable and vexatious orders of the Ministry of the Interior merely as a means of extorting money from the peasants. For example: the Minister of the Interior, with the best intentions in the world, issues an order directing that the straw-thatched roofs of peasants' houses shall have poured over them, at intervals during the summer, a thick mixture of clay and water, so as to render them less inflammable and diminish the danger of fire from sparks. The rural police officer whose duty it is to notify the peasants of this new regulation waits until the most active period of the spring sowing or the summer harvesting, when every man is needed in the fields, and then summons all the peasants in the village, reads the order to them, and insists upon immediate compliance with it. The peasants cannot suspend their sowing or their harvesting in order to go in search of clay to smear the roofs of all the houses in the village. Compliance with the order would use up two or three days' time. They therefore promptly ask the stanavoi how much he wants. The stanavoi says that if he lets them off from this roof-smearing he runs great risk. The order is imperative, and if the higher authorities find out that he has not enforced it at once he will have to answer for his neglect of duty with his head. Still, he appreciates, he says, the situation: he sees what a hardship it is for them to leave their fields and go to mixing clay and water at this critical time; and he is disposed to sacrifice himself in order that they may not suffer loss. If the householders of the village will make up a purse for him by contributing twenty kopecks apiece, so that he will not be left penniless if the higher authorities discharge him for not enforcing their orders more promptly, he will let them off from the roof-smearing until after the sowing or the harvest. The purse is made up, the peasants return to their fields, while the stanavoi goes to the village dram-shop to celebrate a good stroke of business, and try to think of some other old order of the Ministry of the Interior that he can revive and hold as a club over the peasants' heads the next time he wants money.

But this is not the only way in which the rural police extort money from the peasants, strangle individual enterprise, and help to keep the country in an impoverished condition. Just before Mr. Frost and I passed through the Siberian province of Yeniseisk (Yen-is-sáy-isk) half a dozen peasant farmers in a village near the town of Minusinsk (Min-oo-sinsk) entered into an agreement to hire a barge, float their wheat, amounting to some thousands of bushels, down the Yenisei (Yen-is-sáy) River to the northern part of the province where wheat is not grown, and there sell it directly to the consumers, thus making all the profit themselves, instead of dividing it up with two or three middle-men. The plan was a good one, and would have benefited both the producers and the consumers had it not been for the sudden interference of the police power. There is in almost every Russian village a small capitalist or speculator — often a Jew — who, with the aid of a corrupt police officer, squeezes the peasants in their times of need and makes money out of their distress. Such local capitalists are called by the peasants "kulaks" (koo-láks), the word "kulak" meaning a clenched fist. In the Siberian village of which I speak there was a speculator of this kind, and he soon heard of the plan of the principal farmers of the settlement to float their wheat two or three hundred miles down the river and sell it on their own account. He at once went to the zasedatel, or chief police officer of the district, told him about this scheme of the farmers, and said to him: "Now, my dear Ivan Nikolaievitch, you and I might just as well make some money out of that wheat."

"How?" inquired the police officer with interest.

"Why," replied the kulak, "these peasants cannot go more than thirty versts away from the village without the permission of the police indorsed on their passports. Suppose that, for some one of many good reasons that will doubtless suggest themselves to a man of your intelligence, you should not be able to give them such permission; suppose that there is a new order requiring permits to be made out on separate forms, and that the blank forms have not yet come; or suppose that you have sent the passports of these men to the capital of the province for renewal and that they haven't yet been returned. In such a case the peasants could not leave their homes without being arrested at the first place where they stopped. They would therefore have to dispose of their grain to me at my own price; you and I would float it down the river and sell it on joint account. It would be a good thing for both of us."

The plan seemed to the zasedatel to be a feasible one, and after the details had been carefully arranged it was successfully carried into effect. When the peasants came to the police officer to get permission to go into the northern part of the province they were put off from time to time on one pretext or another until, at last, becoming disheartened, they sold their grain to the kulak for what he chose to give for it. Of course, the result of this transaction was not only the virtual robbery of both the

producers and the consumers of that wheat, but the permanent discouragement of productive enterprise in all that region. The peasants, satisfied from bitter experience that they were helpless as against the police, would say to one another, "Why should we work hard early and late in order to raise grain for sale? The police won't let us go to a market with it; and if we finally have to sell it to some kulak or mir-eater [1] for half its value, how are we any better off?" This sort of thing, with infinite variations in detail, goes on constantly all over the Empire; but it is especially prevalent in Siberia, where the police are even less under control than in European Russia, and where the general level of official character is low. Mr. Krassin, the amiable ispravnik who entertained Mr. Frost and me in Tiumen, and who gave us permission to inspect the Tiumen forwarding prison, has since that time been arrested, has been tried upon the charge of extorting money from the peasants in his circuit, has been found guilty, and has been sent to Eastern Siberia as a convict. The peasants who were called as witnesses for the state at the time of his trial testified as follows: "Everybody takes money from us — district secretaries and zasedatels and ispravniks, whoever they may be and whenever they get a chance. We 're used to it; all of us know that every ispravnik will make us pay when he can. We don't complain of it; we 're used to it; we would n't have said anything about it this time if it had n't been found out." [2] This testimony is very characteristic of the Russian peasant, and it seems to me an almost pathetic illustration of his utter helplessness under the yoke of the Russian bureaucratic system. He is used to oppression, he is used to extortion, it has always been so, it is a visitation of God, and there 's nothing to be done. Nobody knows how much money is taken from the peasants in this way by highway robbers in police uniform, but the aggregate amount must be enormous. The ispravnik K—berg in Yeniseisk boasted that his extortions from the peasants in his circuit amounted to 20,000 rubles ($10,000) a year.[3]

On our way through Siberia, Mr. Frost and I made the acquaintance, in a small village near Irkutsk, of a district secretary, or "piser" (pees-er, from the verb *pees-at*, to write), whom for the purposes of this narrative I shall call Ivanof (Ee-ván-off). After we had become fairly well acquainted, and while we were discussing one day the prevalence of official corruption in Siberia, Mr. Ivanof said to me frankly, "Mr. Kennan, I take money from the peasants. I know very well that it is dishonorable, but what am I to do? I receive a salary upon which it is impossible for me to live; my superior officer, the chief of the district police, takes bribes; his superior, the ispravnik, takes bribes; the governor of the province takes bribes; and if I should refuse to take bribes I should either be arrested as a revolutionist in disguise [4] or should be kicked out for setting myself up to be a more honorable man than his Excellency the Governor."

Some of the methods resorted to by the rural police for the purpose of extorting money from the peasants are extremely ingenious and original. Some time before we passed through the town of Tiumen in Western Siberia, the zasedatel for that district received information that the body of a dead man had been found in the woods on the outskirts of a peasant village about ninety versts away, and that the man had apparently been murdered. It is the duty of the zasedatel, under such circumstances, to go at once to the place where the body has been found, investigate the case, and remove the corpse to the village dead-house, to await the arrival of the district surgeon, whose duty it is to make a post-mortem examination. The zasedatel started at once for the village. The district surgeon happened at the time to be absent from home on duty, but an order was left for him to follow the zasedatel as soon as he should return. The police officer, upon reaching his destination, inspected the dead body and the place where it lay, and then, pending the arrival of the district surgeon, ordered it removed to the village. He was aware when he left Tiumen that there was in this village no dead-house, and he had already conceived the idea of using the corpse as a means of extorting money from the inhabitants. He therefore ordered it to be taken to the house of one of the most prosperous peasant farmers in the place, whose daughter, he had heard, was about to be married. The ghastly burden

[1] The Russian village commune is called by the common people "mir" (meer), and the petty speculators who, with the aid of the police, squeeze the peasants in the manner above illustrated are popularly known as "mir-eaters," "fists," or "blood-drinkers."

[2] "Siberian Gazette," No. 49, p. 1477; Tomsk, December 7, 1886.

[3] "Annals of the Fatherland," p. 160; St. Petersburg, May, 1882.

[4] After the failure of the so-called movement "to the people," described in the first of this series of papers, many enthusiastic and well-educated young Russian liberals and revolutionists sought and obtained positions under assumed names as volostnoi (vol-ost-nóy) pisers, or district secretaries, with the hope of accomplishing something for the peasants in this way by instructing them in their legal rights, and defending them to some extent from mir-eaters, blood-drinkers, fists, and other rural extortioners. These amateur secretaries were almost invariably detected and arrested as a result of their persistent refusal to drink vodka and take bribes. Mr. Ivanof's reference was to this historical fact, with which I was familiar.

was borne on an extemporized litter of pine boughs to the well-to-do peasant's door, and deposited on the ground in full sight of the windows, while the police officer went in and announced to the horror-stricken peasant proprietor that, as there was no dead-house in the village, he should have to put the body in the peasant's house until the district surgeon should come to make the post-mortem examination.

"Akh! Bozhemoi!" ["Good Heavens!"] exclaimed the peasant, "I can't keep the body of a murdered man for two or three days in my house; my daughter is going to be married day after to-morrow!"

The zasedatel, in his gravest official tone, said that he was very sorry, but that he must do his duty. This was a very serious case: the man had been murdered, no one knew who he was, and the body must be kept in a place of safety until it could be identified and a post-mortem examination made. It might prove to be a serious matter for the whole commune, and the peasant would have reason to be thankful if nothing worse happened to him than the bringing of the body to his house.

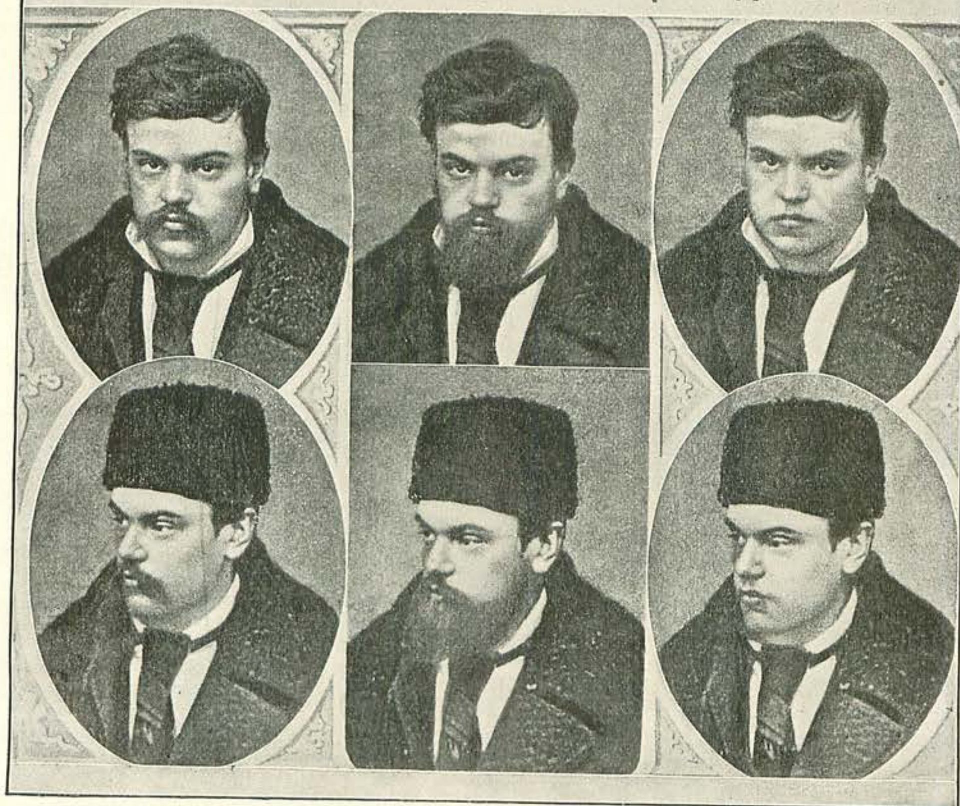
The poor peasant was in despair. He knew that the police officer had power to bring that bloody corpse into his house—that, in fact, there was a sort of legal warrant for it; and he also knew that if he offered forcible resistance to the police he might have to pay for it with months of imprisonment, if not with hard labor at the mines. He therefore implored the zasedatel to have the murdered man taken somewhere else, and intimated that he would rather pay fifty rubles than have his daughter's wedding postponed, and all his children frightened into raving maniacs by the presence of that disfigured corpse in the house at night. This suggestion of payment was all that the police officer wanted. He changed his tone a little, admitted that it *was* a particularly hard case when a man had a daughter about to be married, and intimated that if the peasant showed a disposition properly to appreciate the favor, he (the police officer) *would* take the body somewhere else. They soon came to an understanding as to terms,—I think they compromised on thirty rubles,—and the zasedatel took the body to the house of another well-to-do peasant. Here he went through the same comedy, extorted fifteen or twenty rubles more, and then, encouraged by his success, carried that dead body to all the houses in the village where he thought he could get money enough to make it worth while, and finally, late at night, caused the corpse to be put into an old empty fish storehouse, where he might just as well have put it in the first place.

In talking about this case afterwards with peasants in other parts of Siberia, I learned that it was by no means an exceptional or an unusual thing. I heard of one instance where the same dead body was used to "work" two or three villages in succession. Great numbers of runaway criminal exiles die, freeze to death, or are killed in Siberia every year, and the finding of the dead body of an unknown man in the neighborhood of a village is a common occurrence. In one village the peasants told me that they never reported the finding of a dead body to the police officer of their district. It always cost them money in some way when they did, and they therefore either buried it quietly and said nothing about it, or carried it at night to the outskirts of some other village and let it be found there. The "Eastern Review" reports a case in which a dead body was put into a prison cell with living prisoners and kept there until it became so offensive that the other occupants of the cell were ready to pay for its removal.[1]

The methods of obtaining money that are practiced by police officials are not all so ghastly and repulsive as this, although many of them are quite as original. I knew one case where a district chief of police, in the midst of the wheat harvest, notified thirty or forty peasants to come to the police office on important business the following day at 2 o'clock. They obeyed the order and found the zasedatel dressed in full uniform, with three or four huge quarto volumes of the Svod Zakónof, or collection of Russian laws, lying on the table in front of him. He said to the peasants that he had received orders from the higher authorities to instruct the people of his district in the laws of the Empire, and that he had called them together for the purpose of reading to them regulations that the Gossudar (Gos-soo-dár) desired every true Russian to know. He then opened one of the big quartos, read unintelligible laws to those unhappy peasants all the afternoon, and notified them to come around the next morning for another lesson. Before bedtime that night the peasants sent a deputation to him to ask how much he would take to let them off from any more laws. He agreed to graduate them all with the degree of LL. D. for twenty kopecks apiece.

Among the many "natural obligations," as they are called, of the Siberian peasants, the most oppressive and burdensome is the road tax, which every man must pay with a certain number of days' work. All over Siberia this obligation is made by the police a means of extorting money. Instead of allowing the peasants in village A to repair the road in the vicinity of that village, so that they can go back

[1] "Eastern Review," No. 38, p. 12; St. Petersburg, September 22, 1883.



PHOTOGRAPH OF SERGE DEGAIEF DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE BY THE POLICE.

and forth from their work to their homes, the extortionate ispravnik orders them to proceed to the neighborhood of village B, distant fifty or a hundred miles, and to go to work there. At the same time he directs the inhabitants of village B to come and go to work in the vicinity of village A. The unfortunate peasants of both villages then bribe the ispravnik with a ruble apiece to let them work near their own homes. If the police officer does not succeed in extorting money from them in this way, he forbids them to leave their place of labor, even after they have finished their stent, until he has inspected their work. He sometimes keeps a hundred men in camp and in idleness at some point on the road for a week or two, unless they pay for permission to return to their homes. All this is done under color of law, and the peasants must either submit or pay.

We heard many funny stories from the political exiles in Siberia with regard to the ignorance shown and the mistakes made by the rural police in dealing with supposed revolutionists. Four or five years ago, just after the assassination of the gendarme officer Sudeikin (Soo-dáy-i-kin) by the terrorist Degaief (Dee-gý-yeff), photographs of Degaief, like the one reproduced above, were sent to every police office in the Empire. On the back was printed an offer of 10,000 rubles' reward for the capture of the assassin, and on the face were six photographs of Degaief, showing how he looked in a cap and without a cap; with a full beard and without a beard; and with a mustache and without a mustache. A hard-drinking and ignorant police officer in a village of Western Siberia, into whose hands a copy of this card fell, arrested four unlucky wayfarers who happened to look more or less like the photographs of Degaief, and committed them to jail; then he went about the village, and to the dram-shop, in a half-tipsy condition, boasting that he had captured four of those accursed Degaiefs, and was going to hold them until he could find the other two, so that he could turn the whole six together over to the higher authorities. He had no doubt that he would get not only the 10,000 rubles' reward, but a cross of honor.

Another police officer, equally ignorant, arrested a scientific man, a member of the Imperial Geographical Society, who had gone into the country to pursue his favorite study

of ornithology. The unfortunate naturalist was accustomed to note down every day the names of the birds of which he had secured specimens, and the sagacious police officer, in looking over his prisoner's diary, found on almost every page such entries as "June 13—Killed a fine crown snipe this afternoon"; or "June 17—Shot a *silvia hortensis* to-day." Regarding these entries as unmistakable records in cipher of nihilistic murders, the officer sent the captured ornithologist under strong guard to the chief of police of the district, with the note-book as documentary proof that the prisoner was one of the most desperate and bloodthirsty of the terrorist assassins; the entry with regard to "crown snipe" he said was plainly a reference to the most august family of the Gossudar.

Almost every foreign traveler who has made a serious attempt to study Russian life, and who has gone for that purpose into the country, has been arrested at least once by the rural police. Wiggins, the English navigator, was arrested in Siberia and lay three days in jail before he could establish his identity;[1] Mackenzie Wallace was arrested in European Russia as a spy; Lansdell, the English missionary, was arrested as a distributer of revolutionary pamphlets; and Frost and I were arrested on suspicion merely because we happened accidentally to go three times past a jail in Perm.

Next to the rural police in numerical strength, and far above them in intellect and power, are the secret police and the gendarmes, who are to be found everywhere throughout the Empire, but who are most numerous in the cities. Little is known to the public with regard to their organization, strength, or working methods beyond the facts that they are under the control of the Minister of the Interior, and that their duties relate chiefly to the prevention or the detection of political crime. A large part of their work consists in maintaining supervision over persons who are suspected of sympathizing with the revolutionary movement, or who, to use the official word, are "untrustworthy." Nearly 3000 such persons were under surveillance in European Russia when the present Tsar came to the throne, and there were 1500 or 2000 more in Siberia—the latter political exiles. It must be remembered, however, that these were all persons under *open* supervision; that is, who knew that the police were watching them. There is another large class of men and women who are under secret supervision, and who, of course, are not aware of it.

There came into my hands surreptitiously in St. Petersburg a copy of a blank form to be filled up every month by a police officer who has some one under secret surveillance. It consists of a series of questions covering the life and habits of the person under supervision, which must be answered by the police officer ordered to watch him. It is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF IMPERIAL POLICE.

[Blank Form No. 2. To be filled up and submitted monthly.]

1. Give the Christian name, the paternal name, and the family name of the person under surveillance.

2. Where does he or she live? Give the part of the city, the district, the precinct, the street, the house, and the number of the room.

3. How long has he resided there, and from what previous place of residence did he come?

4. Does he rent separate apartments of his own, or occupy a room in the apartments or house of another? In the latter case, who is the owner or proprietor? Give his name, occupation, and antecedents.

5. Does he live alone, or with some one? In the latter case, with whom?

6. Has he any servants? If so, what are their names? If not, who takes care of his room or rooms? What things has he in his rooms? To whom is his soiled linen given? Name and place of residence of his washerwoman?[2]

7. When and from whom has he received letters, including both common letters and those containing money?

8. Does he have his meals in his rooms, or elsewhere? In the latter case, where?

9. Does he visit any library, and, if so, what one? If possible, state what books he has taken out in the course of the month.

10. How does he spend his time when at home?

11. What are his means of subsistence? If he gives lessons, to whom does he give them? If he occupies a position of any kind, where and what is it?

12. Where did the officer who is now watching him first see him, and under what circumstances? Does he know the officer by sight?

13. At what o'clock does he leave his apartments, and when does he return?

14. Is he paying attention to any woman [or, if the person under supervision is a woman, has she a lover]? If so, who is she [or he], and where does she [or he] live? Where do they meet each other?

15. Who has visited him in the course of the month, and at what times? [If possible, give name or names and place or places of residence.]

16. Has any one at any time spent the night in his apartments, and, if so, what person or persons?

17. Who can certify to the fact that he has met the persons referred to in the foregoing paragraphs?

18. Does he play cards?

19. Has he been seen at any time in a state of intoxication?

This sheet is to be signed by the officer of sur-

[1] I have not seen this statement in print, and I have been unable to verify it, but I allow it to stand on the authority of a well-informed political exile in Siberia.

[2] Articles that it was illegal to have in one's possession were often carried into and out of the rooms of revolutionists in bundles of soiled linen, and conspirators among the women frequently pretended to be washerwomen.

veillance and countersigned by the secret police inspector of the district, and then handed over to the Department for the Preservation of Order and Public Safety.

It would seem to the lay mind that such a report as this, made out and submitted monthly, should enable the chief of police to write the natural history of a suspect with considerable accuracy; but, after all, it does not attain the results expected from it. The subterranean mine in the Little Garden Street in St. Petersburg, which contained eighty pounds of dynamite, was excavated, loaded, and equipped with batteries, wires, and a Ruhmkorf coil by two terrorists disguised as cheese merchants, who were under precisely this sort of supervision. Their shop was even visited and inspected three days before the late Tsar's assassination, and yet the mine was not discovered. It is my opinion that the abilities of the Russian secret police are greatly overrated. I have had as much experience as most foreigners in evading and misleading them, and I have heard the experience of three or four hundred revolutionists who have carried on a contest of wits with them for years. In every city in the Empire there are hundreds of revolutionists whom the police have not been able to discover; hektographed and lithographed copies of forbidden writings — including this very series of articles — circulate from hand to hand throughout the Empire; and I do not think there is a prison in European Russia or in Siberia, with the single exception of the Castle of Schlüsselburg, where the imprisoned revolutionists do not have written communication with their friends outside.

A well-informed St. Petersburg correspondent of the "New York Tribune" recently said, with reference to the Russian police, "I do not believe there is another department in the Empire about which such erroneous impressions exist, and which, especially abroad, is so terribly overrated. There is not another police department in Europe which is so badly organized, so ill-informed, and so utterly incapable as that of the Tsar."

This statement is perhaps too strongly expressed, but I believe it to be essentially true. The Russian secret police are by no means up to their reputation.

And what, after all, is the use of such a system, and such a police? An observer who regards the Russian situation from an American point of view can hardly help thinking that the Tsar, who is a well-meaning man, would have a happier life and a more useful life if he would abandon his policy of repression; call for the resignation of his despotic Minister of the Interior, Count Dmitri Tolstoi; discharge five-sixths of his police and gendarmes, and admit his people to a share in the government of the state. The condition of things could hardly be worse than it is, and a liberal policy, steadily and consistently followed, might make Russia a prosperous and happy country as well as a mighty Empire.

George Kennan.

A SCOUT WITH THE BUFFALO-SOLDIERS.

WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED BY FREDERIC REMINGTON.

THE GOVERNMENT PACK.

I SAT smoking in the quarters of an army friend at Fort Grant, and through a green lattice-work was watching the dusty parade and congratulating myself on the possession of this spot of comfort in such a disagreeably hot climate as Arizona Territory offers in the summer, when in strode my friend the lieutenant, who threw his cap on the table and began to roll a cigarette.

"Well," he said, "the K. O. has ordered me out for a two-weeks' scouting up the San Carlos way, and I 'm off in the morning. Would you like to go with me?" He lighted the cigarette and paused for my reply.

I was very comfortable at that moment, and knew from some past experiences that marching under the summer sun of Arizona was real suffering and not to be considered by one on pleasure bent; and I was also aware that my friend the lieutenant had a reputation as a hard rider, and would in this case select a few picked and seasoned cavalrymen and rush over the worst possible country in the least possible time. I had no reputation as a hard rider to sustain, and, moreover, had not backed a horse for the year past. I knew too that Uncle Sam's beans, black coffee, and the bacon which every old soldier will tell you about would fall to the lot of any one who scouted