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*“Nikolai Apollonovich Charushin: a nationalist, public figure, publisher, local historian.*

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"MY EYES ARE ON URGA."

Having taken up photography in Nerchinsk, Charushin did not want to compete with A.K. Kuznetsov, so he applied for permission to move to Troitskosavsk, where he could do a new business for him. Due to monetary difficulties associated with the cost of acquiring photographic equipment, Charushin received some support from the residents of Nerchinsk. On the loan he received from St. Petersburg, he wrote about everything he needed. In the spring of 1886, Charushin moved to Troitskosavsk on the Chinese border. (Now this is the border of Russia and Mongolia, which then was the part of Qing China).

Near the town of Troitskosavsk there was the Kyakhta settlement, famous all over Russia for its tea trade, which was brought from China. The town together with Kyakhta and Ust'-Kyakhta settlements had up to eight thousand inhabitants. "The town of Troitskosavsk, — recalls Charushin, — where we finally arrived, located in a sandy hollow, surrounded on all sides by forested mountains, was a rather lively trading town with 3-4 thousand inhabitants. To our surprise, apart from primary schools, there was also a female *gymnasium* and a *realschule*. Near to Troitskosavsk, on the same river, 3-4 *versts* away from it, the connected highway, there was the known in Russia settlement Kyakhta consisting of 15-20 houses inhabited exclusively by large tea merchants, and further near to it, it was necessary to cross only street, the Chinese small town Maimaicheng (买卖城) with the large tea trading companies, and further off the Mongolian steppe with a chain of mountains were visible on horizon. There was a lot of peculiarities of lifestyle in our new residence on the border with Mongolia, completely open to communication for Russian citizens with the subjects of China".

How was Kyakhta described by Charushin? "Up to two dozen houses of Kyakhta, a dozen employee houses, a pharmacy, conference halls, a fire brigade, a living room yard, a cathedral — that's the whole Kyakhta settlement. In fact, there was only one wide street with a boulevard in the middle, on its sides the houses of Kyakhta stretched with their wings and numerous outbuildings. The magnificent Kyakhta Cathedral stood on the side of the street, — followed by a vast courtyard resembling a fortress. It was a storage place for huge quantities of tea". Huge tea caravans across the

Gobi Desert came from China to Kyakhta, from where they traveled all over Russia.

After a long search Charushin took the top floor of a house for accommodation and an old outbuilding for the photographic salon and laboratory in the very center of the city. He had many orders. Owners of rich country houses located outside the town were especially eager to be photographed. But when shooting, Nikolai Apollonovich was faced with the problem of purchasing photographic materials. Anna Dmitrievna, who managed to get a loan of 500 rubles helped him out. This is how the financial difficulties of the family ended. Charushin invited an experienced photographer from Irkutsk, Ivan Fyodorovich Fyodorov. The new profession has brought Nikolai Apollonovich financial independence. The old-timers of Kyakhta have kept the photos of their ancestors done by Charushin, just like the old-timers of Vyatka (Kirov) keep the photos taken by P.G. Tikhonov and S.A. Lobovikov.

According to Charushin, he met all kinds of people on the streets of Troitskosavsk and Kyakhta: "There were Russians, Buryats, Mongols and Chinese in their national costumes, on foot and on horseback, filling the the air with various shouts". Similar description was made by Ivan Ivanovich Popov, who was exiled to Kyakhta, about the situation of the Charushin house: "The apartment of the Charushin became an inn. Chinese, Mongols, Buryats, Russian peasants, Cossacks, the residents of Kyakhta ... followed on another".<sup>1</sup>

I.I. Popov told about cultural and social life of those places: "Decembrists did a lot for Transbaikalia and left a great legacy. The later generation of revolutionaries lived in Transbaikalia for a short time. But if somebody remained in Transbaikalia to do bussiness, then the Kyakhta residents treated such people perfectly. They appreciated, for example, A.K. Kuznetsov, a Nechaevist (Barrack Communist), who set up a museum in Nerchinsk and Chita; N.A. Charushin and his wife Anna Dmitrievna née Kuvshinskaya, S.G. Stakhevich and others. Relating to these people they did not have the "police fear". "The Charushin couple were outstanding people, who saw a lot in their century, educated... — ...continues Popov — Anna Dmitrievna, thanks to her politeness and tactfulness, came into contact with the ladies from Yakutia, who despite her sharp tongue, treated her with sympathy and respect ... The couple's arrival was just on time. There was no photographer in Kyakhta and Charushin was the first. Charushin did a good job. In the beginning his works were of low quality, but Nikolai Apollonovich was an artist in his heart and could not be satisfied with his initial works. He worked a lot, read, improved and eventually, in a relatively short time, reached a great perfection. In the old days photographers used to visit Kyakhta, but with the opening of Charushin's photographic studio none of the photographers dared to come to Kyakhta... The Charushin hired a separate house on the mountain in Troitskosavsk, set up a photographic studio and lived well".

Charushin's trips in Transbaikalia even before moving to Kyakhta, mainly related to photography, contributed to a wide circle of acquaintances from all layers of society. From the few

exiles and settlers Charushin communicated with I.I. Popov, S.G. Stakhevich, who married to one of the Fiegner sisters — Eugenia. In different times the exiled people E.K. Breshko-Breshkovskaya, D.A. Klements, F.V. Volkhovsky visited the Charushin couple.

The traveler, explorer of Siberia and Inner Asia Grigory Potanin and his wife Alexandra Viktorovna were always welcome guests of the Charushins. They found shelter in the Charushins' house on their return from expeditions to remote areas of Inner Asia. In one of the visits of the Potanin couple to Kyakhta I.I. Popov invited them to settle in the house of his father-in-law, Lushnikov, a tea merchant millionaire, where two visiting singers had already been accommodated. The famous traveler delicately replied: "Thank you, but I became wild in Mongolia... I wasn't very good with ladies before, I was always afraid of actresses, now I'll be totally embarrassed... The Charushins are also invited. If you don't mind, we'll move in with them".

Charushin noted about Grigory Nikolaevich "amazing modesty, pure soul, neglect of worldly conveniences and perseverance. Potanin, in turn, remembered the "charming company" of Nikolai Apollonovich and Anna Dmitrievna.

Charushin's children, Lydia and Leonid were delighted to communicate with Potanin. Grigory Nikolaevich promised to send a donkey to the children. In Charushin's letters to Grigoriy Nikolaevich, Anna Dmitrievna used to write postscripts, wondering when her children, Lydia and Leonid would be able to meet them, and thanked them for their attention. On one of the letters of Charushin (10 October 1889) Anna Dmitrievna made a posting: "The donkey arrive, and Leonid fell three times galloping on it. In the posting to another letter (November 12, 1889), she notified to Potanin: "Lenka so flattered by your letter that now considers himself a "scholar". But the children did not manage to write you eventually. He and his sister tried to write a lot, but they could not agree on the the text and handwriting was bad. But still, Potanin received letters from the children of Charushin. One of them on the page of a notebook in a cage, carefully written in large letters, has been preserved: "Grigory Nikolaevich! Thank you for the letter. Donkey is healthy. I'm not riding well yet. In summer I'll collect flowers, pebbles and shells. Leonid Charushin". (Later, after graduating from Vyatka gymnasium, Lena Charushin became a student of the Mining Institute. Probably one of the reasons for that was communication with the famous scholar-traveler in his childhood).

In 1888 Potanin intended to make a trip to Urga in Mongolia. Urga also attracted Charushin. «... In summer it will be necessary to move somewhere for work and so far my eyes are on Urga, — he reported to Grigory Nikolaevich. — There are some reasons for decent work to be done there, and then an opportunity to make an interesting album of scenes and collections of human types. I heard that you are also going to be there this summer, which further strengthens my intention. With your help it would be easier for me to navigate in an unfamiliar place and, most importantly, I could take advantage of your direct instructions when shooting scenes. I believe that it would also be useful for

you, as a researcher, to have a photographer at hand, always ready to fulfill your wishes to record the scenes and human types you need. If my trip to Urga can really be of any interest to you, then help me to get permission for this trip. I am a limited civilian of Kyakhta, in a year I will probably already have the right to return to Russia (according to the amnesty), but in the meantime I have permission from the Police Department to produce photographic works within Eastern Siberia and the Amur Region General Governorate. But Urga is already abroad, however harmless, but it'll probably take some trouble to get there".

Charushin asked in advance Potanin to get him permission, as an exiled settler, to travel to the territory of Mongolia: "I hope that you will not hesitate to write to me on this matter and make some instructions, especially regarding the expected arrival of Count Ignatiev to us, to whom, perhaps, I should address ..."<sup>2</sup> An agreement with Potanin was reached. "He hired me also as a photographer – remembered Nikolai Apollonovich – to make him a photograph anthropological images, and along the way, Mongolian monasteries and other characteristic sights of Mongolia. I willingly agreed, but on condition that he got me permission for trip abroad".

Potanin, who himself at a young age took part in the circle of Siberian separatists and was arrested and exiled to Vologda province, understood the difficulties of Charushin to travel outside the Russian Empire.

Nikolai Apollonovich wrote to him: "You once asked, who would be in charge of the permit for my trip to Urga. Well, I do not know. It may very well be that the governor can give such a permit, or maybe he will not dare to do it without a higher permission. In such doubtful cases, it's much better to turn to the central authority, and in this case, the Police Department... In Irkutsk, our brother is often denied for even small things. I haven't yet received refusal from the Department on much more important issues. It is very possible that my success in the Department depended mainly on the fact that my appeals in most cases went through V.O. Kononovich, in the person of whom I always had a clever commentator and defender of my interests. In this case, I could ask for a message from V.O., but it would be even more impressive if you could do it".

Charushin even attached to Potanin's letter a draft of his petition: "A commitment to ask permission at the Department to allow photographer Charushin to join the trip with me to Urga in the summer.

Charushin was allowed to leave thanks to the help of the scholar-traveler and statesman Pyotr Petrovich Semyonov Tian-Shansky. While waiting for permission, he and his assistant Fyodorov had time in the summer of 1887 to visit in Yakutia the gold mines of Nemchinov, a millionaire from Kyakhta to do photographic work. Charushin and his assistant Fyodorov traveled along Lena and Vitim Rivers to Bodaibo, two thousand miles north of Urga.

Nikolai Apollonovich intended to earn money by photographing the workers of the mines, as

it was necessary to pay back unpaid debts. The cargo he was carrying was really heavy – fifty *puds* "mainly made of glass and other photo accessories". In addition to photographing workers at the mines, he was also supposed to take pictures of Siberian scenes. For part of the trip they bought a spacious cart, harnessed by three horses. Charushin drove through Verkhneudinsk (Ulan-Ude), Selenginsk, Irkutsk, where he met with Solomon Chudnovsky and Mark Natanson. Then Nikolai Apollonovich went along the Yakutsky tract to Lena, then by boat to Ust-Kut, from there three hundred *versts* went by steamboat to Kirensk, where he met with Mikhail Sazhin, who was also exiled.

The journey continued. We entered the mouth of the Vitim River, the famous "Ugrium River". ("Here is the kingdom of bears, whom we sometimes saw from the steamship quietly walking along the shore"). At last we arrived to the village of Bodaibo at the mouth of the gold-containing river Bodaibo, the right tributary of Vitim. About thirty *versts* from there Charushin and Fyodorov reached Nemchinov's mines. They spent about three months there in constant work. Nikolai Apollonovich came back from his trip only in autumn.

It is quite unlikely that Potanin tried to facilitate Charushin's escape. When in 1889 the appointment of D.A. Klements as the head of the East Siberian department of the Russian Geographical Society, Potanin demanded him for "ceasing any participation in the affairs of political parties" due to Klements' close ties to radical political exiles<sup>3</sup>. But many of the exiles made escape attempts, and some managed to do so. About a month in 1889, Felix Volkhovsky lived at the Charushins, having arrived from Irkutsk, where he was under police surveillance. Soon Volkhovsky, having reached Vladivostok, has crossed to Japan, and from there to Canada, of course, the Charushins and Popov knew about plans of his escape.

Preparing for the expedition, Potanin experienced significant financial difficulties. Letters of Charushin testify his active participation in the preparation of the expedition: "Now about your trip to Urga. As far as I understand, the whole delay is due to financial reasons... I don't think that the city of Kyakhta can't support your trip to Urga... I'll be asking your permission for launching an expedition.... I'm pretty sure it won't be difficult to do... No one alone will give 400-500 rubles, but many people can contribute 50-100 rubles. I myself will stay aside in this case, people of importance will act. Notify me of your decision on this matter, if possible, with the first mail, so that before the residents of Kyakhta leave for the the *dachas* it would be possible to finish all this work, and then determine the amount of money that you will need for the trip". In one of his subsequent letters Charushin said: "I am glad that the issue of money has been resolved already quickly in a favorable way. Even before I received your last letter, I spoke to the local policeman Pisarev on this matter and he was totally confident to be capable of collecting rubles 500 for the trip to Ugra, and was ready to take the initiative of this matter ...". Indeed, the appeal to people of "importance" has had an effect. The appeal of Charushin was responded by the Mayor of Kyakhta, merchant Osokin. "Having

described the circumstances of your predicament, — wrote Charushin Potanin, — I requested him to solve financial problems for the forthcoming trip Urga, having arranged a donation for the residents of Kyakhta for this purpose ". Osokin not only helped to organize a fundraising donation, but he donated 300-500 rubles himself.

The historian of Russian photography S.A. Morozov notes: "Imagine a photographer of that time going on a trip. There were no portable devices. He took a camera of the same size as in portrait pavilions, stocked up on portrait and landscape lenses, a heavy tripod with a black blanket completed the equipment. Glass, large-size plates had to be carefully packed in a special box, and if there was a lot to shoot, people took two heavy boxes with plates. In addition, they needed a folding tent for laboratory work. They also took a bottle of *collodium* and vials for the halide salt to develop the plates. Then a few more developer were poured into vials, all of which were also packaged. The photographer's equipment weighed many *puds*, and for large expeditions it was so heavy that the researcher was often forced to refuse the help of the photographer" <sup>4</sup>.

In the summer of 1888 three travelers — Potanin, Charushin and his assistant I.F. Fyodorov — went to Urga (that was the name of the modern capital of Mongolia Ulan-Bator). Drove three hundred *verst*s "on the beautiful Mongolian steppe, continuously crossed by mountains ridges". "At that time, my knowledge of the Mongols, — recalled Nikolai Apollonovich, — was still very limited. I often saw them, but not knowing the Mongolian language, I was not close to them, and therefore I did not know the true nature of these nomads. I considered them savages. But when I got to Mongolia and got a little familiar with the population of this country, I was ashamed that I had taken a revolver with me, which remained in its case.

Arriving to Urga: "Nothing like our European cities was here at the memorial. The main buildings of the Mongolian city itself were the same felt yurts as in the rest of Mongolia, occasionally wooden buildings like our henhouses inside a small quadrangle surrounded by a low fence. Among these pitiful buildings sharply stood out white building of Tibetan architecture — the temple of Maidari (Maitreya) and some other idols and palace buildings of the Bogd-gegeen".

From morning to evening, Potanin recorded fairy tales and epic songs. Charushin and his assistant, having arranged a photo laboratory and a light pavilion, started shooting. "The fact is that photography in Mongolia was an unprecedented and there was a serious prejudice against it. Even the promise of some kind of reward did not help. Finally, we found the brave ones from Potanin's acquaintances who decided to take this dangerous operation. The example turned out to be contagious, others followed. By the end of our stay in Urga, despite all the obstacles, I managed to compile a very large collection of anthropological types of the Mongols, which fully satisfied Potanin.

Charushin saw a lot of interesting things in Urga. In his memoirs he wrote about the customs of the Mongols, about their religion. Travelers more than once witnessed bright festivals, on one of

which the Bogd-gegeen, the head of the Buddhist Church in Mongolia, blessed the people. Charushin wanted to take pictures of the magnificent ceremony, but he was asked not to do it.

But the trip was soon over. "We quickly prepare the albums of the Urga snapshots, which should be sent to the Russian Geographical Society and its Irkutsk branch, as well as Moscow and Tomsk universities".

"The Geographical Society and the Academy of Sciences recognized the collection of photographs as scientifically valuable, — I.I. Popov remembered the results of this trip. — From the trip to Mongolia Nikolai Apollonovich did not extract any material benefits — he was exclusively guided by scholarly interest. It is true that the people from Kyakhta and various visitors, mainly foreigners, bought some photos, but these purchases did not compensate Charushin's expenses on the trip". The trip to Urga was fruitful for Potanin and for Charushin.

Letters from Nikolai Apollonovich to Potanin contain information about the the production of albums, talk about the difficulties related to the lack of necessary materials, e.g. cardboard for the picture framing mat ("I should have bought these unfortunate cardboards long ago... Not even mentioning the captions: any printing house would have made them a long time ago"). It should be borne in mind that these events took place in the late 1880s on the far edges of Russia.

In addition to making the albums Charushin offered his photos for Potanin's articles in the Niva magazine, in the newspaper "*Vostochnoe obozrenie*" or "Oriental Review" (it was possible to make drawings from the photos). He discussed with Grigory Nikolaevich the possibility of handing over his article to George Kennan for publication in an American magazine: "Anna Dmitrievna once wrote to you — would you agree to hand over your article about Urga to an American illustrated magazine edited by Kennan? He (Kennan) will translate it and add the illustrations. I don't think that would be a bad idea." The work on the photographs was done carefully before and after the trip to Urga. "Anthropological types in general come out probably more than satisfactory, however, you will soon see it for yourself" ... "The nine-*pud* heavy Khamba Lama came out safely, a drawing was produced of it and will soon be back together with several new types of Buryats"... "Cardboards and captions for the various scenes and types occupy me. I'd like to get both as soon as possible, because they have stopped the work now. Types are almost all prepared, i.e. printed, but there's nothing to stick them on; we won't start printing the types and until we get the expected cardboards. I don't know what situation you're in with the cardboards... It would be good to get them all as soon as possible, otherwise preparing your exhibition, especially the types, may take a long time"). Active assistance to Charushin for the necessary materials was provided by Potanin's wife, which made Nikolai Apollonovich uncomfortable: "I am aware that Alexandra Viktorovna has to look for my cardboards.

Taking into consideration the ethnographic character of the photos, Charushin wrote to Potanin about the shooting (in full-face, in profile, with the headdress, without it), annotations, etc.:

"1) Do you need the types of Buryats that you have not mentioned in your letter. 2) Is it possible to retouch these types at least a little without changing, of course, the character of the face. 3) Is it necessary to shoot types without hats or headwear, etc.? Or is it possible to shoot in full-face with a hat, in profile without it or vice versa. 4) In what quantity it would be desirable to have the photo for types of each nationality. 5) At sticking of drawings it is not better to place both images (in full-face and profile) on the same cardboard instead of a separate one. 6) Is it sufficient to have a short caption under the types: Tibetan...".

In addition to photographing Mongols, Buryats, Tibetans, Charushin, for example, photographed the paintings showed to him by a Tibetan lama, depicting places that, according to the lama, were revered because of the famous Buddhist spirits.

In the process of shooting, there were often difficulties. The reasons were not only the shortcomings of the photographic devices. "As for the anthropological types, in this case I am in a great difficulty, despite my sincere intention to fulfill your request, so far I could not do anything — wrote Charushin to Potanin before the Urga expedition. — The fact is that it is extremely difficult to photograph the Mongols, despite the fact that I have asked the assistance of those who could deal with them. However, the mutual contacts were still difficult. N. M. Yadrintsev, a well-known publicist and researcher of Siberia, one of the ideologists of the Siberian regionalism, wrote about the Buryats: "Russian photographers had easy access to them, proven by the many photographs taken by Mr. Charushin".

Charushin was also interested in Potanin's other plans in the study of Inner Asia: "Your other project — a photographic trip to Karakorum is much more convenient and if you make a new expedition ... I would be more than happy to join it this time with better and more comfortable tools than our trip to Ugra". Photography was a source of income. Nikolai Apollonovich informed Potanin about the rates — photos of "types" — 80 *copecks* each, with shipping and packaging — 1 *r.* 35 *copecks*.

In 1892 Nikolai Apollonovich attended the Buryat Buddhist holiday at the famous Gusinozersky *datsan*, located in the taiga forest, away from the postal road, where travelers with a camera had not yet looked. "Urga's Album" by Charushin was sent to its destination. The demand for his photos was increasing. Nikolai Apollonovich sent photos to Moscow to ethnologist D.N. Anuchin. At the geographical exhibition of 1892 in Moscow 132 Charushin's photos of "scenes and types" of Mongolia and Transbaikalia were exhibited.

Besides ethnographic and anthropological images, Charushin succeeded in landscape photography. "Once I took a trip along the Merchant's Trail, called the Udunginsky (Udunga) Trail, laid by merchants from Kyakhta in order to shorten the route for tea caravans across mountain and wild taiga to Lake Baikal. The result of this trip along deserted amazingly picturesque places was a

large collection (photos) of Udunginsky (Udunga) and Krugulobaikalsky (Circum-Baikal) trails". Charushin placed the photos from this trip in an album with folding screen. Pictures were glued on both sides. S.A. Morozov appreciated the quality of the photos: "Despite the technical difficulties of shooting the forest landscapes those days Charushin still managed to show the taiga forest, through which the path was cut and the new Udunginsky tract was laid. On the other side of the album are views of Circum-Baikal tract. Here you can see valleys of the Temnik River, views of banks of the Udunga and Mysova Rivers, transportations through the rivers. Some photos show scenes from Buryloma in the taiga. Charushin captured the Shaman Cape (Aikha Shuluun), Naldachin Rock near Selenginsk, showed camel caravans. He finishes the album with a view of Irkutsk".<sup>5</sup> Charushin took a picture of the Selenga River valley from Ust'-Kyakhta to Verkhneudinsk, going down the river by boat.

The legacy of Charushin in the Russian photography is undoubted. P.P. Semyonov Tian-Shansky, I.A. Savertsov, N.M. Przhevalsky, G.N. Potanin, D.N. Anuchin, I.V. Mushketov, V.L. Komarov, L.S. Berg were interested in the applying of photography for research during geographical expeditions. The expeditions were photographed by V.I. Rorobovsky, G.E. Grum-Grzhimailo, P.K. Kozlov, V.A. Obruchev.

In letter to Nikolai Apollonovich, Potanin shares interesting information about the cultural life of Kyakhta and Troitskosavsk, about the public library. "About our newborn library. You already know something from our correspondence. In my opinion, it's very well furnished to begin with. It has a large collection of books (although many departments are very poor)." Later, Nikolai Apollonovich remembered the library: "Cozy rooms, lots of books, magazines and newspapers immediately attracted a very significant number of subscribers increasing every month. The library was opened at two o'clock yesterday and became a favorite meeting place, replacing somewhat the club. The voices of skeptics who did not believe in its vitality were silenced...". I.I. Popov told about the organization of the library in the following way: "We were busy organizing a public library in Troitskosavsk, which owed its existence entirely to Charushin, me and Aleksandra Viktorovna (we are talking about Popov's wife – V.S.) and then teachers. We started by collecting unnecessary books from the people of Kyakhta. In the storehouses of Kyakhta we found many boxes with old magazines and books, between which there were also valuable publications". Although the residents of Kyakhta were skeptical about the library, because they had valuable book collections in their homes, and the libraries of the *realschule* and women's *gymnasium* had a good collection of books used by the people of Kyakhta and Troitskosavsk. Charushin and Popov arranged the charter of the library. Membership fees were paid for the right to use books at home, but the reading room was free of charge. Funds were collected from amateur performances and from subscription lists. G.N. Potanin in one of his visits to Kyakhta reported on the usefulness of the library to the City Council. Popov informed that he and Charushin

were not allowed to act as "politicians". The library was provided by a house and a subsidy of 600 rubles per year. On its walls there were portraits of writers. The members of the library committee had the duty to recommend books to the readers. A librarian was hired.

He also took part in the creation of a natural-scientific and ethnographic museum and a branch of the Russian Geographical Society in Kyakhta. (At the cradle of this remarkable museum stood the son of Decembrist N.A. Bestuzhev – Alexey Startsev, world famous scholars N.M. Przhevalsky, P.K. Kozlov, G.N. Potanin, V.A. Obruchev). The Museum in Kyakhta, which opened simultaneously with the foundation of the Geographical Society, was extremely interesting. Potanin and Klements gave lectures here on the importance of museums. The residents of Kyakhta gave objects of ethnography, herbaria, hides and stuffed animals for the museum exposition. (The houses of Kyakhta themselves with an abundance of Chinese and Japanese products and sometimes drawings of Decembrists were surprising. A female steale stood in front of the gymnasium building, and in the environs of Kyakhta and Troitskosavsk he often found valuable archeological antiquities – arrowheads, stone knives, mortars, pestles).

In 1891 Professor Jules Legre of Dijon University visited Kyakhta. He was amazed by the way how life could be made interesting in such a remote place. I.I. Popov quoted the words of the Frenchman talking to him and Charushin: "In big cities, as in Paris, even a big man is invisible, but for example, in Dijon he already plays a significant role, and in a small village he becomes everything. Here you are, big criminals, exiles, and what a huge influence you have in the city. You're "individuals" here. They talk about you both in Irkutsk and Chita and advised me to see and get acquainted with you. How much scientific and public interest there is around you..." The social life of Kyakhta and Troitskosavsk was rejuvenated by the arrival of musicians. Popov told about the arrival of the cellist: "I have been on tour for over two years and Charushin has not heard good music for ten years. We attended all of Verbov's concerts, but it was even more pleasant for us when he came to us with the cello and played what we asked him to".

The meetings with old friends were touching. For example, Charushin had not seen Dmitry Klemenets since his arrest. But the public political life in Russia was noticeable. L.A. Tikhomirov from the disfavored circle of "Tchaikovtsev" later became member of the Executive Committee of "People's Will", which created a depressive feeling among the people. In 1882 Tikhomirov emigrated to Switzerland, in 1888 he filed a petition for amnesty and return to Russia. The turn from revolutionary activity to zealous "protectionist" depressed the former comrades of Tikhomirov. "Success often turns heads. So this time it happened to our ruling circles," Charushin recalled the story of Tikhomirov. It seemed to them that Tikhomirov's denial was not enough, they wanted to achieve the same mass denial from all political prisoners scattered over Siberia, and this way complete their victory, on morally as well. For this purpose, General Rusinov was sent to Siberia... with the

instruction to visit all political exile and try to persuade them to submit petitions for pardon with a promise in case of the consent of immediate restoration of all their rights, even by telegraph". Rusinov also visited Troitskosavsk, summoned each exile, and persuaded them to file a petition ... But only one worker submitted to the General's persuasion, for whom "some of his sins against the ethics" were already forgiven in the exile community, but Charushin announced that he would not go for a "moral suicide".

The death of his daughter was a blow to the family. "The death of our Lidushka has completely devastated us. Even now we still live in some chad and cannot wake up from the blow that hit us", — wrote Nikolai Apollonovich Potanin. I.I. Popov remembered: "Especially we were afraid for N.A., who seemed fragile, sick, broken ....

In 1890, Popov, who had by then completed his exile, went abroad. On the way he stayed in Nizhny Novgorod, where he met with Vladimir Galaktionovich Korolenko. "I've heard a lot about him, — remembered Popov the words of his comrades from Kyakhta about Vladimir Galaktionovich, — they say, an interesting and outstanding person. Mikhailovsky told a lot of interesting things about Charushin". Having found himself in Paris, Popov visited the leader of the *Narodniks*, P.L. Lavrov: "He was especially interested in Charushin, Natanson, Chudnovsky, Volkhovsky". We can assume that Nikolai Apollonovich was not indifferent when he heard from Popov returning from his trip that many wonderful people from Russia knew and remembered him.

In 1895 while the heir to the throne passed through Siberia an amnesty came out, which also pardoned Charushin. He received the right to enter European Russia with a limited civil passport, and live there under the tight supervision of the police apart from the capital Moscow, the metropolitan province, university cities and some industrial areas.

"Seventeen years of our life in Siberia, we managed to love her, she became our second homeland, and it was not easy to part with her. What awaits us there, in faraway (European) Russia? The call of the first homeland was stronger than attachment to the second home. We decided to go to our old poor Vyatka associated with many bright memories of our youth ... The last "goodbye" to close people and friends — and the three postal horses takes us — me, my wife and two sons, 12 and 5 years old — to the unknown future. "

#### Note

1. Hereinafter I.I. Popov's memoirs are drifted by his book "*Passed and what we've been through. Memories from 50 years*", Pg., 1924. p. 116.
2. The TSGALI keeps 15 letters of G.N. Potanin to N.A. Charushin, F. 381 (G.N. Potanin). Op. 1. ed. gr. 176.
3. Fedorova V.I., *D.A. Klemets in Minusinsk exile: Political exile and revolutionary movement in*

SERGEEV, V. D, 2001

NIKOLAI APOLLONOVICH CHARUSHIN: A NATIONALIST, PUBLIC FIGURE, PUBLISHER,  
LOCAL HISTORIAN. TO THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY, VYATKA, KIROV BRANCH OF THE MOSCOW  
HUMANITARIAN ECONOMIC INSTITUTE, PP.46-59.

- Russia. End of XIX - beginning of XX century (in Russian)*. Novosibirsk, 1988, p.131-132.
4. Morozov S.A. *Russian travelers-photographers (in Russian)*. Moscow, 1953, p. 20-21.
  5. Ibid. p. 40. S.A. Morozov's book reproduces two Charushin's photos: "Muren River in Transbaikalia" and "Caravan with Tea from China on the Way to Kyakhta".