

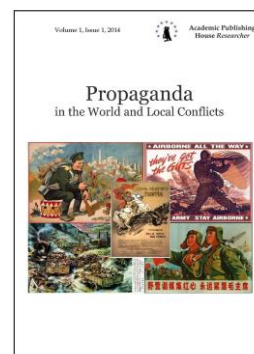
Copyright © 2018 by Academic Publishing House Researcher s.r.o.



Published in the Slovak Republic
Propaganda in the World and Local Conflicts
Has been issued since 2014.

E-ISSN 2500-3712
2018, 5(2): 39-48

DOI: 10.13187/pwlc.2018.2.39
www.ejournal47.com



Articles and Statements

“Look, the British and the French”: a Little about the Don Literary Propaganda during the Crimean War

Artyom Y. Peretyatko ^{a, b, *}

^a International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research, Washington, USA

^b Volgograd State University, Volgograd, Russian Federation

Abstract

The article is devoted to literary propaganda among the Don Cossacks during the Crimean War. The author found several patriotic poems written by Don Cossacks during the reign of Nicholas I in the collection of the Don general, public figure and writer I.S. Ulyanov (State archive of the Rostov region). One of them, “The Eagle and Two Dogs” by F. Bykov, was a reaction to the entry of Great Britain and France into the Crimean War and was accompanied by an explanatory letter (in the article both of these documents are given in full). After analyzing these texts, as well as other poems, the author came to the conclusion that before the Crimean War on Don there existed patriotic literature, but it was distributed in manuscripts. The appointment of a patriotic M.Kh. Senyutkin to the post of editor of the Don Oblast Gazette and the beginning of the Crimean War led to the fact that patriotic artistic texts began to be actively printed. However, the authors of most of these texts were amateur writers, and because of the low quality of their poems and short stories, the propaganda of the “Don military statements was ineffective.

Keywords: Don Cossack Host, the Crimean War, military propaganda, Don Oblast Gazette, I.S. Ulyanov, F. Bykov, M.Kh. Senyutkin.

1. Introduction

In 1854, I.S. Ulyanov, one of the few Don Cossack writers at the time, received a letter that read as follows:

“Your Excellency, dear sir Ivan Samoilovich!

A few days ago, I sent the fable attached here to without alterations and corrections; now, it seems to be given a proper modern form. I think that its very essence feels the premonition about the attitude England and France have towards us. If you take the effort and employ your characteristic view of literature to correct this fable, it will do.

However, even if it does not, I still send you my thanks and gratitude for the excellent poems published in the Don Oblast Gazette. With deep reverence and absolute devotion. I have the honor to be a humble servant of Your Excellency.

F. Bykov¹” (GARO. F. 243. Op 1. D. 31. L. 34-34ob).

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: ArtPeretatko@yandex.ru (A.Y. Peretyatko)

We had an impression that both the letter and the text of the fable enclosed in it were unique and typical all the way. The Crimean War gave rise to a wave of patriotism on the Don, and Cossacks showed it not only by joining the army (a contemporary of the events, well-known statistician N.I. Krasnov, wrote on the matter that the government succeeded in “enlisting the support of the entire Don Host, depriving it of workers” (RGVIA. F. 330. Op. 10. D. 290. L. 146), but also by venturing to follow literary pursuits. A student at the Kharkov University, and a renown Don regional specialist and journalist in the future, A.A. Karasev “composed a patriotic play in verse, which even received the honor of becoming a stage production at the Kharkov Theater” (Dancy, 2003: 191). A teacher at the Novocherkassk high school, F.I. Anisimov, responded to the hostilities with the poem “Did rouse and surge, the Christian quiet Don”, which later became the text for the anthem of the Don Cossacks and the Rostov region (Skorik, Tikidzh'yan, 1995: 68). Speaking of other, quite numerous patriotic works, we will highlight them below. Such literary dynamism was rather an unexpected activity for a region which had almost no periodic or non-periodic press (only the official mouthpiece “Donskiye voiskovye vedomosti” (Don Oblast Gazette) came out on the territory of the Don Host Oblast in the middle of the 19th century). It is all the more difficult to explain the phenomenon, as few explanatory texts, which accompanied the then Don poems, stories and plays, survived to the day – and all this emphasizes the particular importance of the fable by F. Bykov, a poem typical of that time, but at the same time it is unique because the information of its creation reached as from the author himself. And this information brought up a number of legitimate questions. The letter by F. Bykov makes it clear that he was an amateur writer who hoped that his text would be published not so much due its literary merits, but because of its political relevance. How characteristic was this situation to the Don Host Oblast in the Crimean War era? What inspired F. Bykov and other people who had never before engaged in literature to react to the war through the creation of literary texts? And finally, was writing the texts their personal initiative or was it supported from above, within the framework of some kind of war propaganda carried out by the Russian authorities?

2. Materials and methods

Unfortunately, the limitation and scarcity of the source base complicated the process of obtaining answers to these questions (as well as to any questions related to the history of the Don literature in the first half of the 19th century). Scholars have very incomplete knowledge of the Don literary life in the period, with the primary reason being the absence of printed media in the Don Host Oblast. However, the State Archive of the Rostov Region preserved the fund of the above I.S. Ulyanov, which contains handwritten materials of Don authors of the time in our focus. In addition, the materials of the only Don newspaper in the 1850s, the Don Oblast Gazette, were structured as far back as in the 19th century by I.I. Strukov (Strukov, 1878), and already in the 21st century, his index was extended by L.A. Shtavdaker (Штавдакер, 2012). Although the available material cannot offer a sufficient basis for a complete and detailed picture of how the literary war propaganda was conducted on the Don in the Crimean War, but the historical and comparative, historical and systematic methods can help identify at least the most essential features of the propaganda.

3. Discussion

F. Bykov's fable saw us not in print, but as a manuscript, and this is by no means accidental. The Don in the era of Nicholas I was characterized by the existence of peculiar “samizdat of the 19th century”, i.e. texts delivered written by hand. The most famous example of such a “samizdat” can be historical and statistical descriptions of the Don Host Oblast, made by V.D. Sukhorukov, a man from the Decembrist group. The history of the creation of these works is well explored by Don historians, above all by N.S. Korshikov (Korshikov, 1994; Korshikov, Korolev, 2001). However, this cannot be said of the history of the manuscripts by V.D. Sukhorukov in the circles of educated Don Cossacks. The thing is that, although the manuscripts were officially banned, and even the permission to copy them for the local statistical committee had to be personally requested in 1839 by ataman M.G. Vlasov from the Minister of War (GARO. F. 353. Op. 1. D. 3. L. 1-10b), in practice, the authorities did not strictly enforce this prohibition. For example, the first edition of the

¹ The writing of the name was illegible, and perhaps it should read “Belov”.

Statistical Description of the Don Host Oblast in 1891 was produced based on the copy handed over to the Don Museum by the son of one of V.D. Sukhorukov's employees, rather than using materials stored in the statistical committee (Sukhorukov, 1891: III). On the other hand, the above-mentioned N.I. Krasnov wrote in the early 1860s about the "small number of copies" made from V.D. Sukhorukov's manuscript, but not about the only copy obtained by law (Krasnov, 1863: 3). And a distinguished Don historian, V.N. Korolev cites another statement by N.I. Krasnov, which argued that the intelligent Don society "respected Sukhorukov" even in his lifetime (Korolev, 1991: 242), when the historian's texts were officially banned. Thus, we can speak with confidence that the first copies of the prohibited works by V.D. Sukhorukov were made no later than in the 1850s, or, possibly, between 1830 and 1840, probably from copies of the text, which were retained by the historian's personnel.

V.D. Sukhorukov was a talented Don author of the first half of the 19th century, and therefore it is not by accident that modern researchers developed a deeper knowledge of the existence of his texts in handwritten copies. However, we discovered in our archival research that the "Don samizdat" was not limited to several manuscripts by V.D. Sukhorukov. In the above-mentioned fund of I.S. Ulyanov, we found numerous copies of poems, prose works and critical articles. And even a cursory look opened enough to make sure that many of these manuscripts were not written by I.S. Ulyanov, but only kept them for posterity, as they are either signed by other people or contain critical notes added by of the fund creator.

From the view of our research, it is particularly meaningful that already the first poem, opening the personal archive of I.S. Ulyanov, features patriotic ideas. It is interesting that it was written in a military camp, after a battle with the enemy – perhaps this fact alone can clearly explain why the patriotic theme played a prominent role in the "Don samizdat". For Cossacks, a military estate, whose members were liable for universal conscription, turning to such a theme and its glorification were quite natural as not simply did the poet "write from the camp of Russian soldiers", but he himself was a Russian soldier. Although we cannot exactly identify the author of this poem, not signed in the manuscript, we cannot rule out that it was I.I. Krasnov – the future general, the hero of the defense of Taganrog in the Crimean War. The point is that he was not only a poet and a friend of I.S. Ulyanov (Korolev, 1991: 231), but also wrote letters in verse from the theater of military operations with Turkey in the war of 1828–1829 (Doney, 2003: 239). The text we are interested in is very large so that we can even call it a small poem, and for this reason, we only give here a poetic introduction to it despite the interest that it holds.

Bivouacking at Aydos
 Day 29 of June, 1829
 Perchance, my friend, you've heard,
 The chain of Balkan mountains and rocks
 Is left behind us already;
 That in the face of Russian eagles,
 Aydos and Karnabat tumbled down
 Together with three coastal fortresses,
 And that inevitable Perouns
 Make proud Tzargrad tremble.
 Terrifying pictures are likely
 To be drawn by this glorious feat
 In your vivid imagination;
 It draws abysses, rapids,
 Mountain peaks in the clouds,
 Covered with eternal snows,
 Narrow paths in rocks
 Overgrown with prickly bushes;
 It draws how a Russian soldier,
 Leaning on a steel bayonet,
 Struggles to climb a steep cliff,
 Stumbling over sharp stones,
 Meanwhile, the dense leafage
 Hides half-savage inhabitants,

Frequent bullets rip with whistle
 Towards the brave;
 And, in a word, it imagines all
 The stories that we've heard
 From our grandfathers that fought
 In the Alps and on Elbrus.
 But restrain your ambition,
 Don't stretch your imagination!
 Rumors go of the terrible Balkan,
 But it yielded to dust seeing the heroism,
 And the giant was dumbfounded
 By the qualities of invincible Russians,
 And with his arrogant head adroop
 He faltered from fearful anxiety,
 And sent broad roads,
 Cleared, cut through, erected
 Bridges over fast-flowing swamps
 And convinced its inhabitants,
 When the formidable forces are on the march,
 Not to burst into needless atrocities,
 But meet Russians as friends,
 With holy water and icons,
 And offer bread and salt to us
 From their sincere heart.
 The magnificent Balkans have already
 Sounded a bulge more than once
 To hail the swift eagle's glory,
 That flew wherever the formation
 Victoriously turned up,
 Wherever it charged onto the enemy;
 I¹ hope to properly tell you
 About this memorable feat,
 The deeds performed by heroes will thunder
 Resounding in distant descendants.
 It will suffice, if in simple words
 I will narrate about fellow countrymen.
 Of children of the warlike Don
 I will recount celebrated deeds (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 28. L. 1-20b).

Regardless of the literary merits pertaining to the poem – very modest though they are, in our opinion – it represents another unique document confirming that the emergence of the “Don samizdat” was not only brought about by the conservative censorship policies pursued in the time of Nicholas I. Given the talent of V.D. Sukhorukov and specific nature of the Soviet historiography, which studied works by authors opposing the tsarist government as it was safer and more convenient for the researchers themselves, scholars almost exclusively reviewed manuscripts of the above Don historian, initially prohibited to print, picking them out from the entire array of Don Samizdat texts. However, we can see that I.S. Ulyanov's fund also contains patriotic texts by V.D. Sukhorukov, which circulated in the Don region in handwritten copies but remained unpublished.

The reasons explaining this will become clear if we turn to the biography of the author who possibly created the poem “Bivouacking at Aydos”, I.I. Krasnov. A well-educated person, a contemporary of A.S. Pushkin, the future general engaged himself in poetry in the late 1810s, when he served in St. Petersburg, one of Russia's literary centers. His biographer, V.N. Korolev traces the start of the Don author's poetic activity back to 1817 and cites the following pages from the diary of

¹ The illegible brief word, perhaps decrypted incorrectly.

the young poet: “I wrote until dinner, and after dinner translated from French at Kurnakov’s place”; “I started my “The death of enemy” (Korolev, 1991: 222). Fifteen years following the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1830-1831, I.I. Krasnov returned to the Don, where he founded a “circle of the most intelligent people in his homeland” (Istoriya, 1876: 418). The only problem was that members of this circle had no place to print their works: the first local newspaper, the Don Oblast Gazette, started to operate only in 1839. Moreover, it had no informal section in it until 1852 (Strukov, 1878: 1). Meanwhile, I.I. Krasnov emerged as quite popular a poet – his poems were much appreciated by the local educated public, and his admirer had no other choice but to make hand-written copies from them. Even four decades later, the general's obituary in “The Russian Invalid” (Russkiy invalid) mentioned “his poetic compositions that went around the Don in the thirties”, underlining that some of them were “particularly well known” (Korolev, 1991: 222).

So, we can conclude that since at least the 1830s hand-written “samizdat” practices started evolving on the Don, and hand-written copies of V.D. Sukhorukov's, I.I. Krasnov's and I.S. Ulyanov's works and those of other authors with many names lost in the course of history were distributed among the local educated public. Unfortunately, apparently, the modest literary and scholarly qualities of the most of the works explains why they, except for V.D. Sukhorukov and certain excerpts from other texts, had never had chances to be printed. The two turbulent centuries that had passed since the time almost completely erased this plane of the Don culture, only leaving out the fund of I.S. Ulyanov, which, first, was not analyzed as a literary monument, and second, it may inadequately represent the “Don samizdat” in general and mainly reflect personal preferences of its creator. Nevertheless, even in this fund one of the largest and chronologically earliest poems is devoted to patriotic themes. Consequently, the birth of numerous patriotic works by Don Cossacks in the Crimean War was engendered not without reason but prepared by the regional literary tradition. These works include the fable by F. Bykov, sent to I.S. Ulyanov. We believe we should give the whole text of the fable here.

The Eagle and Two Dogs
 The Eagle went down from heavenly heights
 To closely contemplate earthly beauty!
 Here is the regal Eagle, flying over the earth,
 Hurries to see his beloved family;
 Hurries with passion to embosom
 His dear eagless and young eaglets.
 The Eagle was noticed by two malicious Dogs,
 And then Bulldog says to Barbos:
 “If only we could as friends, without a fight,
 Catch the Eagle,
 And quickly drag
 In teeth to our dog court
 (The dog court is tough in the doglike fashion)
 Then all the prey, collected over centuries
 By victorious Eagles,
 Would be left with us”.
 And rushed Bulldog with Barbos
 With barks to dig the ground with noses!
 Here Barbos hit dung with his muzzle,
 Here Bulldog falls down into a dirty pit,
 But God does not indulge the evil!
 Ill luck tipped down their noses,
 The Dogs barked a little and yelped,
 But failed to prevent the Eagle from soaring
 To the height of the royal cliff!
 Now the Eagle and the whole family of Eaglets
 Are looking with contempt at the Dogs.
 And wondering whether the Dogs will end
 Their comedy without a mutual fight,

And won't get tired to howl and grumble.
 Not daring to bite the Eagle even from behind
 They would be happy in excitement
 To tear at each other's throats.

Look, the British and the French,
 And you, their nephew dock-tailed Kurguz!
 Don't cock too high your nose,
 So as not to stick in the manure;
 And not choke with Islamism¹ themselves,
 And the world won't be surprised
 If your malice, envy, anger,
 To set an example to godless scoundrels,
 To you, hypocrites and villains,
 Will turn into a dog bone.
 Don Cossack, veteran of 1812 (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 31. L. 35-36).

As the above anonymous poem, the fable by F. Bykov can hardly be called a literary masterpiece. However, it is even more interesting and noteworthy as a document, as a reaction of a veteran of wars with Napoleon to the military involvement of Great Britain and France into the Crimean War. The letter attached to the fable, which we cited at the beginning of our paper, clearly suggests that the author himself had no illusions about the quality of his text, and hoped for I.S. Ulyanov to correct it. Hence, we would consider the final version of this poem not so much as a literary move, but as a civil act. The letter we quoted reveals that after Turkey's Western allies had declared war on Russia, F. Bykov added to the already written fable its last part that compared these allies with vicious dogs, and now sought the publication of the fable only in this form. We believe major significance for understanding the key idea of the author should be given to the signature to this poem: F. Bykov did not identify himself but he made a reference to his past, to his participation in the war of 1812. Obviously, this signature was intended for readers and was to create a certain spirit for the fable: rather than being perceived as a work of a professional writer, the poem was to be viewed as expressing the thoughts of a retired soldier who was forced to take up the pen by the treacherous actions of Britain and France. In addition, such a signature gave special weight to the author's ideas in the eyes of Don Cossacks for whom the war of 1812 remained one of the most glorious pages of the past. Thus, as contrasted with the poem "Bivouacking at Aydos" written to a friend and not intended for print, the fable "The Eagle and Two Dogs" by F. Bykov in its final version was estimated not only as a literary work, but as a propagandist tool targeted against the Russian enemies, and the author altered it in such a way as to achieve the greatest success in this area. And it was not accidental: the Crimean War witnessed the entire Don patriotic literature shifting to a new stage in its development, at which patriotic texts transformed from the private hobby of their authors and their friends, who distributed the texts in hand-written copies, into a weapon of official patriotic propaganda that it wielded on the pages of the only newspaper in the region.

Of course, this shift was directly related to the introduction of an unofficial part in the Don Oblast Gazette, which happened, as we wrote above, in 1852. The program of the state-run edition was expanded following changes in the position of editor, and the monument of the Don regional lore of the early 20th century, the collection of articles "Dony XIX veka" (Don Cossacks of the nineteenth century) wrote the following: "On January 29, 1851, Mikhail Khristoforovich <Senyutkin> was appointed to the post of translator of foreign languages in the Host administration and acting editor of the Don Oblast Gazette. Mikhail Khristoforovich, approved for the latter post on October 1, 1851, held it for more than seven years and was, so to speak, the founder of the unofficial department of the then only local (government) newspaper, distinguished by a serious focus" (Dony, 2003: 440). Importantly, M.Kh. Senyutkin was more than an ordinary official and a journalist, he was also an amateur historian, and it was typical for his works to

¹ This word seems somewhat unusual to us, but it is written quite legibly in the manuscript. It is obvious that the author of the fable used it as a neologism to refer to the Ottoman Empire.

demonstrate his patriotism that went beyond the academic nature. Unfortunately, no special studies into his creative work have been carried out so far, however, we think one fact is sufficient to understand the social and ideological stand of the Don Oblast Gazette's editor. When in the early 20th century the Ministry of War made an attempt to compose an official history of Cossacks, the author of the program for the project, N.A. Maslakovets, proposed to use the words of M.Kh. Senyutkin to define the role of Cossacks for Russia. "These people are made of iron, whom, according to Frederick the Great, you can kill, but you can never defeat! Turks, Crimeans, Nogais and Circassians wanted to stop them. All in vain. Not only did Don Cossacks defeat them, but they wiped them out of their land. They are conquering vast expanses of Siberia, and eventually everything – and their victories, and glory, and life – bring to the Tsar of Russia, saying: "We are your serfs, ready to serve, ready for the Orthodox faith and you, Sire!" (OR RNB. F. 1055. D. 4. L. 30).

It is not surprising that a person holding such views decided to leverage the "Don Oblast Gazette" as a patriotic propaganda platform during the Crimean War. It is worth noting here that before the outbreak of military operations and in their first phase, in 1852-1853, even the unofficial part of the "Don Oblast Gazette" featured very few literary works, namely only one story by some Ye. Mikulin, which described everyday life (Shtavdaker, 2012; Strukov, 1878: 53). At this time, M.Kh. Senyutkin published materials mainly on local history, statistics and economy, for example, from the works of I.S. Ulyanov. Pages of the Don Oblast Gazette displayed not poetry or prose, but only agricultural articles in these years (Shtavdaker, 2012). It is our opinion that both the editor and the authors believed the format itself of the official Host newspaper was not suitable for fiction. It is characteristic that the "Doncy XIX veka" credited M.Kh. Senyutkin for publishing "a lot of fundamental articles and materials on the history of the Don" in the unofficial part of the Don Military Gazette and did not mention literary works at all (Doncy, 2003: 440). At the time, the newspaper published almost no materials on current combat events as well (Shtavdaker, 2012). However, the situation in the newspaper changed dramatically in early 1854. Already the 2nd issue for this year introduced a story by I.S. Ulyanov "Military resourcefulness" (Strukov, 1878: 53). Soon, Issue 4 printed the first patriotic article highlighting latest war events – "On the military exploits of Don Cossacks in the Caucasus under the command of Baklanov (combat news from the Caucasus)" (Strukov, 1878: 24). Further on, the number of such historical and literary patriotic materials rapidly grew. We will write more about published poems and stories below and note here that, for example, there were more than ten articles on current war events in 1855 in the newspaper concerned (Shtavdaker, 2012).

Therefore, the patriotic ideas for the first time became one of the central themes in 1854 on the pages of the Don Oblast Gazette, and the "first herald" of the change in the editorial policy was not the publication of news from the army but the appearance of work by one of the most distinguished Don writers. In turn, the increasing portion of patriotic texts in the Don Oblast Gazette clearly demonstrated the interest of the editorial staff in the materials, and we can assume that F. Bykov was not the only one who offered his patriotic opuses to the press in this context. On the other hand, we did not find his fable in any of the indexes to the Don Oblast Gazette, and this means that it was never published. We can only make assumptions on how many other similar materials, rejected as having no literary merit, were received in the editorial office of the analyzed newspaper and to the writers connected with the office, whose archives, unlike the archive of I.S. Ulyanov, did not survive?

And yet, even despite the selection, the number of literary works with a patriotic accent quickly grew in the Don Oblast Gazette. In 1854, the only Don newspaper published nine fiction texts, of which more than half reflected patriotic attitudes. In addition to the story by I.S. Ulyanov, these were a story by a certain Petrov "The feat of Don Cossacks", connected works "An excerpt from a Cossack's notes while on march" and the poem "The thought" by N. Posnov, as well as "Azov letters" by N.V. Kukolnik (Strukov, 1878: 53). And in the next year, in 1855, patriotic poems generally ousted all other fiction texts from the unofficial part of the Don Oblast Gazette. Their complete list is as follows: I. S-v "Feelings of a Don Cossack. When reading the Manifesto of December 14. 1854", V. Myznikov "Ruined churches. A poem about the death of Don Cossacks in battle", P. Grigoriev "A hymn for the demise of the great emperor Nicholas I", A. Leonov "The song of the militia of the 1st military district" and "To the Russian soldier", Captain N. N. "On the death of the brave Don commander of regiment No. 11 colonel I. A. Kharitonov, killed in the battle of Cholok on June 4, 1854", M. Molchanov "To Russia" and "To the Monument of Platov", F.T.

“The song. Do not grieve, our dear Don...” (Shtavdaker, 2012). Even after the end of the Crimean War, patriotic themes continued to dominate the literary part of the Don Oblast Gazette for some time. In 1856, when a peace treaty was concluded, the newspaper featured the stories “Uryadnik Yefremov and his military exploits against Turks” by I.Ch., “A love for the Motherland” by A. Leonov and “Return of the Don horse artillery battery number 7 from the service to the Don” by V. Popov, as well as the poem “Return of the Warrior” again by A. Leonov (Strukov, 1878: 53). Only two non-patriotic fiction works were published that year (Strukov, 1878: 53). And it was not until 1857 that the patriotic themes receded into the background in the edition under review, and at the same time, its publishing activities related to literary texts drops dramatically. Only three such works came out in 1857 and six in 1858, but two of them (“An episode from the Crimean campaign. The heroic deed of Uryadnik Pismenskov” and “Old hunter in the war” by M.Kh. Senyutkin himself) again turned to patriotic ideas (Strukov, 1878: 53-54). And in 1859, the publication of fiction works was completely stopped in the Don Oblast Gazette for several years (Strukov, 1878: 54).

It remains for us to acknowledge that the start of regular literary publications in the unofficial section of the Don Oblast Gazette was triggered by the Crimean War. In total, the newspaper printed twenty four literary texts between 1854 and 1856 (only one in the previous two years), of them eighteen addressed patriotic themes. It was the war-time years of 1854 and 1855 that marked the peak in the number of published works: there were nine of them in these years, then there was a decline to six in 1856 and in 1857 to three. Perhaps the imbalance was brought about by the fact that a considerable part of literary works, featured in the Don Oblast Gazette” paid attention to specific war and near-war events. In particular, the theme of the death of Nicholas I, before it was covered in the literary work, was raised in the news items “The last moments of late Emperor Nikolay Pavlovich falling asleep in the Lord” and “The last hours of the life of Emperor Nicholas I” (Shtavdaker, 2012). And, finally, an interesting fact is that of all the authors published by the Don Oblast Gazette in its the literary section in the peak of 1855, only A.A. Leonov, a fairly popular Don poet and public figure, could be called a professional writer (Volvenko, 2015b: 196). We could not find the remaining three full names either in the archival documents or in the literature on the Don history of the 19th century. Similarly, in 1854 and in 1856, the range of authors creating patriotic fiction works, published in the Don Oblast Gazette, was dominated by random individuals. A Taganrog researcher, A.A. Volvenko made a list of key authors featured in the Don Oblast Gazette from 1852 to 1860, and it includes neither N. Posnov, Petrov, V. Myznikov, P. Grigoriev, M. Molchanov, nor V. Popov (Volvenko, 2015a: 97). Thus, all these people, just as F. Bykov, were amateur writers who sent their texts for print expecting to receive not so much literary fame but to evoke public response.

Summing up the discussion above, we cannot but say a few words on the efficiency of patriotic propaganda facilitated by the Don Oblast Gazette during the Crimean War. Strange as it may seem the fact that at the time, as we wrote above, virtually the entire Don Host was mobilized, does not confirm the efficiency of the propaganda. On the contrary, the Don Oblast Gazette remained a very short-run newspaper until the 1860s, totally unpopular in the Cossack circles: Cossacks chose to subscribe to metropolitan editions, and the only local print mouthpiece had... 40 private and 167 mandatory subscribers (Volvenko, 2015a: 96). Therefore, the patriotic program, proposed by M.Kh. Senyutkin, was of little interest to Cossack readers in the war time. We would link this situation with the inferior writing skills of the people involved in patriotic propaganda, as most of them were non-professional authors. Hence, the conventional logic of propaganda was turned around in this case, and not the Don Oblast Gazette provoked a rise in patriotic sentiments in the Cossack society, rather the rise and the social position of M.Kh. Senyutkin led to changes in the newspaper's policy, increased number of patriotic publications in its issues, and, eventually, its transformation into a tool of military propaganda.

4. Conclusion

The small letter written by F. Bykov to I.S. Ulyanov provided us with a kind of key to the problem of patriotic propaganda among the Don Cossacks in the Crimean War. Certainly, we wrote above, it is impossible to form a deep understanding of the history and all features of the propaganda having at hand only this small text and few other sources on the subject, available for researchers. However, we have progressed far enough to offer the reader answers to the questions set at the beginning of the paper.

1) The Don literature of the period that became the focus of our attention can be compared with an iceberg when only a relatively insignificant part of the mass is accessible for today's researcher. The major portion of this "iceberg" consists of the "Don samizdat", the works by Don authors, which were distributed in hand-written copies and have never been explored by scholars. On the other hand, a close look at the copies that have survived until our days from I.S. Ulyanov's fund in the GARO archive, suggests that the "Don samizdat" was also represented by patriotic texts. The narrow source base makes it difficult to evaluate how typical they were of this epoch but even I.S. Ulyanov retained a voluminous poem "Bivouacking at Aydos", dedicated to the Russian-Turkish war of 1827-1828 and portraying the exploits of the Cossacks who participated in it.

2) The appearance of numerous patriotic poems and stories was not accidental in 1853-1856 and had no connections to the Don folklore, but their authors were familiar with the Don Samizdat works that have been lost by now. Accordingly, one of the forms the reaction to the events of the Crimean War took was the literary response – the creation of works glorifying Russian weapons or openly attacking the enemies of the Russian Empire. Such "vituperative" works can be illustrated by the fable of F. Bykov "The Eagle and Two Dogs". However, while in previous decades such texts were destined to circulate in hand-written manuscripts, and their authors did not count on public appreciation, now the situation changed, and Don patriotic literature obtained more and more sheer agitation qualities designed to provoke readers into a certain reaction. In particular, with a view to producing this reaction, F. Bykov added to his fable a characteristic ending, comparing Turkey's western allies with vicious dogs, as well as a signature emphasizing his part in the Patriotic War of 1812.

3) This shift from essentially literary to essentially social goals was empowered by the opportunity to be published, which became available for Don author. Beginning in 1852, the only Don newspaper, Don Oblast Gazette, introduced an unofficial section. While almost no literary works were printed there till 1854, the increasingly larger scale of the Crimean War made the editor of the newspaper under review, M.Kh. Senyutkin, respond with a change in policy: since 1854, the Don Oblast Gazette started regularly highlighting relevant texts that were expressly patriotic and propagandist in nature, and the first work in the array of the materials was the story by I.S. Ulyanov "Military resourcefulness", rather than news or features from the theater of war operations. Thus, the only Don newspaper began to publish fiction works with a focus on military and patriotic themes.

4) However, M.Kh. Senyutkin was unable to engage the best Don authors of the time in the patriotic propaganda. Perhaps, the fact that the publications in the Don Oblast Gazette had less literary importance but brought a greater social impact explains why most of the authors, like F. Bykov, were random people who sent the editor their literary responses to specific events and the war in general. I.S. Ulyanov limited himself to one patriotic story, "Azov letters" by N.V. Kukolnik were not the exclusive material of the Don Oblast Gazette and were soon reprinted in the Severnaya Pchela (Northern Bee) (*Kukol'nik, 1854*), and of the rest authors of the patriotic texts, only A.A. Leonov was a professional writer. As a result, the patriotic propaganda in the only Don newspaper was inefficient as the newspaper continued to have a microscopic circulation, and none of the printed texts won popularity.

5) Nevertheless, as we wrote above, the Don literature of the time was a peculiar "iceberg", and, for example, the famous poem by F.I. Anisimov "Did rouse and surge, the Christian quiet Don" was never published in the war years. Therefore, we can suggest that the oral and handwritten literary propaganda, rather than the printed one, as well the dissemination of patriotic texts by traditional ways of the Don literature in the period had more profound significance. Alas, it is difficult to say whether any sources of such propaganda have survived, but further archival research can help to discover them.

References

Doncy, 2003 – Doncy XIX veka [Don Cossack of the nineteenth century]. Rostov-on-Don, 2003. P. 599. [in Russian]

GARO – State archive of the Rostov region.

Istoriya, 1876 – Istoriya Leib-gvardii Kazach'ego ego velichestva polka [History of the Life-Guards Cossack His Majesty's Regiment]. SPb., 1876. P. 652. [in Russian]

Korshikov, 1994 – *Korshikov, N.S.* (1994). Novye dokumenty o dekabriste V.D. Sukhorukove [New documents about the Decembrist V.D. Sukhorukov]. *Historical and archaeological research in Azov and the Lower Don in 1993: abstracts for the seminar*. Vol. 13. Azov, 1994. pp. 135-152. [in Russian]

Korshikov, Korolev, 2001 – *Korshikov, N.S., Korolev, V.N.* (2001). Istorik Dona V.D. Sukhorukov i ego «Istoricheskoe opisanie Zemli Voiska Donskogo» [Historian of the Don V.D. Sukhorukov and his "Historical description of the Don Host Oblast"]. Sukhorukov V.D. Historical description of the Don Host Oblast. Rostov-on-Don, pp. 7-18. [in Russian]

Korolev, 1991 – *Korolev, V.N.* (1991). Starye Veshki. Povestvovanie o kazakakh [Old Veshki. The story about the Cossacks]. Rostov-on-Don, P. 464. [in Russian]

Krasnov, 1863 – *Krasnov, N.I.* (1863). Materialy dlja geografii i statistiki Rossii, sobrannye oficerami General'nogo shtaba. Zemlja vojska Donskogo [Materials for geography and statistics of Russia collected by officers of the General staff. Don Host Oblast]. SPb., P. 596. [in Russian]

Kukol'nik, 1854 – *Kukol'nik, N.V.* (1854). Azovskie pis'ma (K Adamu Petrovichu Chebotarevu) [Azov letters (to Adam Petrovich Chebotarev)]. *Northern Bee*. 1854. № 157. pp. 1-2. [in Russian]

OR RNB – Department of manuscripts of Russian national library.

RGVIA – Russian state military and historical archive.

Skorik, Tikidzh'yan, 1995 – *Skorik, A.P., Tikidzh'yan, R.G. etc.* (1995). Kazachii Don: ocherki istorii [Cossack's Don: historian essays]. Vol. II. Rostov-on-Don, P. 208. [in Russian]

Strukov, 1878 – *Strukov, I.I.* (1878). Alfavitnyi ukazatel' statei, pomeshchennykh v neofitsial'noi chasti Donskikh oblastnykh vedomostei s 1852 po 1876 god [Alphabetical index of articles placed in the informal part of the Don Oblast Gazette from 1852 to 1876]. Novocherkassk, P. 131. [in Russian]

Sukhorukov, 1891 – *Sukhorukov, V.D.* (1891). Statisticheskoe opisanie Zemli Donskikh kazakov, sostavlennoe v 1822-1832 godakh [Statistical description of the Don Host Oblast, composed in the years 1822-1832]. Novocherkassk, P. 302. [in Russian]

Shtavdaker, 2012 – *Shtavdaker, L.A.* (2012). Ukazatel' statei neofitsial'noi chasti «Donskikh voiskovykh vedomostei» za 1853, 1855 i 1863 gody [Index of articles placed in the informal part of the Don Oblast Gazette in 1853, 1855 and 1863 years]. *Don vremennik*. [Electronic resource]. URL: http://www.donvrem.dspl.ru//Files/article/m15/1/art.aspx?art_id=1151 (reference date: 27.10.2018). [in Russian]

Volvenko, 2015a – *Volvenko, A.A.* (2015). Kazakomanstvo. Don case (the 1860th). Part II // *Russkaya Starina*. Vol.14. Is. 2. pp. 94-107. [in Russian]

Volvenko, 2015b – *Volvenko, A.A.* (2015). Kazakomanstvo. Don case (the 1860th). Part III // *Russkaya Starina*. Vol.(15). Is. 3. pp. 194-207. [in Russian]