

THE REVEREND ARTHUR YOUNG, 1769-1827 : TRAVELLER IN RUSSIA AND FARMER IN THE CRIMEA

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I

EVERY textbook of English or European history makes some reference to the great Arthur Young, 1741-1820, in connection either with the Agricultural Revolution, or with his *Travels in France* on the eve of the French Revolution.¹ His son, the Reverend Arthur Young, the object of this study, is not at all famous and was not at all great. There is no notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. As a clergyman he never held a living except in Ireland, from which he was an absentee. As an agriculturalist he was but a pallid shadow of his father. The only reason why he is worth a study is that in 1805 he went to Russia at the invitation of the Imperial Government to make an agricultural survey of the province around Moscow. He remained in Russia until 1814, was there again from 1815 to 1820, and finally for a few months before his death in 1827. In 1810 he bought an estate in the southern Crimea near Kaffa (Theodosia).

Considerable information about the Rev. Arthur Young is to be found in the Young Manuscripts in the British Museum.² Quite recently the John Rylands Library at Manchester has acquired fourteen letters by the Rev. Arthur Young, as a part of the Bagshawe Muniments.³ Most of these letters were written from Russia to his father, mother, and wife. Some are very lengthy. They will furnish the chief source for this study.

¹ J. G. Gazley, "Arthur Young, Agriculturalist and Traveller, 1741-1820", *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, xxxvii (1955), 393-428.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126-33.

³ John Rylands Library, Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/2-15.

They throw light not only upon Young himself but upon Russian conditions in the period, 1805-27.

The third child and only son of Arthur Young and his wife, Martha Allen Young, was born in 1769. Little is known of his youth but he was probably neglected by his father, who was away from home much of the time, and probably spoiled by his doting and very badly balanced mother. His first serious education was at Bury St. Edmunds Grammar School. In 1784 at the age of fifteen he was given his first training as an agricultural observer when he was taken by his father on a fortnight's trip through Essex and Kent with two nights in Calais.¹ In 1785 he went to Eton where he spent four years. By this time his parents had decided on a career in the church for their son and were counting upon the influence of the boy's uncle, Dr. John Young, Fellow at Eton and chaplain to George III, to secure fat livings and rapid advancement. Unfortunately Dr. Young was killed in a hunting accident during Arthur's first year at Eton. Arthur Young wrote in his *Autobiography*, "It was a dreadful blow . . . to all my son's hopes . . .".² Had Dr. Young lived, the Rev. Arthur Young would probably have had a very comfortable, if not distinguished, career in the church. Now he would have to make his own way, with whatever influence his father might be able to exert in his behalf.

From 1789 to 1793 Arthur was at Trinity College, Cambridge. He seems to have done well enough there and in his third year received the "first prize of the year for English declamation".³ Nevertheless he failed to make the brilliant record at Trinity which would have given him a fellowship. Just before he entered Cambridge his father had written Arthur a very moving letter in which he had been urged in the strongest terms to waste

¹ The trip is described in A. Young, *Annals of Agriculture*, ii (1784), 33-104.

² *Autobiography of Arthur Young*, p. 139. Further information about his years at Eton will be found in R. A. Austen-Leigh, *The Eton College Register, 1753-1790*.

³ *Bury and Norwich Post*, 29 February 1792, p. 3. In 1938 I called upon the late D. A. Winstanley who very kindly examined the records of Trinity College, including the "Conclusion Book". There was no disciplinary action taken against Young who was a good enough student to become a "scholar" in 1792.

no time but through his utmost efforts to persevere in attaining the highest honours. The father wrote :

. . . there is no branch of useful science that has not conducted men to fortune provided there is excellence & superiority ; but moderation & a common degree, does nothing. . . . Use four y^{rs} to come well, and with an intrepid perseverance and you will be made for life. . . . There are so few young men y^t have the courage to do it y^t those who are steady are sure of the prize. . . .¹

In 1793 Arthur received his degree from Cambridge and shortly afterwards was ordained. Nine years later he finally secured an Irish living through the patronage of the third Earl of Egremont. His father had long been intimate with the earl, who was the leading figure in Sussex agriculture and a loyal member of the Board of Agriculture. By 1797 the Rev. Arthur Young was writing articles for his father's *Annals of Agriculture*, nearly every one of which contained the most fulsome praise of the earl. One extreme example must suffice :

That active encouragement which animates the noble Lord to whatever is conducive to the improvement of mankind, is become the theme in every circle. . . . His residence at Petworth is the levee of whatever is either intimately or remotely connected with the cause of the plough. . . . A character of this complexion is above all praise, superior to all merit. . . . The father of the county, the protector of the plough, the noble Lord has acquired a celebrity as durable as it is distinguished ; and whilst the guardian angel of our island speeds the British plough, and patrons like his Lordship direct it, we may laugh at the impotent fury of our foes. . . .²

Whether the noble earl was motivated more by his friendship for the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, or by the flattery of the latter's reverend son, is uncertain. At any rate the Rev. Arthur Young obtained through the earl's aid a large living in Ireland, the Union of Agassins, consisting of six parishes in County Clare and in the diocese of Killaloe, and covering an area of 42,000 acres. His purely mercenary interest in his living is all too evident in a letter to his father written while he was engaged in the formalities necessary to take possession :

As I have not finished reading the assent & consent & the whole service of the church, which it is necessary should be gone thro' in each parish on a Sunday,

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,126, fols. 478-9.

² *Annals of Agriculture*, xxviii (1797), 204-6. For his other articles see *ibid.* 255-7 and xxix (1797), 78-89, 109-24, 271-7, 306-7.

(reading both morning & evening service in each of them) I shall not be able to leave this part of Ireland before the end of the present month ; after that I shall return to England as fast as I possibly can. . . .¹

There is no evidence that he ever returned to Ireland, although he held the living throughout his life. He complained that the previous incumbent had only received £780 annually, but he hoped to do much better. In the same letter he warned his father not to paint things in too bright colours to Lord Egremont :

But Let me beg of you not to magnify but to diminish the value (or rather to speak the truth) if ever you have any conversation with Lord Egremont about it—because, as his Lordship has in fact promised me another & a more valuable union adjoining mine, & tenable with it, if he find this that I now have can ever hereafter be raised, he may possibly think it sufficient without the other. . . .²

Whether he obtained the second living is unknown, but certainly he was disappointed with the amount of tithes which he was able to collect. From 1808 to 1810 a protégé of Arthur Young in Ireland made vain efforts to increase the income from the tithes by farming out their collection for a fixed sum.³ After the Rev. Arthur Young had gone to Russia his father repeatedly approached Lord Egremont with the idea of securing an English living for him. Egremont was not unwilling but pointed out that the acceptance of an English living would necessitate residence in England and hence the sale of the Crimean estate. Egremont wrote to the great agriculturalist that his son “seemed to me very much to prefer the thoughts of farming in the Crimea to preaching in England”.⁴ Even the father admitted : “In one respect Agassin is *peculiarly* advantageous that of . . . being a sinecure”.⁵ There is no evidence that the Rev. Arthur Young was ever a religious man except in a purely formal sense, even though he served as curate at Bradfield for two years before he

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,128, fol. 501.

² Ibid. fol. 500. Further details about his living are found in *ibid.* fols. 490-1, 506-7.

³ Ibid. 35,130, fols. 130-1, 264-5, 305, 397-8. The Rev. William Gooch went to Ireland in 1808 to act as estate agent for Lord Templetown at Castle Upton. The appointment had been made upon Young's recommendation.

⁴ Ibid. 35,133, fol. 440. The date is 26 August 1819.

⁵ Ibid. 35,132, fol. 430. This letter is not dated, but has been attributed, probably correctly, to 1815.

went to Russia.¹ His letters which have survived are purely secular in tone.

A major explanation for the tragedy of the Rev. Arthur Young from a purely professional point of view, is to be found in the fact that he never quite made up his mind whether he wanted to concentrate upon the church or upon agriculture. His father must bear a considerable portion of the blame. Even in that letter which he had written to his son upon entering Cambridge he weakened his exhortation to concentrate everything upon success in a clerical career by the following :

I wish to God you would pick up a knowledge of agriculture, by y^e time I die the world will find out that they might have made a better use of my knowledge & make me offers when too late for me to take y^m, but it may afford opportunities for a Son if he has nothing better, y^t may be of importance. . . .²

After such advice it is not surprising that the first work which the Rev. Arthur Young undertook after his ordination was an agricultural survey of Sussex for the newly established Board of Agriculture. It is difficult to believe that he would have received such an assignment had he not been the son of the Secretary. He took the work seriously enough, and spent more than two months in the county, from 5 August to 15 October. The survey, which was meant to be brief, appeared before the end of 1793 and was one of the first of the county surveys to be printed. The account which he wrote of his trip for the *Annals of Agriculture* filled nearly 300 pages.³ It seems thorough and competent and is as well written as most of his father's purely agricultural tours. It contains many statistics and farming accounts of profits and losses so typical of his father's work. He could not forbear from exhibiting his classical training by including excerpts in Latin and Greek from the classical authors on agricultural subjects. It was during this tour that he first became intimate with Lord Egremont. He also met another of his father's old friends, Lord Sheffield, who wrote of him : " He was very much approved here & was thought very like you in voice & other particulars." In the same letter Lord Sheffield expressed a warning which

¹ This information comes from the Parish Register at Bradfield Combust.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,126, fol. 479.

³ *Annals of Agriculture*, xxii (1794), 171-334, 494-631.

both father and son might well have heeded: "I am not yet quite reconciled to your putting him in this line if you mean to push him in the Church—I revolted against it from the beginning, & I find others think as I do."¹

Mention has already been made of the several articles on Sussex agriculture which the Rev. Arthur Young contributed to the *Annals of Agriculture* in 1797. Four years later in 1801 he was still devoting himself to agricultural pursuits. On 28 May the Committee on Papers for the Board of Agriculture voted £50 to him "for the abridgement which he made of the Returns sent to the Committee of the House of Commons of the quantity of corn &c grown in Parishes where Enclosures have been made . . .".² Two weeks later he was awarded £60 for the third best essay in answer to an enquiry by the Board as to the best means by which arable lands might be converted to pasture and then back again to arable without damage to the soil.³ Since 340 essays were submitted for this contest, to win third prize was quite an honour, although some cynics may have pointed out that his father was Secretary of the Board which made the awards. It should also be noted that the Rev. Arthur Young hired a farm from his father at Bradfield which he held until he went to Russia.⁴

For an understanding of the Rev. Arthur Young's character an analysis of his relations with four members of his family is necessary—his father and mother, his sister Mary, and his wife. He had had three sisters. Bessy, just a year older than he, had died of tuberculosis in 1794 at the age of twenty-six. Martha or "Bobbin" had succumbed to the same disease at the age of fourteen in 1797. There had probably been a time when Arthur resented his father's obvious partiality for Bobbin, but this is purely surmise. Mary Young was three years older than Arthur. She never married and outlived him. She seems to have been devoted to her brother, and she was the member of the family

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,127, fol. 289.

² London, Library of the Royal Agricultural Society, Minute Books, no. 5, fol. 226.

³ Ibid. fol. 239. Young's essay was printed in *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, iii. 99-172.

⁴ *Autobiography*, p. 406, where it is stated that Arthur's farm had been re-let.

who held it together. Relations between the great Arthur Young and his wife Martha were notoriously bad.¹ Friction must have been constant and could hardly have failed to affect the children. It seems almost certain that Arthur was his mother's favourite and Bobbin was without doubt her father's.

Relations between the father and son were never really cordial. The father expected too much of his son who probably suffered from an inferiority complex which manifested itself in aggressiveness and extreme impatience. When Arthur Young was making his famous trips to France in the late 1780s, he constantly complained to Mary, to whom nearly all his letters were written, that Arthur seldom wrote to him. One example will suffice :

I have not had a L^r from him of 11 months ; I suppose because I expressly desired one once a fortnight : But nothing surprizes me that come fr^o him ; Eton has I hope has [sic] done so much for his head that it leaves nothing for his heart—God send it may prove so ; & y^t I have not impoverished myself for nothing. . . . Say nothing to Arth : ab^t writing ; I had much rather have no L^{rs} than such : as those hints bring : . . .²

A letter from Mrs. Young to her husband in 1809 also reveals some of the reasons for Arthur's difficulties :

. . . his education was so uncommonly expensive (& *that, I know to my heart* was with the best intentions) that it formed perhaps too strong notions of independence . . . & I see plainly a splendid life caught him with the compliments he had been paid on y^r account & in some lesser degree I think it may be on his unremitted attentions . . . on his own. . . .³

After Bobbin's tragic death in 1797 her father experienced a religious conversion which influenced his entire life and outlook. He became an extreme Evangelical. The fact that his son, although a clergyman, shared none of these views prevented any real community of thought between father and son.

In 1798 the Rev. Arthur Young was guilty of an indiscretion which was most embarrassing to his father and which exhibited all too clearly his own moral obtuseness. On 1 May he wrote a letter to Gamaliel Lloyd, a Radical of Bury St. Edmunds, in

¹ Gazley, op. cit. pp. 403-5.

² This letter is reproduced in facsimile in *Autobiography*, opp. p. 188. The date is 27 July 1789.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,130, fol. 276. The date is 14 July.

which he boasted of his attempt to tamper with the views of some of the prospective jurymen for the impending state trial of Arthur O'Connor :

I dined yesterday with three of the jurymen . . . who have been summoned to Maidstone to the trial of O'Connor and Co. . . . as they are good farmers and much in my interest, to be sure I exerted all my eloquence to convince them how absolutely necessary it is . . . for the security of the realm, that the felons should swing. . . . These, with many other arguments, I pressed, with a view that they should go into court avowedly determined in their verdict, no matter what the evidence. . . .¹

Believing the story to be true, Lloyd passed the letter along and eventually it reached the defence counsel who read it to the court. Although Young was summoned to appear in court, apparently he never did so. To exonerate himself from what he claimed to be only a joke, he secured affidavits from most of the jurymen that he had never talked with them about the trial. His father thought it necessary to write a letter to the press, explaining that it was only a hoax but admitting that his son's conduct was inexcusable. In his *Autobiography* the father was almost brutally frank : " To avoid being punished as a rascal, he must prove himself the greatest fool in Christendom." ² It must be kept in mind that the Rev. Arthur Young was nearly thirty years old when he was guilty of this escapade. Putting the best possible interpretation on the incident, it reveals a deplorable lack of judgement.

In July 1799, the Rev. Arthur Young was married to Miss Jane Berry who had been a friend of Bobbin at the London school which Bobbin had attended. After Bobbin's death she had visited the Youngs and thus Arthur had met her.³ Tradition

¹ T. B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, xxvi. 1224-5.

² *Autobiography*, p. 318. Young's letter to the press is to be found in the *Bury and Norwich Post*, 30 May 1798, p. 2. References to the affair by friends are to be found in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,128, fols. 31, 33.

³ Since Jane was an illegitimate daughter of Edward Berry, Esq., she was known at the time of her marriage as his niece, Jane Griffiths, and was thus described in the notice in the *Bury and Norwich Post*, 10 July 1799, p. 2. Dr. F. Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts in The John Rylands Library, has very kindly searched certain later family letters in the Bagshawe Muniments, not included in the printed Handlist, and has established clear proof of Jane's illegitimate birth. There also existed a mysterious connection between Jane Young and the sixth Earl of Coventry who presented Jane's portrait to her mother-in-law, sent

has it that Jane Young was very beautiful,¹ although by 1814 she weighed over 200 pounds.² She was clever but not an intellectual, sensitive and impressionable, quite sentimental and somewhat affected. With her sister-in-law, Mary, her relations seem to have been excellent. She apparently got along well with her mother-in-law until her return to England from Russia in 1810 without her husband. Mrs. Young had always been partial to Arthur and apparently regarded Jane's return without him as desertion. She even went so far as to accuse Jane of indiscretion with Young's secretary, William de St. Croix. The bitterness of the relationship is clearly shown in two letters which Jane wrote to her father-in-law in May 1811 :

When I think of you I wish I had wings to fly to you, but when the remembrance of Mrs. Y. presents itself before [me] I shrink with horror at the idea of being again within the sound and reach of her tongue—I feel a most *decided aversion* against her, . . . I have suffered too much from her behaviour to me, ever to forget it. . . .³

her a handsome hair ring so expensive that she protested at it, and left her in his will an annuity of £200 and a lump sum of £500. The reference to the portrait is in a letter from Mary Young to her father, 6 September 1809, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,130, fol. 295. That to the hair ring is in a letter from Jane Young to her mother-in-law, 16 August 1806, Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6, fol. 8. Lord Coventry's will was very kindly copied for me by Miss Vera J. Ledger, Somerset House, London, P. C. C. Loveday, fol. 762. It contains three codicils. The first, dated 21 May 1802, provided for the annuity which Lord Coventry was careful to specify should be "absolutely independent of her said husband and without being subject to his Debts incumbrances and Controul". A second codicil dated 25 December 1806 provided for the lump sum to Jane with a similar clause about her husband. A third codicil dated 22 February 1804 made a bequest of £200 to Mary Young. On the death of her father in 1818, Jane received further very substantial bequests, the annual interest upon a capital sum of £800 and part of his residuary estate which her father-in-law estimated would bring her from £3,000 to £5,000. New York Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, letter from Arthur Young to Marianne Francis, 17 December 1818. In a letter which Arthur Young wrote shortly afterwards to Charlotte Barrett, *ibid.* 23 December 1818, he stated that Jane's father had so arranged his bequests that "the receipt [was] tied neck & heels for payment into her own hands". I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the Curator of the Berg Collection, Dr. John D. Gordan, for permission to make use of the Burney Papers and to quote from them.

¹ I was given this information by Mrs. Rose Willson, niece to the last Mrs. Arthur Young, whom I interviewed in 1931.

² N.Y. Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, A. Young to Marianne Francis, 1 October 1814.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,131, fol. 87.

Her behaviour to poor St. Croix was even more painful to my feelings than all her abuse of me . . . as his conduct was always that of a gentleman, and I will ever stand up as his friend and advocate. . . . I would trust St. Croix with any secret, for I have a *very high* opinion of *his* prudence & discretion, and much does he need it. . . .¹

Jane Young was as completely devoted to her father-in-law as he was to her. Indeed she came to love him better than any other person in the world, with the possible exception of her sister. In her letters she usually addressed him as "my dearest & most beloved Friend", and in one wrote: "I feel my heart softened and animated when addressing you, by every tie of affection and sympathizing tenderness that a human being can experience towards another."² As early as 1803 Jane experienced a religious conversion which made her an Evangelical like her father-in-law. From that time she was his constant companion at numerous religious services and later helped him with his schools and charity to the poor. After her return to England in 1810 she made her home with her husband's family, at least until Arthur Young's death in 1820.

At first the Rev. Arthur Young's marriage seems to have been reasonably happy. He probably loved Jane as much as his essentially selfish and self-centred nature permitted. There were no children and as early as 1802 Arthur Young confided to his *Autobiography*: "My son has no children, nor likely to have any."³ Probably Jane never wanted to go to Russia and she suffered much from ill health in that country. She did not accompany her husband when he went to the Crimea to purchase an estate. His six letters to her before her return to England in 1810 will indicate something of their relations at that time.⁴ On her return journey to England Jane was accompanied by a Mr. Rowand who was a British merchant or consul in Russia and for whom she came to feel something approaching a romantic sentiment, as indicated in a letter to her father-in-law, describing Rowand's visit to her at her father's home:

Rowand arrived here on Wednesday Evening; my Father is much pleased with him. . . . I feel much pleased in this opportunity of introducing Rowand to

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35, 131, fols. 88-9.

² Ibid. fol. 166.

³ *Autobiography*, p. 382.

⁴ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/9-14.

my Father & Sister, and of his becoming acquainted with every part of my Family. He has done so much for me that I feel it a real obligation to try all in my power to convince him of the *wish* at least that I have, of being grateful.¹

Twice after her return to England she complained to her father-in-law of not receiving any letters from her husband :

Have you had any intelligence from Arthur ? . . . It is very strange he will not take the trouble to write. . . . I am afraid Arth. is too much taken up with his farming concerns to remember his friends in England. . . .²

Have you heard from Arth. ? . . . Surely Arthur might have written by Odessa but it always was with him, "out of sight out of mind". . . .³

The Rev. Arthur Young returned to England in the spring of 1814 and remained there until late in 1815. There is no indication that Jane was waiting for him at London on his arrival. Indeed she seems to have permitted four months to elapse after her husband's return before she joined him at Bradfield. Two very guarded comments by Arthur Young in letters to Marianne Francis⁴ in the summer of 1814 before Jane's arrival at Bradfield indicate that things were not right :

. . . and of the rest I yet know nothing, and I have little heart to make enquiries ; the frame of my Sons mind, after 9 years absence from every religious ordinance, is not calculated to make any amends : he is fixed here for the summer, and further about him and his wife I know nothing. . . .⁵

I have nothing to add to what I said before relative to arrangements here : I make myself as easy as I can, but that is a string I do not desire to touch, there is no harmony in it. . . .⁶

In the summer of 1815 when the Rev. Arthur Young went to London to prepare for his sailing, Jane remained at Bradfield. Nor was there any mention of the possibility that she might return to Russia with him. All in all, one gains the impression that by 1814-15 their marriage had become a mere formality and that their interests had become completely divergent.

The last letter by the Rev. Arthur Young in the Bagshawe Muniments is a very personal one to Jane and shows that their marriage was ended by a legal separation, almost certainly obtained on her initiative. The heading of the letter is tantalizing : "Donegall arms, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3—Friday 27th—". No month,

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,131, fol. 96. ² Ibid. fol. 158. ³ Ibid. fol. 169.

⁴ For further material on Marianne Francis, the young Evangelical blue-stocking who was a niece of Fanny Burney, see Gazley, *op. cit.* pp. 419-22.

⁵ N.Y. Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, 4 July 1814.

⁶ Ibid. 2 August 1814.

no year, no place ! It has been attributed, probably by some member of the family, to the year 1823.¹ The body of the letter is concerned with relatively unimportant and uninteresting details of the financial settlement, but the very long postscript cannot be omitted, although it might well be interpreted in several mutually contradictory ways :

I hope we shall come together again, & live hereafter happily in each others society. God knows what may happen. I part from you, as the Almighty knows, with the deepest sorrow in my soul : tho' you have treated me harshly & cruelly, yet I love you still. I feel for you with the tenderest compassion & I hope & trust that we may be soon re-united, not only in heaven but here on Earth. Oh ! my dearest Jane, Let us not give up this hope altogether, but encourage rather than stifle the impression. Your new friends will freeze your soul to sympathies of this sort, because you are comparatively wealthy to any of them, & the chance of losing such a booty would necessarily stimulate them to prejudice your mind against me.

One thing, I trust you will never refuse. I may become a pious & a religious man. Your example may make so strong an impression on me, as to awaken me to a sense of my danger. . . . You may be the means of saving at last my soul from Hell. There is no possible chance in this life, that any other human being whatever can ever have such a chance of exerting this influence as yourself. When I feel this influence coming on, I shall apply to you, my Love, for strength & assistance. I hope therefore that we shall occasionally see each other. If you still continue to distrust me, till the deeds are signed, & refuse an Interview till then ; at least gratify me, when that is finished—without which I will never subscribe my hand to the deed. It would be to subscribe to my own execution, to launch me into Hell ! . . . The terms of our separation are now agreed upon. Throughout every part of this transaction . . . I have conducted myself with a caution, a *prudence* and forbearance, which perhaps few in my case would ever have confined myself to. It is not very likely that you should long remain concealed in this town without my soon discovering the place of your retreat. In fact the agents I employed discovered you on Thursday & the egress & regress of Rosetta in the streets soon furnished means to come at this. When I tell you in plain language where you are, you may believe me. No 16—is I presume the place.

I will not leave you to judge whether I have acted with honour, with tenderness, with regard & affection for your peace of mind. I come here with the power of the Court of Kings Bench in England in my pocket to take you to Bradfield : So far from exerting this authority, I offer you the terms you rejected

¹ The year 1823 appears in pencil at the top of the manuscript. It seems a good guess, for Jane Young would hardly have made the break with her husband complete before her father-in-law's death in 1820. Furthermore, it seems probable that the Rev. Arthur Young was in England in 1823. My own guess is that the letter was written in an Irish, Scotch, or Manx town because of the reference to the Court of King's Bench "in England".

last year by which I lose one years annuity or £300. . . . If this be as you say it is hard & unreasonable, I trust I may be always governed by such principles. . . . I long to see you. I do most ardently desire an Interview but I would strike off my right hand before I would now violate the sanctity of your retreat or offer the slightest violence to obtain my request without your permission.

Farewell. ever your affectionate husband—¹

The chances are that the separation was permanent. It is certain that the Rev. Arthur Young in the last years of his life was the father of two illegitimate sons, one of whom was born in 1826, and that their mother was "Agatha Sturgeon, servant".² There is no other evidence that he was promiscuous. Probably after the separation from Jane he decided to form an irregular connection in the hope of providing himself an heir. Nevertheless, the birth of illegitimate children to a clergyman must have created quite a scandal, all the more so when it is remembered that less than a decade before Bradfield Hall had been a leading Evangelical centre for all West Suffolk.

II

In 1789 the great Arthur Young had predicted that some outstanding agricultural opportunity might come to him when he had become too old to accept it, and he had urged his son to be prepared for such a contingency. His prediction came true in December 1804, when he was invited by the Russian government to make agricultural surveys of some of their provinces on the model of the county surveys of the Board of Agriculture. Had the offer come even ten years earlier he would probably have accepted with eagerness and the historian might have had a description of Russia in the early nineteenth century comparable

¹ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/15.

² The Parish Register at Bradfield Combust lists as baptisms "Arthur John, son of Agatha Sturgeon" and "Arthur Young, son of Agatha Sturgeon". A window near the door of the church is dedicated to the second, "deceased 15th September 1855". Another memorial in the church is to "Arthur John Young, born July 12th 1826, died Jan. 29th, 1896". This latter was the last Arthur Young to be squire at Bradfield, after whose death the property was sold and the manuscript letters given to the British Museum. Twice Arthur Young, in letters to Marianne Francis, refers to "Bet Sturgeon", once as a reader to him, and once as a servant to Jane. Whether this was the same person as Agatha is unknown. Perhaps they were sisters. N.Y. Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, 13 August 1817, 11 April 1818.

to Young's classic on France on the eve of the Revolution. But Young was sixty-three years old and he hesitated. Shortly after the offer was made he returned to Bradfield for Christmas and of course told his family about the offer. The project apparently made an immediate appeal to the Rev. Arthur Young and so his name was presented to the Russians and, after some delay, accepted. He was to go to Russia early in 1805 and survey one of the central "Governments". All his expenses were to be paid by the Russian government and in addition he was to receive £1,000 per year. Jane Young was to accompany him as an interpreter, presumably because she had a command of French.¹ From a letter of James Smirnov, the Chaplain at the Russian Embassy in London and an old friend of Young's, it seems certain that the Rev. Arthur Young had raised the possibility of obtaining an estate in the Crimea after he had surveyed several Governments.²

In January 1805, there was a hitch in the negotiations. The Rev. Arthur Young became very impatient over the delay and wrote a rather nasty letter to his father who was doing his best to secure a satisfactory settlement.

Bradfield Hall. Thursd. 31st

Dear Sir

What thorough-paced insolence this Russian bear has shewn to you thro' the whole of this transaction : & I am astonishd that you can bear such studied delay, which after all will now most clearly end in a cold answer. Nor can I possibly imagine, what on earth could induce you to renew a negotiation, which had ended in a bargain so remarkably to my advantage—which had been explicitly settled in the presence of witnesses (or one at least). This letter of yours has given the finest opening that could possibly have been required, to overthrow the whole business, by affording the man such grounds for his excuses ! which never would [have] happend otherwise.

The bargain was clenched [sic] & done with—& tho' the journey might never have taken place, all the odium would then have rested with Novozitzoff. because he must have meanly & dastardlike flown from a bargain in the presence of a witness, which cannot be the case now since you have re-opened the negotiations.

I hope my Mother has not been interfering underhandedly by writing any secret letters.

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 402-6.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,129, fols. 194-5. This letter, dated 12 January 1805, also details the terms of the contract. Smirnov had probably been a pupil of Arthur Young twenty years earlier. His letters were always couched in the friendliest terms and he visited Bradfield as a guest.

To the above Jane Young added a long postscript as typical of her as the ill-natured letter was of her husband.

My Dearest & best beloved Friend

Arthur is, as you see, quite angry about the Russian scheme being delayed, or what is most likely totally set aside—Novositzoff's behaviour is certainly most ungentleman like if not to say shameful, for an answer one way or the other is the least he could do—how do you know but what *Smirnove* may be at the bottom of this business—by *all means* get it decided *one way or the other*, but don't continue in indecision & uncertainty, for it is of all things the most unpleasant . . . tell him *Ar's* business is at a stand & on account of *preparations & setting off so soon* things must be finally arranged one way or the other. These Russians are certainly very mean people & I am sure staying away is better than going, but as Arthur wishes to go, do everything in your power & let it be above all settled, for it worries & vexes him sadly. . . . Adieu in great haste believe me ever most affectionately

Your faithful

Jane Young¹

At last everything was settled and they set sail from Harwich on 18 April. They had probably bought for the journey across northern Europe a special post-chaise "in which they may have bedding and sleep at full length".² They disembarked at some North Sea port whence they went overland. They stayed at Berlin for about a week where they were entertained by the English and Russian ambassadors, left Berlin on 14 May and were at Königsburg on 25 May, from which town the Rev. Arthur Young wrote the first letter in the Bagshawe Muniments.³ All in all, the country was dull and uninteresting, the inns and food poor, the trip very fatiguing.

The whole Country is without the least exception far very far away the most uninteresting, flat, sandy, barren District, I ever saw. . . . In travelling, we

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,129, fols. 261-2. The project for the survey seems to have been brought to England by Count Nicholas Novosiltsov when he came on his famous mission which resulted in the Anglo-Russian alliance of 1805. The Rev. Arthur Young's mother seems to have been addicted to writing secret letters, and this was only one of her many peculiarities.

² *Autobiography*, p. 406.

³ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/2. This is the first of this important collection of letters, upon which the remainder of this article is chiefly based. Number 1 in the manuscript consists of the leaves from Arthur Young's autobiography which have been substantially reproduced in Gazley, op. cit. pp. 416-19. How these letters from the Rev. Arthur Young came to be in the Bagshawe Muniments is explained in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxv (1952-3), 281-2.

started generally at 5 & journeyed until 9 at night allowing $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour for our breakfast, & eating our dinner generally in the Carriage as it went on, yet we seldom gained more than 40 to 45 miles in 16 hours. Under such circumstances to write Letters is almost an impossibility—We have no time to eat or to drink, & as to sleep—4 or 5 hours is all the time we can spare for it, for when we get to the end of the days Journey, something must be had for supper, & when I write in my Journal, it is generally 12 at night before I am in bed, & as to Jane, if Jane was to set down to write Letters when she came in to any town in the Evening, the fatigue would be so great that she would be dead by so doing—All she can do is to go to bed.

At the end of Arthur's letter to his father Jane added a pathetic little postscript :

I can only just tell you in two lines that I love you more than ever & can never cease regretting this horrid separation—Oh ! how I long to see Dear Bradfield again, be assured I shall love it more than I ever did. I will write the very first opportunity but I am dead with fatigue & want of rest—How is Mrs Y—pray say every thing that is affectionate from me to her & Mary—I can write to nobody, we are just setting off for Memel a dreadful journey. . . .

The Rev. Arthur Young and his wife arrived at St. Petersburg about the middle of June and on the 21st of that month he wrote a long letter to his father, giving his first impressions of the Russian capital.¹ Unfortunately they met Prince Novosiltsov at one of the last posting stops, bound for France, so he was not there to smooth their way. When this letter was written, the details of their plans and of the financial arrangements were not yet settled. A considerable portion of the letter is worth quoting :

The expence of living in this town is prodigious—All expences are upon an average as dear again as in London. The character of the Russians you are totally unacquainted with. They are very fond of new projects, but they soon tire. and if a bargain be not made & *clenched*. nothing can be done It is hardly possible to imagine any set of people so shuffling & so crafty as these in all transactions with foreigners—All their undertakings, & projects, & improvem^{ts} . . . are the work of foreigners, yet they are cajoled & cheated & ruined. . . . There is not a single Englishman that I have seen here (& I dined at our ambassador's in company with 80 or 90) who do not invariably declare, that without specified agreement, I could never expect to come at a shilling. The truth is, that the Russians . . . detest all foreigners, especially our countrymen who live in a most respectable manner, & spend a deal of money, caring for the Russian no

¹ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/3. I have tried, perhaps unwisely, to keep the Rev. Arthur Young's confusing punctuation, the worst feature of which was his habit of using a period instead of a comma in the middle of a sentence.

more than the Russian cares for him. & besides, the Character of a merchant they affect to despise. & as the English have not the art to insinuate themselves into their good graces, it is frequently seen that a french barber or hairdresser or Valet, metamorphosed into a Tutor, rules the family, & directs the education, & sleeps with the mistress of many a Russian House of the first distinction. French, Germans, Swedes, Foreigners of all descriptions incorporate themselves with the natives—but never the Englishman. . . .

Petersburg is an astonishing city. for regularity of building—width, length, & the straitness of the streets, the size depth & number of the Canals all fac'd with granite & parapets of granite, the amazing size of all private houses, & their regular fronts, & the number & prodigious size of all the public edifices, all built with brick, stuccoed over, & beyond all, the front which faces the Neva, forming a Quay several miles in length, & covered with palaces & private houses without number. the river as wide as the Thames at London bridge, but the bridges over it are only boats with planks over. . . . But if we look to social comfort in this town, we look in vain. Every one looks upon his neighbour as an enemy, that is not connected by family marriages, the town is very badly pavd, & no footwalk except on the Quays & Canals. the entrance to the great houses is thro a gateway precisely the counterpart to an English inn, at the back part in a large yard filld with wood & ashes & dirt. There are no water works which let the water into the houses by pipes, or sewers to take off the filth and return it to the river. . . . Lodging & boarding at Hotels is abominably bad & scandalously dear. . . .

The carriages of this place are so extremely dear that it is impossible to use them in the neighbourhood. . . . We have been to the parties of several of the Russian nobility. . . . Any quantity of wheat might be had at this & other places in Russia if English merchants in England would only order it—laid into London Storehouses, at 6 or 7^r. a Bushel. . . . Stockings are manufact^d here by Englishmen Cannon are cast by English—Ships built by English—Gardens laid out by English. Deserts converted into cultivation by English. English architects—English Physicians & Surgeons. Their coin is stampd by English. Leather made by English, Cotton goods by English—yet we are detested. In Forty other branches have English been employd—but they kick them out & cheat them whenever they have suckd them, & set Russians in their place. . . .

It was probably after the receipt of the above letter that Arthur Young wrote in his diary: “I wish cordially they were well home again, and so do they, I believe.”¹

Two more letters from the Rev. Arthur Young to his father in the Bagshawe Muniments date from the early years of his stay in Russia. They are not dated, nor is any place given. They were probably written in 1806, but might have been written late in 1805 or even in 1807. The first is of considerable interest on several points—the suspicion with which the nobles regarded

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 418.

him, the considerable social mobility which existed in Russia, the difficulties with his interpreter, and the universal prevalence of bribery.¹

Dear Sir. I have great reason to believe that the jealousy and illwill which has been shown to me, & the aversion to giving me information, and the general coldness, of all classes of the nobility has arisen from the fear of my being sent here to examine into the conditions of their peasants, with a view of their being ultimately emancipated. The subject is of the tenderest & most delicate nature to these men. it cannot nor ever was mentioned by me, without my decisive disapprobation. . . . But to you I tell, that without security to them, in some way or other, from the oppression which they too often experience, no improv^t. can or ever will take place. . . .

The Government eagerly wish some improv^t. ; but of all persons in the Empire, His Imp^l. Majesty wishes it most. Already the *crown* peasants can buy Land & *slaves*. . . .² they can hire land upon lease : make contracts & bargains : they can at any time enroll themselves, as burghers or merchants, . . . The Government is straining its attention to commerce as much as it possibly can. But it appears to me, that all their attention to trade is likely to be at the expence of agricultural improvement : & because, the wider the door is opened to the peasant to become a trader and settle in a town, the more numerous will be the crowd, but especially if riches and honours are attached to it, for, as now, every peasant who can do it, leaves the plow for the city, upon the prospect of rising by trade, & thousands succeed : thus husbandry suffers. It is true, that freedom is gained, & in the very best manner ; being at no expence to their masters, but the result of their own Industry. and I am perfectly sure, from conversing with many peas^{ts} upon the subject, that it is the idea of all, that by going to a town for a number of years (if private peas^{ts}) they will in a course of time become sufficiently rich to tempt their masters to sell them their Liberty. . . . They will be sure to make fortunes. certainly not altogether by honest means, being bred otherwise. But they have no notions of freedom, with any explanation attachd to it but in order to gain riches by trade. Peasants and land . . . in their new Capacity of burgess or merch^t, of any degree, they are not permitted to buy. it would interfere it is thought, with their attention to business. . . . With regard to my Interpreter, He has been my greatest Enemy : . . . Nothing can possibly be done with him, he is incorrigible ; an idle lazy vagabond rascal ; & such a dreadful liar I never met with before ; this fellow is so habituated to lies, that he never speaks truth. . . . The new General Governor, Tootalmeen, tho', with my Interpreter I have been 6 or 7 times upon business to him, has never once asked me to sit down in his company : he never addressed himself once to me, he has never condescended to give me an answer upon my asking him only for one of the Gov^t. Land measures for a few days to draw a map or two. . . . This General Governor is very unlike the last. He does no business ;

¹ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/4.

² This statement is in accord with the ukase of 24 December 1801, according to which land could be acquired by merchants and crown peasants. See A. Kornilov, *Modern Russian History*, i. 87 ff. and G. T. Robinson, *Rural Russia under the Old Regime*, p. 63.

I believe him to be perfectly incapable of anything but giving balls & receiving bribes—This brings to notice, that in this country (rotten 'ere ripe) the grand touchstone is money. By this, you become Senator or soldier, nobleman or merchant: the courts of justice are bribed by the parties as regularly as the suit comes before them. . . . No man can get justice without being rich. the poor never yet had it—the country peasant bribes the district forest master to allow him to lay waste the crown forests. he bribes the head officer of the land police to concur in the same plan. this land policy master is the superior officer of the crown peasants for the district. His lawful salary is 250 R a year. about £30—he spends several thousands. If the Izprovnick wants a purse, he drives to the constable of a Crown Hundred (volost) makes a speech, that the roads 50 versts¹ off are in want of repair, or he adds, if necessary, that certain abuses in such a village have come to his notice, & that they are likely next week to be brought before the tribunal in which he sits as President. or he will give a hint, that a fresh levy of recruits will soon take place, when he will have the means of selecting such & such, & shewing favour to this or that. . . .

That the Rev. Arthur Young was probably correct in his explanation of the hostility towards him is borne out by an entry in her journal for 4 January 1806, by Miss Martha Wilmot, a young English girl who was visiting in Moscow as the guest and protégé of the famous Princess Dashkov. The entry is even more interesting as being almost the only frank contemporary reaction to him:

. . . Mr Young, the son of Mr Young the great Agriculturalist, who came over to make observations on the productions, culture and capabilities of the Russian soil, on the State of the Peasants &c. &c. call'd here this Eve² & was very badly rec'd by the P.[rincess] who is incensed at the *nature* of his employment which she thinks tends to overturn the Government & excite discontent in the people. In this idea she is join'd by almost all the noblesse, so that Mr Young finds himself involved in the unpopularity of his profession to a degree that is often highly embarrassing & disagreeable. I cannot say I am very much pleased with his manners as there is neither dignity nor elegance in them, but he stay'd a very short time. . . .³

The other letter which the Rev. Arthur Young wrote to his father about this time is very long, very technical, and of no great general interest.³ It was chiefly concerned with a project for

¹ The *verst* was roughly two-thirds of a mile. Young's Izprovnick should be Ispravnik.

² *The Russian Journals of Martha and Catherine Wilmot*, p. 264. In a letter to her sister, dated 18 February 1806, Catherine Wilmot stated that Alexander I was very unpopular among the Russian nobles because he had brought Young out to Russia for the survey. *Ibid.* p. 215.

³ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/5.

settling some town dwelling peasants upon the land. A few excerpts merit quotation :

. . . I was yesterday at the police office to inquire into the number of people in this town ; the whole according to a census made most accurately this month, is 242,000, and some few odd—Would you believe it, out of this number are 84,000 domestic servants, and 30,000 passport crown peasants—Whilst at various times Petersburg has laboured under a severe scarcity of corn, from its remote distance from supplies ; in the interior of the European part, the corn rots in the stack-yards of Her own peasants, as being too cheap to induce them to carry it to market. When a tchevert¹ of rye is 8 R at Pet^g. it is not more than a 5th. & sometimes not so much in Saratof and Tambof, all connected by water with Pet^g. But then this communicⁿ. is slow and distant, requiring from the breaking up to the setting in of the ice to go from these remote quarters to the capital by water : & frequently, dry summers and little water absolutely stop no inconsiderable part of the supplies. From the beginning of the navigation of 1806, there passed down the Ladoga Canal into the river Neva 3982 barks, 1644 half barks, 747 of another sort, and 3709 boats loaded with . . . rye meal : . . . wheat meal— . . . oats : . . . wheat— . . . rye . . . flax— . . . hemp— . . . tar — . . . potatoes, . . . cotton, . . . tobacco. Besides these prodigious quantities of various commodities, 9917 immense rafts loaded with timber for building and 2568 with fuel wood . . . the barks are of immense length and width, flat bottomed . . . dreadfully clumsy : . . . The supply of corn for the metropolis is always a subject of the greatest anxiety more so than ever it was at London.

He then proposed that some extensive marsh lands in the Novgorod area might be drained and produce much of the food which St. Petersburg brought from more distant areas. The peasants, however, were too ignorant and unskilled for such a job while if it were started by the government it would only fill “the pockets of directors, overseers, surveyors, measurers, drainers, and, never ending, would be given up as a hopeless undertaking”. If the project were entrusted to the nobility, “I am sure the scheme would be damned for ever, few of them can distinguish the means of bringing such a vast improvement to a successful issue”. There would be little difficulty in obtaining labour which was plentiful and cheap, “especially crown boors whom, [sic] because they have little land, leave their habitations by thousands to hire themselves to others. and

¹ The chetvert meant originally in Russian a quarter or fourth of something. It was also a dry measure, sometimes given as equal to eight bushels which would make it the same as the English “quarter”. In modern times it has been equal to 5.77 bushels. In a later letter Young declared it equal to 5½ bushels. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,133, fol. 336.

receive, in this gov^t. if by the week one Rouble, & board ; . . . if by the year (Podolsk district) 40 to 50 Roubles ". The culture of potatoes would be very useful to vary the diet of the peasants on fast days which " are religiously observd ", and " amount to one full half part of the year ". He went on to speak of the *obrok* as follows :

. . . the crown has always in her view the good of her peasants, and his present Majesty is not desirous to add to the obrok : this is very gracious : But the misfortune in this Country is, that nothing stimulates to agricultural industry among these crown boors. the Obrok is not a land-rent, as it is often paid by tradesmen & masons, domestics, & all sorts of jobmen, coachmen &c &c as by those who labour the field.¹

The Rev. Arthur Young's first letter to his mother was sent from Moscow on 26 January, probably in 1806. Most of it is given below : ²

My dearest Mother,

. . . The amended state of your health gives us both the most heartfelt pleasure, & we now flatter ourselves that your strength will daily improve. Sunday is the great day of merriness in these countries to high & low. the former have their crowded balls & concerts & card parties. the others amuse themselves at the alehouse, in riding in sledges, walking, also in visiting, but especially during the present severe weather, in sliding down their ice mountains I myself just this instant returned from diverting myself with the same amusement. Tho' none but the lower sort at Mosco follow the diversion, it held out so many temptations, from the astonishing rapidity with which they descend, that I put myself into the arms of one of the bearded guides who are singularly dextrous at the work, having previously ascended the mountain, seated myself in a very slight traineau, the guide behind in the same machine, laid myself straight, and my legs up, leaning entirely back upon my conductor, & down we went with amazing velocity onto the ice that covered the river, my pilot conducting us down the mountain, & afterwards along the surface of the ice, by means of his 2 hands, laying either of them on the ice, on whichever side of the little Sledge it was necessary, in order to guide it. Besides the descent, we skimmd for 250 yards on the flat ice, when the man raised me up, took up his sledge under his arm, & ascended another hill. I followed, & away we went again down the second, returning to our former station. Posts & rails keep off those who came as mere spectators, of which on a Sunday there are many hundreds. The first time I descended I was rather afraid, but the only sensation was the breath taken from your lungs, which very soon returned, & even the 3^d & 4th descent, not even that, but a most pleasant sensation. Jane stood at the bottom, eyeing me

¹ This statement about *obrok* is borne out by J. Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia* (2nd edn. 1925), i. 195.

² Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/7.

with her glass ; I have persuaded her to partake of the pleasure, on a day when *less company* [is] on the spot. These ice hills . . . are described in Cox.¹ It is nothing more than 2 very high stages, or frames of deal raised nearly opposite to each other, at the distance . . . of about 250 yards. To the top of them you ascend by common steps, where is a platform 3 or 4 yards square raild round, and an inclind plane, also raild, that accidents might not happen, all covered with ice, is the road by which you descend. . . . This day sennight I dined with old Count Osterman who entertains a numerous company always on this day, for Sunday is the great day of recreation. I went after it to a Prince Gallitzins, & at night to a most sumptuous fête given by a merchant nam'd Lazarof, to all the first people of the Town. It was unexceptionably the first thing of the sort that has been given this winter. . . . He told me that 600 persons were present. The fireworks were extremely beautiful . . . & afterwards the Ball commenc'd, waltzing in 1 room, & country dances in a second, cards in two others, walking in other rooms. At 12 the supper was serv'd, & all of it in one room, & contrary to establishd usage, men sat by women. & afforded a superb sight, to see so many at a single table. . . . On the Wednesday following we both of us dined with Beckettshof (the Governor) but Jane did not go to the fête preceding . . . the day following, we went to the funeral of Prince Gallitzin, brother to the Grand Chamberlain. the Governor sent an adjutant on horseback to attend us, to get us good places for the croud [sic] in the church was overpowering. the coffin was exposd, & the body uncovered as far as the shoulders. . . . At the end of the numerous rites performd, the intimate relations came round him to kiss his lips, when the chief Bishop present read aloud a Certificate of his excellent life & conduct, &c &c which he put into the bosom of the dead as a passport to St. Peter, to whom he was to shew it, on his arrival before the presence of the apostle !! . . .

Equally interesting was his second letter to his mother written from Kaluga on 16 August, probably in 1806.² After recording his pleasure at his mother's improved state of health he suggested that she come to Russia because it was such a healthy country where no one ever suffered from rheumatism. Paradoxically he continued by mentioning that Jane had been suffering from a very severe toothache and rheumatic pains in her head for upwards of three weeks ! He then proceeded to describe the towns of Russia :

The towns in Russia are laid out & constructed in straight lines intersecting each other at right angles—& this universally : their streets are also extremely broad tho' no foot pavement, & the middle of the road only pavd : the rest in wet weather is very muddy. Another advantage they have over our country towns is that they stand generally on eminences adjoining navigable rivers. this makes them a most striking object to a stranger, but often they are more difficult to

¹ William Coxe, *Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (4th edn., 1792), ii. 275-7.

² Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/8.

ascend than Bath, & the streets, never giving way to the declivity of a hill by turning in circular directions, but always in a line, renders it a curious object but disagreeable to mount on foot. Accommodations at Inns & public houses they have none, far or near, for in fact, the Communication from place to place is a mere trifle, no stage coaches, no public waggons, carts or conveyances for anything but the Post once a week. This renders a town heavy & dull, & the manners of the people add more. in the last thousand Versts I did not meet or overtake but 2 noblemans or gentleman's equipage. No people are ever seen to ride on horseback, or to travel in that manner. for posting is done by posthorses roped to your own carriage, or by peasants horses, the great Satrap with 3 or 4 coaches 2 or 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ coaches, calashes 2 or 3, kibitkas half a score, telegas, some dozen or more (these are the little 1 horse waggons of the peasant)—All this caravan with 50 or more horses of the peasants for which he ought to pay 2 farthings per mile per horse, but often he condescends to accept their Service as a present most generously. Another thing in the country towns of Russia, I mean the Govern^t. towns, is, that there are no booksellers shops, no pretty shops to examine, no parade or gravel walks to promenade in, no public amusements of any sort or kind, nothing that has the appearance of life, activity, bustle, & business. Excessive number of festival days, on which the tradesmen & women dress in their caps of ceremony & robes of buckram, and on a bench adjoining their own door in the street, the women set the greater part of the holiday till the Evening summon them to sip the liquor distilld from rye, which they do in very small quantities; but the men are jolly drinkers, and stout consumers. . . . You know how fond I used to be in England of a breakfast of white bread & fresh butter—the latter I have not tasted since I left Mosco 4 M^o. ago : all is boiled ! the other is generally in all their large towns execrable, elsewhere in the Country to be never met with. Tea is everywhere capitally good—Salted cucumbers in quantities, cabbage soup sound ; the fine flour from the buckwheat made into croup pudding & the outward coating of the millet taken off also makes an excellent farinaceous & wholesome diet in milk. . . . In fruits this part of Russia does not abound ; now no other than green apples, a few wretched pares : raspberries are in the forests, also strawberries in great quantities. but all over—cherries they have in quantities but not good. . . . The situation of this town is I think superior to all I have yet seen. It is on the Oka, at least 250 yards in width, & the banks on both sides very high indeed. . . . the town covers the bank to the edge of the water : many gilded steeples and green painted house tops and white and red & yellow houses add variety & shew to the scene. . . .

To the above Jane Young added a long postscript :

My Dear Dear M^{rs} Young !

Arthur has told you how very severely I suffer with the tooth ach & head ach which hinders me from writing, reading, or doing any thing—however I must just write you a few lines & thank you for the Cheese you have sent Arth. which pleases him very much as none good are to be procured at Mosco of the English kind—You are extremely obliging to think of us as you do, I only wish we could return you the same, the will you are sure is not wanting—excepting Furs I do not know anything worth bringing over & they are so enormously dear, if at all handsome. . . .

I long to be at Mosco to receive my parcel, look at my Gown Ribbands &c—I think some of the Mosco Silks might please you & Mary & if I can get nothing else will try for them, they are pretty but very slight—You have no idea how very polite the peasants are to each other & all the common people, they never meet without bowing very low & taking off their hats to each other & the women bend their body & head with their hands before them—

A gap of three years separates the above from the next letter in the Bagshawe Muniments. A few scattered bits of information from other sources add a little to the account of his early years in Russia. Young's *Autobiography* several times reflects the impression which his son's and daughter-in-law's letters made upon him. On 25 February 1806, he commented :

At night letters to us all. Three came from Jane and Arthur. A sad account of the interpreter provided for him, who is an ignorant puppy of a nobleman who is too lazy to do anything. Of all the Governments I have heard of, it seems to be the most stupid, the most ignorant, and the most profligate : the fact, I dare say, is that the army alone is attended [to]. They had the news of the battle of Austerlitz, with a loss as they suppose of 40,000 Russians. Not a family at Moscow but must have lost a relation, yet a grand ball that night, and nothing but gaiety and festivity. They have no feeling. . . .¹

Again on 17 June of the same year he wrote :

A letter from Arthur, he has had a week's fever, and went back to Moscow, which recovered him. It was caused by want of sleep, owing to bugs, lice, fleas, &c, fatigue and vile food. They are horrid savages, and five centuries behind us in all but vice, wickedness, and extravagance.²

Two letters written in 1808 make it clear that the survey of the Moscow Government was actually completed. The first was one of Martha Young's secret letters, written to the Earl of Hardwicke in the hope that he might intervene to speed up Arthur's return to England :

32 Sackville Street
March 16

My Lord,

I have the honour to plead for my excuse the following reason !

My only son Arthur Young has been three years in Mosco . . . to make an agricultural Report of that government . . . altho' it has long since been finished amidst the most untoward & miserable difficulties, he is still unable from the well-known tardiness of that Nation to get it presented to his Imperial Majesty ! his situation of course is rendered indiscribably anxious in addition to which he has suffered four or five times by a violent fever & severe sore throat &c from a climate hostile I think to every stranger. . . .

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 428-9.

² *Ibid.* p. 432.

I heard your Lordship had honoured Mr. Young this day with a call & I am surprized he forgot to mention the above circumstances, he told me when he had the pleasure to write he would take the liberty to request the honour of a recommendation from y^r. Lordship to Lord Royston in behalf of my son, as Mr. Young's various & daily pursuits occupy him so constantly I really fear he will not remember it, which is the sole cause of my doing it. I had very nearly lost my life when Arthur first left us, as D^r. Reynolds can testify. I am now so unwell &c &c. that I little doubt every thing relating to this world will pass from me before his return.

. . . Mr. Young would I know attribute my miserable state to weakness only & therefore as I shall spend a few days with Lord Coventry I take the further liberty of begging a line in answer directed to me Mrs. Young under cover to Earl Coventry Piccadilly. I have the honour to be your Lordships

Obedient &

Very H. S.

M. Young

I take the freedom to believe this letter will not be mentioned.¹

The second proof is to be found in a letter from James Smirnov to Young on 13 September 1808, which also shows that Arthur was planning his trip to the Crimea :

. . . I am very much pleased with your Son's success in the Business, it does him & you great honor ; it will be of great Benefit to my country and I feel a very great share of Satisfaction in the whole of the Business. I think he does Right to make an Excursion into Crimea and I am certain his doing so, on the present occasion, placing in a manner a great confidence in the Emperor by wishing to continue longer in Russia, whilst the two countries pretend to be at variance, will be very agreeable to His Imperial Majesty For I am still of opinion that not many of our Ploughshares will be made into spears against England—much more Ink, than Blood I hope will be spilt on the occasion.²

The Bagshawe Muniments contain six letters which the Rev. Arthur Young wrote to his wife from the Crimea, while she was in Moscow and before she returned to England in the autumn of 1810.³ It seems probable that he left Moscow in the spring of 1809⁴ and it is almost certain that he reached Kaffa in the

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,647, fol. 158. This letter is in the Hardwicke Papers. Lord Royston was the Earl of Hardwicke's eldest son, aged 23, who was lost in a shipwreck off Lübeck on 7 April 1808, presumably returning from a Russian port.

² Ibid. 35,130, fol. 110.

³ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/9-14. The author believes that the order in which these letters is arranged is incorrect chronologically, and that the right order probably is as follows : 11, 13, 9, 14, 12, 10.

⁴ A letter from Martha Young to her husband, dated 14 July 1809, indicates she had received word that Jane was not with Arthur. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,130, fols. 275-6.

Crimea early in November of that year. The purpose of the trip, to purchase an estate, was achieved early in 1810.

The first letter was written from Kaffa on 19 November 1809.¹ It is so very long that only portions can be reproduced here, but it is interesting for descriptions of the scenery of the Crimea and the social customs of the Tartars :

Arrived at last my dear love ! and a miserable beggarly place it is ! of about 300 creatures, the dregs of all nations. . . . Lodgings ! were shewn such as English hogs would disdain to inhabit. . . . I was egregiously mistaken, in thinking to have found here the society, company, politeness, & attentions of Odessa. . . .

You know the Crimea is inhabited by Tartars, a nation in all respects the reverse of the Russians . . . and as Simpheropol was the first of the Tartar towns that I had seen, my curiosity was rather excited. . . . A Town built with high walls, or the back of their houses, fronting the streets, is alone sufficient to give to any place a gloomy appearance. . . . None but the commonest sort of their women are ever seen in the streets, & even these are always veild, or rather, a long piece of white linnen is thrown or twisted around their heads & upper part of their face, & folded again round the throat, neck, & lower part of the face, so that nothing but a pair of eyes are visible . . . they look like so many ghosts. their legs are covered by cotton trowsers : and it seems at first sight ridiculous enough . . . to behold such wizen'd witches & ancient hags of 3 or 4 score years old turning away their hideous figures to the bare walls (for fear I suppose of being ravish'd). . . . Every man . . . is allowed 7 legal wives ; but his mistresses are unlimited . . . his familie's have separate houses & establishments ; tho' they lodge not far from each other, to allow the husband but a short walk in order to pay his addresses to each, and sleep alternately . . . at each of their respective houses. . . . In my Tour thro' the mountains, we changed horses at Tartar houses, we ate, drank, & slept there, but the women were previously removed, so that we very seldom saw any of the sex. . . . I shov'd myself, however, once into a small courtyard, & entered one of their houses with a view to see some of the women, but was nearly insulted & ill usd, and had I not drawn Rowands Sabre from its sheath, and stood on the defensive, I verily believe they would have fallen upon me, for the women, the moment they saw a stranger, set up their stroop, and shreakd most charmingly, and then hid themselves . . . whilst the dogs barkd furiously, & the men assembled : so finding no chance of succeeding with these fair ones, I left them to ruminate on the event. . . .

. . . I passed on to Bakchisery ² the former residence of the Khans of the Tartars : Lodgings were provided me in the ancient palace. The situation of this town is singularly romantic. . . . The ground upon which the town is built is nothing but a very narrow cleft or gully between the mountains, down which, & thro'

¹ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/11. There is no year given for this letter, but assuming that he left Moscow in the spring of 1809, it is reasonable to suppose that he arrived at Kaffa in November of the same year.

² Bakhtchi-Sarai.

the crevices of the rocks on either side gush out innumerable little streams of the clearest & finest water in the Crimea, which is collected into a number of public fountains for the use of the inhabitants . . . I never before beheld a town so supplied with water ! . . . the scenery is picturesque enough ; houses arising above houses, & streets above streets, & the rocks towering their lofty heads above all, has rendered the spot ever very interesting to the artist. . . . The Palace of the Khan . . . is a very irregular pile of low buildings, consisting of separate houses with balconies, & latticed galleries and a profusion of carving & gilding . . . the attention with which the rock water was conveyd into the palace, and distributed all over it in a number of fountains, is striking . . . the cold bath where the ladies of the harem assembled, had a delicious fountain of cold water, all cut out of Greek marble. . . .

. . . At this town I left my Calash, and hired a telega, and drove to Sebastopol with Ivan. . . . Without being a tide harbour, it is unexceptionally the finest I ever beheld, &, I imagine, equal at least, if not superior to every thing of the kind in Europe, for its size, its depth of water its perfect security, the facility of sailing in or out with any wind, & its ease of defense &c &c. It is land locked on all sides by lofty mountains, & offers many most noble & interesting views. . . .

The Grandeur of the mountain scenery of the Crimea is . . . between Balacava & Sudar.¹ At Balacava we mounted our horses for the first time, our party consisting of the Albanian guide & Interpreter, myself, Ivan, & a Tartar on horseback also, & another horse for the baggage, led by the Tartar. . . . Our first visit was to M^r Woodrow at Chorgona, a Norfolk man, who has hired a village . . . for ten years. . . . I did not expect to find any of A. Young's publications in such a desolate place, but M^r W. had brought with him from England 3 or 4 of my fathers works, which have been of use even in the mountains of the Crimea. . . .

About Yalta and Neekeeta the mountain scenery incomparably grand & sublime. 3 or 4 ranges of mountains one rising above the other. . . . Sometimes the road winds for many versts through enchanting glades & groves of oak & elm & maple forests, no wider than a footpath, and the branches on both sides of the road meeting above our heads to shade us from the sun ; with every now & then delightful views of the sloping declivities to the shores of the sea. . . . Sometimes the road takes its direction along the edge of a precipice not wider than a yard, and makes one tremble at the shortness of the distance between ourselves and Eternity : Then it bears its way through groves of walnuts, vineyards, apples &c, whilst you gather the fruit as you pass under the bows of the overloaded trees extending their arms to refresh the thirsty & weary passenger—Tho late in the season, (the first 8 days of Nov^r.) grapes were still hanging in enormous clusters in many of their gardens. . . .

. . . The inhabitants you know to be Tartars : upon entering any of their houses they send away their women, spread Turkey carpets on the floor, and place pillars [sic] against the walls all around the chamber (chairs & tables & bedsteads are unknown) : they bring you for dinner poachd eggs, delicious white honey, powdered cheese from goats milk, ewes curd, all on a large waiter, & set it before you on the ground, but no knives & forks, the use of them being unknown among them—What I was pleased with so much was, their chimney corner,

¹ Probably Soudak.

& the wood fire in it, the exact counterpart of a farm house in Suffolk, or a neat cottage. From the ceiling hang suspended their fruits to preserve them thro the winter. I was neither incommoded by heat or cold, by wind or rain, by fogs, or damp weather : nor was I tormented, in the least, either by any great or little fleas, bugs, lice, or other vermin. Soon after seating yourself the neighbours enter, pipes in their mouths, and seat themselves without ceremony all around you, & bring fruit offerings from their gardens. . . .

The remainder of the letter is more personal, and only the conclusion is worth quotation :

The state of your health, my dear Jane, is I confess not very flattering, & I sincerely regret that all your application to the faculty has done you so little good. I believe the rigour of Russian winters is too much for your constitution, & that had you spent the past summer in the Ukraine, and the approaching winter in the mountains about Yalta and Uskut, your health would have been re-established. . . . The Duke told me that he had written to the minister who had refus'd me permission to buy land with boors, and that my application for rank has been equally refusd ! Farewell. I have been 4 hours writing to you : & no pleasure so great as writing to those we tenderly love. . . .

Young's second Crimean letter to his wife was short and not very important, but one part of it has some interest : ¹

But, what is still more interesting is the news you have sent me of the Admiral being summoned to Petersburg. Not one human being in this town knew it, till I had communicated the intelligence—not even the Governor himself. . . . As any news of this sort is extremely valuable and interesting, you should never defer one single post from informing me, because it shews here that I am in correspondence with those who are upon all interesting subjects well informed, &, secondly, it gives me a certain degree of importance when it is found that the best source of intelligence arrives from me. . . .

His third letter, dated 19 February 1810,² is also one of the less important ones. His Russian servant, Ivan, had been drunk for two days. He had recently been over to Karazoubazar to examine two possible estates, one of them a "most desirable property" with a "large & well furnished" mansion, and with "vast gardens, rivers, mills". The only trouble was its cost. He asked Jane to enquire whether he could mortgage such a property. He also made one curious request of her :

If you could send me a very small pocket edition in one volume of *Homer's Iliad* in Greek, it would be an acceptable present ; as they talk much that language

¹ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/13. The only date on this letter is "Jany 22". It must be 1810, for Jane was in England before the end of the year.

² Ibid. B 22/6/9.

here, (tho' not in the pure style of Homer's age) I am often at a loss for expressions, as I have not a single Greek book here, & none I am so fond of as the father of Greek poetry.

Young's fourth Crimean letter to his wife was probably written in March 1810.¹ As will be seen, it was written primarily to persuade Jane to invest her money in Russia. On the whole the letter leaves the impression that he was perhaps trying to gain control over her money and that relations between husband and wife were becoming somewhat strained :

The times being so prodigiously in favour of bringing money over from England to invest it in the funds of this country : and as you will return hither at the expiration of one, or at most of two years, I put it to your good sense & judgment, whether it would it [*sic*] not be infinitely more prudent to take advantage of the present critical moment, when the exchange is so favourable for the purpose . . . of drawing upon England for your £1000 sterling, which would give you at 17 pence p^r : rouble . . . *fourteen thousand*, & some odd roubles, which at 10 p^r C^t : is *one thousand four hundred* roubles annually ; which, as soon as the Exchange returns to its ordinary course with England, will bring you in £175 sterling yearly ; whereas from the same sum in England, you can get no more than 4 p^r C^t : or £40 sterling, annually ! in other words your Capital will return you more than Four times over the interest that it now does. . . . As you will soon return here, would it not be advisable to draw your money from Eng^d. ? Will you not want it here ?—Or, shall I pay you interest for it, and let me invest it on Livestock, which will pay me above 20 p^r C^t : profit ? At all events it appears very imprudent to go to Eng^d without bringing it hither—I have received your last L^r dated February 28. . . . It is short and rough : So you go to Masquerades ! which is an honour I never enjoyed with you : Who was your party ? You may detail me the particulars if you will.—I never write to you indecently : what do you mean ? So the Devil is among you at Mosco ! Has he made you no visit ? We have laughed much at your agreeable description of Old Nick. . . .

As I love to follow your example, give me leave to finish my Letter in your own manner " Adieu I have time for no more nor indeed have anything more to write about " ² neither subscription, signature, &c &c.

Young's fifth letter, dated from his new estate at Karagoss on 8 July,³ was very long and gave detailed instructions to Jane about things to send him from England after her return. Indeed

¹ Bagshawe Muniments B 22/6/14. This letter has no date whatever. My attribution is based on his statement that he had received her last letter dated 28 February.

² In this sentence the writer attempted to copy Jane's scrawl.

³ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/12. There is no year listed in the letter, and a pencil note on the manuscript reads " 1810 or later ". Since the letter makes it apparent that Jane is still in Russia it cannot be later than 1810.

the chief interest of the letter lies in showing what an English gentleman farmer considered desirable to furnish an estate and operate a farm in the Crimea.

. . . Respecting the progress I make in my affairs, I have long since told you that I have bought Karagoss, a small property of about three thousand deseteens of Land : 18 versts from Caffa ; . . . You know, without my specifying the particulars, what a number of little items are wanting for a person who sets up housekeeping in the Desert, whether they come from London or Mosco : Plate, linnen, & China are wanted, this comprehends much. . . .

My health is tolerable, thank God, in this hot weather. I have got 20 soldiers cutting hay for me : and as labour is dreadfully dear in this country, I give them one half of all they cut, instead of wages. . . . It is not that I have actual possession of Karagoss, only a slice of 3 or 400 Des. which remained unlett. . . . I have paid Stutz R^s : *two thousand* in advance : $\frac{1}{2}$ the remainder as soon as ever I can draw it from Mosco : & the rest on New Years day.—Octob. 1 I take possession. I hope to make from 8 to 10 p^r C^t. clear, of my capital after the first 2 years : but so many repairs &c are wanted on a property, held for so many years by an old man who neglected it so much, that all I get from it, must be laid out for 2 or 3 years.¹ Besides, I have cattle, sheep, Horses & boors to buy. . . .

It is lamentable to be left alone in this wide empire ! I shall get nothing done for me at Mosco, now that you and M^r Rowand are about leaving it. Hawes will do nothing beyond answering my letters & sending me or receiving money—which I am very thankful for, for he is very accurate . . . & all his statements extremely satisfactory. . . .

I am now setting at table, stripped of all my cloaths, but my shirt, and a thin morning callico gown, and Tartar yellow morocco slippers ;—at night, covered only with one sheet. . . . Whenever at Caffa, I bathe in the sea. the evenings & the mornings are truly delightful, and the nights very refreshing. . . .

Respecting servants, when I live here, it will be impossible to do anything without some slaves. Field Labour is so extravagantly dear (never at this time of the year less than 1 R^o daily, and board) that if you could buy me but 2 or 3 families for domestic servants . . . they w^d. be invaluable : 15 or 20 families

¹ Since the dessiatin was roughly two and two-third acres, the estate should have been about 8,000 acres in size, and it was located about twelve miles from Kaffa. Young states that he bought it from "Stutz". P. S. Pallas, *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire in the years 1793 and 1794* (2nd edn. 1812), ii. 263-4, refers to "the country seat of the hospitable and gallant General de Schütz, in the vicinity of the village of Karagos" and continues : "His estate lies in a fertile, rising plain, . . . contiguous to the manor-house, a vineyard has been planted with three thousand vine-stocks ; and there is also an apiary, which frequently contains three hundred bee-hives. Beside the kitchen and flower gardens, we observed on the opposite side of the brook, extensive old orchards. . . . The breeding of numerous cattle is here successfully attended to. . . ." Young implies that the estate had been suffered to decay between 1794 and 1810. My colleague, Professor John C. Adams, suggests that the proper name of the estate may have been Karagoz, meaning "Black Eye".

for labour w^d be sufficient for ploughing, reaping & mowing &c &c—I apprehend they are to be had for 150 R^o. *per male soul* including the old & infants. . . .

One commission should be done for me, as early as possible, after your arrival in Eng^d. which is to buy me some garden seeds . . . all the best sorts of cabbages . . . brocoli, cauli flower, borecole, red cabbage : . . . melon . . . Pease . . . Windsor beans . . . Lettuce . . . Spinnach. Cucumber seed, of *every* sort . . . Radish & Turnip Seed. . . . With the seeds should be sent the very best Gardeners Calendar. Karagoss is well suited for a kitchen garden, as water from the river flows in this hot weather through & over every bed, & every channel & furrow in every part of the garden. & the soil very fine, yielding great crops, tho' never manured in the memory of man. . . .

Another commission I hope you will remember & execute in Eng^d.—viz : the ground plan, section, &c. of a small but well contrived malthouse . . . 2^dly, the same drawings . . . for an *oost*, or building for the drying of hops. In Eng^d buildings cost money : with us, they are much cheaper. . . . I write to you rather than to my f.[ather] for these things, because I know that you are likely to execute them, & that he is not . . . you should always carry in your mind, that, by sea from London to Odessa, *just before* the war broke out . . . the House of Baring & Comp. & Mair & C^o. forwarded . . . almost every species of Agricultural instrument to Odessa. I know this well enough, because they were sold . . . at Caffa, as well as Odessa, & upon very reasonable terms. What is most dreadfully wanted at Karagoss, is one of the best, but strongest wheel ploughs in Engl^d. . . . the Tartar plough . . . requires, never less than 6 yoke of oxen, 7 & 8 yoke very frequent : the expence of oxen is therefore so very great, that several families always join their cattle in one team to break up the turf. . . . To the plow you send, send 5 or 6 shares. even a dozen w^d be better . . . with this plow add . . . one of my fathers, or Small's swing plough, with one dozen shares. and 2 or 3 breasts. and a ½ dozen reaping hooks, & another ½ dozen sickles—one dozen of the very best country made spades for the garden ; for remember, that all those that Baring & C^o sent out 3 years ago . . . were worth very little, being London made things, whereas if you set one of your Bradfield Labourers to chose them, they will last 20 London made spades. add one dozen broad shovels, and the *iron part* of one dozen small hay or stable forks. . . . Also one dozen of the small garden hoe : one dozen d^o of a larger double cutting hoe . . . 4 scythes to cut bushes & brambles : and one ½ dozen for mowing hay. . . . To these add a compleat, and well filled case, or large farriery box of instruments. . . . Likewise a large case of carpenters Tools. . . .

Two or three cases of tableknives & forks . . . 2 or 3 good carving knives & forks. A book or two on the art of cookery. Spoons of various sorts (being silver). . . . Good cheese, North Wiltshire, Cheshire, and Stilton, will keep most admirably in Karagoss cellars. Port wine I have not alas ! tasted these two years. nor anything but rotgut Crim swill nor one drop of beer, which is the reason, I suppose, why the scurvy here and there shews itself. A Dinner service of china plate, and a tea Sett likewise, well packed, might be sent with ease to Odessa & arrive safe. . . . Among other articles . . . a few handsome candlesticks ; urn, coffee pot, also teachest, sugar keddy : spice boxes. Silver labels for wine. and particularly a capital assortment of new fashioned *corkscrews*. . . . A Land-measuring wheel is essentially wanted : and those little shilling books, which give explanations about it. and about the contents of haystacks &

square & solid measures in weight. *A Good Collection in small paper packets of all our curious or common flower garden seed will be invaluable.*

9 in the Evening. the weather is so very hot, that there is no stirring abroad from 8 in the morning till 4 or 5 in the afternoon with any pleasure. . . . I sleep very little at night from the same cause, but after dinner manage to get an hour or two of rest : yet I eat well, and drink abundantly, especially mead. brandy I dont touch, and wine is not *haveable*. . . . Karagoss is very gay . . . for it has been taken (the hall) possession of by the General and his myrmidons. . . . It is now 5 in the morning . . . and very cool. Yet I set in my shirt. . . . The fleas are so numerous, that my shirt is soiled after one days wear as much as if it had been shoved into a necessary House.

. . . I must finish with wishing you a good journey, prosperous & short. and when you arrive in Eng^d. remember to write . . . of all that goes forward. . . .

Adieu Ever my dearest I am

Yours most affectionately

A Young

Young's last letter to his wife before she left for England was sent from Karazoubazar on 7 August 1810.¹

My dear Jane.

Your L^r of the 12th July, was put into my hands last night, upon arriving here from Karagos, together with the Manifest, (written in your best style) two L^{rs} from my mother of the dates of Octob. 22^d, & Octob. 24 : 1809 : (very ancient L^{rs};) . . . The weather is resplendently fine in this country : & a clear sun from April to Octob : so that I am quite sick with so much light, & pant for rain & fogs : . . . My health is as yet, good : tho it is not so with all, for I swim, & take exercise, & rise early, & drink moderately, & never water ; but always mixed with wine or brandy. . . . Poor Lord Coventry's death has turned out, what I hardly ever expected . . . & his legacy and annuity to you put you above dependence on your father : a circumstance which must be extremely satisfactory :—the 200 £ to Mary she, indeed, most richly earned, and most richly merited.—It appears, from inspecting the manifest, that you may, with the utmost safety, put your money to interests in the new Bank, receiving 6 p^r cent, and your capital be redeemed in 1817 : which is the smallest part of the benefit ; for, the augmentation of the Capital itself, by transferring it from Eng^d to Russia will, it appears, be at least in the proportion of 3 to 2 . . . so vast a difference, as not to be lost sight of. . . .

The power of Attorney has been dispatched long ago, and long ago, no doubt, in your possession. . . . One ploughman & his family from England it is essential to have at Karagos. that is to say, the requisite qualifications are good character, & the *first* of EVERY point, is SOBRIETY. for Brandy is here so cheap, that, not only the Russian colonists live drunk their whole lives, but the imported Germans follow the same trade to the total ruin of the country—2 requisite, knowledge of his business ; to be a seedsman ; to be a *yardman*, or to take care of working bullocks : for all our lands are worked with oxen : his wife to understand in perfection the art of managing a dairy—And, above all, to engage them for 3

¹ Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/10.

years certain upon the terms of my finding house & food for selves & family : if workable children, they too to be employed. The next thing wanted, is a Gardener & family (unmarried persons will never stop in any one place long) who knows the art of grafting fruit trees, and the whole art of orcharding as well as the kitchen garden, together with the knowledge of a nurseryman, or the art of planting & raising trees in general, be they fruit or timber—His wife to know well some useful art, even washing, cooking, taking care of a house, &c &c &c for let it be a maxim, to send nothing over but what will be useful & valuable : a slut, a dawdle, a trull, a mere scullion, or mop-squeezer will not pay for their transport.

As to Letters that come *fresh & hot* out of England, I shall never grudge 25 R^s each. . . . Seriously, send them, every month or 6 weeks : and, whenever anything essential is necessary to be communicated, dispatch them instantly : and, above all, fix *the channel of correspondence*, before you quit Russia : . . .

I sent some time ago a plan of Karagos house and garden : the house is greatly out of repair, & will require some money to be laid out, before it can be honoured with its new hostess. . . .¹ Lime ; bricks ; stones ; tiles and timber must be fetched this autumn : thank God ! not so dear as in Eng^d : but then, to counterbalance this, English work is far superior, and English workmen far cheaper. . . .

The Rev. Arthur Young did not return to England until the spring of 1814. In vain his sister had pleaded with him in 1811 when their father became blind : “ Oh, Ar., as I greatly believe he will be entirely blind, do try to come to him.”² It was probably two and a half years later before Arthur left the Crimea. It seems that the whole trip home was most difficult. From St. Petersburg he apparently wrote his sister that he was in great distress, as the following letter from an unknown Edward Moberly to Arthur Young indicates :

Coleman Street, Jan'y 14th, 1814.

Sir,

. . . I am sorry it was not in my power to give Miss Young any satisfactory information respecting her brother—the more I reflect on his situation, the more I am persuaded that the letter he wrote, was in a moment of irritation, & that not being a stranger in Russia but knowing that there is a British consul & several most respectable English houses of trade at Petersburg, it is impossible, were he in the distress represented by his letter, that he should not think of writing to one or other of *them*. I have known M^r. Rowand and M^r. Hawes a great many years & can, from my own knowledge, assure you that they are both most respectable men & bear excellent characters, so that whatever inconvenience M^r. Young may have suffered, I cannot believe to have proceeded from anything improper on their part.³

¹ This sounds as though he expected Jane to join him later, after her visit to England.

² *Autobiography*, p. 455, note.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,132, fol. 3.

From a letter which the Rev. Arthur Young wrote on 6 March 1814, to his father from "Gottenburgh" in Sweden, it is clear that he left St. Petersburg on 12 January and reached Gothenburg late in the same month but had been prevented from proceeding further by ice in the harbour. He had travelled across southern Finland to Abo whence he had gone across the Gulf of Bothnia via the Aland Islands. Forty-two hours had been spent crossing the frozen ice of the Gulf in a sledge.

I was the first who had passed it in a sledge this winter. There was some danger on this occasion, & in some places open water was seen : but upon the whole the ice was strong enough to bear us. . . .

Finally he had crossed Sweden from Stockholm to Gothenburg. The whole journey had been very expensive. "I have drawn upon you for larger sums to defray my journey, than I was warranted by your letters last April & May. . . ." In addition he had been forced to borrow from a fellow traveller. The Rev. Arthur Young did not like what he saw of Sweden and contrasted it very unfavourably with Russia. As usual his language was strong :

God alone knows when we shall be disengaged from this detested and inhospitable town : perhaps as dear a place as can be found in Europe. . . . After having seen so much of Russia, & always told to consider Sweden as far superior to her great rival, I never was so mortified and disgusted as I have been since the very first moment of my arrival in [torn] barbarous, savage, Gothic country the cleverness, activity, knowledge, & invention of a Russian is now well known : the stupidity, dullness, meanness, rascality, pride and ignorance of the Swedes surpasses all that I could have believed. Russia is a thousand years before Sweden in arts & inventions. I have been plundered & cheated & robbed by these brutes. . . .¹

The Rev. Arthur Young remained in England for just about a year and a half. He brought with him his Russian servant Ivan. In August 1815, Marianne Francis described the Youngs as she found them at Bradfield that summer :

Mr. Young's family is composed of a daughter, unmarried, & a married son & daughter. The son has been residing 9 years in the Crimea, in Moscow &c &c is full of curious accounts. He surveyed the province of Moscow for the Russian government ; & because he wd have lost much of the money resulting from the survey, if he had transferred it to this country, from the state of exchange, he purchased with it an Estate in the Crimea, of I think, 9000 acres, with a fine

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,132, fols. 57-8.

stone house upon it, & a church. This he now means to sell if he can that he may live henceforth in his native land. He & his wife talk Russ together with a Russian servant whom they brought over, & someday, suppose, his travels, with all the information collected by the experience of so many years, will be ushered into the world.¹

There are several other indications that he meant to publish his travels. He dined at some time during this trip with Longman, the bookseller, and it may be inferred that he had hopes that Longman might take his manuscript.² His father helped him with the work but was doubtful whether it would ever be published :

I do not sleep well at night, and, therefore am up generally at 4 o'clock, and call my son to give him some assistance for a couple of hours in the Journal of his travels, which however goes on so slowly that I know not if they will be ever published ; he had very uncommon opportunities to have made a most entertaining book but sadly neglected them, when the notes ought to have been made.³

In another letter the father wrote : " Lingley was my old amanuensis, but Arthur entirely employs him."⁴

In the spring of 1815 the Rev. Arthur Young inserted an advertisement in the Suffolk newspapers which attracted considerable attention. The London *Times* described it as follows :

The Rev. Arthur Young, in an advertisement published in the Suffolk newspapers, announces his intention of leaving England, and settling on an estate of 9,000 acres, in the Crimea, " the most beautiful province in the Russian Empire, where the proprietor (the Rev. Gent. himself), during a residence of five years, *never saw the face of a tax-gatherer*". He invites the farmers of England, whom he considers in danger of ruin, to accompany him, and is ready to receive proposals either for letting or selling parcels of the land.⁵

The tone of the advertisement was sufficiently critical of his native country to stamp its author as a malcontent. Lord Egremont, however, viewed the Crimean estate quite differently :

¹ John Rylands Library, English MS. 584, fol. 135. This is a letter from Marianne Francis to Mrs. Piozzi. This is the first indication that the real reason for Young's purchase of the Crimea estate was his desire to avoid loss from variations in exchange.

² N.Y. Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, Arthur Young to Marianne Francis. Although this letter is not dated, it seems almost certain that it was written in 1814 or 1815.

³ Ibid. 12 August 1814.

⁴ Ibid. 7 December 1814.

⁵ *The Times*, 8 May 1815, p. 3.

When an Englishman has bought an estate upon the Black Sea he has only two things to choose out of, to go & live there or to get out of it as soon and as well as he can and I hope your son will get some money for his estate tho' to tell you the truth I expect nothing for him but bad swindling bills & perhaps a Lawsuit or two. . . .¹

By early September 1815, the Rev. Arthur Young was in London making preparations to return to Russia. Probably as a result of his advertisement he had persuaded a certain Mr. and Mrs. Holderness and their family to accompany him, although on what terms is not known. On 9 September a friend wrote to Arthur Young :

. . . the ship is expected to drop down to Gravesend Tomorrow—& to sail on Monday—the Holdernesses take 2 maids—Mr. Arthur has had a severe job at the Customs House, but it is all compleated . . . in the passport he is Colonel Young—& Captain Holderness is the title of his fellow traveller—the party of the latter are 10. . . .²

In a letter to Mrs. Piozzi on 7 October, Marianne Francis commented on the incongruity of his new title : “ They have registered him in his ship, *Colonel* Young, I know not why. But the *Rev. Col.* Young, seems a strange anomaly.”³ Two days later Marianne wrote to Arthur Young :

. . . poor Mr. Arthur is still in Sackville Street, ill, with his old disorder, the quincy. But he does not keep his bed, & still expects to sail, in a day or two. He is only waiting because his compagnons de voyage are not quite ready.⁴

Four days later, on 13 October, Marianne wrote two letters. One was to Arthur Young : “ I saw Mr. Arthur yesterday, he seemed pretty well ; & to-day, I hear he is gone. . . .”⁵ The other was to her sister, Charlotte Barrett :

Young Arthur is gone, poor fellow, at last. He had a bad quincy, immediately before he started & was blistered & bled most fearfully. But he is used to quinsies & does not mind. . . .⁶

The return trip to the Crimea was anything but pleasant. The night he set sail the “ Reverend Colonel ” wrote a letter to his father which reveals all too clearly the bluntness of his moral standards.

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,133, fol. 52.

² Ibid. fol. 43. The friend was Mrs. Charlotte Broome, Marianne's mother.

³ John Rylands Library, English MS. 584, fol. 136.

⁴ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,133, fol. 60.

⁵ Ibid. fol. 64.

⁶ N.Y. Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers.

Gravesend, Thursday October 12.

My dear Sir—

In a state of convalescence, thank God, I started from Charing Cross at 1 this afternoon, & reached Gravesend at $\frac{1}{2}$ past five, in one of the public stages, fearfully, most fearfully afraid of a relapse : & as fate would have it, we had contrived, as we thought very cleverly, to smuggle on board our ship a number of heavy packages, amounting in the whole to 34 very heavy cases & large trunks, besides lighter ones, off Blackwall ; so we expected to meet with neither search or inquiry here ; but we were wofully mistaken : In fact 12 of *my* cases underwent examination at the custom house in Thames Street ; & about these therefore there was no question : but our other 34 were hauld over the coals at this most detestable of all imposing places. I arrivd, as I said before, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 : having had nothing to eat since 8 in the morning, very weak, & wishing only for quiet, when the very moment after I had got out of the coach, I was taken to the custom house here : a letter there was read to me of 34 packages sent on board the Aldbro in my name & Mr. Holderness' which had not passd the custom house, all supposd to be illegal. I was no doubt surprizd, but we had, most fortunately. to deal with a gentleman here, to my utter surprize, he requested me to accompany him on board, all our baggage was hauld on deck, two or three cases were examined, containing wearing apparel ; books ; & sundries containing nothing contraband, or liable to duty : he took the rest as granted for having the same things & the whole passed safe thro the clutches of these sharks, & that most fortunately. . . .¹

The trip from Gravesend to the Swedish shore was made very quickly with favouring gales, but there were long delays in getting through the Danish straits and into the Baltic, and Riga was not reached until 6 November.² In one letter the Rev. Arthur Young described the miseries of the voyage, confined with the whole Holderness family in the same cabin, all seasick except Mr. Holderness :

The Cabin from England, to this place has been in a state of the most compleet confusion ; squalling, crying ; screaming ; retching, has sickened me most thoroughly of sea voyages. . . . The Children's shrieks and lamentations exceeded all that I had before met with : & for a £1000 I would never encounter the like again. Mrs Holderness has borne the voyage but moderately : her baby, & her squalling brats have given me a distaste for all such travelling. . . .³

On 17 November, the day before they left Riga, the Rev. Arthur Young wrote again to his father, describing the complications of taking a whole family to the Crimea :

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,133, fols. 66-7.

² Ibid. fol. 78. This information is found in a letter of 25 October written in Kyrko Sound, where they were becalmed.

³ Ibid. fol. 85. Written 30 October at anchor off Copenhagen.

We arrived here Nov. 6 all well ; since when ; involvd in immense confusion. from 70 to 100 great trunks & other heavy packages of the Holdernesses including only 12 of mine. We can scarcely move for lumber & are & have been trying to get out of town but our luggage is too frightful to expect that we shall be less than 6 weeks from here to Karagoss. We go tomorrow with 12 horses & 4 carriages 1 man & 1 woman Servant. Everything here immensely dear.¹

The journey from Riga to Karagoss took almost three months, from 18 November 1815 to 3 February 1816. It was described in considerable detail by Mrs. Mary Holderness in her book, *Journey to the Crimea*.² To her the trip was both an exciting adventure and a trying ordeal. The wagon in which the trip was made was fixed up for sleeping and was not too uncomfortable, but it had no springs. There was seldom any privacy for her in the post stations where they frequently stayed over night. The most comfortable stops were those where "Mr. Y." had a letter of recommendation to a nobleman or government official. The route followed by the party was in general that of the Duna and Dnieper valleys, and the chief cities visited were Kiev and Odessa.

The Rev. Arthur Young also wrote an account of the trip to his father from Odessa on 30 January 1816 :

I have sent this day a short note to you thro' Thompson & Co : merely to state that I was compelled to draw upon you for £50. Odessa is greatly improv'd, notwithstanding the havoc by the plague which swept off a fourth of its population. This year the British government, thro' her agent here, will export 160,000 tchetverts of wheat, & as the quantity is large, this order has already advanced the price to 31. 32, & even 33 Rubles the tchetvert of 5¼ bushels. Estates

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,133 fol. 105.

² M. Holderness, *Journey from Riga to the Crimea with Some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Colonists of New Russia* (2nd edn. 1827). The trip is described in the first part of the volume, pp. 1-104. The account shows clearly that Mrs. Holderness was a woman of refinement. It is well and interestingly written. On page 214, in a reprint of her preface to the first edition, Mrs. Holderness states that she resided at Karagoss until March 1820. Unfortunately she nowhere gives a description of the Karagoss estate. In the preface to the second edition, page iii, she states that she had omitted certain materials from the first edition, "lest I should interfere with the intentions of a friend, who, I had reason to believe, had directed his thoughts to the same subject. That difficulty however has now not only been completely removed, but the kindness of the friend alluded to, has supplied me with much very important additional information. . . ." It seems almost certain that the friend was the Rev. Arthur Young and that he had completely abandoned the idea of publishing before his death.

advance rapidly in value : & yet, large properties in this neighbourhood may be at any time bought so cheap, so wonderfully cheap, in reference to the price of wheat, the great staple of this country, as almost to exceed credibility. Countess Pototsky sells 6000 Deseteens including 200 boors male, for 100,000 Rubles or £4,166 for 16500 acres, of admirable land : in round numbers about 5 shillings per acre. . . . & it might be added, that boors, crops, stocks, proprietors house, &c are included in the 100,000.

We have had a terrible journey, of 2 months & more from Riga : . . . The women & children have been overthrown, run away with, the carriages broken to pieces, all but drowned [sic] in passing the rivers : buried in snow. & dragged in the mud, & one of our unfortunate drivers hurld from his seat, & killd on the spot. We have been starved, frozen, baked—& almost roasted : & lived, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, among Jews & Jews only ; for these are almost the only people we met with on the road. Mrs Holderness you know took 4. of her children, an infant of 2 months at her setting out has performed the journey with admiration. & the other children are in excellent health, as well as the rest of the party. but our pockets have woefully failed. We are 12 in number, & travel with four carriages & 14 to 16 horses. . . .¹

Very shortly after the Rev. Arthur Young started back to Russia in 1815 a letter came to England, apparently in Russian, which his father sent to James Smirnov for translation. Smirnov's reply did not give a very favourable account of Karagoss from a financial point of view.

The Papers, which you have sent me today contains an account of monies received and expended on your son's Estate at Karagos from the 20th of April 1813 to the End of the year 1814—The receipts for the year 1814 amount to Roubles 5343. 22^{co}. the Expenses of the same year amount to do 5270. 82. which shews, that the *Pith* of the Contents, which you desired me to give you, is rotten and unsound, being only the Balance in favor of the Estate R^o 72. 40^{co}. . . . I must not however pass in Silence, that of the Sum expended, Mr Arthur Young has received 800 Roubles . . . it appears that the Estate is in the Progress of Improvement and which of course will improve its Income. . . .²

The last eleven years of the life of the Rev. Arthur Young are very scantily documented. In June 1817, his father wrote to Marianne Francis : “ I had lately a letter from Arthur, written in a more quiet, and tranquil, state of mind than common with him ; Mrs. Holdernesse and her children were with him, waiting the return of her vagabond husband. . . . ”³ A little more than a month later Young wrote again to Marianne : “ Mr. Louis Way of Stanstead Park called on me in Town to make enquiries

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,133, fols. 336-7.

² Ibid. fol. 129.

³ N.Y. Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, 3 June 1817.

about Arthur's Karagos Estate as he wants such a place for an establishment of converted Jews, it being sufficiently near to the Jewish districts in Poland." ¹ On 31 May 1818, the Rev. Arthur Young wrote a long letter to his father, describing Mr. Way's recent visit to Karagoss and his own interview with Alexander I of Russia : ²

My dear Sir

In one of your letters of last year you stated Mr. Lewis Way's intention of paying us a visit : & from Rowands letter to me of Jan^{ry} 15, I send you the following extract—"The chief purpose of my writing you at present is, in consequence of an English gentleman who has arrived here & who wished his name not to be mentioned to you as yet, having expressed a desire to purchase Karagoss. At his request I make you the following queries . . . 1. How many English acres. 2. Whether the church . . . is of stone, and what distance from the house ? . . . 3. Whether the house is fit for a family. . . . 4. and last. Whether you would take £4000 St. for the whole property, including every thing, house, furniture, utensils. . . . If the bargain should be struck he will engage to pay the £4000 in London immediately. This gentleman means to be in the Crimea early in the spring, as he will not of course purchase the Estate without seeing it. He says, if it answers the description he has heard of it, he will give the money he offers, but not a farthing more"—So much for Mr Rowands Extract. No offer for the purchase of a property could be plainer or more downright : nor could any queries be sent, to which answers might be returned of a more satisfactory nature. I accepted his offer : the church was about 300 yards from the house : a stone building ; extensive : and in good repair, but not fitted up with pews &c the house was fit for any decent family in moderate circumstances of life : it is true the wings are tumbling down : & ½ the house rebuilt of stone from the foundation, roofed and sashed, but not stoned or floored, nor any furniture to this ½. The other half we inhabited : All the furniture bad :—May 2 soon after breakfast I walked into the garden, & soon after Mr Way drove up in his Dormeuse, with 6 post horses ; Then he descended, and accompanied by a Polish Rabbi in spectacles, Mr. Solomon walked across the Lawn. into the house, opened the door and entered the hall ; here they were met by Mrs. Holderness who had been long apprized of his coming . . . & upon his opening the hall door, she immediately recognized the man, and upon her saying that Mr. Young had for sometime been expecting his arrival, he began to be angry, and to blame Mr. Rowand for informing me of his name. She instantly informed him not only that you apprized me almost a year ago of his intention but that the whole town of Kaffa were acquainted with his arrival at Odessa. . . . He did not seem to relish this : he asked her if I was at home ; she replied I was only in the garden ; and that by ringing the bell I should be at home in five minutes. No ! No ! No !

¹ N.Y. Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, 14 July 1817. There is a brief note on Lewis Way (1772-1840) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which implies that he was very gullible in his relations with the Jews and was in general a fantastic figure.

² Bagshawe Muniments, B 22/6/6.

I cant stop, Maam ; the post boys are in a hurry. Tell M^r. Y. I am going to Kaffa : I shall stop there about a week or ten days ; or till the Emperor has passed . . . as he crossed the Hall he momentarily glanced at 2 or 3 rooms, new built, plastered, roofed & ceiled, but neither floored, stoved, or doored ; and certainly the house is not a fit residence for the owners of Stanstead Park any more than 4000 £ is upon a level with 200,000 £. . . . Away then they went . . . Returning home about an hour after departure, M^{rs}. Holderness informed me of the particulars of his visit, that he walked about the house with his hat on his head, asking many questions & not waiting to receive any answers and talking altogether in a sort of manner as utterly to preclude his receiving any satisfactory information the watch all the while in his hand—Stunned as I was upon hearing all this on returning from my walk ; nevertheless. I called up him at his lodgings next morning. I found him at his table enveloped [sic] among papers, books, bibles, Jews & gentiles . . . Tartar & Hebrew Bibles were open on the table, and thro' his Jewish interpreter he was asking more questions than he received replies when I entered the room. He then distributed a few bibles & dismissed the party, till we two were left alone in the room : then after a short harangue of the length of time since we had seen each other, he entered at some length into the objects of his journey . . . his accidentally becoming acquainted with a man who left him £300,000, his purchase of Stansted, the dying bequest of his wealthy friend to spend the money to the glory of God ; his own conversion . . . & then he adverted to the restoration of Israel to Jerusalem ; an event, which he seemed to think as certain of taking place within 8 or 10 years. . . . All this occupied him nearly two hours . . . for he quoted every prophet . . . and finally put into my hand the Charter of Izrael, fully drawn out at length, sealed, signed, & witnessed from the prophets . . . and as the map was spread on the table before him, he pointed out immediately the road by which the Israelites were packing up their baggage & preparing to return to Jerusalem : namely those from Poland . . . first to the shores of the Black Sea, and thence in shipping : & all the coasts of the Mediterranean in English vessels . . . whilst the 10 tribes who certainly composed the population of all America . . . would also return by shipping. The time of the return being settled, and the road arranged, I thought I might now hint about the disposition of my Estate. He took it up immediately ; said, his plans were in some measure altered, that the Emperor had promised land for an Establishment near Taganroc . . . & when I read him Rowands Letter, he got over all that by saying, M^r. Rowand had acceded [sic] his commission, he said little about Karagoss, and seemed to dispise [sic] it altogether : others afterwards informed me he was disappointed in the views of the house, expecting no doubt to discover in the deserts of Tartary Solomons temple. . . . In one respect I essentially served him, or rather the cause he is embarked in. . . . As I knew M^r. Way had written to those in the suite of the Emperor to procure an audience at Kaffa, & that he did not succeed, I procured the very thing he wanted.

You may be curious to know what circumstances led me forward on this occasion. Nothing but the honour of conversing with so gracious and benevolent a Monarch¹ induced me to venture on such a step : & indeed I was most

¹ That Alexander I did make a tour of the Crimea from 21 May to 31 May, New Style, 1818, is confirmed in N. K. Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*,

graciously received ; and His Majesty had the goodness to say, he was sorry he could not himself visit Karagoss. The interview passed within sight of Karagoss at the nearest post station where the horses were changed within five versts of my house. H. M. accosted me in English, asked several questions about the Estate, how long I had lived there, what English were with me, how I liked the country ; whether you was still alive ; what improvements I had made here, whether I found the climate suitable to English agriculture ; & whether many plants which flourished in England could be introduced successfully here where the climate was so dry. These questions I readily answered, & apparently to the satisfaction of the Emperor. We stood together, surrounded by a croud [sic] of people, for ten minutes, in conversation till the horses being changed, H. M. drove off, & I accompanied H. M. by the side of his carriage till we came to the bounds of the property still conversing all the time in the most affable & condescending manner. I then took my leave & returned home. 3 days afterwards I was honored with a second interview : it was now that H. M. desired me to inform Mr. Way that he was sorry he could not see him at Kaffa : as before stated, when I immediately said, that with H. M. permission Mr. Way would wait upon H. M. at Simpheropol : To this H. M. readily consented. . . . In consequence Mr. Way went over to Simpheropol & had a long conversation there with the Emperor : but I saw no more of Mr. Way. . . .

With the death of his father in April 1820, the Rev. Arthur Young inherited the estate at Bradfield and thus became comparatively well off.¹ A letter by Mary Young, written to a friend in September 1820, quoted the following paragraph from a recent letter from her brother :

The precise time of my return is uncertain. In about three weeks I hope to quit this place. I go by sea to Constantinople : and view the plains of Troy, Smyrna, & the coast of Anatolia. I could have wished to extend my journey to Syria, Egypt, &c before visiting the south of Europe, but money will not permit all, if time would. So that, after examining the coast of Asia Minor & the Archipelago islands, I shall go to Athens, Morea, Corfou, & Malta : & from thence pass over to Sicily, & cross Italy and France to London.²

It may be conjectured therefore that the Rev. Arthur Young was back in England in 1821. It also seems probable, but not

ego zhizn' i tsarstvovanie, 2nd edn., 4 vols., St. Petersburg, 1904-5, iv. 102-4. I am indebted for this information to my colleague, Professor John C. Adams, who has also given me aid with the proper spelling of Russian words and names.

¹ Arthur Young's will, which I examined at Somerset House in 1938, is dated 5 February 1816. Everything went to Arthur except for a bequest to Mary consisting of a life lease on a cottage with some furniture for the cottage, about £2,000 in cash, and an annuity.

² N.Y. Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, Mary Young to Charlotte Barrett, 11 September 1820. Arthur's letter was dated 25 June, Old Style, from Karagoss.

certain, that he did not return to Russia until the year of his death, 1827.

In April 1827, he left England for a third trip to Russia and died in the Crimea on 24 September of the same year, shortly after reaching his estate. In the Bagshawe Muniments there is a fragment of a letter which is arranged as though it was a continuation of his letter to his father of 1818 regarding Way's visit. Examination makes it clear, however, that it is from another letter. From internal evidence it seems most likely that the letter was written to his sister Mary in 1827,¹ describing part of his trip back to the Crimea in that year. The fragment starts just as he crossed the boundary from Austria into Russia :

. . . the frontier line between these two great Empires & entered into Russia, or rather into Russian Poland. Much altercation and examination by the custom house officers on the Austrian side, this being the last place I have anything to do with these gentry. But on my arrival on the Russian side, the strictest examination of all my baggage took place. Even the papers of every sort in my writing case were overhauled, taken out & inspected, & to the letters I had for the governors of provinces in Russia, they affixed the post mark & made me pay the sum it would have cost to send them by the post . . . & then they delivered them back. The carpet bag was entirely emptied of the foul linen it contained, and the Inspector thrust his hands even into the boots. However as nothing contraband was found they were much disappointed, & not knowing how to delay my departure, before the rascal would give me in writing the general order for fresh post horses at every stage, they threatened to send me round the country for more than 200 miles out of my way, because I refused to bribe them. However I let them know in very plain language they might refuse me an order for post horses if they pleased, but that I should also in the meantime write to the Minister at Petersburg, & state to him that I was detained here because I did not choose to bribe them to let me go. After a general consultation . . . seeing that I was furnished with letters for people of the first consequence . . . they ceased their threats, gave me the order, & I reached the town of Radzivil at 2 in the afternoon, dined there & then set off at a gallop in a common Russian post waggon, having no top or cover, the whole machine with myself my baggage & the driver not weighing nearly so much as one the hind wheels of an English waggon. As I travelled nine hundred miles in these machines I will describe it. The fore wheels were about 2½ feet in diameter : the hind wheels 3 feet in diameter ; & the distance between fore & hind wheel 8 or 9 inches only . . . the body was

¹ The memorial plaque in the Bradfield Church, which gives the date of his death, includes the following : " In April 1827 he quitted England in full health, and crossing for the third time the continent of Europe. . . ." Too much is known about his first two trips, in 1805 and 1815, to make it possible for this fragment to be a description of either. Hence, if he made only three trips to Russia, this fragment must describe his third trip in 1827.

the shape of a small boat, having the two ends sawed off, composed of wicker work & the height of the whole concern on its wheels reached up to my navel. . . . When I was younger, I could easily jump over the whole, & can now jump into it with ease : the whole cost of a new one, 10^s/ English : about 6 feet in length & about 3½ to 4 feet broad ; & had no springs.

Nor a morsel of iron or a single nail in its construction, except the rims of the wheels : the model is at the Hall at Bradfield. In this little vehicle I laid my portmanteau, bag & new umbrella . . . a pillow of down I bought to set upon, to break the force of the extreme jumbling it occasions, & three horses being harnessed in ropes . . . I made a run, a long run, from Radzivil to Tulchin, changing horses & waggon every 10 to 15 miles, & travelling all night without ceasing, & I may almost say without eating as I took no other food than coffee & dry tasteless bread, & water when I was thirsty dry. It was a gallop of three hundred and fifty miles English ; for these two nights of course I never slept ; but the excessive jolting and rumbling of the machine almost overset me : the dust got so much into my eyes, that on arriving at Tulchin . . . I could scarcely see out of my eyes ; so covered with the black dust resembling a chimney sweeper rather than a traveller : & my legs swelled to the size of my thighs. Twas a constant gallop thro' a burning sun all day, but delightful weather at night. . . . I had some sound sleep at Tulchin after my arrival at the Jews inn : but some of the baggage is frittered to shreds. . . . It was a tremendous journey and the very people at the stations where horses & waggons were changed, seeing I paid the drivers well, & paid the post masters always with a bribe to hasten out fresh horses, & bring me the best, were surprized to find me travel in such a completely Russian manner, & asked me why I did not travel in a good carriage of my own. I told them to mind their own business & not mine—Through all this country at every 10 or a dozen miles, by the side of the road stands an immense crucifix 20 feet high, of painted wood to which (cut out in wood) is our blessed Saviour nailed to the cross. . . . The people as they pass by, take off their hats, cross themselves, & bow & pass on—These are the relics of Catholic superstition, & have not the slightest effect on the morals of the people.—The same evening I quitted Tulchin at 8 o'clock, & travelling all night, reached Balta at 8 the next morning. Wednesday 27th. Here of course I breakfasted, among the Jews, but as I got nearer to the Crimea I found good tea, but my sorrows were not ended, for the accident I am now to relate, I thought at the time would have been my last. . . . Providence ordered it otherwise, & extricated me from my perils, when all human aid was impossible. I was pursuing my course in the usual rapid style . . . when galloping down the descent of a hill, above a mile in length, tho not very steep, the driver whipping his horses to keep them up to their full speed, they reared up, kicked against the front of the waggon & then ran away with the waggon. . . . In this dilemma the fore wheel took fire & smoked & blazed (all wooden axles) the horses were more alarmed, & encreased their pace, till the driver was thrown out in endeavouring to stop them. I held fast to the side, till the waggon came to the edge of the bank, the horses then turning suddenly to one side overthrew the machine in a moment, & galloped off trailing it after them : I was only bruised on my left arm & left shoulder. . . . The portmanteau & baggage great coat &c were scattered about, the driver was not much hurt but received a severe cut in the face from falling on a stone. . . .

Over all this country so productive in corn, the comb¹ of wheat sells on the spot for the price of 6^s/ or thereabouts. . . . The wheat stacks in the different villages thro' which I passed stand unthreshed for the three last years. In some further up in the country five years wheat is in the stack, a prey to rats & mice. It is no unusual sight to see from 50 to 70 & even 100 stacks of wheat the property of one gentleman standing in long lines beside each other. . . . An extent of country much more than equal in size to the kingdom of England may be said to be now full of these stacks. Wheat in fact has no price here. Upon my own Estate here at Karagos my steward has a few stacks of small dimensions, altogether if threshed not amounting to 100 comb, for which no price can be had tho' close to the sea.

You may suppose what the fertility of the soil is when you are told that no dung is ever laid on the best land : where wood is cheap it remains piled up in heaps. . . . Where wood is scarce it is cut every summer into bits dried & burnt in winter instead of wood. Next day Thursday June 28th at ten^a in the morning left Olviopol & arrived the same evening at Nicholayef. An Englishman governs this town, & several English officers are here in the Russian naval service it being a great naval station . . . & a Port of shipping. I cannot help remarking the usual employment of men women & children in picking the lice out of each others heads & frequently the children cracking them between their teeth. The boys & girls wallow in the sand and dirt before their houses cloathed only in a shirt or shift & covered all over with dirt. One of the English, an acquaintance of Mr^s : Holderness & who came out to this country with the view of buying my Estate, now lies in the church yard of this place ! Woodcock ! He took to drinking, was always drunk & at last caught a putrid sore throat that he took no care to cure. Friday June 29th at 8 in the evening I left Nicholayef & next morning reached Boraslaff after a run of ninety miles that night. I wanted something for my breakfast but could get

Thus abruptly ends the fragment. Poor Young ! in his comments on Woodcock he little dreamed that he himself would be dead in less than three months. The memorial in the Bradfield Church states that he had been in " full health " when he left England. The obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*³ declared that his death was " supposed to have been occasioned by the fatigue and exhaustion he experienced from travelling ". Certainly the frantic and seemingly unnecessary

¹ The " comb " was a very common English dry measure equivalent to four bushels.

² The fact that 28 June occurred on Thursday in 1827 bears out the contention that this letter was written in that year. The next earliest date in which that day fell on a Thursday was 1821, but it seems likely that Young was returning to England in that year.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xcvi (1828), i, p. 274. The obituary notice also states that the entailed estate went to his sister, " the greater part of his other property he has left to two children, now infants ".

haste which he described in his letter makes such a supposition reasonable. After all, he was fifty-six years old.

In conclusion, the Rev. Arthur Young remains an elusive figure, difficult to evaluate. A portrait would be helpful, but none has come to light. It is hard to deny that he was a failure, whether as husband, clergyman, or agriculturalist. Yet he was a man of considerable ability, great courage, and tremendous energy. Unfortunately much of his energy seems to have been misdirected and wasted. His difficult temperament was probably inherited from his mother and her family. He seems to have been consumed by an almost limitless ambition. He was so impatient to get things done that he did them badly. There was no inward peace in the man. He was always discontented. Worst of all, the Rev. Arthur Young lacked any real integrity. He was essentially an unprincipled adventurer.