THE RUSSIAN STORM-CLOUD: OR, RUSSIA IN HER RELATIONS TO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

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The Russian storm-cloud: or, Russia in her relations to neighbouring countries by Stepniak

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STEPNIAK

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Bussia in her Relations to Neighbouring Countries.

BY

STEPNIAK,

AUTHOR OF "RUSSIA UNDER THE TRARS," "UNDERGROUND RUSSIA," ETC.



LONDON:
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1886.

PREFACE.

In this volume, which I have the honour to present to the indulgence of English readers, I deal with the two contending principles of modern Russia—Liberty and Despotism—from one particular point of view, viz., the influence both are likely to exercise upon neighbouring European countries and their general welfare and progress. The entire work is entitled "The Russian Storm-Cloud," under which title the first four chapters appeared in Time. Ever since the creation of the Russian Empire by Peter the Great, Europe has felt uneasy, and still feels apprehensive at the vicinity of a colossal State obedient to the despotic will of one man and the continual extension of the empire in all directions. On the other hand, Russian revolution, owing to the extremely violent character of the means adopted, appeared, and still appears. to many minds as a threatening phantom of general destruction and of the overthrow of all social order, scarcely less dangerous to the peace of Europe than to the despotism of the Tzar.

My object has been to indicate the rival nature

and character of both of these elements. The book is, therefore, essentially a political one. But I have done my best to make it as objective as possible,—describing our country, rather than advocating any opinion, exposing facts which might enable the reader to draw his conclusions instead of forcing on him my own.

The article on Poland, together with those on "European Socialism and the Dynamite Epidemic," and "A Revolt or a Revolution?" were written to complete the present volume. The chapters on "The Russian Army" and on "Terrorism in Russia and in Europe," are reprinted, by the kind permission of the publishers, from the *Times* and the *Contemporary Review*, to whom I must once more express my earnest thanks for their uniform courtesy.

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I.

THE RUSSIAN STORM-CLOUD.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT DO THE NIHILISTS WANT?

T.

SHORTLY after the Winter Palace explosion I remember having seen in an English satirical paper the following caricature:—Two Nihilists are meeting amidst heaps of ruins. "Is all blown up already?" asks one of them. "No," answers the other. "The globe remains firm still." "Well, let us blow up the globe then!" exclaims the first.

This was a graphical representation of the general conception about the Nihilists just in the epoch when their name was in everybody's mouth.

Five years followed, bringing with them, among other facts of Nihilist history, some dozen of trials, the most striking of them—that of Tzaricides, for example—having a certain publicity, which enabled the accused to explain before the audience and reporters of foreign papers the real character and aim of the movement. The Nihilists' clandestine publications, hitherto completely ignored, are now noticed by the best papers. The Nihilists' manifestoes are reprinted; clandestine papers are epitomised. We—Nihilists living abroad—did all we could to satisfy the growing desire of the European public to know something about our movement. All this has wrought a notable change

in the minds of Europeans. Here, in England there are many who understand that the Nihilists are not at all apostles of destruction, and who, though very moderate in their opinion, agree that under such a régime as that of Russia nobody has a right to blame the people when they take the laws into their own hands. "Were I a Russian I should be a Nihilist myself." That is a phrase which I can testify to have very often heard from all classes in England. And out of many expressions of sympathy, I will here quote one as belonging to a paper, by no means a subversive one, the Christian World, which, in noticing one of my articles in the Times, says :- "Nor is it wonderful that now and again the wrath of the Russian people finds expression in actions which are called crimes, because they happen to-day; but which, when we read them in the pages of history, we think of as testimonies of the patriotism of people who were incapable of enduring the wrongs which base tyrannies conceived and imposed " (September 11th, 1884).

But in this time of febrile activity, when people hardly notice what they pass by, or, having noticed, forget it at once, new conceptions enter very slowly into the public mind. And to destroy an inveterate prejudice a vast quantity of printer's ink must be wasted. There is no help for it. This philosophy of patience was forced on me—I may be excused for mentioning it—by reading the many notices which honoured my last book, "Russia Under the Tzars." Very careful and often very indulgent on other points, many of the best-informed and most respect-