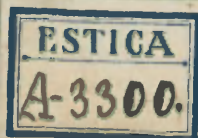


*HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 50*

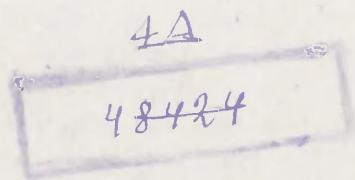
COURLAND, LIVONIA
AND
ESTHONIA

LONDON :
PUBLISHED BY H. M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

1920



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EDITORIAL NOTE

IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty ; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference ; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes ; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense ; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

*General Editor and formerly
Director of the Historical Section.*

January 1920.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL	
(1) Position and Frontiers	1
(2) Surface, Coasts, Islands, and Rivers	
Surface	2
Coasts and Islands	4
Rivers	5
(3) Climate	7
(4) Sanitary Conditions	8
(5) Race and Language	8
(6) Population	
Distribution	10
Movement	12
II. POLITICAL HISTORY	
Chronological Summary	13
(1) Introductory	14
(2) The Baltic Provinces and the Teutonic Order	15
(3) The Baltic Provinces under Sweden and Poland	16
(4) The Baltic Provinces under Russia. Eighteenth Century	18
(5) The Baltic Provinces, 1801-66. The Land Ques- tion	21
(6) The Baltic Provinces, 1801-1905. The National Question	23
(7) The Baltic Revolution of 1905 and its Conse- quences	24
III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS	
(1) Political	
Government of the Baltic Provinces	26
Literary Movement	28
(2) Religious	28
(3) Educational	29

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) Internal

(a) Roads	31
(b) Rivers and Canals	32
(c) Railways	33
(d) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones	39

(2) External

(a) Ports

(i) Accommodation	39
Esthonia	40
Livonia	40
Courland	42

(ii) Nature and Volume of Trade	43
---	----

(b) Shipping Lines	44
------------------------------	----

(c) Cable and Wireless Communications	45
---	----

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Labour

(a) Supply of Labour ; Emigration	46
(b) Labour Conditions	48

(2) Agriculture

(a) Products of Commercial Value	48
--	----

(b) Methods of Cultivation	51
--------------------------------------	----

(c) Forestry	52
------------------------	----

(d) Land Tenure	54
---------------------------	----

(3) Fisheries	56
-------------------------	----

(4) Minerals	56
------------------------	----

(5) Manufactures	57
----------------------------	----

(6) Power	61
---------------------	----

(C) COMMERCE

(1) Domestic

(a) Towns, Fairs, &c.	62
-------------------------------	----

(b) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce	63
---	----

(c) Foreign Interests and Economic Penetration	65
--	----

	PAGE
(2) Foreign	
(a) Exports	
Quantities and Values	67
Countries of Destination	69
(b) Imports	
Quantities and Values	70
Countries of Origin	72
(D) FINANCE	
(1) Public Finance	74
(2) Banking	75
(3) Influence of Foreign Capital	77
(4) Principal Fields of Investment	77
(E) GENERAL REMARKS	78
APPENDIX	
Historical Note	80
Table I. Nationality of Shipping in 1913	81
„ II. Principal Exports in 1913	82
„ III. Value of Exports in 1913	82
„ IV. Principal Imports in 1913	83
„ V. Value of Imports in 1913	84
AUTHORITIES	85
MAPS	86

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE Baltic Provinces, lying between $55^{\circ} 45'$ and $59^{\circ} 45'$ north latitude and $20^{\circ} 55'$ and $28^{\circ} 15'$ east longitude, are composed of the three western Russian Governments (*gubernii*) of Estland, Livland, and Courland, or, as they are more commonly called, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. They also include a whole archipelago of islands upon the north-west coast, of which the chief are Ösel (Ezel), Moon and Runö, belonging officially to Livonia, and Dagö and Wormsö (Vorms), belonging officially to Esthonia.

Two-thirds of the total length of the boundaries of the country are formed by sea. This expanse of sea, together with the possession of the ports of Libau (Libava), Windau (Vindava), Riga, and Revel (Reval), constitutes the geographical importance of the Baltic Provinces. They are the nearest Russian points to western trade and civilization, and at the same time lie on the great trade-routes from northern and central Russia and even from Siberia. They control the Gulf of Finland, the Gulf of Riga, and the east end of the Baltic Sea. Even more than Petrograd, they are the window of Russia towards western Europe, and their loss would very seriously hamper her commercial development.

Esthonia, Estland, or Eestimaa, is bounded on the north by the Gulf of Finland; on the west by the Baltic Sea; on the south by Livonia and the Chudskoe or Peipus Lake; on the east by the River Narova, which divides it from the Petrograd Government. These are the official boundaries. The linguistic boundaries, however,

include the four northern Livonian districts, Pernau, Fellin, Dorpat (Yuryev, Yurev), and Verro, where the population is predominantly Esthonian.

Livonia, or Livland, is bounded on the north by Esthonia; on the west by the Gulf of Riga; on the south by Courland, the lower Dvina, the Vitebsk Government, and Lake Luban; on the east by the Vitebsk and Pskov Governments, and the Pskov and Peipus lakes. Linguistically the boundaries of Livonia would include the three western districts of the Vitebsk Government, Dvinsk, Ryejitsa, and Lyutsyn, where the population is almost exclusively Lett.

Courland, or Kurland, is bounded on the north by the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Riga, the Riga district, and the Dvina; on the west by the Baltic Sea; on the south by Prussia and the Kovno Government; on the east by the Dvina. From the linguistic point of view the south-east district of Courland, that of Illukst, presents a curious problem: the north is entirely Lett; the south-west entirely Lithuanian; the east entirely White Russian.

(2) SURFACE, COASTS, ISLANDS, AND RIVERS

Surface

The Baltic Provinces in general form a large low-lying plain, which in the north makes an abrupt drop to the Gulf of Finland, and in the centre, i. e. the southern part of Livonia, is intersected by spurs of hills, which are continuations of central Russian heights.

Esthonia has an area of 7,818 square miles. Its surface is low, not rising above 185 ft. along the north coast and on the shores of Lake Peipus, while the average height of the interior varies from 200 to 300 ft., with a maximum of 450 ft. in the Wesenberg (Vezenberg)

district. Lakes and marshes form quite $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the surface. The soil can hardly be called fertile, for the larger half of the Esthonian Government, i. e. the Hapsal and Revel districts, is covered with sandy soil, which in many places degenerates into pure sand and is incapable of cultivation. The rest of Esthonia, and particularly the Weissenstein (Veissen-shtein) district and the northern part of the Wesenberg (Vezenberg), is covered partly with clay and clay sand and partly with a lighter clay soil of a similar type. Peat marshes are scattered all over the country.

Livonia covers an area of 18,160 square miles. The surface is broken up by three plateaux: one south of Dorpat, another forming the south and east part of the Verro district, and a third lying around the basin of the Livonian Aa, with Wenden (Venden) as its chief town. The western portion of this third plateau is known as the 'Livonian Switzerland'. Apart from the plateaux, Livonia is an undulating plain.

A considerable area of the Livonian coast, particularly the south-west part of the Riga district, and the island of Ösel, is covered either with sandy soil, not very fertile, or pure uncultivable sand. There are more than 1,000 lakes, of which Lake Peipus and Lake Wirz-Järw (Virts-Yarv) are the largest. Forests cover about two-fifths of the whole surface; marshes and peat-bogs fully one-tenth. It is only recently that attempts have been made to cultivate this marshy area. Drainage has been undertaken, with the result that the drained marshes produce excellent hay and grain harvests.

Courland has an area of 10,535 square miles. The surface is for the most part undulating, rising nowhere more than 700 ft. above sea-level. The Mitau (Mitava) plain divides it into two halves, of which the western is the more fertile and populous. The larger part of

Courland is covered with sandy soil or sand; the rest with clay or lighter clay-sand soil. There are many marshes, the largest being the Tirul swamp, between Mitau and Riga. The interior of the country is characterized by wooded dunes covered with pine, fir, birch, and oak-trees, with intervening patches of fertile country. One-third of the whole area is still occupied by forests.

Coasts and Islands

The north coast of the Baltic Provinces lies along the Gulf of Finland. It is the precipitous northern scarp of the great Esthonian plain, composed of cliffs reaching 185 ft., and clothed with luxurious vegetation. With the exception of Revel and Baltisch (Baltiski) Port (used when Revel is frozen), and of the small port of Kunda in the Wesenberg district, this north coast is harbourless and of no use for navigation.

The west coast, as far as the horseshoe Gulf of Pernau (Pernov), is full of deeply indented bays, capes, and promontories. The coast consists chiefly of sand and sand-dunes, with here and there patches of limestone, bordered closely by woods and wooded plains. Opposite this part of the coast lies a quadrilateral of fair-sized islands, of which Dagö (area 350 sq. miles) and Wormsö (area 34 sq. miles) form the northern extremities, Ösel and Moon the southern. The Sele Sound, 7 miles across, divides Dagö on the south from Ösel (area 1,010 sq. miles). Ösel possesses the only port in the whole archipelago, the capital town of Arensburg, and is joined to Moon by a mole across a narrow intervening channel, while Moon is separated from the Werder (Verder) peninsula on the Esthonian mainland by the Moon Sound, a long strip of water 6 miles across, with the island of Shildau in the middle. There is a fairway of 4 fathoms, but its value for navigation is lessened by the Kumorsky reef,

which blocks the north end. These islands nearly convert the Gulf of Riga into a land-locked sea. The only other exit is through the Irben Strait, between Ösel and the Courland coast. This is 18 miles wide, but with a fairway of only $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, close in to Courland, with a depth of about 14 fathoms and a treacherous bar.

South of Pernau the mainland coast changes its outline. From here to Riga, and along the east, north, and west of Courland, it is, generally speaking, flat, harbourless, and sandy, with tracts of sparsely covered dunes, and wooded uplands frequently approaching close to the water.

It is only in the southern half of the Baltic Provinces that there are coastal plains. They exist at the mouths of the Livonian Aa, the Dvina (of which the delta forms a large, flat, and somewhat marshy plain), and the Windau (Vindava), at Libau, and in the southwest portion of Courland adjoining East Prussia. They contain three of the most important ports in the Baltic Provinces, Riga, Libau, and Windau.

Rivers

The river systems can be summed up in one sentence—the region is drained by the Dvina and a number of minor rivers. The Dvina is one of the keys to the commercial prosperity of Livonia and Courland.

Esthonia. The chief means of drainage are Lake Peipus and the River Narova. There are many small rivers, of little value for navigation. The Narova performs the important office of connecting Lake Peipus and the vast area which it drains, both in northern Livonia and the Petrograd Government, with the Gulf of Finland.

Livonia. The Western Dvina (*Západnaya Dviná*), or *Dáugawa* as the Letts call it, is the centre of the

internal traffic of Livonia and Courland. It is possible that its importance may be increased in the future by the adoption of a scheme for regulating the river and connecting it by a canal with the Dnieper and Kherson on the Black Sea. According to the record of the years 1900-9 the Dvina was either wholly or partially navigable for 200-253 days.

Entering the Baltic Provinces between Drissa and Dvinsk, the Dvina flows west to Dvinsk. Here and shortly below Dvinsk it is bridged by the railway from Vilna joining the main Dvinsk-Riga line, which runs along the right bank of the river. The Dvina then flows north-west in a comparatively deep valley, entering Livonia above Friedrichstadt. Above Riga, where the firm rocky soil ceases, and the high banks recede from the river, it divides into several arms, and at Riga the river is crossed by a massive railway bridge as well as by a pontoon structure.

Shipping in the general sense is possible only from Dünamünde (Ust Dvinsk) to Riga. The shifting nature of the sands makes navigation difficult, and necessitates constant charting. The main traffic above Riga is in timber. Smaller craft of all kinds ply up and down.

Other Livonian rivers are the Pernau, the Salis, the Livonian Aa, and the Embakh. All are navigable and are used for timber-rafting. A steamer runs from Dorpat to Pskov by way of Lake Peipus.

Courland.—Though Courland rivers are numerous, the Windau, Courland Aa, and Dvina alone are navigable. The Courland Aa flows through the Mitau plain, which divides the Government into two halves. It is bridged twice at Mitau and once at Dünamünde, and is navigable between these two towns.

There is no lack of water in the Baltic Provinces. The problem is one of further regulation and drainage.

(3) CLIMATE

Owing largely to the proximity of the sea, the climate of the Baltic Provinces is generally temperate, and seasonal changes are gradual. The winters, however, are long and somewhat severe, particularly in Esthonia, which is bleaker than the other two provinces, and suffers from more frequent storms. The geographical position of Ösel and the other islands off the west coast, blocking the mouth of the Gulf of Riga, leads to an earlier freezing of its waters and a later opening for navigation than would otherwise be natural. The Gulf of Riga is icebound, as a rule, from December to March, but, in the open Baltic Sea there is very little ice west of Courland. Hence Libau and Windau are ice-free ports. The Gulf of Riga itself has less ice than the Gulf of Finland.

Climatic drawbacks, from the point of view of agriculture, include a cold and dry spring and summer humidity. The summer climate much resembles that of the German coast of the Baltic Sea; it is apt to be moist and cloudy, but in July is warmer than many neighbouring parts of Germany. There is a good deal of damp and fog. For this the sea is partly responsible, and partly the existence of so many lakes and marshy tracts.

The average temperature for January along the Courland coast from north of Memel to the town of Windau varies from 26.6°F. (-3°C.) to 24.8°F. (-4°C.), whereas in the interior of the Baltic Provinces it is noticeably lower, varying from 19.4°F. (-7°C.) to 17.6°F. (-8°C.). On the whole the winters on the coast are milder, while the summers are cooler, than are the same seasons in the interior; and the climate in the south is, in general, warmer than in the north. Hence cereals produce richer crops in the

south, while potatoes are more successfully cultivated in Esthonia than in any other Russian Government.

For a period of ten years, 1886-95, the average rainfall over the whole Baltic Provinces was in winter 3·2 in. (82 mm.), in spring 3·7 in. (96 mm.), in summer 8·6 in. (220 mm.), in autumn 5·9 in. (150 mm.), and for the whole year 21·5 in. (548 mm.). The present average of rainy and snowy days at Riga is 146.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

There is naturally a great difference between town and country conditions. The towns compare very favourably with other Russian towns, though, with the exception of Riga, they hardly yet satisfy scientific western standards.

In the country a great variety of conditions obtains. Cleanliness is more characteristic of the Letts than of the Esthonians; but in the out-of-the-way districts of both Provinces, particularly as regards many of the schools, hygiene and sanitation are extremely bad.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

The *Esthonians*, Esths, Ehsts, or Ests, in nationality, speech, and customs, belong to the Ugro-Finnish family, and therefore to the Ural-Altaic branch of the human race. They first appear in history as a predatory, piratical race in the northern Baltic provinces, who are supposed to have migrated from the interior of Russia to the Baltic coast, before the two Finnish tribes of Tavasti and Koreli (occupying the west and east of Finland respectively). In physiognomy the Esthonians closely resemble the Finns of Tavastland, a Ural-Altaic Mongolian type.

They cling tenaciously to their language, which is

closely akin to Finnish. There are three varieties of local dialects, Yuryev, Revel, and Pernau Esthonian. Revel Esthonian, with its full inflexional forms and greater attention to the laws of euphony, is now generally accepted as a literary language. It is pleasant to the ear, but poor in the expression of abstract ideas.

The lower half of Livonia and the whole of Courland are inhabited chiefly by *Letts*, *Latvis*, or *Latavians*, a race which, like its neighbours the Lithuanians, belongs to the Baltic group of the Indo-European stock. In the south and south-east of Courland they are sometimes called *Semigallen*, while the Russians call them *Latyshi*. In many respects they resemble Lithuanians in physique.

The Lett language bears much the same relation to Lithuanian as English to German. It possesses an unusually large vocabulary for the world of nature, and is also rich in diminutives and terms of affection, wherein it resembles Russian.

The *Livs*—*Lib* as they call themselves, or *Live* as the Russians call them—gave their name to Livonia. They still live in small numbers in north-east Courland, and were possibly a transition group between Esthonians and Finnish Koreli. They are now indistinguishable from Letts, and may be classed with them.

The *Kurs*, whose folk-name, like that of the *Livs*, became an ethnographic name, are an admixture of *Livs* and *Letts*, in which the latter now predominate. These *Kurs* or *Kurszei* live in small numbers in East Prussia, on both sides of the *Kurische Nehrung* and on the Memel coast. But a curious survival of their past history is the fact that up to this day the Samogitian peasants in the Government of Kovno call Courland Letts by the name of *Kurs*. The language of the *Kurs* is Lett.

Other Races.—Germans, Russians, Jews, and Swedes,

who are all represented in the population of the Baltic Provinces, require no special treatment here.

It should be noted that the administrative division into governments does not correspond to the ethnological boundaries. The Provinces, as a whole, fall into a northern Esthonian and a southern Lettish half, the Government of Livonia being occupied by Esthonians in the north and by Letts in the south.

The population was divided up among the following nationalities according to the census of 1897:

	<i>Esthonia.</i>		<i>Livonia.</i>		<i>Courland.</i>	
	<i>Population.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>%</i>
Esthonians .	365,959	88·67	518,594	39·91	—	—
Letts . .	472	0·11	563,829	43·4	505,994	75·07
Germans .	16,037	3·9	98,573	7·57	51,017	7·57
Russians .	20,899	5·07	69,614	5·36	38,276	5·68
Poles . .	1,237	0·29	15,132	1·16	19,688	2·92
Jews . .	1,269	0·31	23,728	1·83	37,689	5·59
Lithuanians.	86	0·02	6,594	0·51	16,351	2·45
Swedes . .	6,757	1·63	3,301	0·26	4,839	0·72

(6) POPULATION

Distribution

According to the Russian census of 1897 the total population of the Baltic Provinces was 2,386,115; a later official estimate, taken from the *Russian Year Book*, 1916, gives a total of 2,767,900 (for January 1, 1913). The following are the statistics given by the census:

	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Urban Population. %</i>
Baltic Provinces . .	2,386,115	25·7
Esthonia . . .	412,716	16·1
Livonia . . .	1,299,365	29·3
Courland . . .	674,034	23·1

The following are the figures given in the *Russian Year Book* :

	Population of Districts and Govern- ments.	Population of Towns.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Esthonia . . .	391,500	100,500	242,700	249,300	492,000
Livonia . . .	1,052,800	440,000	728,000	764,800	1,492,800
Courland . . .	576,900	206,200	381,100	402,000	783,100
Baltic Provinces .	2,021,200	746,700	1,351,800	1,416,100	2,767,900

Until quite lately the ruling class, both in town and country, was German. To this class belonged the owners of big estates (more land goes to 688 German landlords than to 31,838 peasant farmers), the commercial magnates, the chief traders and merchants in the larger towns. Germans shared some of the highest administrative posts with the Russians, such as those of judges, police, commissaries for managing peasant affairs, and teachers in the educational establishments. The relations existing between the natives and the Germans cannot be said to be good. Race-hatred in the Baltic Provinces is essentially hatred of the Germans, the so-called Baltic barons, and is almost universal. The causes of it are partly historical, partly political, but still more economic (cf. below, pp. 21-24, and 26-28).

The Russians in the country localities consist largely of Government officials and soldiers, and in recent years have included a number of imported agricultural labourers. Many of the highest officials were Russians.

The Jews, particularly in Courland, form a large proportion of the small merchants, small officials, and journeymen. They live in considerable numbers in Riga and in the less important commercial towns. There are a few thousand Swedes in Ösel, Runö, and

elsewhere. In Courland there is a certain number of Lithuanians, who live as country labourers or local journeymen.

Movement

A distinguishing feature of the Baltic Provinces is the slow growth of the population. The average annual rate of increase for the ten years 1891-1900 was 9·3 in Esthonia, 8·0 in Livonia, and 8·4 in Courland per 1,000 inhabitants. There has not been a very marked change since. This may be explained partly by the naturally slow rate of increase, partly by the common tendency of young nations to make the most of better conditions in towns without the encumbrance of a family, but chiefly by emigration, which is due in the main to the economic dependence of the poorer part of the agricultural population.

The birth-rate averages 28, the death-rate 20 per 1,000 inhabitants. The mortality in Courland is lower than anywhere else in Russia.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1201. Riga founded by Bishop Albert I.
- 1238. Danes, aided by Germans, complete conquest of Esthonia.
- 1330. The Teutonic Order conquers Riga.
- 1346-7. After an unsuccessful rebellion, Esthonia falls to the Teutonic Order.
- 1466. Teutonic Order in Prussia subjected to Poland.
- 1558-62. Russian War.
- 1560. Esthonia becomes Swedish.
- 1561. Teutonic Order in Baltic Provinces dissolved.
- 1562-83. Wars of Russia, Poland, and Sweden. Poland acquires Livonia, and Courland becomes a Polish fief.
- 1621. Gustavus Adolphus captures Riga.
- 1660. Peace of Oliva. Definite cession of Livonia by Poland to Sweden.
- 1700-21. Northern War. Esthonia and Livonia conquered by Russia.
- 1710. Capitulations agreed to by the Tsar.
- 1721. Sweden cedes conquered provinces by Treaty of Nystad.
- 1737. Courland falls under the influence of Russia.
- 1795. Third Partition of Poland. Courland incorporated in Russia without capitulations.
- 1804. Livonian peasants receive a measure of emancipation.
- 1816-19. Peasant ordinances in Esthonia, Courland, and Livonia.
- 1832. Church Law for the Lutheran Church in Russia.
Conflict between Lutheranism and Orthodoxy follows its application to Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland.
- 1836. Orthodox bishopric founded in Riga.
- 1863. Agrarian reforms completed.
- 1877. Introduction of the Russian ordinance for towns.
- 1888. Russian police system introduced.
- 1897. One hundred and thirty-eight Lettish political offenders imprisoned or exiled.
- 1901. Lettish Social Democratic circle in Riga constituted.

- 1905. Outbreak of revolution.
- 1906. German Unions founded.
- 1907. Election to Duma. German successes.
- 1908. State of siege replaced by that of reinforced protection in Baltic Provinces.

(1) INTRODUCTORY

CURLAND, Esthonia, and Livonia¹ are commonly spoken of by Germans as the Baltic Provinces and will here be so entitled. Although between 1200 and 1795 their political allegiance was by no means uniform, they usually formed a distinct group of provinces, far more sharply marked off from their neighbours than from each other and possessing substantially the same social relationships and religious organization. The Esthonians who inhabit Esthonia and northern Livonia are Finns; the Letts who inhabit Courland and southern Livonia are Indo-Europeans. Thus between Esthonians and Letts there is a deep cleavage in speech, mode of life, and character, and they are usually regarded as hereditary foes. During the seven centuries of which account must here be taken, these two races have occupied the Baltic Provinces in overwhelming numerical preponderance, while only a fragment of either is to be found in the world outside.

It is proposed to describe briefly how the Baltic Provinces passed by conquest under the dominion of German colonists and eventually of the Teutonic Order; how they embraced the Reformation; how, under the stress of Russian attack, the members of the Order made terms with Sweden and Poland, their new overlords; how Sweden enlarged her original share by depriving Poland of Livonia; how, under the stress of Russian attack, Esthonia and Livonia submitted upon

¹ In older authorities 'Livonia' has often a wider geographical extension.

terms to Russia; and how, when Poland disappeared, Courland was added to them. With the accession of Alexander I (1801), a new era began, and the history of the Baltic Provinces during the nineteenth century demands a somewhat fuller treatment. Hitherto there had been within their confines hardly more than two classes, the German conquerors and the Lettish and Esthonian conquered. Now there were to be added in increasing numbers the agents of the Russian Government, while the social and economic status of the natives underwent a remarkable transformation. Peasant emancipation was followed by the material well-being of some classes; popular education, by racial self-consciousness; the growth of towns, by movements towards revolution. At the same time the nationalistic policy of Russia embittered the religious and social conflicts within the Baltic Provinces, while the parallel movements in Germany and in Finland must have contributed towards the same result. In 1905 a violent revolutionary storm swept over the land, and from 1906 until the outbreak of the Great War the Russian Government appeared to show less disfavour to the German ruling caste as against the Lettish and Esthonian populations.

(2) THE BALTIC PROVINCES AND THE TEUTONIC ORDER

The present political situation in the Baltic Provinces is largely to be accounted for by the course of events in the twelfth and three following centuries. Germans, organized in the Teutonic Order, coming originally overseas for trading and missionary purposes, conquered and christianized the country, and turned it into a portion of their strong military state. The natives were left in possession of their homesteads, but the needs of their new lords soon demanded the surrender of every independent right, and they became

the human cattle upon whose labours the prosperity of the Baltic Provinces was based. Revolt proved hopeless ; the Russians were prevented by the Tatar onslaught from driving out the Germans ; the Provinces possessed in the fourteenth century connexion by land as well as by sea with Germany, and the German population was thus freely reinforced. But the growth of wealth and the absence of a high ideal induced decay ; successive losses of territory in the south to the new state of Poland-Lithuania isolated the dominions of the Order in the north, and when the Reformation came it dissolved the foundations of the state.

The final blow against the power of the Order in the Baltic Provinces was launched by Russia. Resenting the tutelage in which the Germans had long held his dominions, to which they forbade access from abroad, Ivan the Terrible decreed an appalling invasion in 1558. Foreign Powers intervened, and twenty years of warfare in Livonia and Esthonia resulted only in the confirmation of arrangements made at the outset. Esthonia submitted to Sweden, and Livonia to Poland ; while Courland, though nominally a Polish fief, became practically an independent duchy under Kettler, the last Master of the Order in Livonia.

(3) THE BALTIC PROVINCES UNDER SWEDEN AND POLAND

The fall of the Teutonic Order brought no great change either in the government or the religion of the Baltic Provinces. The Esthonian gentry made terms with Sweden, and the Livonians with Poland, and by this means secured all their rights and privileges. German remained the official language ; the Lutheran Church was not to be molested ; the law and its administration were guaranteed against interference. Contact with free Sweden, indeed, did in time bring to the

peasants some mitigation of their slavery, but Poland had nothing to offer them except Roman Catholicism, which they refused. The contest for their ecclesiastical allegiance, however, helped to preserve their native languages, which the contending Jesuits and Lutherans found it necessary to employ. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in one of the long series of wars between Sweden and Poland (1598–1660), wrested Livonia from the Poles, and in 1632 founded the University of Dorpat. Again no social change was effected and the new university was to be German. Succeeding monarchs involved the provinces in fresh strife, Charles X by waging war in the accustomed manner and Charles XI by attacking the rights of the gentry in the interest of the Crown. Against such attacks Patkul, a Livonian nobleman, first protested and then intrigued with Denmark, Poland, and Russia, thus helping to bring about twenty years of war, the collapse of Sweden, and the rise of Peter the Great.

That war, the Great War of the North (1700–21), in its earlier stages laid waste a great part of the Provinces and annihilated the University of Dorpat. Much that the ruling German caste failed to do in the eighteenth century has been excused on the ground of this break-down in their wealth and education. It may therefore be remarked that evidence appears to be lacking in support of the theory that prior to the war they did or attempted anything with the object of mitigating the conditions which caused the country to be described as ‘the noble’s heaven and the peasant’s hell’. Such glimpses of the natives as appear show them unconsidered, downtrodden, and subservient.

The nobles, on the other hand, formed a vigorous and powerful caste, tenacious of its vested rights both against successive overlords and against the native serfs. German through and through, they had absorbed

some of the original Lettish nobles and a certain number of recruits from other lands. The martial and adventurous spirit which had originally prompted their advent in the Baltic Provinces was kept alive by their mode of life. They were colonists and squires surrounded by an alien race over whom they had the power of life and death, while themselves the vassals of alien princes who might be of another faith; and they were the occupants of domains for which great empires were contending. Prior to the downfall of Sweden they had sent a long array of notable generals and administrators to serve abroad, and this invaluable power of exporting men largely determined their history when they came under Russian rule. The permanence of the cleavage between themselves and the natives may in part be explained by the fact that non-noble Germans had also entered the Provinces in considerable numbers as merchants, tradesmen, and artisans, thus depriving the natives of the hope of rising by the performance of tasks which must be accomplished but which the noble caste declined.

(4) THE BALTIC PROVINCES UNDER RUSSIA. EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Great War of the North revealed so decided a superiority of Russia over her neighbours as to determine the controversy for the dominion of the Baltic Provinces. After ten years of warfare, the overthrow of Charles XII at Poltava (1709) brought about the submission of Esthonia and Livonia to the Tsar. Peter, as yet insecure in his conquests, fully endorsed the liberal Capitulations granted by his lieutenant. These renewed the privileges which the Provinces had secured on the collapse of the Teutonic Order, guaranteeing what a Baltic German styles 'the foundations of Livonian existence, the Evangelical

faith, her own administration and law, and the German language in Church, school, and public affairs'. In 1721 similar provisions appeared in the treaty which Russia dictated at Nystad (see Appendix, p. 80). Religious freedom, hitherto denied, was claimed for members of the Greek Church. Two million dollars were paid to Sweden, so that the Provinces might rank as purchased rather than conquered, for Peter had bound himself to return his conquests here to Poland.

Courland, whose dynasty obviously approached extinction, formed a prize which tempted the Polish and Prussian kings, the Polish Republic, and the Tsar. Peter had endeavoured to secure the succession by marrying his niece Anna to the heir-apparent; chance favoured Russia, and from 1737 Courland became practically a Russian dependency. In 1795, after the Third Partition of Poland, the Diet of Courland laid the country at the feet of Catherine the Great; the Duke abdicated; and Catherine merely promised in a manifesto to guarantee to the nobles their ancient rights. Thus the third of the Baltic Provinces became incorporated in the Russian Empire by the act of its Estates, among whom a pro-Prussian agitation had proved vain.

Meanwhile Esthonia and Livonia had passed 85 years under the rule of the Tsars. This at first involved little change in the existing order beyond what resulted from the presence of a Russian Governor-general who was disposed to favour the nobles and to show disfavour to the ambitions of the towns. That the land and its administration should be German was unquestioned, and the nobles strove, not without success, to fortify their own monopoly of internal power. They failed indeed to secure for the Provinces a separate code of law and court of appeal. But in 1737 they made good their claims to form a caste

distinct from men ennobled by State service, and in 1741 they gained the sole right to possess estates. The judges were to be named by them from among their own number ; they administered the Crown lands and filled almost every civil post ; the pastors were Germans nominated by them. When Pietism won the adhesion of the peasants, the German monopoly was upheld by the State, and in 1743 a ukase stamped out the movement. Nearly thirty years later a German traveller ascribed the hatred of the squalid natives towards the Germans to the fact that they were driven to their devotions with the same threats as to their labour in the fields.

With the accession of Catherine II (1762-96) ideas of enlightenment and progress returned to the Russian throne. In the Baltic Provinces the German-born Empress showed especial interest. In 1764 the Pietists received toleration, and next year the nobles were urged to improve the lot of their peasants. That men and women should not be sold or given away, that they should remain undisturbed in their homesteads so long as they duly performed fixed duties, that they should not be mated at their lord's command, that they should be capable of possessing property and of defending it and their persons against their lords by way of law—such were the chief reforms which Catherine desired and which the Baltic nobles firmly rejected. In 1779 they likewise refused compliance with her wish to extend to the Baltic Provinces the symmetrical administration which she had devised for Russia. Catherine, therefore, having softened the blow by turning their fiefs into freeholds, introduced the new institutions by force (1785) ; but her son Paul I restored the old within a month of her death. So long as Paul lived, the central power was even more reactionary than the Provinces, where progressive ideas

found an entry into Riga and some sections of the nobles, while the Pietist movement promoted humanity towards the serfs. In Alexander I (1801-25), however, the Baltic nobles found a ruler at once Liberal and sympathetic. With the nineteenth century a new era in the history of the Provinces began.

(5) THE BALTIC PROVINCES, 1801-66. THE LAND QUESTION

The contrast between the old spirit of government and the new received clear illustration in the matter of higher education. Paul had planned a Baltic University to prevent the nobles from studying abroad ; Alexander I created it, at Dorpat (1802), for the enlightenment of the whole Russian Empire. Although subjected to the new Ministry of Education, it was frankly German in language and intellectual inspiration, and thus reinforced the German elements in the Provinces and in the Empire by a stream of pastors, doctors, and lawyers. Such an institution, like the Teutonic monopoly of the Provinces in general, would be differently regarded by the supreme power according as centralization or its opposite was the ruling governmental conception of the day ; and Russian and German parties arose within the University itself.

Of even greater importance than higher education in the Baltic Provinces was agricultural reform. It is sometimes claimed that the German nobles, who had frustrated Catherine's proposals, of their own motion emancipated the peasants half a century earlier than did the Russian State. It is significant that in 1783 and 1802 peasant revolts were not suppressed without much bloodshed. Later, on the initiative of the Liberal party in the provincial diet, villeinage, with the Tsar's approval, replaced serfdom in Livonia (1804), the

peasant gaining some human rights, though remaining bound to the soil and to the service of his lord. Twelve years later Esthonia conceded personal freedom and the right of migration, and Courland and Livonia accepted the same principle (1817, 1819). But these measures fell far short of true emancipation. In Courland it was not until 1833 that the peasants gained a limited right of migration, although the towns remained closed to them. In 1845 they were first allowed to hire land with money in place of service, and peasant proprietorship did not follow until 1863.

‘No lasting good effects’, wrote the German traveller Kohl in 1840, ‘can be expected from the emancipation law till the further step shall have been taken of granting the peasant the right of acquiring a property in land. . . . Only then will he struggle to raise himself from his present abasement.’ In Livonia, as the price of ‘emancipation’, all the lands of the peasants had become the freehold of the lords, and in fact the old tyranny was maintained. The right to quit an estate, usually valueless to the peasant, might be made the excuse for dismissing him when his labour had ceased to be profitable to the lord. Not until 1849 in Livonia and 1856 in Esthonia did the system of the free hiring or purchase by peasants of lands reserved for them definitely triumph, with the goodwill of the Tsar. In 1865 and 1866 Courland and Livonia abrogated the exclusive right of the nobles to hold estates, thus arriving at the agrarian system of to-day. Under it, the Letts and Esthonians have produced a number of prosperous peasant proprietors. The Germans, however, continue to possess the great estates; and of the native races a very large majority are landless. To this fact may be ascribed in part the rapid growth of the urban population and the spread of social democracy.

(6) THE BALTIC PROVINCES, 1801-1905. THE NATIONAL QUESTION

During the nineteenth century the problem of the Baltic Provinces became more and more fully a problem of nationality. The German inhabitants had always possessed a strong racial consciousness and pride. Between them and the natives yawned a chasm as deep as it had been six centuries before, though across it individuals, chiefly Letts, had crept for social promotion. Of Russian inhabitants there had been but a handful, and their access to a place in corporate life was sternly barred by the Germans. The Tsars, from Catherine onwards, were of German blood, usually with German consorts, and all showed a sympathetic interest in the Baltic Germans. Nicholas regarded them as a shield against western ideas and declared to a fiery Slavophil in 1849 that they had served faithfully—he could name 150 generals—and that Christians must not force Germans to become Russians. Alexander II told the Baltic nobles that they did well to be proud of their nationality. Although Russian attempts to de-germanize the Provinces were complained of far earlier, it was not until the German Empire had arisen that they became obvious and frequent.

With the advent of Alexander III (1881-94) the influence of the austere Pobiedonostsev became dominant; and the policy of 'one Tsar, one faith, one language, one law' was carried out in the spirit of a high-minded Inquisitor. In 1883 began the violent phase, more than twenty years long, of the struggle by the Germans to defend their privileged position against the Government and the native races. The great reforms of Alexander II had rendered the organization of the Provinces mediaeval in appearance at the same time that the tide of nationality was in full flow and

the emancipated Letts and Esthonians were rapidly advancing. By degrees the Russian Government came to regard the Baltic Germans as its enemies and to favour the Young Lettish and Young Esthonian parties at their expense until the Revolution of 1905 induced a change of course.

The efforts of the Government after uniformity within the Empire extended in 1888 and 1889 to the introduction of the Russian systems of police and justice. However superior in structure these might be when compared with the antiquated provincial institutions, they brought in a foreign language, judges unversed in the local conditions, and officials inferior in integrity to their predecessors, and thus augmented the widespread uncertainty and confusion. The newspapers were subjected to the Russian censorship, with the usual consequences.

(7) THE BALTIC REVOLUTION OF 1905 AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

During the first decade of the reign of Nicholas II (1894–1917) the policy of russifying the Baltic Provinces in the main continued. It found an unexpected sequel during the course of the war with Japan, for, while the Germans remained aloof from the Russian movement towards revolution, the other nationalities in the Provinces embraced it.

Towards the close of the year a violent revolution broke out in Riga, where a great industrial population, partly non-Baltic in race, had recently sprung up. Spreading rapidly to the country districts, it assumed the form of an anti-German war, directed against pastors and other Germans as well as against the great proprietors. The outbreak was put down by military force; and thousands of lives were exacted for the 200 mansions destroyed. The Government endeavoured

to guard against a recurrence by strengthening the Germans and by consulting the Provinces on reform.

It is difficult to determine with any confidence how far this social propagandism approached or concealed treason. The hope of many Germans within and without the Baltic Provinces that Germany would in the future regain her lost colonies had been evident for generations, but proof of any disloyal intrigue against the reigning Tsar appears to be lacking. It must not be forgotten that the Baltic Germans enjoyed a position of power and privilege which, given any reasonable personal security, they would be loath to jeopardize, while the relations between Russia and Germany were always carried on officially in a tone of traditional friendship which must have rendered exceptionally difficult any imperial conspiracy against the Tsar. But the growth of German nationalism and power certainly caused German popular sentiment to be stirred by the fate of the Baltic Germans, and the German Orders in which some of these were comprised adopted language and insignia such as could not but offend the sensitive nationalism of Russia. Amid the disorders of 1905 hints were given that Germany's quiescence regarding the Baltic Provinces had depended upon Russia's non-interference with her policy, and that under certain conditions those provinces might form her compensation for concessions elsewhere.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) POLITICAL

Government of the Baltic Provinces

PRIOR to the war, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia formed three 'Governments' of the Russian Empire, divided in the usual way into 'districts'. The three Governments constituted the Postal Division of Riga and formed a part of the Juridical Division of Petrograd. Esthonia and Livonia without the Riga district belonged for military purposes to Petrograd; Riga and Courland, to Vilna. Each had at its head a Governor appointed by the Tsar and subjected to the supervision of the Senate, to whom appeals could be made. The towns were Russian, organized for self-government on the basis of a property qualification, and endowed with a permanent assembly which the citizens elected and against which they could appeal. But in place of the *zemstvo* and the *mir* the Provinces possessed peasant communes grouped together with the manor to which they originally belonged, thus forming a composite unit; and of these units usually from eight to twelve were combined into a parish. The peasant communes exercised a considerable measure of self-government under the control of the Russian officials. They had their own meetings, their own elected headman, courts, schools, rates, and poor relief, and they each appointed a delegate to the assembly of the parish. This contained also the proprietors of the manors and the local clergy, and elected the pastors, controlled the parochial schools, the rural doctors, and the roads.

The Province as a whole, however, was still represented by a Diet consisting simply of the proprietors of the manors. This purely aristocratic body retained the right of initiating civil and administrative decrees over a wide field. To it fell the right of proposing measures dealing with education, communications, and agriculture; and it possessed a far-reaching power of levying taxes upon the country-side and of expending their produce. Thus in Livonia some 900 proprietors acted for themselves and the remainder of the rural population, which included some 40,000 peasants holding land.

The sole exception to this German control of provincial government above the commune was offered by the towns, in which the assembly elected the mayor and town council, subject to confirmation by the Governor.

The Provinces, though never regarded internationally as in any way distinct from the mass of the Russian Empire, have preserved their own code of civil laws. These, like the institutions of local government, are less liberal than the Russian, notably in respect to the position of married women and of minors. Criminal law is substantially the same over the whole Empire. That the three Provinces have not been regarded as forming one corpus appears from their division for various purposes of government. Thus, besides the partition of Livonia for military purposes mentioned above, natives of Courland and Prussian subjects resident in that province had a special liability to summary expulsion in certain cases; while in Courland and Livonia foreign Jews had a conditional right of settlement, and special limitations were imposed upon the succession of foreigners to real estate.

The three Provinces of course received the normal representation of Russian subjects in the Duma, in accordance with the legislation of 1906 and 1907. With the exception of the army and of labourers in

small works who were not enrolled as lodgers, all law-abiding males over 25 years of age received the right to vote. But these, the primary voters, were divided into five classes according to their status and wealth; and the electors proper, chosen by them, were thus anything but a democratic body. The choice of the actual members of the Duma was, again, restricted by law. The net result in the Baltic Provinces has been that the Germans have enjoyed a representation disproportionate to their numbers and have formed a solid national clique independent of Russian parties. The native races in the large towns have elected Social Democrats, and the peasants have manifested little interest in the matter.

Literary Movement

The recent development of literary activity among the Esthonians and Letts deserves mention here, as an important expression of the growth of racial self-consciousness among these peoples. Esthonian literature is the product of the last two generations. It possesses a great store of folk-songs. Good literary work has also been done by the newspapers and journals, of which forty are published in Esthonian.

The literature of the Letts is slightly older, and considerably more voluminous. It possesses a genuine folk-poetry, and the output of poetry of other kinds is important. At the beginning of the war the Letts had sixty newspapers and journals of their own, one at least of which could boast a circulation of 100,000 copies.

(2) RELIGIOUS

When the Baltic Provinces were incorporated with Russia—Livonia and Esthonia in 1721, Courland in 1795—the whole population, German and native, belonged

to the Lutheran Church. But with the government of the Tsar came also the Orthodox Russian Church, of which he was the titular head ; and, although he at once granted religious freedom, which theoretically has since prevailed, there was henceforward a new religious influence which tended to identify itself with the movement for spreading Russian institutions in the Baltic Provinces. The cross-currents of race and religion, of Lutheran and German as against Orthodox and Russian, which soon showed themselves, have considerably modified in practice the toleration originally granted and formally renewed in 1874. Orthodoxy and Lutheranism competed for the religious allegiance of the people. The struggle grew more acute after 1883, when it became the policy of the administration to represent the Orthodox Church as endangered by Lutheran propaganda. Mixed marriages were prohibited (1886) except where written guarantees were given that the children should be brought up in the Orthodox faith ; and at the same period proceedings were taken against Lutheran pastors who recognized re-converts from the Orthodox Church.

The great majority of the population have, however, remained Protestant. The Lutheran Church is governed by its own Synod, and the parish assemblies elect the pastors.

(3) EDUCATIONAL

Since 1721 the educational system of the Provinces has been in the hands of the Russian Administration, and has not differed from that prevailing in other 'Governments', but the earlier period of German dominance has left its impress on higher education.

The University of Dorpat, founded in 1632 by Gustavus Adolphus, was a centre of German culture ; and, although it disappeared for a time during the wars of

the eighteenth century, it was reinstated in 1802 by Alexander I on the model of a German University, and the monopoly of the Germans was not seriously challenged until the establishment of the German Empire antagonized the Russian Government. By 1889 Russian influence prevailed in the University, and German protest took the form of closing educational establishments which had provided higher education. No steps were taken by the Government to provide substitutes for these schools; and the Germans maintained that the spread of revolutionary ideas was the direct consequence of leaving the native races without suitable training at a time when they were exposed to the new influences of nationality and social democracy.

This protest was possibly not very disinterested, for the attack on German monopoly had meant a fresh opportunity for Lett and Esthonian; and their success in developing a more scientific agriculture, and in taking part in local government, in social organization, and in commerce, indicate talent and power remarkable after six centuries of repression. When the Revolution of 1905 caused a reaction against the native races, German institutions were again regarded with favour; and in 1906 a German Union came into being in each of the three provinces, partly with the object of founding new schools, and German was recognized as a permissible language of instruction in Baltic private schools.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS¹

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) Roads

ACCORDING to the official figures for 1911, Esthonia had then no paved roads but 3,000 miles of 'soil roads'; Livonia had 210 miles of the former and 7,500 of the latter; and Courland 112 miles of the former and 10,000 of the latter. If by 'soil roads' the same is to be understood in the Baltic Provinces as in central and southern Russia, the figures are discouraging, for an ordinary Russian 'soil road' (*gruntovy put*) is good only in dry summer weather or when hardened by frost in winter, and even then it rapidly deteriorates with use. But the roads of the Baltic Provinces are praised by the local authorities, and it may therefore be supposed that they belong to a better class.

Maps of course show only the more important roads, and of these there are few. Esthonia appears to be fairly well supplied, but the great expanse of Livonia, a land of marshes and streams, possesses few highways besides the main road from Riga to Pskov. Courland has many good roads except in the north-western district towards Domesnes Point, a region largely composed of sand. Mitau, which has no direct railway connection to the south, has a good road in the direction of Shavli and Tauroggen, along the southern portion of which there runs a narrow-gauge line.

¹ It must, of course, be understood that the conditions described in the text in the present tense are in general those obtaining before the war.

The roads, however, by the confession even of those who praise them, have been reduced to insignificance by the introduction of railways, while the rivers convey the lumber which is one of the most important products of the country. The islands, having no railways, depend for internal communication on apparently very defective roads; but the only important places on them, Kertel on Dagö and Arensburg on Ösel, have steamship communication with the mainland.

(b) *Rivers and Canals*

The numerous rivers of the Baltic Provinces are almost useless except for floating timber. The course of the Dvina, large as it is even among the great rivers of Russia, is obstructed by rapids; there is a bar at the mouth, and above Riga navigation is possible only to the smallest vessels, except on a spring flood. There is a little navigation on the Dvina for a few miles below Dvinsk, where it forms the boundary between Courland and the Government of Vitebsk on the east. The Courland Aa is navigable up to Mitau, but on an ordinary tide only for small vessels.

Steamer traffic is stated to exist on short stretches of rivers as follows: on the Windau, from Windau to Goldingen; on the Courland Aa, from Dünamünde (Ust Dvinsk) *via* Mitau to Bausk; on the Dvina, from the mouth to Uxküll; on the Salis (Zalis), which falls into the Gulf of Riga between Pernau and Riga, for a short distance; on the Narova, from Lake Peipus to the sea; on the Embakh (Embach), from Dorpat (Yuryev) to its entry into Lake Peipus.

There are two canals connecting the interior through the Pinsk marsh country with the Baltic: (1) the Berezina Canal to the Dvina (this system was never of any service except for floating timber, and is now becoming useless through the drying up of the lakes

that supply it); and (2) the Dnieper-Bug or 'Royal' Canal to the Dvina, which will take small vessels, but not steamers. The reports are not clear as to the length of artificial canal in these waterways; but it appears that the whole Berezina system is about 35 miles, and the Royal Canal 153 miles long. There have long been projects for making fresh canals, or at least for improving the Berezina system, but nothing has yet been done.

The canal at Libau, which connects the harbour with the inland lake or lagoon, is of old construction and of great importance. There is also a canal from the picturesque game-haunted Angern Lake to the sea at Windau.

Figures from Russian official sources show that Livonia has the best proportion of inland waterways—34 versts per 1,000 square versts of its area. Courland has 27 versts per 1,000 square versts; the total in Esthonia is negligible. The figures for Livonia and Courland are as follows:

	<i>Navigable for rafts only. Miles.</i>	<i>Navigable up and down stream. Miles.</i>	<i>Navigable for steam vessels. Miles.</i>
Livonia . . .	686	221	113
Courland . . .	319	116	102

Probably only one natural waterway would pay for development—the River Dvina, which has a good volume of water and, properly regulated, might carry a valuable traffic. It must not be forgotten, however, that all the inland waterways of the Baltic are closed by ice for some 4–5 months of the year, and this defect cannot be overcome.

(c) Railways

The general manner in which railways in Russia are controlled by the Government need only be lightly

touched on here. Two-thirds of the railways are now State-owned ; most of the rest are private, but can be bought by the Government after a period fixed by their special statutes. It must be remembered that many of the private lines have been constructed with the aid of Government subventions and have been granted loans free of interest. These go to lessen the purchase price when the lines are bought by the Government. Alike in their construction and their working, including the amount of and modes of raising capital, distribution of dividends, &c., private lines are subject to strict supervision on the part of the Ministers of Finance and of Ways and Communications, and likewise of a special Office of Control. Formerly private companies regulated their own rates, and competition between various lines, together with the tendency to favour particularly well-paying trades, produced such a chaos of different charges that in 1889 the Government intervened and appointed uniform zone-rates for all lines. This uniformity is, however, subject to modification where the Government thinks it well to give special encouragement to the export or import of particular kinds of goods.

Besides the Government and the private lines there is yet a third class known as 'local lines'. These, where destined for public use, seem to be under the same control as the private lines. Of such local lines, usually narrow-gauge and single-track, there seem to be many in the Baltic Provinces. They serve local markets and act as feeders to the larger lines.

The Baltic Provinces also contain parts of larger lines or systems of lines, of which some at least belong to the private class. In fact, with few exceptions, all the earlier lines were private ; but they were constructed with Government help or under a Government guarantee of dividends, and some have since been

bought up by the Government. Many of them were comparatively short stretches, but have now become, by fusion, sections of trunk lines; for instance, the Riga-Pskov Railway was at first a separate Government line.

The railway system in the Baltic Provinces had in 1913 a total length of 1,400 miles, very little for an area of about 36,000 square miles (about two-thirds the size of England), even if it is remembered that much of this area is but moor and marsh. Accordingly we find that there are no adequate railway facilities for the carriage of the local timber to Riga, or of the great Livonian dairy produce to Petrograd. Moreover, not all the total railway mileage is of normal gauge, and only a comparatively small proportion, confined to a few of the most important lines, has double tracks. Even the railway from Riga to Petrograd is single-tracked so far as it lies within the Baltic Provinces. The narrow-gauge railways are less inconvenient than might have been expected, both for passengers and goods, since the carriages are made much wider than the gauge.

The main railways serving the Baltic Provinces are:

State: (a) the North-Western Railway, connecting Riga with Pskov and Petrograd, and Revel with Petrograd;

(b) the Riga-Orel Railway, connecting Riga *via* Dvinsk and Smolensk with south-western Russia;

(c) the Libau-Romny Railway, connecting Libau *via* Vilna and Minsk with south-western Russia, Romny being in the Government of Poltava;

Private: (d) the Windau-Moscow Railway, *via* Mitau and Kreuzburg (Kreitsburg), which has immensely increased the importance of Windau.

The cross lines, running in general north and south, though they feed the main lines, seem largely to belong to local companies, e. g. the Libau-Hasenpot Railway,

the Livonia District (Poduyezdny) Railway, and the Mitau Railway.

The railway communications may be grouped as follows :

(1) From Revel a single-track line runs east by Taps and Narva to Petrograd, with two short branches to the Gulf coast, one from Wesenberg (Vezenberg) to Port Kunda and the other from Sonda to Asserien (Azeri). Two single tracks connect Revel with Walk (Valk), one going off at Taps through Dorpat, and the other to the west by way of Allenküll (Allenkyulya) and Fellin, the latter connecting with the Pernau-Walk line, which from Pernau to the junction is of 29-inch gauge. From Allenküll there is a short line to Weissenstein (Veisenshtein). A single line goes south-west from Revel to Hapsal, having a branch from Kegel to Baltisch Port.

(2) Walk is the great railway centre of Livonia. The lines from Revel and Pernau enter from the north. Eastwards a single track goes by Neuhausen (Neigauzen) to Pskov, whence are connections with Petrograd and Moscow. To the south-east as far as Marienburg, and then to the south-west, a 29-inch track covers the 148 miles to Shtokmanshof (Stockmannshof), where it joins the Riga-Dvinsk Railway. A more direct route to Riga is the single line *via* Wolmar (Volmar); at Wolmar, too, a track of 29-inch gauge goes to Hainasch (Khainash) on the west coast, and on the other side to Smiltē, 17 miles farther inland.

(3) Riga is an important terminus. The line from Walk enters on the north-east. To the south-east goes a double line *via* Kreuzburg to Dvinsk, Vitebsk, Smolensk, Orel, and Moscow. A stretch of single line connects Riga with Mitau to the south, while another single line going west connects at Tukūm with the Windau-Mitau Railway, which is continued *via* Kreuzburg to Moscow. From Mitau, again, a single track

goes south-west to meet the Libau-Dvinsk line at Muravyevo. Of this latter line only the first 42 miles and the last 21 miles pass through Courland.

(4) From Libau a line of metre gauge runs 30 miles north-east to Hasenpot, while a direct single-track line skirts the coast southwards to Memel. Another connection with the last town is given by a branch which leaves the Libau-Shavli line about 25 miles east of Libau and runs south through Schkudy (Shkudi), joining the coast track a little distance above Memel.

A stretch of perhaps 12 miles of the double line from Vilna to Dvinsk, immediately south of the latter town, falls within the boundary of Courland, but hardly belongs to the system.

A proposed railway from Mitau to Ponevyej would be of considerable service to southern Courland, and would at the same time afford a route from Riga to western Europe 70 miles shorter than that which passes through Dvinsk. The same end has been gained by the recent joining up of Mitau with the line to Shavli (see p. 38).

Attention may be called to the important positions as railway junctions occupied by Walk in Livonia, and by the neighbourhood of Kreuzburg on the right bank of the Dvina just beyond the eastern boundary of Courland.

From the above account it will be apparent that considerable areas of the Baltic Provinces are ill-supplied with railway communication, while the predominance of the single track and of the various narrow gauges accentuates the deficiency. This is met, to some extent, by coasting steamers.

The official figures for traffic relate in all cases to whole railway systems, so that it is impossible to ascertain the share properly belonging to the Provinces. It may be said, however, that the ratio of expenses to receipts has been largely reduced.

The one private main railway connected with the Baltic Provinces—the Moscow–Windau line, which has done so much for the communications of Windau, and for the development of the port itself—has received at different times from the Government gifts and loans free of interest or on specially favourable terms. It has also raised loans of about £11,000,000, open to the general European market and quoted in London, Berlin, and Amsterdam; a loan of 31,000,000 francs from Paris and Brussels; and loans, dealt with in Petrograd alone, of 75,000,000 roubles. Its concession runs to 1955.

The only loan-burdened State railway in the Baltic Provinces is the Riga–Dvinsk line, which forms part of the Riga–Orel system. Of this loan a sum of 7,300,000 gold roubles was still owing in 1911. The stock is quoted in London, Paris, Berlin, and Amsterdam.

According to recent information as to railway development in Courland and the bordering Government of Kovno, there were several proposals for new construction and the improvement of existing lines, which are at present postponed. The line from Mitau to Shavli was to be doubled; this line has been constructed since the occupation of the Provinces by the Germans, and gives Riga a long-desired connection in a south-westerly direction. The line Mitau–Muravyevo was also to be made double-track. It was also proposed that several new lines should be constructed in Courland. A line was to be built from Kugeleit running in a northerly direction *via* Muravyevo and Stenden to Domesnes, the headland at the entrance of the Gulf of Riga. Another line was to run westward from Tukum *via* Neuenburg to Altautz. A third line was to connect Hasenpot and Tukum *via* Goldingen. The completion of these lines would provide the western and northern portions of Courland, which at present are

almost without reasonable means of communication, with a suitable network of railways.

(d) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

For Russian posts and telegraphs generally, see *The Ukraine*, No. 52 in this series, p. 65.)

It is stated on reliable authority that a good network of telephones exists in Courland, but detailed information is not available. The Riga Telephone Company gives an excellent and cheap service within that town, to the neighbouring summer resorts, to most places of any consequence in Livonia, and also to Mitau in Courland.

(2) EXTERNAL

(a) *Ports*

(i) *Accommodation*.—The Provinces possess four considerable ports, viz. Revel on the Gulf of Finland, Riga on the Gulf of Riga, and Windau and Libau on the Baltic coast; there are a few others of minor importance. All are affected to some degree by ice in the winter, but this obstruction has been greatly reduced by the use of ice-breakers. Libau, indeed, which is the most southerly port, may be regarded as open all the year round, but Revel, the most northerly, though freer from ice than other harbours of the class on the Gulf of Finland, is frozen up for from three to four months and must be kept open by ice-breakers. Riga, though frozen on the average for 127 days in the year, succeeds by the same means in keeping navigation uninterrupted, save for a few days now and then, when a high wind drives ice-blocks into the channel. At Windau, the river which forms the inner harbour is frozen till the end of March, but ice-breakers keep the outer harbour clear. At all these ports, then, a winter service can be maintained by steamers.

Among the lesser ports Dünamünde (Ust Dvinsk) and Pernau are also equipped with ice-breakers.

The ports are distributed among the Provinces as follows :

Esthonia

On the coast of the Gulf of Finland are Kunda, Revel, and Baltisch Port ; on the Baltic side, opposite the islands, is Hapsal. Kunda is merely a small port serving the local cement works, and large vessels must anchor near the entrance. Baltisch Port has a mean depth in the harbour of 18 feet and can accommodate only a few small vessels ; but not being as a rule ice-bound for more than a month, it is in a position to relieve, to some extent, the winter restriction upon Revel, with which it is connected by rail. Hapsal admits only vessels of not more than 10 feet draught, and then by a dredged channel ; its trade is insignificant. The harbour is frozen for from three to four months.

The principal port is, of course, Revel or Reval, which has both a naval and a commercial harbour. The latter, which is the inner harbour, is 700 yards from east to west, and is divided by a mole into two basins from 17 to 28 feet deep. The Government also owns a floating dock and a slip which will take vessels up to 350 feet in length and 20 feet draught. The trade of the port is really larger than its capacity would suggest, so that its facilities might be increased with advantage.

Livonia

The ports of Livonia are on the Gulf of Riga. Pernau, in the north-east corner, is on a river, at the entrance to which are two parallel moles about a mile long and 350 yards apart. By dredging the accumulating silt

a depth of 17 feet is maintained in the middle of the river. There is a winter harbour 10–12 feet deep on the left bank below the town, while two quays, about 200 yards long, and a floating bridge are used for loading; large vessels must take in cargo from lighters in the roadstead. There are good facilities for discharging coal, but the port as a whole is not suited to a large traffic.

Two ports break the way to Riga on the Dvina. Dünamünde (Ust Dvinsk) is at the mouth of the river, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Riga, and has an outer basin, two floating docks taking vessels up to 300 feet in length and 17 feet draught, and a slip for vessels up to 2,000 tons. An inner winter harbour will accommodate 300 ships. The other port, Mühlgraben (Myulgraben), about five miles from Riga, has a big harbour and is much used by large steamers for the import of rails and for the export of mineral oils.

From the mouth, where is a bar with a shifting channel, up to Riga the river is constantly being dredged, but the heaviest ship which has yet reached that port had a draught of 21 feet. This depth, however, is expected to be considerably increased. The harbours on the Dvina are accepted as adequate on the whole and properly equipped; all sorts of shipping repairs can be executed at Riga, where also cylinders, boilers, shafts, and boats are constructed. Riga, however, still depends upon human labour for the discharging of coal, and proposals for the substitution of mechanical means had not, by 1913, taken practical shape.

About half-way between Pernau and the Dvina is the port of Hainasch (Khainash), which, however, is insignificant, having an approach only 10 feet deep and insufficient shelter.

Courland

Windau, in the north of Courland, is another river port, where the outer harbour is formed, at the entrance to the river of the same name, by two parallel moles about a mile long and 375 yards apart. A channel dredged to 25 feet leads to the inner harbour abreast of the town. Here on the north side is a spacious quay with full modern equipment and a depth of water alongside which varies from 8 to 25 feet. The town is on the south side and also has extensive quays. On this side, too, over a mile from the entrance, is the winter harbour with a depth of 13 feet. The river banks are steep and vessels drawing from 18 to 21 feet can lie close in shore. The port and railway accommodation is being further improved. There is extensive cold storage for butter, game, poultry, &c.

Libau is the most considerable of all the ports in the Provinces, though, like Revel, somewhat hampered by the restrictions due to its being also a naval harbour. Because of these restrictions many merchantmen prefer Windau. Libau stands at the northern end of a narrow strip of land enclosing Libau Lake, and the canal to this lake, which passes through the middle of the town, forms the 'old harbour', a mile long and 23 feet deep, used by coasting vessels. The great artificial harbour outside is nearly three miles from north to south and over a mile wide, with three entrances. Within is the commercial harbour to the south, a basin a mile long and 1,000 yards wide; the northern part is the naval harbour, which again encloses a small 'provisional harbour', while a short canal leads from the latter to a deep basin and dry docks. Work on the moles and breakwater is still in progress. Vessels up to 7,500 tons can be berthed alongside the quays of the commercial harbour, which possesses the usual appliances for dealing

with cargo. The accommodation as a whole seems to be adequate, while there are facilities for all sorts of repairs and for the construction of cylinders, shafts, boats, and masts.

(ii) *Nature and Volume of Trade.*—The ports of the Provinces are outlets on the west for Russia as a whole ; their exports, accordingly, are drawn from a very wide area. For example, much of the timber that was exported from Riga came from Volhynia and White Russia ; much of its flax and flax-seed from the western provinces ; its bacon, which was increasing annually in amount, from the interior ; and its main consignment of wool from central Russia and Siberia. Thus it is because of its great railway facilities to the east and the south-east that in total turnover for 1913 Riga exceeded Petrograd and Kronstadt ; the Riga district of itself is neither thickly populated nor very rich in natural resources. The expansion of Libau followed on its direct connection by rail with the chief grain-producing regions of Russia, enabling it to divert an export trade that previously had gone to Königsberg in East Prussia. Windau, again, has no local product of any significance except timber, and is mainly occupied with a transit trade ; it is the principal outlet for the butter industry of Siberia. Its trade greatly increased after the Windau-Moscow Railway extended its railway and port accommodation. The order of importance of the chief ports, as fixed by their export returns, is Riga, Windau, Libau, Revel, Pernau. The last is greatly hampered by the narrow gauge of its railway and unfavourable railway rates, and was on the down grade even before the war.

The same general considerations apply to the import trade, which is mainly in transit to other centres. Riga, however, normally imported more for local industries than did the other ports, and had rather less

of transit trade to interior provinces. Of the chemical fertilizers imported into the country as a whole, 32 per cent. came through Riga and 23 per cent. through Libau. Again, of the total Russian import of vegetable dyes, Riga and Libau between them accounted for over 75 per cent. Nearly all the agricultural machinery from the United States entered Russia through Windau, and most of the merchandise reaching that port was in transit to eastern Russia and Siberia. In this respect Windau enjoyed an advantage over Libau, inasmuch as freight charges on the privately owned railway from Windau to Riga were easier than similar charges from Libau.

On the whole about a quarter of the foreign trade of all Russia passed through the four chief ports, Riga, Revel, Libau, and Windau. Riga, indeed, in 1912 accounted for no less than $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total, a share which in 1913 had risen to 17 per cent.¹

Statistics of shipping for the five chief ports are given below in the Appendix (Table I).

(b) *Shipping Lines*

The British ship-owners or shipping agencies which in normal times maintain a regular service to ports of the Baltic Provinces are as follows:

The United Shipping Company, London, which sends weekly to Riga, Libau, and (in conjunction with the Wilson Line) to Revel.

The Wilson Line, Hull, which sends weekly to Riga and (in conjunction with the Russian North-Western Steamship Co.) to Libau.

Nielsen, Andersen & Co., who send regularly to Libau.

There are also numerous tramp steamers which run as often as cargo offers (usually weekly) from the

¹ For further details, see below under *Exports and Imports*, pp. 67 and 70.

principal ports of the United Kingdom to Riga, Revel, and Windau.

Of Russian owners there are :

The Baltischer Lloyd at Libau, with one steamer of 4,000 tons.

Helmsing & Grimm at Riga, who own five steamers ranging from 1,400 to 2,400 tons, and are also managers for :

(1) The Riga Schnelldampfschiff-Gesellschaft (two steamers of 1,300 tons).

(2) The Russisch-Baltische Dampfschiff-Gesellschaft (seven steamers of 3,000–4,000 tons).

The Revel Shipping Company, with one steamer of 1,100 tons and some smaller ones.

The Riga Börsen Comité, with one steamer of 1,200 tons.

The Baltic Line (now part of the Russian East Asiatic Company, of Petrograd), with two steamers of 1,700 tons.

The Russian-American Line, with several ships of 7,000 or 8,000 tons taking emigrants from Libau to America.

The Russian North-Western Steamship Company, with two steamers of 1,700 tons.

The West Russian Steamship Company (at Petrograd), with eight steamers of between 3,000 and 4,000 tons.

These services appear to be adequate.

(c) Cable and Wireless Communications

There is a cable from Libau to Bornholm Island (Danish) and Copenhagen ; this is the usual route of communication between the Baltic Provinces and western Europe. There is also a cable from Libau to the island of Öland (Swedish). There are purely Russian cables from Revel to Riga and to Helsingfors, and from Libau to Petrograd.

There are wireless stations on the Telefunken and Marconi systems, with a working radius of about 120 miles, at Libau, Revel, and Riga; also one, for official use only, at Hapsal.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

(a) *Supply of Labour ; Emigration*

The distribution of employment, as it was at the beginning of this century, can be seen in the following table :

<i>Employments.</i>	<i>Esthonia. Per cent.</i>	<i>Livonia. Per cent.</i>	<i>Courland. Per cent.</i>
Farming	60.3	55.4	58.3
Industrial, metallurgical, manufactures	14.6	19.7	14.2
Traffic and communications	3.0	2.5	2.4
Trade	3.0	4.9	5.7
Administrative, party ser- vice, free professions	2.6	2.7	2.7
Defence forces	1.7	1.0	2.7
Private activities, servants, journeymen, &c.	10.3	8.9	9.1
Guaranteed by private means, and in receipt of means of existence from the State and from private individuals	3.7	4.3	4.6
Undefined, unknown employ- ment	0.8	0.6	0.3

Since the compilation of this table, however, the importance of agriculture has fallen, and that of industry has increased.

There is a large supply of labourers both for country and town. They are industrious and intelligent, and about three-quarters of them are able to read and write, village schools having been established for over a century. The activity of the best peasants has brought

nearly all the land designated for peasant land by the Emancipation Act of 1817 (see below, p. 54) into comparatively few hands, and far the greater part of the peasant class finds itself at variance with this select class of peasants, being wholly unable, for want of capital, to rise to the same economic level. Great numbers, therefore, migrate into the towns. Those who remain in the country are hired by the prosperous peasant-farmers or the 'barons'; their wages tend to be lowered to 7*d.* or 8*d.* a day by the immigration of ignorant and penniless Lithuanians.

In the towns, the immigrant peasants, besides getting higher wages, come under the protection, in theory most complete, of the Russian factory laws. Both they and the country labourers feel themselves a proletariat and read social democratic papers and form political organizations—these being directed almost as much against the prosperous peasant-farmers or the non-German bourgeoisie of the towns as against the German barons and the German bourgeoisie. The proletariat is all the stronger because German and non-German bourgeoisie will not amalgamate; the latter have now acquired much house property in the towns, which gives them a vote and enables them to master the town councils. The Lutheran clergy, being the nominees of the barons (who mostly appoint Germans), exercise little influence.

Emigration, sometimes forcibly restrained by the Government, is caused mainly by the development of capitalized agriculture, which forces the small farmer and poor peasant to leave the country; the chief element in the numbers of emigrants is the landless workman. Emigration flows chiefly to the Russian governments of Pskov, Petrograd, Novgorod, and Vologda, to Siberia, and to the United States. In many cases the emigrants become more prosperous than the

original inhabitants of the territory in which they settle. They cling closely together, forming quite compact colonies, maintaining their native language and their interest in their country. There is also a considerable emigration of the more intelligent and skilled type of workers and other professional men to Petrograd and other industrial centres. The lower classes, particularly among the Letts, make excellent workmen; in many Russian commercial towns there is a constant demand for skilled Lett and Esthonian artisans. The inhabitants of the Baltic Provinces make better immigrants than the Lithuanians, but they do not emigrate in nearly such large numbers.

(b) Labour Conditions

Wages are nowhere high, amounting at the best to 200–300 roubles a year in the country, and perhaps to 1·50 roubles a day for unskilled labour in Riga, a large enough sum to secure a satisfactory supply of potatoes and herrings, which constitute a fairly constant food. Peasants still get seed from the barons, and pay with part of the harvest. There are no village or common lands, so that the landless peasants work for hire on the land or find employment in the towns.

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) Products of Commercial Value

The arable land, which is only about 10 per cent. of the whole in Esthonia and 18 per cent. in Livonia, is about 25 per cent. in Courland. It is now being converted to some extent into pasture-land, as the farmers are unable to compete with those parts of Russia where cereals are more cheaply grown, and have

also to meet a somewhat artificial competition from Germany.

The products in the order of their importance are rye, which greatly preponderates and is nearly all winter-sown, oats, barley, and wheat, both winter and spring-sown. Wheat is mostly grown in Courland, owing to its higher temperature and to its possession of two fertile tracts—the chief being that round Mitau. The sandy soil of much of Courland is turned to account in kitchen-gardens, of which the produce finds good markets in the large towns of the provinces and in Petrograd. Flax is commercially the most valuable crop and is most extensively grown in Livonia, which spins a considerable part at home and exports the rest as fibre and as linseed. Potatoes are an important product of all the provinces, but they are chiefly used for the distillation of alcohol.

It has been calculated that the cereals of the Baltic Provinces are only enough to supply half their needs, since the industrial population is a very large one. Yet large quantities, especially of the Courland wheat, are exported, and the deficiency is made up in rye imported from Germany or South Russia.

Of other crops, there are several kinds of good forage grasses. Clover and timothy grass (*Phleum palustre*) are especially common in Esthonia. There is a great opportunity for expansion in this direction, particularly in marshy and peaty areas.

There are vineyards in Livonia, but these are of very small importance.

The following tables give official statistics showing (a) the acreage sown with the principal crops in the three provinces, and (b) the production in tons, for the period 1901–10 (average) and for the year 1914:

ACREAGE OF PRINCIPAL CROPS

	<i>Livonia.</i>		<i>Courland.</i>		<i>Esthonia.</i>	
	<i>Average.</i> 1901-10.	<i>Year.</i> 1914.	<i>Average.</i> 1901-10.	<i>Year.</i> 1914.	<i>Average.</i> 1901-10.	<i>Year.</i> 1914.
	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>
Rye . . .	425,000	405,000	356,000	348,000	168,000	148,000
Oats . . .	456,000	467,000	386,000	403,000	113,000	107,000
Barley . . .	376,000	341,000	199,000	186,000	121,000	108,000
Wheat . . .	32,000	25,000	81,000	72,000	9,000	7,000
Peas . . .	25,000	22,000	28,000	24,000	7,000	5,000
Lentils and beans	2,000	1,700	5,000	6,000	700	700
Potatoes . . .	129,000	132,000	78,000	86,000	109,000	100,000
Linseed . . .	200,000	146,000	45,000	31,000	11,000	7,000
Hemp-seed . . .	1,800	750	600	—	120	—

PRODUCTION IN TONS OF PRINCIPAL CROPS

	<i>Livonia.</i>		<i>Courland.</i>		<i>Esthonia.</i>	
	<i>Average.</i> 1901-10.	<i>Year.</i> 1914.	<i>Average.</i> 1901-10.	<i>Year.</i> 1914.	<i>Average.</i> 1901-10.	<i>Year.</i> 1914.
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
Rye . . .	169,000	196,000	141,000	142,000	68,000	69,000
Oats . . .	139,000	90,000	135,000	93,000	37,000	20,500
Barley . . .	136,000	64,000	76,000	45,000	48,000	22,000
Wheat . . .	12,000	9,000	37,000	36,000	4,000	3,500
Peas . . .	7,000	2,500	9,000	4,000	2,500	600
Lentils and beans	650	200	1,900	1,300	250	150
Potatoes . . .	443,000	390,000	267,000	241,000	434,000	290,000
Linseed . . .	26,000	10,500	7,000	3,000	1,700	460
Hemp-seed . . .	300	70	130	—	20	—

Live-stock.—For the year 1913 returns are as follows :

	<i>Horses.</i>	<i>Cattle.</i>	<i>Sheep.</i>		<i>Goats.</i>	<i>Swine.</i>
			<i>Coarse Wool.</i>	<i>Fine Wool.</i>		
Livonia . . .	180,000	548,000	341,000	183,000	1,500	291,000
Courland . . .	141,000	349,000	243,000	63,000	900	204,000
Esthonia . . .	71,000	177,000	113,000	42,000	100	66,000

The proportion of fine-wool sheep to coarse-wool sheep is exceeded only in the Polish provinces, and only distantly approached in the Russian Steppe ; elsewhere the coarse kind predominates enormously. The head of live-stock of every kind per hundred inhabitants is higher than in any other part of Russia. Dairy-farming is carried on energetically.

(b) Methods of Cultivation

Much good agricultural work has been done in the Baltic Provinces. The methods of cultivation are intensive and the best has generally been made of an only moderately fertile soil; in fact, the yield is as good as the best in Russia, and approaches that of Germany. The equipment is good, ample artificial manure is used, and a many-field rotation, which includes root and grass crops, is the rule.

Attempts to drain the numerous marshes have been only partially successful, but the sand-dunes of the Courland peninsula, which threatened to overwhelm the soil, have been successfully consolidated by planting.

Agricultural societies are numerous, those of a province being grouped in a union. As is generally the case throughout the rest of Russia, these societies serve many useful purposes: thus they organize agricultural savings banks, or deal on the co-operative system in dairy products, or purchase agricultural machinery for the use of their members, and promote the use of artificial fertilizers or new varieties of seeds; they also pay for instructors and organize annual agricultural exhibitions, such as the annual summer show at Dorpat (Yuryev). These societies are the more needed, as the local councils (*zemstvos*), which elsewhere in Russia perform many of the functions above mentioned, are forbidden in frontier provinces.

While the actual methods of cultivation are satisfactory, the possibilities of the country, so far as Courland and Livonia are concerned, are not considered to have been by any means fully exploited. All German literature dealing with these provinces treats them as suitable for considerable further settlement, and discusses the desirability of planting German small

farmers on the soil. Their conclusions are drawn from the two following outstanding facts: (1) The land under plough in Courland and Livonia is at present only 20 per cent. of the whole surface, while in the neighbouring Prussian provinces, where the general fertility of the soil and other conditions are about equal, 50 per cent. of the surface is arable land. (2) The two provinces in question are only half as thickly settled as the neighbouring Prussian provinces.

Even before the war the Russian Government made efforts, with the assistance of the Peasants' Land Bank, to settle Russian peasants in the Baltic countries. After the Lettish Revolution in 1905, some 15,000 German settlers are stated to have been 'quietly' introduced into the country. The former Lettish farms were broken up into smaller ones of an average size of 35 to 50 acres. German authorities state that a holding of 25 to 30 acres is the average unit of economic utility in Courland, while in the neighbourhood of the country towns a holding of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres is sufficiently large to maintain the owner.

(c) *Forestry*

The present condition of the forests in the Provinces is uncertain, but information goes to show that they have been seriously reduced in extent. In 1913 it was reported that the forests along the Dvina were gradually becoming exhausted and that Riga was depending more and more for her export of sleepers upon timber brought by rail from other districts. Extensive cutting in the course of the war, alike for fuel and military purposes, seems to have made further serious inroads upon the forest area. These considerations must qualify the following account, which is based upon conditions prevailing some years before the outbreak of war.

Forests form about one-third of the total area, and are especially extensive in Courland. In 1909 Esthonia had 3,400 *desyatines*¹ of State forests and 308,500 of private forests ; Livonia had 196,000 *desyatines* of State forests and 667,000 of private forests ; Courland had 390,000 *desyatines* of State forests and 430,000 of private forests.

In Esthonia the forests are chiefly coniferous ; in Livonia and Courland they are coniferous and deciduous mixed. Firs and pines are abundant in the latter, especially along the upper course of the Livonian Aa and on both banks of the Dvina, also around the town of Revel ; there are in addition many spruces, silver-leaved firs, and larches. Of deciduous trees the chief varieties are elm, lime (the inner bark of which is largely used for the domestic mat industry), birch, alder, sycamore, and poplar. Oaks are not common.

The best-known forests are the Dondangen, in the Courland district of Windau, and the Luhde, south of the town of Walk. There are other extensive masses of wood north of Verro, along the Livonian coast south of the mouth of the Salis, along both sides of the Western Dvina from below Jakobstadt to beyond Friedrichstadt, and to the east of Goldingen in the district of that name.

The soft wood which the forests provide in abundance is the raw material of the wood-pulp industry, which is of such great importance in the Baltic Provinces ; the timber also is largely used for fuel, though not in the factories, which use coal. Practically none of the forest is in peasant hands. It is divided between the State and the large proprietors, and on the whole is intelligently regulated and used. The State not only controls its own forests, but it also has a special department, which inspects other forests, to see that

¹ One *desyatine* = 2.7 acres.

they are properly preserved by replanting, and not recklessly exploited. The State periodically assigns portions of the State forests to be leased by auction for felling at a minimum reserve price, which is generally exceeded; some portions, however, are apparently allowed to be felled without payment.

The State forests of Esthonia, which are of small extent, are carried on at a considerable loss, but in Livonia and Courland there is a net profit of 3-6 roubles per *desyatine*. The value of the wooded area is considerably increased by the number of rivers which act as highways for the timber to the various ports. In the early spring the rivers are one mass of rafts and floating logs. Though a great deal has been done to regulate and improve the timber trade, there still remains much to be done in scientific forestry, both for developing future supplies of certain trees, and for making the best and most immediate use of the large existing stocks; the drainage of marshy areas would have a beneficent effect upon many forest districts.

(d) *Land Tenure*

Precise information is not attainable. Local authorities familiar with the matter use legal terms which they do not define, while authors outside the Provinces, even if officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, are so totally unfamiliar with a system quite different from their own, that they use misleading terms.

Emancipation in the Baltic Provinces preceded that in Russia proper by nearly half a century, but the terms are not easy to discover. Certainly the peasants of these provinces did not receive pieces of the land (*nadyel*) with the obligation, customary in other parts of Russia, to pay a certain sum yearly till the landlords' rights should be bought out; but a certain part of the land (seemingly about one-third) was marked out

for the peasant class in general, and on this they were allowed to settle as lessees with the possibility of becoming owners ultimately on favourable terms. The peasants, or rather the most fortunate and energetic section of them, have now become owners of practically all the peasant-land, and have even bought some 2 per cent. to 5 per cent. of the landlords' or barons' own land. The barons, however, are no mere idle rent-chargers, simply selling all they can and leasing the rest, as is so often the case in Russia, but energetic and thrifty cultivators and exporters. Their land is highly capitalized, and is cultivated upon the most modern scientific lines. In Courland some 650 of them own and cultivate estates of the average size of 4,000 acres, though a few estates, containing much barren land, vastly exceed this size. Nine noble families in Courland own one-fifth of the available land. It is probable that the area of peasant-land in the Baltic Provinces amounts to between 40 and 43 per cent. of all the land, and that the number of peasant cultivators does not exceed 100,000. The peasant-land suffers from having less scientific organization, though a great deal of help has been given by co-operative societies. The prosperous peasant-farmer class, forming about two-ninths of the whole peasantry, have 60-90 acres on the average and employ perhaps 5 or 6 hired labourers each; another ninth have very small portions which they cultivate themselves, working harder and earning scarcely more than the hired labourers; the rest of the peasantry are hired labourers, who often move into the towns, especially as numbers of indigent Lithuanians migrate into the Baltic Provinces and make agricultural wages lower. Such at least is the account given of the Letts, who form the whole peasant population of Courland and half that of Livonia.

(3) FISHERIES

There is a great deal of sea-fishing, particularly for pilchards, both in the Gulfs of Finland and Riga and in the Baltic. Fishing affords a partial livelihood to a large number of persons in the districts about the western side of Lake Peipus, and is also carried on in Lakes Verro and Angern. Many varieties of fish swarm in the Dvina and to a less extent in the other larger rivers. Salmon of a coarse kind are caught in the estuaries; Narva is famous for its lampreys (*minoga*) as well. Other kinds of fish are smelt, large sheat-fish (*som*), a kind of carp (*karas*), Baltic herring, cod, tench, flounders, eels, and a small fish like the sardine, for a famous conserve of which Revel is noted. Of late sea-fishing has been practised in motor-boats as well as in sailing vessels. Fish-rearing in ponds has been started and is slowly growing; technical instruction in the subject is given. Sealing forms a livelihood for the Swedish fishermen on the island of Runö.

Most of the fish is consumed locally, either fresh or salted. But canned salmon and the preserved sardines from Revel are exported. The official returns for 1915 gave a total value for these fisheries of 840,000 roubles.

(4) MINERALS

The minerals of these provinces are neither extensive nor valuable; they are nearly all in Courland. Lignite and bog-iron exist, but are no longer worked; the industries of the country are bound to import large foreign supplies of both iron ore and coal. Limestone is found particularly in Ösel, and along the banks of the Dvina, between Stockmannshof and Grütershof, and sandstone appears in 'Livonian Switzerland' and elsewhere. Chalk, gypsum, and clay occur in the Bauske district of Courland; clay exists also in

considerable quantities in the Wesenberg and Weissenstein districts of Esthonia. Of the clay, bricks are made for the use of large towns in the district; the gypsum and chalk are pounded into a fertilizer. North of Revel, at Wasalem, there are marble quarries.

There are immense masses of excellent peat in the low-lying marshy districts, and this is largely used both for fuel and manure.

Amber is found on the coast of Courland, particularly between Polangen and Pillau, either loose upon the shore, where it has been thrown up by the violence of the north and west winds, or in small hillocks of sand near the sea, where it lies in regular strata.

(5) MANUFACTURES

The predominant industries of the Provinces are those concerned with the preparation and working up of food products, including the manufacture of alcohol, beer, spirits, vegetable oils, &c. In consequence of the local supply of barley, there is in normal times a considerable output of beer, amounting to one-fifth of the whole Russian production. In 1912 there were 81 breweries in the province of Livonia alone, while there were 98 factories engaged in the production of alcohol. Riga and Libau accounted for the great majority of these concerns. Flour-milling is another important industry at Libau, which is the principal centre of the grain trade, and milling is carried on also in the neighbourhood of Revel. For these mills wheat and rye used to be imported from Germany, until the Russian Government placed an import duty on these grains. Libau, again, has a considerable bacon-curing business. The preparation of vegetable oils from linseed, &c., is concentrated in Riga, Libau, and Mitau. Tobacco is manufactured mainly at Riga, and in relatively small quantities at Libau and Windau.

The textile industries, which come next in importance, are concerned chiefly with cotton and flax products, and the principal centres are Riga and Mitau. These industries include cotton-spinning and the dressing and spinning of flax and hemp. There are cloth factories at Riga, which has gained a reputation therefrom, also at Pernau and Mitau and at Kertel on the island of Dagö.

Third in value of output are the metal industries, confined mainly to Riga, Libau, and Revel, all of which have extensive general engineering shops. The Riga and Revel districts are noted for their great electrical works and power-stations, and they possess also large wagon works. The Libau Steel and Iron Works were, before 1913, enlarging their undertakings and were said to have shipbuilding yards at both Revel and Riga. There are iron-works in the Talsen region on the west side of the Gulf of Riga.

Next in importance are the various chemical and allied industries, including the manufacture of wood-pulp and paper, in which Riga and Revel are again prominent. The most important of the chemical manufactures are those of colours and varnishes at Riga and Libau, and of matches at Riga and Revel. Cellulose is a product of Riga and Revel, and especially of Pernau, where is the largest wood-pulp mill in Russia, that of the Waldhof Sulphite Co., a branch of the great Waldhof paper-mill at Mannheim. Against this concern the other pulp mills found themselves unable to make a stand, so that it has gradually monopolized the trade, while the other mills took to the manufacture of paper from the pulp. The import duty on paper is prohibitive and the local cost of production very high. In Riga and the neighbourhood are five paper-mills, and three more in the province. These have almost a monopoly for this region.

Noteworthy among other businesses is the manufacture of leather, in a country where the climatic conditions make footgear a prime consideration. The leather industry itself is distributed between Riga, Mitau, Libau, Revel, and Arensburg on the island of Ösel, but the boot and shoe industry is concentrated in Riga. At Riga also are the works of the Provodnik Company, which had even begun to ship rubber shoes and automobile tyres to the United States. The rubber industry, indeed, before the war was expanding in a very marked degree ; one reason for this is that rubber shoes are very much used in this country even by the poorest class.

Cement is made in Riga, where it was a busy industry in 1913, and at Kunda and Asserien (Azeri) in Esthonia. There are several large veneering firms in Riga, and this trade was developing rapidly at Libau. Hasenpot and Mitau have brick-works. Some glass is made at Fellin in Livonia and at Talun. At Mitau there is a large preserving and canning factory. Dorpat has a furniture factory which is noted for its turn-out and has a special sales agency in Riga.

Livonia, as containing the great industrial city of Riga with 560,000 inhabitants as well as Pernau, is thus the most important industrial region; and it possesses 70 per cent. (100,000) of the total number of factory hands in the province. Courland is next in importance, with 8,300 factory hands, Libau, its chief industrial town, having 91,000 inhabitants. In number of workers the metal industries come first with 28,000, and after these, textiles with 22,000, rubber and chemicals with 10,000, and paper and pulp with 7,000.

The figures for industrial production in 1908 (the latest procurable) are given below :

VALUES OF OUTPUT OF PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES IN 1908

	<i>Livonia.</i>	<i>Courland.</i>	<i>Esthonia.</i>
	<i>In thousand roubles.</i>		
Animal products	4,813	1,485	251
Beer, alcohol, and tobacco	11,416	1,868	6,197
Chemical industry	35,551	1,726	1,561
Food products	11,620	9,548	5,632
Metal industries	34,811	6,867	6,164
Mineral extraction	5,125	1,255	1,472
Mineral oil industry	1,490	—	—
Paper industries	16,947	516	3,790
Textiles	21,339	2,577	31,092
Wood industries	11,476	2,486	2,892
Total	154,588	28,328	59,051

Livonia heads the list in every item except textiles. The preponderance which Esthonia shows in this branch is largely owing to the inclusion in the returns for that province of the important industries of Narva. This town is actually in the Petrograd Government of Great Russia, but the mills are manned and carried on mainly by Esthonians, the border line between the two provinces being only just west of the town. Its industry has been exclusively built up on its situation on the Narova river, which gives both power and ample water-supply for other purposes. In any estimate of the industrial value of Esthonia the inclusion of Narva makes a difference in gross value of not less than 35–40 per cent.

A factory inspector's report for 1910 gives figures for the number of factories and the workers employed therein, which are reproduced below :

NUMBER OF FACTORIES¹ AND WORKERS IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES
IN 1910

Industry.	Courland.		Livonia.		Esthonia.	
	Factories.	Workers.	Factories.	Workers.	Factories.	Workers.
Metal-works (machines and apparatus) . . .	24	3,443	87	18,657	19	2,462
Cotton factories . . .	— ²	—	—	—	3	11,527
Flax, hemp, and jute . . .	4	753	12	2,928	1	50
Woollen factories . . .	2	74	10	3,133	7	640
Other textile factories . . .	2	635	11	1,547	2	22
Wood working . . .	24	2,258	71	9,590	17	2,676
Extraction of minerals . . .	56	4,584	32	5,964	18	1,343
Chemical industry . . .	9	1,223	29	9,613	3	500
Paper and printing industries . . .	11	747	60	6,410	23	1,406
Preparation of food-stuffs . . .	24	1,362	53	5,067	16	520
Preparation of animal products . . .	7	628	24	1,470	1	64
Electric stations . . .	1	50	—	—	1	29
Total . . .	164	15,757	389	64,379	111	21,239

The figures for the cotton industry in Courland and Livonia are not included above—an important omission, since cotton-spinning and weaving to the yearly value of at least 6–7 million roubles is carried on in Riga. It has, however, been possible to ascertain the proportion of raw cotton imported into Riga, which has for some years varied between 4 per cent. and 5 per cent. of Russia's total import from all quarters. Of this a proportion is American cotton destined for Moscow. It is noteworthy that the Russian factory inspector's report appears to assign Narva to Esthonia.

(6) POWER

The use of electricity is growing in Riga factories. In 1913, for the first time, the amount employed for industrial purposes was greater than that used for lighting. Steam-power is employed in distilleries and flour-mills, and also in spinning.

Water-power has so far been much neglected in the

¹ Factories include places employing at least 16 workers or using motor power.

² No returns available.

Baltic Provinces. The Dvina offers considerable opportunity in this direction; the flow of water below Dvinsk is calculated to average 550–600 cubic metres per second, and an estimate places the power procurable at half a million horse-power. The principal use of water-power is on the Narova close to the town of Narva, where the textile mills are driven by the power from the falls.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) *Towns, Fairs, &c.*

The domestic trade of the Baltic Provinces is mainly concerned with the distribution of locally raised agricultural products and timber, and their exchange for manufactured and colonial goods. The commodities dealt in are mainly grain (especially barley), flax, linseed, potatoes and potato alcohol on the one hand, and sugar, coffee, groceries, agricultural machinery, tools, and chemical fertilizers on the other.

The number of commercial centres is small, since Riga and Revel in their respective provinces absorb the bulk of the commerce and leave little over for other places. A great deal of the merchandise arriving at and departing from Riga changes hands in the city itself, which ranks high as a mercantile centre. Moreover the town acts as a distributing base for a very large area, and wholesale firms and agencies holding stocks of imported goods are very numerous. A certain amount of the exported timber and flax is locally produced and marketed in Riga. For dry goods Riga is an important centre, and large stocks of cotton and woollen goods and clothing are distributed thence.

Windau is to some extent a mercantile town, but the goods concerned show that its trade is of a transit

order, and is not much concerned with local necessities or production.

Revel is the local centre for Esthonia. Its transit trade is its great asset commercially, and although it undoubtedly absorbs such wholesale trade as there is in the province, and a few warehousing firms deal there in dry goods, the country in its rear is so poor as to give small scope for purely local commercial activity.

The remaining seaport towns are in no sense commercial centres.

The inland town of Mitau in Courland, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a grain trade, but its importance has diminished greatly of late years. Its trade is mostly with Riga. Dorpat (Yuryev) in Livonia, which is about twice the size of Mitau, is the second town in the province, but it has small commercial activity.

There are a few fairs in the Baltic Provinces. They are of purely local importance and their turnover is not great. Revel has a wool fair from June 27 to July 3, a cattle fair at the end of September, and a general fair during the last ten days of June. Hapsal has fairs in January and October, and Arensburg (on Ösel Island) in July and October.

(b) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce

The principal commercial organizations are naturally centred in Riga, as the oldest and most wealthy trading town in the Baltic Provinces.

Pride of place is taken by the Riga Exchange Committee, which is an ancient and wealthy corporation with varied interests. The committee consists of eleven elected members, some of whom in the past have been German subjects. It acts in general as a Chamber of Commerce, and all negotiations with bodies representative of trade elsewhere are carried on through it. It has various sub-committees for the

purpose of dealing with the interests of separate trades. It acts to some extent as a port authority, and owns the ice-breakers which keep the port open in the winter as well as other utility vessels. The committee, as its title suggests, carries on the Exchange. In this institution, which has a large membership, the timber, grain, flax, coal, and shipbroking businesses are the most active sections. The committee is the owner of the handsome Exchange building, which contains many business offices and public rooms as well as its own premises ; a large staff is employed by it.

Other institutions are the three Guilds, which are of Hanseatic foundation. Practically every trader must belong to one or other of these, which rank in numerical order, although they have nothing to do with the particular trades in which the members are engaged. The Guilds issue and control the licences to trade, which every merchant in Russia must possess and exhibit prominently on his premises. Certain commercial taxes are collected through the medium of the Guilds in the shape of annual fees for membership, which are about £50 for the First and £25 for the Second Guild. To be able to appear on 'Change it is necessary to be a member of the First or Second Guild ; the Third Guild is associated more with retail trading. The Second Guild carries on a savings-bank and makes advances to traders. Membership of a Guild is in some sort a guarantee for the status of the individual trader.

A branch of the Petrograd-Baltic Commercial Artel is carried on in Riga and another in Revel. The object of this institution is the supply of employees for positions of trust in banks and other businesses. The employees in question are members of the *artel*, and the institution guarantees from its extensive funds the property of those who employ its members, in so far

as they are individually responsible. The *artel*, which is a deeply-rooted trade institution in Russia, exercises an influence for which there does not appear to be any parallel elsewhere.

The Baltic Agricultural Association exists to forward the interests of the Lettish farmers. It markets a great deal of dairy produce and is interested in the purchase and distribution of seed, artificial manures, agricultural machinery and tools, &c., of which it had well-stocked depots in Riga and other centres.

There exists a Manufacturers' Union, which generally fosters the interests of industry. One of its functions is the collection and issue of trade statistics for Riga and the neighbouring provinces.

There are, however, no examples of associations of particular trades. This lack of co-operation is attributed by those who know the conditions to the large proportion of Jewish traders, who are disinclined to coalesce formally.

Revel possesses a Chamber of Commerce, but Libau does not appear to have one.

(c) *Foreign Interests and Economic Penetration*

Foreign commercial interests are represented only in the seaports. A number of British firms and individuals resident in Riga and Revel are concerned with the coal import trade. The import of agricultural machinery into Riga is also a valuable trade, for which makers in Great Britain, America, Sweden, and Germany compete. The more noted firms, especially those which deal in heavy and complicated machinery, frequently have their special agencies served by their own nationals. The more important export branches are similarly served, principally by British and Germans who are interested in the timber, flax, butter, and egg trades. The import of luxury goods, general and electrical

machinery, dye-wares, artificial manures, &c., is commercially in the hands of Germans. While many of these belong by birth to the Baltic Provinces, a large number nevertheless are subjects of the German Empire.

The only foreigners interested in the internal trade of the Baltic Provinces are also Germans. The bulk of these are no doubt Baltic Germans, born and brought up in the country ; but a small proportion in this case also are certainly German subjects.

The high duties placed on foreign manufactures by Russia led to the establishment in the country of branch factories by large foreign concerns which were unwilling to forgo their Russian trade. A share of this penetration from abroad reached the Baltic Provinces, centring in Livonia. One large cotton factory in Riga is the property of a Scottish firm which has mills in several parts of Russia. British interests are also concerned in a cotton mill in Mitau.

Penetration of this kind is, however, peculiarly the province of German concerns. Notable examples are the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft, of Berlin, in electrical machinery, Messrs. Siemens-Schuckert, of Berlin, in general and electrical engineering, and Leopold Cassella, of Frankfort, in aniline dyes and colours. These firms all have manufacturing branches in Riga.

Other foreign firms in Riga are a German steam-engine works with head-quarters at Dahlbruch, employing in Riga 926,000 roubles, or half its capital ; a wire works with head-quarters in Hamm, employing 1,700,000 roubles (about a quarter of its capital) in Riga ; an Austrian copper-cap and cartridge works with head-quarters in Prague, employing 250,000 roubles (one-third of its capital) in Riga ; an English company manufacturing gramophones and accessories, employing 600,000 roubles (one-tenth of its capital) in Riga.

In Libau a German aniline colour works from Berlin employs 2 million roubles, equal to about one-third of its capital, and the gasworks are the property of a Kiel concern which employs 277,000 roubles, equal to almost half its capital.

A large wood-pulp mill at Pernau is a branch of a Mannheim concern (see p. 58).

At Revel the tramways are Belgian-owned, with a capital of 450,000 roubles.

Another method of economic penetration is the settlement of Livonia and Courland by German small farmers, which had taken place to some extent before the war, and is advocated now on a larger scale (see pp. 51-52). The idea is to increase the flax and hemp production in the Baltic lands for the supply of German industry, relieving Germany proper from the necessity of cultivating much of this crop.

(2) FOREIGN

(a) *Exports*

Quantities and Values.—As might be expected, much the greater part of the exports from the Baltic Provinces consists of the natural products of the country, flax and hemp, skins and hides, timber, eggs and butter, cereals and seeds, being the outstanding items.

At Riga, which has a larger business than any of the other ports, the total value of the exports in 1913 amounted to £23,000,000 ; of this figure more than two-thirds were accounted for under the heads flax and hemp, skins and hides, wood (in various forms), and eggs. In almost all the items Riga was very far ahead of the other ports ; indeed for hides and skins it was the most important centre in Russia, having shipped about 39 per cent. of the total Russian export. It held much the same position in respect of fibres,

sending out nearly one-half of the total Russian export of flax and tow, and about one-third of that of hemp. Of cereals also (oats and wheat), of seeds (linseed, aniseed, and clover) and of oilcake, Riga handled larger quantities than any of the other ports of the Provinces. Libau, however, competes closely with Riga as the other principal grain-exporting harbour of the Provinces; but the grain trade is no longer of first importance, all the Baltic ports together having exported in 1911 only about one-sixth of the total Russian supply. Riga is by a long way first in the amount of eggs exported, £3,700,000 in value in 1913 as against £80,000 for Libau and £66,000 for Windau. On the other hand, Windau, owing to its extensive cold-storage accommodation, is far ahead of Riga, Libau, and Revel in the export of butter, accounting for over £5,000,000 worth in a total for the Provinces of about £5,500,000. In the export of meat, mostly bacon, as of game and poultry, Windau is inferior to Riga and Libau, while in these commodities Revel has fallen almost to insignificance through its lack of cold storage. On the other hand, Revel has an important export under the head of veneer and joinery, and also exports asbestos in bulk and a comparatively small amount of copper. There are various minor exports, such as tar and turpentine from Riga and Libau, and mineral oils from Riga and Revel. The foreign trade of Hapsal is insignificant; its chief exports are grain and spirits. A fuller list of goods and values for the year 1913 will be found in the Appendix (Table II).

For the five ports, Hapsal being excluded, the total exports for 1913 amounted to about £39,000,000, the shares in round numbers being Riga £23,000,000, Windau £7,800,000, Libau £5,100,000, Revel £2,400,000, and Pernau £480,000. Variations from year to year

may be expected when the export trade depends so largely on crops and products of various kinds, which are subject to seasonal influences. Thus drought diminishes the output of flax, &c., and an unfavourable winter, that is one with less than the usual amount of frost, handicaps the transport of timber. A general depression in the agricultural and industrial trades affected the returns for 1913. This was markedly so in the case of Windau, where a very small part of the trade is of local origin, and that, too, being timber, suffered from a bad winter. The grain trade of Libau similarly diminished in part from the bad harvest of 1912.

Countries of Destination.—It is not possible to state definitely the countries for which the various exports were ultimately destined, and such figures as are available do not account for the exports from Riga, which are of course the most important; figures showing the nominal destinations of exports from Libau, Windau, Pernau, and Revel in 1913 are, however, given in the Appendix (Table III). On the whole it may be said that the United Kingdom takes a larger share of the export trade of the Provinces than any other country, and that, so far as the figures for 1913 are concerned, only in the case of the exports from Libau and Windau was that share slightly exceeded by the United States in the one case and by Germany in the other. Thus at Riga the United Kingdom took 40 per cent. of the exports in 1913 (including 75 per cent. of the eggs), while Germany took 20 per cent. At Libau the United Kingdom took 29 per cent. (sharing the cereals equally with France), and the United States 30 per cent. At Windau the shares of the United Kingdom and Germany were respectively 30 per cent. and 32 per cent.; half the large butter export from Windau went to Germany, the rest to the United

Kingdom and Denmark in equal proportions; the exports from Windau to Germany had, however, been on the decline in the years before the war. Of the exports from Pernau no less than 75 per cent. went to the United Kingdom in the year mentioned (1913), though the total figure in this case is a small one (£400,000). Finally about 40 per cent. of the export from Revel went to the United Kingdom.

(b) *Imports*

Quantities and Values.—The striking features in the import trade of 1913 were the large increase attributed to Riga, and the rapid expansion of Revel. Indeed, these two ports between them accounted for something like four-fifths of the total import trade, and Riga's proportion of the total foreign trade of Russia had risen from 14½ per cent. in 1912 to 17 per cent. in 1913. At Riga the value of imports, which in 1912 amounted to £15,420,000, rose in the following year to £18,841,000, while at Revel food-stuffs in 1913 exceeded the average for 1910–12 by 48·5 per cent., raw and partially manufactured materials expanded by 69 per cent., and manufactured articles by 70 per cent. The total value of imports for Revel in 1913 was £9,537,000 as against £9,043,000 in the previous year. All the ports, indeed, with the exception of Windau, showed an increase in value of imports on those of 1912, there being a rise even at Libau, which has no great interior forwarding trade, of £315,000. At Windau there was a drop of nearly £1,000,000 in value, though the quantity had gone up from 104,900 to 118,400 tons, an increase due to an abnormal import of coal, the result apparently of a very bad year for timber.

One feature in the decline of Windau was a decrease in the import of agricultural machinery, which fell from £1,898,600 in 1911 to £1,569,500 in 1913, having formed

respectively 65 per cent. and 80 per cent. of the total import in these years. This decrease was seen also in a less degree in the case of Riga, and seems to have marked a tendency observable in Russia as a whole, the first-fruits of a Government premium offered in 1912 for agricultural machines constructed in home factories. On the other hand, the import of industrial machinery and parts has shown a continuous increase at Riga since 1910. In the total machinery imports, which constituted the most important item in the import trade of the provinces in 1913, Windau stood second to Riga, the respective values being £1,670,000 and £3,356,000, while at Libau the figure was £820,000, at Revel £597,600, and at Pernau £22,800.

At all the ports the greatest demands were for machinery, coal and coke, and raw and partially manufactured materials. Much of the coal was for railway purposes; but the shrinking supply of cheap timber resulted in a demand for fuel for domestic heating purposes, which had to be met by the import of coal and of patent fuel in the form of briquettes. The import of the last-mentioned material promises expansion, provided the cost can be reduced and difficulties of harbour storage overcome. Of raw and partly manufactured materials Riga and Revel substantially monopolized the import in 1913. Cotton, for example, is the principal item in the list for Revel at a value of £3,884,000, and though Riga took but a third of this amount, the imports to Windau and Libau were in comparison inconsiderable. An even greater proportion of rubber and caoutchouc was taken by the two former ports, Riga importing to the value of £2,225,900, and Revel £1,384,000, while the remainder, which went to Windau, stood at only £8,853, a great drop from £91,480 in the year before. Wool and woollen goods, jute, and metal goods were similarly

shared between Riga and Revel. To these ports went also the great bulk of the metals ; Windau and Libau had a relatively small share of the iron, steel, and lead.

Chemical manures form an important class of imports. They are common to all the ports, and varied little in quantity between 1912 and 1913, except at Libau, where there was a decline. Revel accounted for 32 per cent. of the total import into Russia, and Libau for 23 per cent. Herrings are another common article of import, and one that is steady in amount. Cocoa, coffee, and tea all showed an increase on the whole. Copra, though it declined at Riga, showed increase in value for both Revel and Libau. Dye-woods and tanning materials are steadily increasing in importance, especially at Libau.

Additional details will be found in the Appendix (Table IV).

Countries of Origin.—A difficulty as to the sources of the different imports arises from the Russian practice of giving the countries of embarkation rather than of origin. Thus certain goods arriving from Belgium and Holland and classed as Belgian and Dutch are really dispatched through these countries from western Germany. American hardware, again, comes mostly through Hamburg, from the representatives of American houses there, and in part from Copenhagen ; it would be entered as from Germany and Denmark respectively.

The greater part of the import of coal continues to come from the United Kingdom, but a special feature at Riga in 1913 was a largely increased import of Westphalian coal ; Germany, too, supplied the briquettes to that port from Stettin. But at Pernau the whole of the coal and patent fuel that entered came from the United Kingdom.

In the supply of machinery and parts at Revel, in

1913, the United Kingdom for the first time fell below Germany, from which country, too, electrical supplies and accessories very largely came. Nevertheless, two-thirds of the machinery for Libau came from the United Kingdom. Sweden has made a considerable advance in the supply of agricultural machinery, specializing in harvesting and dairy machinery, and had taken the lead in the import of agricultural implements as early as 1911. Of the machinery imported into Riga the agricultural machinery was from the United States, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Germany, the industrial machinery from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Sweden, the order being that of relative importance. At Pernau the import of machinery was monopolized by Germany and Sweden.

Germany supplied in 1913 most of the total import of chemical manures, drugs, and chemicals, and a few heavy chemicals, e.g. nitrate of soda, kainit, and potash salts, came exclusively from that country. At Pernau, however, half the import of chemical manures (chiefly basic slag) came from the United Kingdom.

Of the increasing shipments of rubber and caoutchouc, the amount from British ports had doubled at Revel since 1912, and rose to 75 per cent. of the total. On the other hand, more cotton was forwarded to this port by Germany than by the United Kingdom. Denmark and the Netherlands come much below these other sources in the matter of imports. It is to be noted that the United Kingdom can claim an even more preponderating share of the total import trade of the Provinces than of the exports, and that here also Germany is her principal competitor; at Riga the share of the United Kingdom in 1913 was 44 per cent., that of Germany 35 per cent. Particulars of the import trade at the other chief ports in the year 1913 will be found in the Appendix (Table V).

In addition to its oversea imports Riga receives a considerable amount by land. In 1913 over £1,100,000 worth of goods entered by rail from the western frontier, and goods to the value of nearly £70,000 came from Finland.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

The revenue receipts of the three Baltic Provinces rose between 1906 and 1910 as follows :

	<i>Roubles.</i>	<i>Roubles.</i>
Esthonia	18,600,000 to	19,500,000
Livonia	37,500,000 to	46,300,000
Courland	14,000,000 to	19,000,000

The total for the three Provinces amounts to about one-twentieth of the annual revenue of European Russia.

The Baltic Provinces have no *zemstvos*, and therefore no *zemstvo* taxation ; but there are local taxes raised for local purposes by the Government, or, in towns, by the municipalities. According to the latest accessible returns (1910), the Government raised in this way the following amounts :

	<i>Roubles.</i>
Esthonia	190,000
Livonia	391,000
Courland	392,000

The local taxes levied by the towns in 1910, with the local debts, were as follows :

	<i>Taxes.</i>	<i>Local Debt.</i>
	<i>Roubles.</i>	<i>Roubles.</i>
Riga	6,150,000	12,800,000
Revel	844,000	1,048,000
Libau	931,000	1,015,000
Windau	143,400	856,000
Pernau	225,000	76,000
Mitau	416,000	600,000
Dorpat (Yuryev)	531,000	960,000

(2) *Banking*¹

Russian banks are either State or private institutions. The opening of private banks, including those guaranteed by towns—a very characteristic institution of Russia—requires the permission of the Government ; their aims and methods must be specified, that is, the purposes which they are instituted to serve, the length of the credits they grant, and the guarantees they exact. Finally, their working is controlled, though less rigidly than formerly, by general or private statutes.

Of State banks with branches in the Baltic Provinces there are :

(1) The Imperial Bank of Russia, which has branches at Riga, Revel, Windau, Libau, and Hapsal. It has the sole right of issuing notes ; it is the agent of the Treasury and also does general banking, including Government advances to the classes that live by the land.

(2) The Peasants' Land Bank, which is intended to assist with small advances for buying land or agricultural machinery, &c. During the period 1908–14 it helped peasants to buy an average annual amount, in Esthonia of 29,600 acres, in Courland 20,890 acres, and in Livonia 13,900 acres.

(3) The State Savings Banks. These institutions are under the control of a committee appointed by the Imperial Bank, which audits their accounts. The figures in reference to them for 1913 are as follows :

	<i>Number of State Savings Banks.</i>	<i>Number of Depositors.</i>	<i>Amount of Deposits. Roubles.</i>
Courland	66	85,700	12,300,000
Livonia	133	136,800	22,900,000
Esthonia	34	68,800	12,700,000

¹ It should be noted that most banks in the Provinces have been dissolved or disabled during the war.

Of private commercial banks the following have branches in these provinces :

The Azov-Don Commercial Bank, in Riga, Revel, and Libau ; the Banque Russo-Asiatique, in Riga and Libau ; the Russian Bank for Foreign Trade, in Riga ; the Volga-Kama Commercial Bank, in Riga ; the Moscow Commercial Bank, in Libau ; the Banque de Commerce Russo-Française, in Revel ; the Union Bank, in Libau and Revel ; the Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank, in Windau ; the Petrograd International Bank of Commerce, in Windau.

Of banks that confine their operations to the Baltic Provinces, the chief in Riga (where there is a Bankers' Clearing House) are the Rigaer Börsen-Bank (capital 3,500,000 roubles, reserve 2,200,000 roubles, founded in 1863) ; the Rigaer Commerz Bank, with branches in Revel, Libau, Pernau ; and the Municipal Bank (capital in 1913, 2,100,000 roubles, reserve 500,000 roubles). The last-named is guaranteed by the town rates, and is under supervision of a Government Department. Revel has the Revaler Bank Comptoir and Hoeppener's Bank ; Libau, the Libauer Börsen-Bank and Salomonowitsch's Bank ; Windau has the Junkers' Commercial Bank, with branches at Pernau and Dorpat ; Dorpat has the Jurjewer Bank ; Mitau has Westernman's Bank.

Mutual credit institutions have made great headway of late years in the Baltic Provinces. They are usually organized on the principles of Schulze-Delitzsch or Raiffeisen, and they supply local credit for agriculture, small industries, &c.

Private loan and savings banks also enjoy great popularity and are increasing their membership and capital at a rapid rate.

(3) *Influence of Foreign Capital*

In banking and the financing of trade and industry foreign capital is mainly represented by certain well-known joint-stock banks, which are named in the list of private commercial banks above (p. 76). These banks, with various Russian titles, some implying activity in special territories, are well known to draw a considerable portion of their resources from German financial centres ; and their policy is partly directed towards financing such branches of industry and such concerns as will divert the profits into German channels.

The extent to which foreign capital is interested in Baltic industry has to some extent been indicated already (pp. 65, 67). The proportion of foreign capital to the whole is small, but its influence is much greater than would appear from the number of concerns involved. It is exercised mainly through the group of commercial banks already mentioned, but its volume and location are difficult to trace or to state in figures.

(4) *Principal Fields of Investment*

The development of the flax and hemp industries would appear to offer one of the best forms of investment in the Baltic Provinces. A great deal of the raw material produced in or near the Provinces appears to be exported unworked, but with a cheap and fairly efficient labour supply much more might be manufactured locally. In regard to other industrial ventures much depends on the fiscal system under which the Provinces will be regulated in the future. Up to the present the success of industry has depended on the Russian market being a free one, and also upon the fact that the technical and labour forces engaged are decidedly superior to those generally competing with them inside the Russian tariff wall. Should Baltic industries be subject to a Russian tariff in the future, it is hard to

see how they can continue, as, with the high costs for imported fuel and raw material, they could not compete with those of neighbouring western states. On the other hand, if the Baltic countries should be included in the German customs union, their position would still be very unfavourable compared with that of other districts in the union. Therefore, before anything authoritative can be suggested as to investment in industry, the final political settlement of the country must be awaited; but the former great prosperity of the textile and engineering and allied trades justifies the hope that a free investment of capital would see a good return, provided only that access to suitable markets is secured. The view so often expressed, that the Provinces of Livonia and Courland would bear much closer agricultural settlement, makes it likely that land banks and institutions which loan money for general agricultural purposes may look forward to a profitable period.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

Even without the complications brought about by the European war, the Baltic Provinces were in an extremely disturbed state, and were the scene of destructive revolutionary struggles. The forces engaged were: the Russian authorities, who were endeavouring to russify the whole country, taking different means at different times during the last 25 years; the Lettish and Esthonian populations, which formed the proletariat, and were struggling for land possession and better industrial conditions; the Germans, who were the employers of labour in country and town, the suppliers of technical industrial skill, and the most cultured people in the Provinces. The antagonism between these forces and their respective aims has

prevented latterly a normal development of economic conditions. The recovery of Riga from the destruction caused by the Lettish Revolution of 1905 was nevertheless rapid, and the city became again prosperous.

At the present day, industry of all kinds, and to a large extent agriculture, are in a state of suspension, and continuity has been quite broken. The future prosperity of the Provinces depends on entirely new factors. The seaports, of course, were all necessary to the development of the Provinces, and should become again active resorts of shipping. Libau alone may suffer somewhat, as its use was artificially stimulated by the Russian Government, and, under new conditions, some of its former traffic, especially to and from Poland, may be diverted west. Agriculture should, according to general report, be capable of much expansion; the local production of bread-stuffs should, to a much greater extent than formerly, supply the needs of the population, and there should be a great increase in the crops of flax, hemp, and fodder. The forest wealth is reported greatly damaged during the war, and many years must elapse before its former value is restored.

The resumption of industry is to be hoped for, but the total evacuation of plant and the dispersal of labour and technical forces which has taken place in Riga and other towns during the war does not allow of any very high expectations for the immediate future. Everything depends upon the equitable political settlement of the Provinces, and their inclusion in a fiscal unit which will allow of their reasonable development, and above all of their freedom of access to their natural hinterland in Central Russia.

APPENDIX

HISTORICAL NOTE

Courland became a part of the Russian Empire in 1795 without any treaty or agreement by the abdication of its Duke and the submission of its Diet.

Esthonia and *Livonia* were formally ceded to Russia by Sweden in the Treaty of Nystad, signed on August 30/September 10, 1721. By Article 4 the cession of these two Provinces, with others, and the adjacent islands, was made in perpetuity.

Article 9 provided that the inhabitants of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ösel should be maintained in the full enjoyment of the privileges, customs, and prerogatives which they enjoyed under the dominion of Sweden.

Article 10 similarly protected their liberty of conscience and practice of the Evangelical religion, on condition that the Greek religion might also be freely exercised.

(Koch and Schoell, *Histoire abrégée des traités de paix*, Paris, 1818, xiii. 307, &c.)

TABLE I
NATIONALITY OF SHIPPING WHICH ENTERED IN THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE PORTS OF THE BALTIC
PROVINCES IN 1913

	<i>Riga.</i>		<i>Lithuan.</i>		<i>Windau.</i>		<i>Pernau.</i>		<i>Revel.</i>	
	<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
British	359	352,597	61	54,405	78	64,841	31	27,443	70	78,138
Russian	790	506,532	147	256,855	154	134,868	13	4,831	132	91,361
German	706	424,433	291	140,526	100	58,736	47	34,608	192	149,362
Norwegian	231	178,199	164	91,589	34	28,067	41	30,979	50	42,802
Swedish	335	224,054	168	86,689	94	60,103	16	9,501	56	36,679
Danish	296	243,052	196	147,833	132	93,236	30	22,547	62	50,736
Other nationalities	34	45,865	11	10,081	4	2,577	8	9,304	28	28,076
	<i>Sailing Vessels</i>									
	200	60,221	222	34,561	16	1,391	6	1,245	[]
<i>Total entered</i>	<u>2,951</u>	<u>2,034,953</u>	<u>1,260</u>	<u>822,539</u>	<u>612</u>	<u>443,819</u>	<u>192</u>	<u>140,458</u>	<u>[590]</u>	<u>477,154]</u>

TABLE II

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS FROM THE PORTS OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES
IN 1913(Some minor exports have been included in order to compare the amounts sent
out from the different ports).

	<i>Riga.</i> £	<i>Libau.</i> £	<i>Windau.</i> £	<i>Pernau.</i> £	<i>Revel.</i> £
Animals (horses)	108,942	41,566	—	—	—
Asbestos	—	—	—	—	137,17
Burnt ore	—	—	—	4,071	—
Butter	431,131	21,079	5,072,912	—	7,38
Cereals	1,662,053	1,081,714	638,669	660	865,54
Copper	—	—	—	—	646
Eggs	3,717,478	80,041	66,120	—	—
Flax, tow, codilla, &c.	4,776,864	6,959	1,278,520	292,800	492,39
Game and poultry	650,805	—	53,200	—	30
Glycerine	—	—	—	—	20,31
Hair and bristles	155,991	63,624	3,923	—	36,35
Hemp and tow	734,580	2,985	107,549	—	—
Meat	255,659	322,203	19,024	—	—
Mineral oils	230,248	—	—	—	13,33
Oil-cake	287,240	253,610	33,389	11,627	11,11
Rubber goods and old rubber	1,226,691	—	—	—	—
Seeds (anise, clover, linseed, &c.)	402,774	125,677	116,982	16,530	31,37
Skins and hides	4,289,434	1,223,494	10,622	—	34,52
Spirits	43,462	73,479	—	—	—
Tar and turpentine	15,086	38,372	—	—	—
Tobacco and cigarettes	127,820	5,937	1,694	—	—
Veneer and joiners' work	—	109,539	—	—	503,53
Wood (including boards, poles, masts, sleepers, &c.)	4,271,028	488,645	376,007	—	—
Wood-pulp	—	—	—	88,028	—
Wool and woollen goods	57,068	144,693	31,305	—	123,12

* The figures for Riga are provisional.

TABLE III

TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS IN 1913, DISTINGUISHING
PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION

	<i>From</i> <i>Libau.</i> £	<i>From</i> <i>Windau.</i> £	<i>From</i> <i>Pernau.</i> £	<i>From</i> <i>Revel.</i> £
United Kingdom	1,522,133	2,302,931	364,774	1,017,340
United States	1,596,545	36,870	1,253	56,914
Germany	709,171	2,583,384	19,620	370,669
Netherlands	406,866	428,573	21,895	570,801
France	344,944	466,715	16,097	148,818
Denmark	287,592	1,159,282	8,600	27,798
Belgium	177,111	799,676	33,788	233,806
Sweden	52,112	60,338	8,947	24,167
Norway	15,586	18,093	3,994	7,537
Portugal	5,479	—	3,648	—
Italy	1,493	—	—	1,199
Spain	264	—	—	—
Other countries	1,572	—	—	—
Total	£5,120,868	£7,855,862	£482,616	£2,459,049

TABLE IV

PRINCIPAL IMPORTS INTO THE PORTS OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES
IN 1913(Some minor imports have been included in order to compare the amounts received
at different ports).

	<i>Riga.</i> ¹	<i>Libau.</i>	<i>Windau.</i>	<i>Pernau.</i>	<i>Revel.</i>
	£	£	£	£	£
Castor-oil and other seeds . . .	20,737	42,214	—	—	—
Chemicals and drugs . . .	454,411	—	3,366	—	86,886
Chemical manures . . .	446,513	234,971	—	20,232	60,913
Clay . . .	65,119	1,137	—	—	3,946
Coal and coke . . .	1,601,734	320,176	71,348	137,561	693,602
Coffee, cocoa, tea . . .	747,872	—	—	—	138,584
Copra . . .	403,800	74,179	—	—	92,707
Corkwood . . .	205,746	42,064	—	8,888	—
Cotton and cotton goods . . .	1,356,445	60,380	—	—	3,884,238
Dyewoods and tanning materials . . .	463,544	156,925	—	—	—
Electrical apparatus . . .	340,551	—	—	—	—
Fire bricks . . .	38,281	5,836	—	1,411	9,998
Fruits and vegetables . . .	28,406	—	8,374	—	89,893
Herring . . .	745,064	495,075	14,535	—	44,513
Jute . . .	207,183	—	—	—	40,992
Lard . . .	193,919	—	677	—	—
Leather . . .	263,371	—	—	—	—
Machinery and parts . . .	3,356,289	820,156	1,670,072	22,839	597,643
Maize . . .	—	—	—	—	74,178
Metals . . .	1,512,194	49,915	12,590	34,477	975,792
Metal goods . . .	360,534	—	—	—	126,888
Resin . . .	134,858	—	—	—	—
Rice . . .	159,535	—	—	—	22,501
Rubber and gutta percha . . .	2,225,973	—	8,853	—	1,384,217
Skins and hides . . .	531,547	253,513	507	—	72,129
Wine, beer, and spirits . . .	166,518	—	2,110	—	40,150
Wool and woollen goods . . .	386,550	—	132	—	73,346
Yarn and twine . . .	474,007	—	43,294	—	—

¹ The figures for Riga are provisional.

TABLE V

TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS IN 1913, DISTINGUISHING
PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

	<i>To Libau.</i>	<i>To Windau.</i>	<i>To Pernau.</i>	<i>To Revel.</i>
	£	£	£	£
United Kingdom . . .	1,438,280	324,996	149,002	4,316,950
United States . . .	707,895	682,757	—	57,495
Germany . . .	909,608	220,991	23,551	3,618,815
Netherlands . . .	156,006	4,074	7,884	442,729
France . . .	64,464	59,531	—	143,569
Denmark . . .	34,735	466,737	—	675,358
Belgium . . .	82,366	—	—	116,161
Sweden . . .	30,900	216,032	5,557	44,105
Norway . . .	55,354	1,577	34,477	15,938
Portugal . . .	30,306	—	7,866	78,763
Africa . . .	14,018	—	—	—
Italy . . .	3,946	—	—	10,602
Spain . . .	1,856	—	—	9,161
Other countries . . .	2,917	240	1,102	7,909
Total . . .	£3,532,651	£1,976,935	£229,439	£9,537,555

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MAPS

Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia are covered by four sheets (Stockholm, O. 34 ; Riga, O. 35 ; Warsaw, N. 34 ; Minsk, N. 35) of the International Map (G.S.G.S. 2758) published by the War Office.

A special map of "Courland, Livonia, Esthonia" (G.S.G.S. 3696), on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000, has been issued by the War Office (Dec. 1918) in connexion with this series.