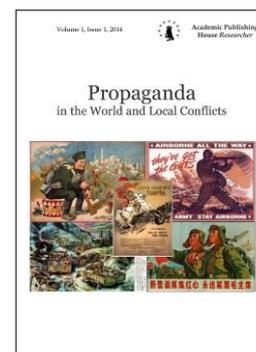


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At the Origins of Don Military Propaganda: the Creative Activity of I.S. Ul'yanov at the Time of the Crimean War

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Abstract

During the Crimean War, a series of patriotic texts by prominent Don writer I.S. Ul'yanov were published in The Don Military Gazette. This article represents an attempt to analyze these texts and compare them with the latest official Don Cossack propaganda. The author comes to the conclusion that I.S. Ul'yanov's oeuvre clearly features a plotline that would later become typical for that kind of propaganda. This plotline is a panegyric for a Don hero who, rather than representing a real historical person, epitomizes an ideal Cossack, someone to whom the author ascribes some of the ideas and statements that matter to himself. Of particular mention in this respect is Ul'yanov's work 'Military Ingenuity', which could qualify as a historically credible narrative but would eventually be positioned by his younger contemporaries as a literary story. Certain elements thereof were even included in the early 20th century in 'The Pictures of the Past Quiet Don', a book released at the behest of the military authorities which was intended to be read by those in military units and schools.

Keywords: Don Cossack Host, Crimean War, military propaganda, The Don Military Gazette, I.S. Ul'yanov.

1. Introduction

The previous issue of the Propaganda in the World and Local Conflicts journal carried a small article devoted to military-patriotic propaganda amongst the Don Host during the Crimean War (Peretyatko, 2018: 39-48). The article discussed why it is this particular war that led to the spread of the actual literary text format in Don print: if prior to 1854 the only local paper, The Don Military Gazette, had published only one story and not a single poem, in the period 1854–1856 it, by contrast, would now each year publish five to 10 patriotic stories and poems in one way or another devoted to real military events (Peretyatko, 2018: 45-46). With that said, most of the literary works published were by totally unknown individuals who had published nothing – either before or after the Crimean War (Peretyatko, 2018: 46). The overall failure of literary propaganda in the Don region in that period (with the number of The Don Military Gazette subscribers remaining microscopic – just a few dozen copies) may be linked with the incompetence of its authors, the artistic level of their works remaining quite low (Peretyatko, 2018: 46). Having said that, at the initial stages (in 1854) quite an active part in the propaganda activity of The Don Military Gazette was taken by one of the few recognized Don writers of the mid-19th century – Ivan Samoilovich Ul'yanov. This paper will examine both the only story written by Ul'yanov during the

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Crimean War *and* a set of rough sketches of literary and publicistic texts that have survived to this day. Was the author, who was well-respected amongst the Cossacks, able to offer the reader works that would be perfectly aligned with the psychology of the Don Cossack? To what degree were the patriotic ideas propounded by him aligned with those which afterwards would be actively employed by the Russian imperial media for Cossack-oriented propaganda? And, lastly, what was the significance of Ul'yanov's texts to the development of Don military literature?

2. Materials and methods

A key source of information for this study is manuscripts by I.S. Ul'yanov which have survived to this day (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 28, 29, 31). The authors undertook to compare the characteristics and techniques typical for those works *with* the latest texts intended for the cultivation of military and patriotic spirit amongst the Don Cossacks (Kirillov, Popov, 1909; Krasnov, 1909; Leonov, 1909). Accordingly, the study's key methods are the historical-descriptive method (considering that texts by I.S. Ul'yanov have yet to be introduced into scientific discourse) and the historical-comparative one.

3. Discussion

Before proceeding to examine I.S. Ul'yanov's texts, it may be worth saying a few words about the writer himself. In recent years, alongside us, articles wholly or partly devoted to this Don figure have been published by a few other scholars, including A.A. Volvenko (Volvenko, 2015; Peretyatko, 2019) and O.S. Morozova (Morozova, 2007; Morozova, 2008). This kind of attention on the part of historians to someone who is a secondary figure in Don history must be associated with the fact that the State Archive of Rostov Oblast (GARO) has maintained a file of records on his family, which is quite vast both in manuscript volume and diversity (GARO. F. 243). As evidenced from O.M. Morozova's survey of pre-revolutionary private-origin files of records maintained within the GARO, this is one of two files of records of this kind in the archive which provide materials from the first half of the 19th and mid-19th century (Morozova, 2011: 42-43). Therefore, if, in working with the time's other historical Don figures, researchers are normally faced with a lack of information, in the case of I.S. Ul'yanov it is the other way round – the surviving published works, rough texts, and correspondence by the Don writer, historian, public figure, and general make it possible to explore his personality from totally different methodological and conceptual angles. However, this diversity of interpretations leaves us with quite a fragmentary image of I.S. Ul'yanov, with certain elements of his biography (particularly, his writing activity) remaining insufficiently researched, while, by contrast, some other aspects (e.g., his participation in the public life of the Don region in the 1860s) have been studied in quite a detailed manner. Therefore, the characterization of writer I.S. Ul'yanov provided below is of a preliminary nature and may lack accuracy in certain respects.

By the start of the Crimean War, I.S. Ul'yanov, born in 1803, was precisely 50 years old (Dontsy, 2003: 480). He became part of the Don elite not by birth, as his father was not a gentleman by birth; he even received his officership only after the birth of his son (Dontsy, 2003: 480). His manor, known as 'Mirage', was personally established by him on a tract of land he had received for his service (Dontsy, 2003: 481). O.M. Morozova characterizes him mainly as an official with just a few years of full military service, who on the civil front, however, rose in the period 1848–1854 to the rank of Senior Member of the Host's Board, i.e. "Deputy Appointed Hetman on Civil Matters", a Nicholas-era functionary (Morozova, 2007: 308-327). Indeed, after 1854 I.S. Ul'yanov's career would not just go into decline, but he would actually begin to be regarded by the authorities as a firebrand and dissenter who stood up against the State's liberal reforms in the spirit of the reign of Alexander II. In 1873, Don ataman M.I. Chertkov characterized him as follows: "General Ul'yanov is old-school, with old-fashioned views, doubtless highly intelligent, known for his proclivity for opposition, which he used to exercise against the atamans in the past" (Karpenko, 2006: 278). Thus, this article's protagonist made his career by virtue of his personal qualities, among which his contemporaries particularly highlighted intelligence and allegiance to the conservative ideals of the Nicholas era.

Possibly, a decisive role in shaping I.S. Ul'yanov's political views was played by his captivity by Polish rebels in 1830. Threats and insults on the part of the Poles would make the Don Cossack feel most keenly his Russian national identity and take pride in it. In his personal notes made at the

time which were not intended for publication and would come out only many years after his death, I.S. Ul'yanov called Nicholas I "a great monarch who looks after Russia as a guardian angel, a monarch who possesses Peter's strong will and efficiency and Catherine's wisdom and perception of the people's spirit" (Ul'yanov, 1901: 83-84). No less enraptured is the manner in which the Cossack writes about the Russian people – "a truly remarkable nation, which concurrently is highly enterprising and kind" (Ul'yanov, 1901: 84-85). With that said, I.S. Ul'yanov drew a clear line between the bulk of the Russian population *and* Don Cossacks. He would be greatly vexed at "Russians' bad-mouthing of the Cossacks", something he kept hearing from his fellow captives (Ul'yanov, 1901: 81). The Don officer would even pose the rhetorical question as to whether he would be able to live to see a day when one "no longer calls them [the Don Cossacks] outcasts and finally equates Russians with Russians" (Ul'yanov, 1901: 82).

Thus, not only Russian, but specifically Don, patriotism, would form a significant part, if not the basis, of I.S. Ul'yanov's social stance, while his attitude toward Nicholas I was most rapt. What is more, he regarded patriotism as a crucial quality of literature even prior to his Polish captivity. In one of his early manuscripts written in 1820, the Don writer calls on Russian writers to leave writing about Napoleon to the latter's "compatriots and followers" and instead switch to writing about "the heroes of national history" (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 28. L. 13-13ob). Therefore, it is not only no wonder, but is actually perfectly natural, that in 1854 I.S. Ul'yanov, despite being a busy man with a high service rank, would take part in the literary propaganda of The Don Military Gazette, something another Don writer of the time, I.I. Karsnov, would refrain from doing.

It is also worth noting that manuscripts by I.S. Ul'yanov demonstrate an evolution from the early, "romantic", stage in his oeuvre (1820–1830) (e.g., a translation of a work by A. Mickiewicz (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 118-129ob) and one of a set of philosophical dialogues by an unknown author (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 41-43ob)) to the "utilitarian" period (1840–1850) (e.g., the articles 'On a Regular Ox-Drawn Cart' (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 28. L. 85-86) and 'Workers on the Don' (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 28. L. 87-88ob)). Judging from surviving sources, early works by I.S. Ul'yanov did not receive special recognition outside of the Land of the Don Cossack Host, although the file of records on it contains a letter dated 1832 which voices a request to have a sort of "my creation" published in Northern Bee. However, no testimony that the work *was* actually published has been provided to this day (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 31. L. 1-2). The situation changed in 1843, when The Agrarian Gazette published an economics article by I.S. Ul'yanov, which it had first abridged greatly – much to his chagrin. What is more, a year later the same source would publish a critical review of the article, which would attract to the Don writer a certain amount of reader attention, but which at the same time would cause him great displeasure (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 31. L. 3). Subsequently, I.S. Ul'yanov would attempt more than once to gain a foothold as an author that can write not just for the provincial press but for the capital's print media as well, but he would often be hampered in that by his keen self-esteem. Nonetheless, he would gain a certain amount of recognition on the part of the capital's public, and in 1853 he would be mentioned in a highly authoritative source, The Works of the Imperial Free Economic Society. The publication would report that I.S. Ul'yanov had taken part in a contest related to "seeking out and describing a facile, convenient, and inexpensive method for drying and storing bread", and that his work, although it did not garner him any special award, was recommended for publication in that major journal (*Torzhestvennoe zasedanie, 1853: 44*). That, however, was absolutely not fine with the Don author – he would respond to a request to have his work published with quite an irate letter, in which he would communicate to the Secretary of the Free Economic Society that he did not wish to have the article published, as it had "failed to gain the amount of approval which would permit considering it particularly useful" (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 31. L. 28).

As a result, by the 1850s, I.S. Ul'yanov's reputation as a writer amongst the Don Cossacks would be of a dual nature: his contemporaries would characterize him as both an author of "superb verses" (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 31. L. 34-34ob), which, however, were absolutely not known beyond the Don region, *and* an author of economic articles published in some of the capital's major journals (Dontsy, 2003: 481). Despite him not being a professional writer (there were hardly any in the Don region at the time, anyways), essentially, only I.I. Krasnov, with his book about Don Cossacks published in Saint Petersburg (Krasnov, 1852), and A.A. Leonov, whose verses had once received a positive review from no other than V.I. Belinskii (Belinskii, 1953), could compete with

I.S. Ul'yanov in terms of literary recognition. So it is no wonder that in early 1854 he not only would take part in patriotic propaganda by The Don Military Gazette but would actually assume charge thereof, backing up with his authority as an official and a literary figure the start of regular publication on the journal's pages of literary patriotic texts.

The first text of this kind, published during the Crimean War in 1854, Issue 2 of The Don Military Gazette (the second ever short story published in the paper), was by no other than I.S. Ul'yanov (Strukov, 1878: 53). It should be taken into account that the unofficial part of the Don region's only newspaper came into being only in 1852 – prior to that, it had published only government news and ordinances (Strukov, 1878: 1). It may be reasonable to assume that, if the first patriotic literary text published by the paper had been a work by a chance author, an amateur whose works would subsequently be actively published on its pages, it could have raised questions and drawn criticism on the part of conservatively predisposed readers. So, a patriotic story by a high-ranking official, someone who was part of the circle of a host ataman, an author whose works were published in Saint Petersburg, and a person well-respected amongst the Don region's educated public would have been received a lot better. As mentioned earlier, eventually that would be the case, and I.S. Ul'yanov's 'Military Ingenuity' was followed in The Don Military Gazette by a few dozen stories and verses by less known or totally unknown authors, which were received by Don society quite indifferently, without astonishment or resentment. Since the story in question is not big and has not been reprinted ever since it came out, it is worth providing all of it herein in its original form.

"The description of the Kalalakh battle, provided in last year's Issue 48 of the Don paper, in which our glorious ataman, M.I. Platov, first carved his immortal name into the annals of military history, brings back the memories of an occurrence first heard from no other than Matvei Ivanovich and later related to me by a relative of Platov's, Lieutenant-Colonel P.N. Ilovaiskii.

On the eve of the battle, after the detachment and transport of Colonel Larionov and Sergeant Major Platov has set up camp for the night, a Cossack guard comes up to Platov, takes him for a stroll, and asks him to put his ear to the ground.

- So can you hear it, Matvei Ivanovich?

- I can hear some kind of noise. Sounds like bird squalling.

- Come on. Birds don't squall in a murky night, do they? They are quiet.

- So what is it then?

- All right. Close by, there is the enemy camping for the night, with fires laid around the place. So the lights have made the birds fly up and squall. Judging by the loudness of it, there must be many fires out there, meaning there are numerous infidels out there too right now. Live longer and know more. We'll now need to keep our eyes skinned and be prepared to face the enemy at dawn.

It was the first piece of news about the impending danger. The necessary measures would be taken instantly – for the attacking enemy to be met with an improvised sacks-and-wagons fortification, which had brought glory to the heroically defending Cossacks.

Platov would later reminisce, with gratitude, of the Cossack's ingenuity and experience. Quite possibly, if the Cossacks had spotted the enemy too late, they would have been short of time to rearrange the train; given that the detachment was not very big numbers-wise, this could have made their defense quite fragile.

Throughout his military career, Platov was the most accessible officer a common Cossack would ever meet – he knew the names, sobriquets, and addresses of nearly all Cossacks distinguished by acumen and prowess (let alone the officials). He liked chatting with them and would never leave unheeded a single piece of advice or comment founded on the Cossack's experience and typical ingenuity and resolve. You should be able to hear the following story from one of Platov's comrades-in-arms. One day a "cloaklet" (a term used by Matvei Ivanovich to refer to retinue officers), who was accompanying Platov's convoy at night on a rainy day, strayed off the course. Following a series of wearisome wanderings, he ordered for camp to be set up. Soon after the sky started to clear, Platov was visited by a group of Cossacks, who started to explain to him that the camp was, actually, positioned with its rear to the enemy, trying to back that up by pointing to the dew over the hills, the stars, and the direction of the "Batu Road" (the Milky Way). Matvei Ivanovich, after having assured himself of the fairness of their comments and realized the graveness of the error, issued a furious alarm, with the retinue officer having to face the brunt of its

consequences. The camp's position would be changed immediately, with the ensuing horse patrol activities and the advent of the dawn only substantiating the "cloaklet"'s error" (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 28. L. 154-155ob).

A reader who is conversant of pre-revolutionary Don historiography may find the dialogue between M.I. Platov and the old Cossack provided at the story's beginning quite familiar. The thing is that it is reproduced word for word in a book published in the early 20th century at the behest of the military authorities which was intended to be read by those in schools and military units, 'The Pictures of the Past Quiet Don' by P.N. Krasnov (the later author would only change the arrangement of the sentences in the last line and make the Cossack's words to M.I. Platov a bit more respectful) (Krasnov, 1909: 205-206). And that is for a reason: the small story by I.S. Ul'yanov and the large book by P.N. Krasnov are linked by powerful conceptual similarities, although it is hard to tell whether it is direct influence or just the possibility that the two authors, divided by a century in time, might have had the same understanding of Cossack psychology and tried to influence the same characteristics of Cossack consciousness. It is this similarity that enabled P.N. Krasnov to insert a dialogue from a work by his predecessor, which contemporaries would position as a story, into his historical book so naturally that the transition to I.S. Ul'yanov's text in 'The Pictures of the Past Quiet Don' is hardly noticeable.

What, above all, is common to literary propaganda by I.S. Ul'yanov and P.N. Krasnov is the uncertainty of the genre, which is on the border between literature and historical research. In 'Military Ingenuity', the author claims that he is describing real events – and is doing so without adding anything of his own but by reference to input from some witnesses. However, already in the case of his description of the events preceding the Kalalakh battle the information provided appears to be highly inaccurate. To substantiate it, I.S. Ul'yanov invokes a relative of M.I. Platov's P.N. Ilovaiskii; but he will not specify how it had become known to P.N. Ilovaiskii – from the Don ataman personally or from rumors about him. What is more, he provides the dialogue between M.I. Platov and the old Cossack in a detailed fashion – it is not paraphrased but appears to be provided word for word. Having said that, it is clear from the context that there had been no witnesses to the dialogue, it had not been written down either, and I.S. Ul'yanov was reproducing it 80 years later based on the memories of people who had once heard of it. But it is the use of literary dialogue that helped the Don author to have the Cossack utter the dictum 'Live longer and know more', a phrase that is crucial to his text which reflects the "military ingenuity" of Don Cossacks. If I.S. Ul'yanov had provided the phrase as his own, the text might have produced a smaller propaganda effect, as military ingenuity would be talked about not by an 18th century veteran who had helped M.I. Platov garner the first victory but a military official whose military experience was limited to just a lengthy captivity with the enemy.

In this regard, it would be of interest to trace the way P.N. Krasnov later "deploys" his source, the story by I.S. Ul'yanov – he does not add to it anything new in the parts preceding and those following the word-for-word dialogue but actually "literarizes" them, making them more attractive for the reader and transforming the heroes' image.

I.S. Ul'yanov's version: "On the eve of the battle, after the detachment and transport of Colonel Larionov and Sergeant Major Platov has set up camp for the night, a Cossack guard comes up to Platov, takes him for a stroll, and asks him to put his ear to the ground".

P.N. Krasnov's version: "Platov, a young, 23-year-old, colonel was about to go to bed when he was visited in his tent by an old Cossack who more than once had been outside of the Kuban steppe.

- Matvei Ivanovich, - he said, - Can I see you for a second?

Platov quickly got dressed and followed the Cossack out into the open steppe.

- Can you put your ear to the ground? – the Cossack said to Platov.

Platov got down" (Krasnov, 1909: 205-206).

I.S. Ul'yanov's version: "It was the first piece of news about the impending danger. The necessary measures would be taken instantly – for the attacking enemy to be met with an improvised sacks-and-wagons fortification, which had brought glory to the heroically defending Cossacks. ... Platov would later reminisce, with gratitude, of the Cossack's ingenuity and experience".

P.N. Krasnov's version: "Platov heard the ingenuous Cossack out (the epithet "ingenuous" may serve as an additional testimony to P.N. Krasnov invoking the story 'Military Ingenuity'), then

quietly walked into the camp, had the regiment up, had them get everything ready, had them pull the wagons into the bivouac area, and ordered everyone to just sit tight and wait for the enemy to attack” (Krasnov, 1909: 206).

It is not hard to notice that, if I.S. Ul’yanov’s main character is M.I. Platov’s collocutor, a “Cossack guard”, who alerts his commander to the impending danger, P.N. Krasnov assigns a central role to a future Don ataman, noting that he agrees to follow the experienced Cossack out into the field despite having gone to bed already, and that he “had the regiment up” and had them “wait for the enemy to attack”, whilst in the earlier text the measures were somehow taken on their own – owing to the Cossacks’ “military ingenuity”. As a result, the plotline stays the same, but conceptually the text changes tangibly, with a panegyric for Don Cossacks turning into one for M.I. Platov personally. It is more than likely that I.S. Ul’yanov, too, approached the initial story by P.N. Ilovaiskii in a creative fashion – somewhere he added something of his own to it and somewhere he just added more detail to a story founded on hearsay from 80 years back. It is also worth remembering that a literary text would have been more interesting to a less-prepared reader than a dry historical research study.

Altogether unverifiable is I.S. Ul’yanov’s description of the events with the “coatlet”, a retinue officer who strayed off the course. Here the Don author provides no source from which he got that information, nor does he furnish any details that would permit linking it to a specific date or place. With that said, we are presented now with quite a vivid testimony to Don Cossacks’ “military ingenuity”: we learn that, owing to their experience and acumen, the Cossacks knew their way around in the situation better than a well-trained retinue officer! It, perhaps, is due to the story’s doubtful credibility and obvious propaganda focus that the author’s younger contemporaries would classify ‘Military Ingenuity’ as a literary story, in contrast with other historical materials published in *The Don Military Gazette* which were positioned as scholarly works (Strukov, 1878: 53).

We have already touched upon the next characteristic that is common to the propaganda works by I.S. Ul’yanov and P.N. Krasnov. Their quite loose treatment of the sources enabled these authors to have the ideas that were important to them be voiced by major historical figures. We are talking here about not just anonymous 18th century Cossacks but no other than M.I. Platov. I.S. Ul’yanov was here a lot more careful: in his story, the legendary whirlwind ataman utters no major phrases, with the author not claiming to reproduce long speeches by Don Cossacks’ sacrosanct ataman word for word. Nevertheless, a major conceptual focus in ‘Military Ingenuity’ is on the statement “Throughout his military career, Platov was the most accessible officer a common Cossack would ever meet – he knew the names, sobriquets, and addresses of nearly all Cossacks distinguished by acumen and prowess (let alone the officials). He liked chatting with them and would never leave unheeded a single piece of advice or comment founded on the Cossack’s experience and typical ingenuity and resolve”, which, in actual fact, has yet to be substantiated. P.N. Krasnov would proceed a lot farther – he would make M.I. Platov deliver patriotic and religious speeches, something the poorly educated Don Cossack was hardly capable of doing at the time. For instance, right in the heat of the Kalalakh battle, during a brief lull, M.I. Platov allegedly had this to say in response to a surrender offer: “No way! I’d rather die in honor and glory than let the enemy possess me and slap me in the face, to the shame of my people. What shall be, shall be. I place my faith in God. He won’t leave us without help!” (Krasnov, 1909: 207). In theory, this kind of approach would have eliminated the very possibility of discussion: in the case of ‘Military Ingenuity’, a man questioning the Cossack’s “typical ingenuity and resolve” would have to debate this not with I.S. Ul’yanov but with M.I. Platov personally, who, doubtless, had a much higher standing in the community.

The next characteristic that is common to the propaganda texts by I.S. Ul’yanov and P.N. Krasnov follows from the previous one. Key historical figures (above all, M.I. Platov, of course) represent in these texts not so much an attempt to describe real figures but some kind of an ideal figure that epitomizes what a Cossack ataman/general/officer must be. The legend about a commander who knows all his soldiers by name (e.g., Napoleon and Alexander the Great) is quite a well-known myth. That said, no serious literature on M.I. Platov mentions this about him (not even P.N. Krasnov). The latter, however, asserts that the Don ataman, for instance, called Warsaw ‘Arshava’ – not because he was illiterate, but because he just felt like “flaunting the simplicity of speech for fun” (why he would do something like that and where that information had come from was, of course, not something P.N. Krasnov would disclose) (Krasnov, 1909: 348). It is clear that

ascribing to that kind of idealized hero the author's personal stance and statements in, essentially, a literary text was an a lot easier thing to do and made it possible to avoid a dissonance – say, between the real image of not-too-literate M.I. Platov (who spelled his last name wrong all his life (Zakharevich, 2005: 68)) and the literary monologues which P.N. Krasnov ascribed to him (while there can be no doubt about the Don ataman's mental abilities and the aphoristic nature of his speech, it simply could not be correct and literary a-priori; curiously, if in the monologues in 'The Pictures of the Past Quiet Don' M.I. Platov promises to "stun, shame, and expel" the French, in the cited letters he "belabors" them and "kicks them out" (Krasnov, 1909: 350-351)).

We can but state that I.S. Ul'yanov was indeed first to employ, which he did in his 'Military Ingenuity', a set of techniques and methods which would later be further developed by Don military propaganda. Noteworthy is not just the way he delivers the material but the very material itself, for, instead of talking about the ongoing war, the Don author opts to focus on the Don region's most significant hero, linking his victories with the ability to appreciate the Cossacks' perennial "ingenuity and resolve". In point of fact, he would write, in the form of a historical essay or a story, a panegyric for the Donians' traditional military prowess, intended to make them feel proud of their Motherland and infuse them with confidence in their own ability in the face of a new war. This way to draw upon prominent figures would be typical for Don patriotic authors going forward too. But we will talk about this in conjunction with the next text by I.S. Ul'yanov.

Soon after 'Military Ingenuity' was published, 1854's Issue 4 of The Don Military Gazette carried the first material about relevant military events, which had a somewhat intricate title – 'On the Military Exploits of Don Cossacks in the Caucasus under the Command of Baklanov (Military News from the Caucasus)' (Strukov, 1878: 24). I.S. Ul'yanov stood in the most direct relation to him as well. Here again it may be worth providing a little text found in his archive, which served as a foreword to the publication.

"The Don Military Gazette's editorial team has taken on the pleasant duty to share with the reader news about the Donians' military affairs, based on information from official and other possible sources.

Based on his military exploits, Major General Baklanov is part of heroes' history. His name rolls across the Caucasus Mountains like a thunderstorm and is pronounced by his Don compatriots with pride.

The Gazette has published a report on the Caucasus Corps regarding yet another brilliant defeat of the mountaineers by General Baklanov with his Cossack detachment. It will be an even greater joy for the Donians when the leadership makes public a report on this by Major General Baron Vranghel. The report mentions some of the hero's more distinguished comrades-in-arms: who knows, maybe one day one of them will bring back fond memories of their commander's glory days.

Even if one had not already learnt from hearsay of General Vranghel's new talents and his lofty magnanimity, just this single report of his could serve as a perfect testimony to that. A commander giving, with that degree of chivalrous unselfishness, credit to his subordinates and colleagues produces an involuntary sense of surprise; yet, at the same time, this may trigger noble competition amongst comrades-in-arms in the name of serving the Motherland" (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 28. L. 156-157ob).

As one can see, this is yet another example of I.S. Ul'yanov acting as a mastermind of Don military propaganda. As already mentioned, initially The Don Military Gazette published exclusively government news and ordinances. As evidenced by the above text, information on current military events *was* actually published in it back then, but it was limited to official military reports. However, starting in 1854 The Don Military Gazette decided to change their policy and "take on the pleasant duty" to familiarize its readers with "news about the Donians' military affairs" not only from official sources. This kind of change of editor policy must have been a decision so daring and unusual that here too they would have I.S. Ul'yanov, regarded as a go-to person both in literature and in officialism, publish the first new material, which would include a little explanatory foreword of his to it.

Despite being not very informative, I.S. Ul'yanov's foreword merits attention for the way it substantiates the choice of Ya.P. Baklanov's figure for reporting for the first time about topical military events in the unofficial part of The Don Military Gazette. This choice may seem somewhat strange from the perspective that for military propaganda during the Crimean War they would choose a Caucasus War commander. However, as evidenced from the foreword, a deciding factor

for the choice was the actual figure of Ya.P. Baklanov. It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that to I.S. Ul'yanov he was part of "heroes' history", which puts him up there with a character from a past publication of his – M.I. Platov. Judging from other sources, Ya.P. Baklanov was held in that high a regard not only in his eyes. Around the same time, in the early 1850s, the second reputable Don author who took part in the literary propaganda of The Don Military Gazette, A.A. Leonov, would write and start to distribute in flyers a poem about Ya.P. Baklanov. Below are a few quatrains from it:

"The pride and honor of every ataman,

A hero-knight, a valiant warrior,

We salute you, our daring hero,

Our stouthearted Mr Baklanov!

<...>.

With your heroic deeds,

You've revived the glory of our fathers and grandfathers

Amongst us.

You're a true Cossack!

<...>.

There's a ray of past Yermakian glory

Shining over you;

Like a falcon appearing from behind the clouds,

You unleash your Platovian knack" (Leonov, 1909: 144).

Thus, by the year 1850 Ya.P. Baklanov was at least to a portion of the Don educated public a sacrosanct figure, a living continuator of the line of indisputable Cossack heroes. Accordingly, bringing up his specific deeds on the pages of The Don Military Gazette could be viewed as yet another attempt to highlight the link between the past and the present and between the exploits described, say, in 'Military Ingenuity' and the activity of contemporary Cossacks in the Danubian principalities and in the Caucasus. The choice proved correct: subsequently, the significance of the figure of Ya.P. Baklanov in Don military-patriotic propaganda would remain sustainable, with his exploits in the Caucasus positioned as a sort of bridge from the brilliant part of Don Cossacks in the Patriotic War of 1812 to the modernity of the late 19th – early 20th centuries. With that said, however, just like in the case of M.I. Platov, a real person was increasingly substituted by an ideal image. In 1909, in Novocherkassk there even came out a special book by Don regional studies experts Kh.I. Popov and A.A. Kirillov entitled 'The Baklanov Collection'. The book's foreword quoted A.A. Leonov as crediting Ya.P. Baklanov with reviving "the past glory of our fathers and grandfathers" (Kirillov, Popov, 1909: I). The Don general, who had already passed away by that time, was positioned by them as a "genuinely pious" person, an "Orthodox son of the Church of Christ", someone who is "whole-hearted in his devotion to his Tsar Father" and "sincerely attached to his Motherland", and even as someone "has a profound love for not just his associates and other Cossacks but any faithful Russian citizen" (Kirillov, Popov, 1909: I). 'The Pictures of the Past Quiet Don' would even confer on Ya.P. Baklanov a key role: at its end, the book cites as a piece of timeless Cossack wisdom a few statements which allegedly had been made by him and M.I. Platov (Krasnov, 1909: 521-522). Thus, his foreword to the publication on Ya.P. Baklanov is yet another testimony to I.S. Ul'yanov having stood at the origins of a certain tradition in Don military propaganda.

However, this foreword is the last patriotic fair-copy manuscript from the time of the Crimean War found in I.S. Ul'yanov's archive. No mention of any other publications of his in The Don Military Gazette from the period under examination is provided by the newspaper reference books either. It looks like this paper's protagonist abandoned patriotic propaganda as early as the beginning of 1854, switching back to economic articles. It has yet to be established why that happened, although it is possible that information on this will be found in the course of time in I.S. Ul'yanov's correspondence. Both his keen self-esteem, on account of which the Don writer would refrain from publishing in the capital's press if it treated him without due deference, and his being busy with service may have been among the key reasons for his refusal from further literary and peri-literary patriotic endeavors. However, I.S. Ul'yanov's rough-books contain one more poem, which is undated but may be related to events of the Crimean War. The poem, entitled 'The Triple Alliance', features a donkey who wishes to challenge the lion's authority. Green with envy about Lion's famed power, while everybody seems to forget about his own hooves, Donkey rants and raves, vilifying and maligning Lion. He resolves to speak to Wolf and Hyena and offer

them an alliance. Wolf and Hyena agree to meet with Donkey. During the meeting, they complain to Donkey that, despite owning vast land, they are struggling to make ends meet. Eventually, the three of them resolve to form an alliance against Lion and seek that the latter's reputation be severely damaged. They plot to have Donkey challenge Lion to a battle, which Wolf and Hyena are going to join once it is in progress. So Donkey goes on to challenge Lion to a battle. Lion accepts the challenge with equanimity but tries to talk some sense into Donkey, exhorting him not to listen to his allies and reminding him of how he once saved him from Panther. But that, however, is to no avail, with Donkey adamant he should avenge his honor through war. Once the battle begins, one can hear the sinister howling of Donkey's approaching allies. Lion supplicates God not to judge him if he slays Donkey, who, as he points out, is refusing to listen to the voice of reason (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 314-314ob).

Note that the poem snaps midway through the last quatrain. It was written on a separate piece of paper. There might have been the rest of it, but that has not survived to this day. Although it contains no direct references to the Crimean War, the situation described by the author matches some of the events that took place between 1853 and 1854. To be specific, the noble, powerful lion must be allegorically representing Russia, with the envious, aggressive donkey standing for Turkey, and the wolf and hyena, which urged the donkey on to attack the lion, denoting Great Britain and France. The lion's salvation of the donkey from the panther may be a reference to the assistance that the Russian Empire provided to Turkey during the Turkey-Egypt conflict. Our previous article cited entirely another poem, a fable by F. Bykov found amongst I.S. Ul'yanov's papers which, plot-wise, is built using the same technique. It portrays in detail the envy harbored by two dogs against the princely eagle. It becomes known in the end that the two dogs stand for the English and French who are foaming at the mouth with hatred for Russia (Peretyatko, 2018: 43-44). The verses by I.S. Ul'yanov and F. Bykov appear to be composed based on the same plot scheme: in them, the sequence of historical events is transformed into a system of relationships between the fable's animals, with Russia being a princely animal, which traditionally holds a positive emotional connotation (the eagle or lion), and its adversaries, on the contrary, being pathetic or obtuse (e.g., the donkey, wolf, dog, or hyena). Ultimately, while the authors do not expose the flaws and shortcomings of human character, as is characteristic of the traditional fable, they, in actual fact, seek to vilify Russia's adversaries by ascribing to them the negative qualities of the respective fabular animals.

Yet, neither F. Bykov's fable 'The Eagle and Two Dogs', nor I.S. Ul'yanov's verse 'The Triple Alliance' were ever published in The Don Military Gazette. No analogues thereof have been found in the latest military-patriotic propaganda in the Province of the Don Cossack Host either. We are of the view that by the mid-19th century the actual genre of allegorical denigration of the enemy, which the above works represent, might have become somewhat outdated. Allegorical fables and verses would inevitably have to be detached as much as possible from specific Don realities, with F. Bykov even confessing in a letter to I.S. Ul'yanov that he had first written the main part of his fable, without placing any political import into it, and only afterwards understood that the fable had "a presentiment of England's and France's attitude" toward Russia, subsequent to which he would add the direct accusations against those nations (GARO. F. 243. Op. 1. D. 31. L. 34-34ob). One even cannot be absolutely confident that 'The Triple Alliance' is indeed devoted to events of the Crimean War and that its plotline overlapping the time's realities is not an accident. By contrast, both the above-mentioned texts by I.S. Ul'yanov and the conceptually succeeding works 'The Baklanov Collection' and 'The Pictures of the Past Quiet Don' represented specifically Cossack propaganda centered on glorifying Don Cossacks and their military history. It is this type propaganda that the future would lie with.

4. Conclusion

"The names of Yermak and a few other popular atamans are still quite fresh in the memory of the people; there is no well-to-do Cossack who does not have in his house a likeness of the conqueror of Siberia or other famous military figures. All these memories, along with the army's achievements in the Patriotic War and particular exploits of its units and servicemen in other campaigns, make every Cossack proud of their military significance", wrote approximately a decade after the Crimean War Chief of the Don Host Staff A.M. Dondukov-Korsakov (Karasev, 1896: 574). Don Cossack military propaganda would continually bring up Cossacks' military past and their

heroes throughout the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. Things would not be limited to publishing books like ‘The Pictures of the Past Quiet Don’ and ‘The Baklanov Collection’ alone. The propaganda element would even be present in the creation of the first ever museum in the Province of the Don Cossack Host, The Don Museum in Novocherkassk, designed to “gather Don antiquities, silent witnesses to Cossack glory” (Krasnov, 1909: 480).

One of the first authors to attempt cultivating military propaganda amongst Don Cossacks based on their history was I.S. Ul’yanov. Both of his patriotic texts, published in The Don Military Gazette during the Crimean War, could be regarded as historical. The texts already display a set of characteristics that will be typical for Don military propaganda subsequently as well. Listed below are some of the more significant of these characteristics.

1) Genre uncertainty. I.S. Ul’yanov’s ‘Military Ingenuity’ is classified by the latest reference books as a story, but that is not quite accurate. In actual fact, the work is on the border somewhere between literary prose and reminiscences. According to the author himself, he is retelling stories from M.I. Platov’s life which he heard from others, although he does not always share the names of those individuals and makes no mention whatsoever of whom, in turn, they themselves obtained information about the legendary ataman from. Additionally, one of I.S. Ul’yanov’s dialogues is allegedly provided by him word for word, although, in actual fact, he could know about it only by word of mouth. This leaves us with a text that could be viewed as historically credible, while at the same time it was largely, if not entirely, put together by the author himself.

2) Substitution of their idealized images for real historical figures. In the same story ‘Military Ingenuity’, I.S. Ul’yanov imparts to M.I. Platov a set of abilities that no serious literature about him has ever mentioned. In his foreword to the publication on Ya.P. Baklanov, he places the above Don commander, who has far yet to go to complete his career, among those who are already part of “heroes’ history”. In this respect, quite representative is also a verse by I.S. Ul’yanov’s contemporary A.A. Leonov in which the same Ya.P. Baklanov is rhetorically compared to Yermak and M.I. Platov, although the similarity between them remains undetailed (as is Ya.P. Baklanov’s image as a whole). With that said, it is this kind of nominal “heroes of the Don region” that played a central role in military propaganda and acted as significant heroes in patriotic texts, both literary and publicistic, which could even be considered scholarship.

3) Ascribing to “Don heroes” the various statements that are important to the author. It is worth noting that I.S. Ul’yanov was the one who only actually paved the way for this trend – by having the Cossack guard who edified no other than M.I. Platov use the dictum ‘Live longer and know more’ and noting that going forward the “whirlwind ataman” “would never leave unheeded a single piece of advice or comment founded on the Cossack’s experience and typical ingenuity and resolve”. In his case, it is rather about the artistic processing of real facts. Indeed, I.S. Ul’yanov might have heard from P.N. Ilovaiskii a story about the effect of communication with the Cossack guard on M.I. Platov and could have just desired to supplement it with an expressive dialogue (or the dialogue might have emerged earlier while the story was going around as hearsay). However, subsequently Don authors would display a lot more imagination in relation to historical figures. P.N. Krasnov even provides a set of long patriotic monologues by Yermak, many of which are suspiciously similar to monologues by M.I. Platov and Ya.P. Baklanov (Krasnov, 1909: 35).

Thus, a crucial plotline in Don patriotic literature, starting, at a minimum, with texts by A.A. Leonov and I.S. Ul’yanov written during the Crimean War, is the panegyric for a historical or a living hero, with a claim to historical credibility, which in actual fact, however, will hardly lend itself to any verification and is founded on hearsay and all kinds of stories, and sometimes even just the author’s imagination. The spread of this plotline and the frequent drawing of various authors upon it indicate that it must have been quite effective in its impact on the Cossacks. With that said, I.S. Ul’yanov would only produce just the initial sketches of this type of panegyric, which would be developed further by his followers, P.N. Krasnov being one of the group’s more crucial representatives. I.S. Ul’yanov’s literary oeuvre is still waiting to be researched, while it may be asserted already now that it has had a significant effect on the history of Don literature, with this paper’s protagonist serving as one of the founders of the military-propaganda and patriotic strands of Don literature.

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