

LITTELL'S  
LIVING AGE.

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CONDUCTED BY E. LITTELL.

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E PLURIBUS UNUM.

"These publications of the day should from time to time be winnowed, the wheat carefully preserved, and the chaff thrown away."

"Made up of every creature's best."

"Various, that the mind  
Of desultory man, studious of change  
And pleased with novelty, may be indulged."

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1. *The Trans-Caucasian Campaign of the Turkish Army under Omer Pasha.* By Lawrence Oliphant. London, 1856.
2. *Patriots and Filibusters.* By Lawrence Oliphant. London, 1860.
3. *Trans-Caucasia.* By Baron von Haxthausen. London, 1854.
4. *Papers respecting the Settlement of Circassian Emigrants in Turkey.* Presented to the House of Commons by command of Her Majesty. 1864.

A GRIEVOUS calamity has befallen a brave nation little known to the British public, but invested with that romantic interest which always attaches to deeds of daring, to an unstained cause, and to an unequal struggle, maintained by a nation in defence of its liberty and independence. "It is apparent," Lord Napier writes on the 23d of May last, "that the Russian Government have long taken an absolute resolution at any risk to remove the whole of the (Circassian) mountaineers still in arms from their native places. The system pursued has been for two years past to move the troops and the Cossack forts and settlements slowly but surely up the valleys which pour their waters northward to the basin of the Kouban, dispossessing the indigenous inhabitants at every step until at last the highest fastnesses have been reached, and the people inhabiting the water-shed have been pushed over into the valleys sloping southward to the Black Sea, and have carried the savage\* and sequestered people of those regions in masses to the coast." From the coast, as we know, they are flying by tens of thousands across the sea, to perish by famine and disease under the well-meant but clumsy and inadequate protection of the Turkish Government. But, although attention has now been for the first time generally called to what is passing in the Caucasus, it would be a mistake to suppose that the depopulation by Russia of the regions lying about those venerable mountains has only now begun.

After the Allies left Sebastopol, the Tatar population of the Crimea found their condition unendurable, and they were the first to fly from the Russian yoke, and to seek refuge on the hospitable soil of Turkey. They did not come in very large numbers, so that this emigration was comparatively manageable,

\* We do not concur in Lord Napier's use of this term.

and a number of them were located in the Dobroja, in a new town or settlement called Mejidieh, where, on the whole, they have prospered.

Next came the emigration of the Tatars of the Kouban in 1861-62, caused by an order given by the Russian Government. This order was one of unexampled and needless severity. A large population was compelled to leave the Russian territory at a fixed date. These unfortunate people were compelled to abandon their homes, to travel with their wives and children, and to land in a new country in midwinter. The fixing of a term at the expiration of which they were obliged to depart had the effect of depriving them of all their property; for they could obtain no price, or but a vile price, for their cattle and such things as their neighbors saw that they must abandon, since they could not transport them. They landed at Constantinople and other parts of Turkey in the midst of snow, sleet, and rain, and the mortality among them was excessive. At that time it was not possible, to take a walk in the afternoon at Constantinople without meeting numerous coffins of little children. Those Turks who were familiar with the exaggerated statements of the Russian organ *Le Nord*, and with the humanitarian cry so sedulously fostered by Russian diplomacy, for edicts giving equality to the Rayahs, made bitter remarks upon the reciprocity shown by Russia, and upon the indifference of Europe, and asked if the humanity of which they have heard so much ought not to have interfered here. This expulsion of the Tatars was unnecessary; for they were a harmless and pacific people. The pretext assigned by Russia for the measure was that they maintained communications with the mountaineers, and assisted them in defying the imperial power; for these Tatars occupied the country to the north of the Caucasus, between it and the river Kouban, and their expulsion was a strategic measure taken with a view of circumscribing and hemming in the mountaineers of the Caucasus. Other Tatars, however, besides those of the Kouban, have been driven away or have followed their brethren, and the Muscovite proprietors of the Southern provinces of Russia complain of the loss of a sober and industrious agricultural population whom it is not easy to replace.

These wholesale expulsions are traditional

with the Russian Government. In the last century, during the reign of the Empress Catharine, the Kalmuks were driven by the tyranny and petty persecutions of Russian officials to migrate from the shores of the Volga, and to seek refuge in the Chinese dominions. When they set out, they filled twenty-eight thousand tents; but only half their number reached the Chinese territory.

In considering these acts of systematic barbarity perpetrated by the Russian Government, it is impossible not to remember the expulsion of the Moors from Spain in 1610. History has already condemned the severity and impolicy of that measure. According to the most trustworthy calculations, of more than a million of Moors who were expelled, only a fourth survived. The Jews were driven from Spain in 1492, by a decree of Ferdinand and Isabella; many of them found shelter at Constantinople, and to this day half the Israelites in that capital and in Smyrna speak the Spanish language; the other half, who also fled from persecution, are of a later immigration, and speak Polish. But with the severity of these measures the parallel ends: the Russian Government cannot plead in excuse the fierce fanaticism which animated the Inquisition before whose mandates the Spanish monarch found it necessary to bow. Spain, moreover, was ejecting those whom she considered as intruders in spite of eight hundred years of occupation of the soil; but Russia is herself the intruder into the Tatar steppes and Circassian mountains, and if there is any teaching in the progress of time, the Muscovite Government, at the end of two centuries and a half, is far less excusable than that of Spain. It may not be too much to say that the indifference of Europe to the expulsion of the Kouban Tatars emboldened Russia to proceed to the conscription at Warsaw, by which she forced the Poles into insurrection, and thereby furnished herself with a pretext for the extensive deportations of Poles to Siberia,—to be followed, shortly, perhaps, by the expulsion of the population from whole provinces, if it should appear that there is no limit to the apathy and endurance of Europe.

From ignorance of the ethnography of the Caucasus, much misapprehension exists with regard to the Circassians, and consequently blame was unfairly cast upon them at the

time of the Crimean War for not supporting us more efficiently. When Englishmen talk of Circassia, they use that term for the Caucasus, which they consider as one country; whereas the Eastern and Western Caucasus, which are divided by the pass of Vladi-Kavkas, are entirely distinct, and the Eastern and Western Caucasians again are subdivided into nations which are by no means homogeneous. The error of the prevailing ideas respecting the Caucasus will be understood at once if we imagine ourselves as considering the inhabitants of Chamouni, the Tyrolese, and the people about Laybach as one nation, from whom a common and combined action was to be expected. Four distinct languages are spoken in the Alps between Geneva and Laybach, and in the greater range of the Caucasian chain the various dialects are far more numerous. Sheik Shamyl is usually spoken of as a Circassian, whilst in reality he had no relations with the Circassians. He was himself a Tchetchen, and had united the Lesghis, the Tchetchenes, and the Daghestanlys in a confederation against Russia; the proper name for the region of his exploits is Daghestan, which is a general expression for the Eastern part of the Caucasus, and there is little communication between Daghestan and Circassia, or the western part of the Caucasus running from Anapa to Batum, so that during the war it would have been very difficult for any one from the West to reach Sheik Shamyl. The name Circassian is derived from Tcherkess, and designates the people dwelling in the mountains overhanging the Black Sea, and Mingrelia, or the country watered by the Phasis. These are the tribes whose unfortunate fate we have now to deplore.

The Circassians proper are Mussulmans, as are also the Lesghis and Daghestanlys; there are some Christians among the Ossetes, and some of the mountaineers are said to be in a primitive state of ignorance; but it would perhaps be more correct to say of those whose creed is doubtful, as of the Arnauts, that their national sentiments weigh more with them than those of religion. The chief characteristic of the Caucasians is personal courage, and indifference to enormous odds against them in a fight. It happened some years ago that nine or ten Circassians in the Russian service escaped into Prussia, where they thought themselves safe; but on their being

claimed as deserters, the Prussians undertook to deliver them up, and readers of the newspapers may remember how they refused to surrender and were all killed, after having destroyed many times their own number of Prussian soldiers. For many years the Russian post from Georgia had to be escorted through the pass of Vladi-Kavkas by a strong detachment with artillery. The struggle between Russia and the mountaineers has, as is well known, been going on for many years, and although the stronger nation has been gradually advancing, yet except when the Russians have succeeded in taking a village the loss has always been greater on the side of the aggressors. Last year some cannon and ammunition were introduced into Abkhasia, and though the people were not able to make much use of the artillery from want of practice, the stimulus given by this encouragement and succor was such that after receiving it they won nine successive victories over the Russians. Nevertheless, since that time murrain amongst their cattle and famine have utterly ruined their cause; they have not been conquered; but have been reduced by starvation to the lamentable condition which is exciting the pity and horror of Europe.

In considering the political state of the Caucasus, two questions present themselves: Why has England abandoned the Circassians, in spite of the sympathy wrung from us by their perseverance in a patriotic struggle? and why has Russia persisted so long, and at such an expenditure of men and treasure, in the attempt to extend her dominion over barren mountains, the inhabitants of which could not leave their strongholds to attack her, even had they the desire to do so?

It will be remembered that shortly after the Porte declared war against Russia in 1853, news arrived that the Turkish troops had taken Shefketil, or Fort St. Nicholas, the nearest Russian military post to the Turkish frontier; after that, a British naval force acting with the Circassians reduced the other Russian forts along their seaboard; and, lastly, Anapa was taken, and the mountaineers came down into that place, which, however, was restored to Russia at the peace. Let us now recall what was done by the British Government with regard to Circassia, either with a view to securing its in-

dependence, or for the immediate object of carrying on the war. In the spring of 1854, a military officer, a colonel in the Bolivian service, was appointed British Commissioner to the Circassians, and proceeded to Constantinople. His qualifications for this appointment were summed up by a diplomatist in these words: "that the Andes are very high mountains in Bolivia, and that the Caucasus is also a chain of very high mountains." Whilst at Constantinople, the colonel had interviews with some of the Circassian envoys, upon whom he tried to make an impression in the following manner: He laid a dollar upon the table, and then attempted to transfix it with a Sheffield bowie-knife. The first attempt was more detrimental to the embassy mahogany than to the dollar. After these diplomatic arguments, not taken from precedents in Wicquefort, the colonel proceeded to the Crimea, where he was seized with cholera, and returned to Therapia to die. A captain in the navy was next sent out. This appointment was not much happier than the former one; for the captain had no knowledge of the country or its people, and was physically incapacitated for the rough life in Circassia. His diplomatic education seems to have been derived from the same source as that of the colonel; for on arriving in Circassia, he, with much pomp and circumstance loaded a six-barrel revolving rifle before the assembled Circassians, and fired it off. All the six barrels, it is said, went off at once, and the Circassians raised a shout of derision. Now these mistakes arose from national prejudice, and the European would be at a disadvantage in both cases; for Caucasian daggers and swords are of better temper than the Sheffield blades; Lesghi gun-barrels are famous throughout the Caucasus and in Persia, and a Circassian horseman, even at full gallop, would use his rifle with more effect than would most Europeans. Towards the end of the summer of 1854, however, a better appointment was made, and Mr. Longworth, whose character and previous career fully qualified him for the post, was sent to Anapa. As this town is at the western extremity of the Caucasus, he could have no communication with the Daghestanlys under Sheik Shamyl at the other end of the chain. It is necessary to bear this absence of communications in mind with reference to

the peace made by Sheik Shamyl with the Russians;\* for it was alleged in the House of Commons as the reason why no provision had been made for the Circassians of the Black Sea coast in the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, that they had not assisted us sufficiently. Meantime, other circumstances operated so as to neutralize the advantages which might have been derived from the Circassians, and such as diminished both their energy and the sympathy felt for them in England. In the first place, no proclamation or manifesto was put forth calling upon them to co-operate with the Allies, and promising to include them in the negotiations which should take place at the end of the war. Some jealousy was shown by the Allies with regard to the supremacy of the Ottoman Porte, notwithstanding that this was more prominently put forward by the Circassians themselves than by the Porte. But the most impolitic measure of all was that at this time some good people thought the opportunity one not to be neglected for putting down what they called the Circassian slave-trade, and pressure was put upon the Porte, and a firman obtained prohibiting the trade. The consequence was intense disgust at Constantinople, which was, perhaps, felt still more strongly by the Circassians, who considered that the western Allies were interfering with them, and were as little friendly to them as the Russians. Even if the trade had been such as the Allies supposed, surely, this was not the moment to raise the question. But the fact is, this interference arose from the misapprehensions which grow out of names wrongly applied. Europeans have given the name of slave to the Circassian damsels who come to Constantinople, and have invested them with that interest and compassion which justly belongs to those victims whom no law protects from the caprice of a master in the United States of America. The truth is far otherwise.

"The purchase and sale of women," says Baron Haxthausen (p. 8), "is deeply rooted in the customs of the nation; every man buys his wife from the father, or from the family.†

\* This was after he had arranged the ransom of his son in exchange for his prisoners, the Georgian princesses and their French governess, whose account of that transaction has been published.

† The Circassian buys his wife; but at the same time he is obliged, *pro forma*, to steal her, and carry her off privately. This is the only reputable manner of obtaining possession of the bargain.

On the part of the woman no shame is attached to the transaction, but rather a sense of honor. . . . In her own country a Circassian girl lives in a state of slavish dependence on her father and brothers; her position is therefore raised when a man demands her in marriage, and stakes his fortune to obtain her. The Eastern girl sees in her purchase-price the test of her own value; the higher the offer, the greater her worth. The purchase of women being the common practice among the Circassian tribes, the slave-dealers, to whom they are sold, are to be regarded simply as agents, who dispose of them in marriage in Turkey. Their parents know that a better lot awaits them there than at home, and the girls willingly go to Turkey, where, as this traffic has existed for years, they constantly meet their kindred."

We are, therefore, not surprised when the baron tells us that on one occasion when he was himself present, a vessel having been captured with some Circassian girls on board, the girls were offered their choice,—to be sent back to their own country under safe escort, to marry Russians or Cossacks of their own free selection, to go with the baron to Germany where all women are free, or to accompany the captain of the ship, who would sell them in the slave-market at Constantinople,—unanimously, and without hesitation they exclaimed, "To Constantinople to be sold!"

Our own traveller Mr. Oliphant says of some Circassian damsels whom he saw at their mountain-home,—

"We laughingly asked some of these young ladies if they would come with us to Stamboul; and their eyes sparkled with delight at the idea, as they unhesitatingly expressed their willingness to do so. A Circassian young lady anticipates with as much relish the time when she shall arrive at a marketable age as an English young lady does the prospect of her first London season. But we have prevented the possibility of their forming any more of those brilliant alliances which made the young ladies of Circassia the envy of Turkeydom. The effect is, in fact, very much the same as that which an Act of Parliament would have in this country, forbidding any squire's daughter to marry out of her own parish, thus limiting her choice to the curate, the doctor, and the attorney, and the result in all probability will be anything but beneficial to the morality of the community."

The truth is, that the Circassians are in

the habit of sending their daughters to Constantinople for an establishment, an inducement which is commonly supposed to have some weight even in England. The girls upon their arrival at Constantinople are almost without exception respectably married, and it is ridiculous to use the words "slaves" or "slavery" in such cases.\*

Having effected this sentimental reform, we left the Circassians to their fate. The causes which led to their abandonment by England may be summed up in these words: absence of policy on the part of the government, and ignorance and indifference on the part of the nation. As we have seen, no means were taken by a judicious choice of agents to ascertain the condition of Circassia, and to direct public opinion towards what ought to have been done for that country and what it was practicable to do. The Turkish army was uselessly detained in the Crimea, instead of being left free to act in a congenial field of operations; and when at last it was permitted to leave Sebastopol, the season was already too far advanced, and the rains compelled Omer Pasha to put an end to his campaign in Mingrelia, which had begun favorably. When the period of negotiation arrived, it is singular that whilst we were tenacious as to Bolgrad and in keeping Russia away from the mouths of the Danube, not a word was said about stipulations binding the Russians not to resume their blockade of the Circassian coast, and preventing their rebuilding the forts which had been destroyed. Such policy was like leaving one door open whilst making great efforts to close the other. No voice was raised in behalf of the Circassians at the Congress; the opportunity was lost for recognizing their rights as a free and unconquered nation; they were abandoned by England, after all the encouragement she had given them, and her silence confirmed the privilege claimed by the Muscovites of hunting down one of the noblest races of mankind.

\* The first attempt that was made, perhaps from benevolent motives, but certainly under a thorough mistake, to interfere with the so-called Circassian slave-trade, was in the time when Lord Ponsonby was our ambassador at Constantinople. It is said that he replied that he did not well know how he could execute his instructions; for the Turkish foreign minister and two of the other ministers were themselves Circassian slaves, and it would be difficult for him to tell them, or to make them understand that they held a degraded position.

But to return to the inquiry why the Russians have spent so much blood and treasure in conquering the barren Circassian mountains. The mountains of the Caucasian chain are of no value in themselves, and their acquisition can only be looked upon as a means to an end. A wide extent of territory inhabited by Tatars intervened between the Caucasus and the provinces inhabited by a Russian population, so that the Russian Empire had no danger to apprehend from the Circassians; but Russia had obtained by fraud the Christian kingdom of Georgia.\* The Russian yoke is not sufficiently light to reconcile a nation to submit to it forever, especially a nation which has a history and a church dating from the fourth century, and has maintained its separate existence through the wars of Timur and of the Persian monarchy; and Russia has reason to fear that Georgia will reassert her independence under some one of the surviving heirs of her ancient kings. With the Caucasus for a bulwark and its mountaineers for their allies, the Georgians might have again enjoyed national independence; but their chances of success will be very much diminished when the Caucasus shall have been depopulated, or its population so reduced as to be no longer capable of offering any resistance. But it is not merely for the sake of holding Georgia that the czar seeks to rivet his chains upon that country. Russia has no superabundant population to dispose of, and Siberia affords her a means of getting rid of disaffected subjects, so that her army of the Caucasus is not a political necessity for her, but only an expedient, and the advantages to be derived from the revenues of Georgia cannot be such as to counterbalance the expenditure for an army seldom less than a hundred and fifty thousand men, unless there were another object in view. This army in Georgia is a menace against Turkey and Persia; it presses especially upon Persia, and the continual fear of Russia has checked the progress and development of that country, which in the last few years, since it has been left more to itself, has laid down telegraphs, and in other respects has been steadily advancing. Friends

\* The queen mother and her son King George XIII. were induced to leave Georgia and proceed to Russia, where this last of the Georgian kings surrendered his inheritance and the independence of his country to the Czar Paul; and in 1801, Georgia was united to Russia.

of Russia say that she has civilized Georgia; but beyond introducing the French language amongst the upper classes of Tiflis, and erecting a theatre there, it is difficult to say in what way Georgia has been benefited by the Russian occupation. What Russian civilization is there, may be learned from Lermontoff's "Life in the Caucasus," which has been translated into French and English, and of which it may fairly be said that it equals in iniquity the worst of French novels.

But Russia has an ulterior object in subjugating the Caucasian mountaineers, and this one more especially concerns England. So long as the Circassians and Daghestanys could maintain their strongholds, and were in a position to occupy the passes of the Caucasus, Russia could not make use of Georgia as a safe base of operations against India; and of this we were repeatedly warned, whilst there was yet time to have done something by treaty stipulations to avert the evil. Alas! that the warnings should have been unheeded.

Although Sheik Shamyl is not a Circassian, and his people have never combined with the mountaineers near the Black Sea, yet as he has so long been the protagonist in the Caucasian drama, it would be impossible not to mention him in writing of the Caucasus. His life offers a singular parallel to that of another man who has similarly occupied the attention of Europe. He and Abd-el-Kader both struggled at the head of their people for many years against overwhelming military force. Sheik Shamyl (or Shamuy), as his name should be spelled, for it is the same as Samuel) has shown much more power of organization, and a higher military capacity than the Algerine Emir; but he had a mountain fastness into which he could retire to prepare for another blow, whilst Abd-el-Kader could only retreat into the shifting sands of the desert, and disperse his followers in order to reunite them at some other point. These two men have alike closed a noble career ingloriously, and the motive with both has been personal ambition. Sheik Shamyl was not the hereditary chief of the confederation of which he was the soul. He owed his authority solely to his religious character, and to his military capacity: he wished to bequeath this chieftainship to his son. The tribes were not willing to acquiesce, and being disappointed in these expectations,

Shamyl treated with the Russians, and, instead of dying at his post and bequeathing to history an unsullied name, which would have ranked with that of William Tell, he unfortunately preferred to become a pensioned prisoner of the enemy, whom he had so long defied. If he had been only wearied with a hopeless struggle, and anxious to save his countrymen from further sufferings, it was open to him to have bid them make terms for themselves and to have taken refuge in some other part of Asia, closing his days in devotion, thus ending his life as he had commenced it. Again, although Abd-el-Kader had been imprisoned in France in violation of the plighted word of a French general and of a son of the French king, yet when a sovereign of another French dynasty set him again at liberty, gratitude required him not to take part or to act against his liberator. These feelings did not, however, make it necessary for him to become a flatterer of the French, and an agent of France, on account of the prospect of the Government of Syria that was dangled before his eyes. In short, both Sheik Shamyl and Abd-el-Kader have preferred the part of Themistocles to that of Leonidas.

The prestige of the diplomacy of Russia is far greater than that of her army, and it has not been in any way lessened by the events of late years; whilst, on the contrary, the ideas formed of the Russian army in 1812 and 1815 have been materially modified. The almost uniform success of the Russian schemes has given rise to the erroneous belief that the generality of Russian diplomatic agents are superior to those of other countries, and particularly to those of England. The success of Russia is owing as much to her having an undeviating policy, and to the sleepless activity and concentrated attention of her Foreign Office, as to the somnolent indifference to the rest of the world. Russians as individuals are not only not superior, but they cannot claim to be equal to educated Englishmen: their education does not admit of it. For instance, they pass for the first linguists of Europe, because they learn from their nurses and governesses to talk German, English, and French with fluency; but it is notorious that at the Court of the Emperor Nicholas, their own language was entirely neglected, and many ladies were actually unable to

speak it at all. To be a linguist it is necessary to be a grammarian, and there is no other road to that accomplishment than to plod through the Latin grammar; so that it was not without good reason that Joseph de Maistre drew the boundary of civilized Europe there where Latin ceased to be taught. Russian diplomacy has an advantage in the entire concurrence of action on the part of her agents, and their unswerving obedience to their orders,—backed by the fear of Siberia. This is wanting in England, as it must be in all free countries; but in the occasional independent advice and action of such men as Lord Ponsonby and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and in the energy and freely expressed opinions of unofficial persons, our country finds much to counterbalance the unfitness of many of our public agents. We extract a valuable and striking passage from Mr. Oliphant's account of Omer Pasha's Transcaucasian campaign, published before the peace:—

“Both these objects (the promotion of English and Mingrelian interests), as it appears to me, might be gained by stipulations which should have the effect of abolishing those mercantile restrictions which have retarded the progress of the province, and of doing away with that monopoly of trade which Russia purchased at Redout Kaleh alone, but which she most unjustly exercises throughout the whole length of the coast. By throwing Mingrelia open to commercial enterprise, a new and profitable market would be created for our manufactures, whilst the resources of the country would be developed, and the prosperity of the population proportionately advanced. It does not seem that in making these demands we should be asking, either with respect to Abkhasia or Mingrelia, more than we have a right to expect; but whether we make peace and obtain independence for one, and free trade for the other, or make war and gain only a valuable strategical position for ourselves, let us hope that those political men who have hitherto riveted their delighted gaze upon the shattered docks of Sebastopol may extend the range of their mental vision to the opposite shore of the Black Sea; and as they gradually acquire a hazy consciousness of the existence of Russia in that quarter, may admit that the campaign which has just been prosecuted in those newly discovered regions has not been altogether barren of political and military results.”

But Mr. Oliphant wrote in vain. These

considerations passed unheeded; the campaign was barren of all political results; and the Treaty of Paris having ignored the existence of the Circassians, Russia began again to carry on a war of extermination against them. Suffering more from famine than from the prowess of Russian arms, the Circassians, driven to despair, sent two deputies to England in 1862. One of these, Hajy Hassen Hayder, was at forty an aged man with eighteen wounds on his body, and worn down with a life passed in privation and warfare ever since his childhood. These deputies addressed a petition to the queen, dated the 26th August, in which they represented that their country was independent, that the Ottoman Government had never possessed it, and that therefore Russia could not pretend to claim it in virtue of any treaties with the Porte. They complained that Russia led Europe to believe that the Circassians were barbarians or savages, who, if left alone, would destroy their neighbors' property. This opinion Russia has certainly done her best to disseminate. It is reported that the late Said Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, was one day talking of the Circassians, and that the Russian consul who was present would not lose the opportunity to make the observation, “If a man steals a horse or a cow, we call him a Tcherkess.” Said Pasha replied, “Yes; and if he seizes a whole province, then he is called a czar.”

The petition goes on to state that—

“The tyranny of the Russians was not confined to capturing our cattle, burning our dwellings and temples, and other unheard-of atrocities, but in order to starve us on the mountains they destroyed all our growing crops in the plain, and captured our land. . . . If we were to emigrate, abandoning our homes for ages protected by our forefathers, who shed their blood for them, our poverty would prove a great obstacle to our doing so; in fact, how could we take away our own wives and children, and the widows, orphans, and helpless relations of those slain in this war. Such an undertaking would decimate the emigrants, and blot out forever our Caucasian name from the face of the earth.”

In the presence of these difficulties they implore the protection of the queen, and pray her to interfere to prevent the extermination of a nation numbering a million of souls: these are the Circassians and Abkhasians.



(We now know that these sad forebodings of the consequences of a forced emigration have been far surpassed by the reality, and that decimation is no word for the mortality that has overtaken the emigrants.) The only answer to this petition was a letter, dated September 12th, 1862, acquainting the deputies that "Her Majesty's Government cannot interfere in the matter referred to in their petition." Technically, perhaps, the Foreign Office could give no other answer, its hands being tied by the neglect of the Congress of Paris to establish the real position of Circassia toward Russia, and the false position assumed by Russia had apparently been acquiesced in; or, as Pozzo di Borgo said, "The public opinion of Europe has given the Caucasus to Russia." \* Similar indifference led Europe to acquiesce in the partition of Poland, which the British minister of that day described as a curious transaction. There is this distinction, however, between the two,—that England had had no special relations with the Poles before the partition; whereas we called upon the Circassians to co-operate with us, and they did make a diversion in our favor by attacking the Russian territory during the operations of the Turkish army. Russia has set a precedent, which might have been used in favor of Circassia, by her remonstrances in behalf of the Montenegrins, whom no one ever thought of disturbing until they descended from their mountains on head-hunting expeditions into the plain. †

The conduct and policy of Russia in Circassia and in Poland has been very similar; the cruelties exercised in Poland have excited more sympathy from being better known; yet that sympathy has been barren, because we are told that action is impracticable to us in a country which is washed by no sea. But as this objection does not hold in the case of Circassia, should we let the extermination of the mountaineers pass without remonstrance,

\* Reference to the "Correspondence respecting the Regulations issued by the Russian Government in regard to Trade with the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea," presented to the House of Commons in February, 1863, will show that Lord Malmesbury did his best to turn to account the meagre stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, to the advantage of the Circassians, and that he commenced a policy which, had it been sustained, might have averted their downfall.

† We are glad to welcome Lady Strangford's pretty book, "The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic," in which an interesting account is given of the Montenegrins and their prince

the public opinion of Europe will have just cause for saying that in England, the will, rather than the power, has been wanting to withstand triumphant wrong.

The French, who during the Crimean War were so indifferent to the interests of their allies, and who prevented the departure of Omer Pasha's army from the Crimea till it was too late in the year for military operations in Transcaucasia, may now be sorry for the downfall of Circassia, which will enable the Russians to press still more heavily upon the unfortunate Poles. They will have yet more cause for regret should the Russian policy of depopulation now going on in the Caucasus be carried out also in Poland. We have already referred to the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and a further parallel may be drawn from that event. Henri IV., either from political motives or from Protestant feelings of opposition to the Inquisition, had opened some communications with the Moriscoes; but when they were actually expelled, he shrunk from rendering them any effective assistance, and left Spain to triumph in her cruelty, and to set an example which was in due time imitated by Louis XIV., under whom, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Protestants, for whom his grandfather had struggled so long, were made to undergo all the horrors, the sufferings, and decimation experienced by the Moriscoes.

Even from the history of these earlier persecutions but a faint idea can be formed of the cold, the famine, the diseases which have been destroying the unfortunate Circassians while waiting upon a shore within the grasp of Russia, which will not suffer Ottoman or even English commissioners to approach its victims, either to alleviate their misery, or to be witnesses of her own tyranny. And yet greater sufferings await them when they disembark on the Turkish coasts, where no preparation has been made for them. Shall modern Europe, one of whose everlastingly recurring watchwords is the cry of humanity, submit to the disgrace of not being more enlightened than inquisitorial fanatics of the Middle Ages? We can scarcely endure to read of such cruelties in the records of distant ages; yet when they are repeated under our own eyes by a government which calls itself Christian,\* we cannot attempt to stay

\* It appears from the parliamentary papers respecting the settlement of Circassian emigrants,

the hand of the oppressor, or to tell him that he who does such deeds can only be regarded—indeed, is already regarded—as an enemy of mankind. But at least we may stretch forth our hands to relieve the misery which we have done nothing to avert, to aid with purse and with effective management

that the expulsion of the mountaineers has been the direct act of the Russian Government. That government, it is true, offered the mountaineers the choice of settling in the steppes of the Kouban, or of emigrating to Turkey. But had they accepted the former alternative, they would equally have suffered loss of home, ruin, decimation, and national annihilation. We find the following passage in the *Bulletin du Caucase*, in the *Journal de St. Petersbourg* of May 19, 1864: "In the course of the month of March, thirty thousand individuals left Touapre; about fifty thousand others await their turn to embark at Anapa, Novorossusk, Djouba, and Touapre, and at least as many more will go forth from the coasts of the Oubykh and Djighete territo-

ries. It is thus that the resistance of the last and most obstinate of the hostile tribes has been overcome, thanks to the perseverance and unheard-of labors of the troops of the Caucasus. Although it cannot be asserted that the war in the Caucasus is completely terminated until our soldiers shall have overrun all the mountain passes, and shall have driven out the last of the inhabitants, it is to be hoped that we shall no longer meet with any obstinate resistance anywhere, and that especially on account of their numerical weakness, the tribes that have remained in the defiles of the mountains can no longer be considered as the source of any danger to ourselves."

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SENTENCE OF DEPOSITION ON BISHOP COLENSO.—Messrs. Brooks and Dubois, proctors for the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown, served a copy of the following sentence of deposition on Bishop Colenso: "Whereas in and by the sentence pronounced by us on the 16th of December, 1863, against the Bishop of Natal, we did adjudge to suspend the operation of the said sentence until the 16th of April, 1864, for the purpose of affording the said Bishop of Natal an opportunity of retracting and recalling the extracts therein mentioned and referred to; And whereas the said sentence so delivered by us on the said 16th of December, 1863, was personally served on the said Bishop of Natal at 23 Sussex Place, Kensington, in the county of Middlesex, on the 26th day of January, 1864, as appears from the affidavit of service thereof, duly filed of record; And whereas it has been proved, to our satisfaction, that the Bishop of Natal did not on or before the 4th day of March last past file of record with Douglas Dubois, of No. 7, Godliman Street, Doctors' Commons, London, proctor, solicitor, and notary public, our commissary in England, a full, unconditional, and absolute retraction, in writing, of the extracts so mentioned and referred to in the said sentence, nor did on or before the 16th day of April instant, file with the registrar of this diocese, at his office, in Capetown, such full, unconditional, and absolute retraction and recall of the said extracts; And whereas the said sentence has now, in terms of the provisions thereof, and

by reason of the premises, become of full force and effect; Now, therefore, we do hereby adjudge and decree the sentence so pronounced on the said 16th of December, 1863, to be of full force, virtue, and effect from and after this date; and we do accordingly, decree and sentence the said Bishop of Natal to be deposed from the said office as such bishop, and prohibited from the exercise of any divine office within any part of the Metropolitan Province of Capetown. In testimony whereof we have hereunto caused our episcopal seal to be affixed, and do subscribe our hand this 18th day of April in the year of our Lord 1864, and do deliver the same to the registrar of this diocese to be duly recorded.

"(Signed) R. CAPETOWN (L.S.)."

ONE of the most interesting anniversaries in London is that of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, when a choir of two hundred voices give choice music beneath the dome of St. Paul's, and a sermon is preached in aid of the charity. This year the two hundred and tenth anniversary was celebrated, with no abatement of interest.

A DISEASE among cattle, similar to that which has created some anxiety in this country, has proved very fatal in the Campagna around Rome. The Papal Government has lately published an extended report upon this disease, the contagious character of which it is said, is fully proved.