



BREAD *for the* RUSSIANS

WILLIAM C. EDGAR
and the
RELIEF CAMPAIGN
of 1892

Harold F. Smith

THE LIFE of Russian peasants in the latter half of the nineteenth century was one of worsening squalor. Subjected to heavy taxation and victimized by petty officials, the peasantry was further impoverished by the system of communal land ownership which forced it to make payments on allotted holdings for forty-nine years. The small size of these allotments coupled with primitive cultivation techniques was gradually depleting the soil. A succession of poor harvests in the 1880s reduced peasants and their livestock to the edge of starvation. When drought struck in the summer of 1891, with hot easterly winds burning the crops, some fourteen to sixteen million Russians were left "in absolute want of the necessities of life and dependent upon measures of relief for continued existence." Hampered by the vastness of the empire and its own tradition-bound structure, the Russian government moved slowly to deal with the crisis.¹

In contrast, the United States had experienced a bumper crop year. The yield was overabundant, elevators were filled to overflowing, and transportation was glutted. The milling industry of the Northwest had known the Russian crop failure was imminent as early as August, 1891. William C. Edgar, editor of the *Northwestern Miller*, a weekly trade journal published in Minneapolis, had learned through his European agents and other commercial sources of information that Russian crops were almost a total loss and that famine would ensue.²

As a result, Edgar formulated plans for aiding Russia's hungry. On November 20, 1891, he telegraphed a proposal to the Russian minister in Washington, offering to raise by contribution a cargo of flour for shipment to Russia for the destitute and asking whether the czar's government would accept it. A week

¹ Francis B. Reeves, *Russia Then and Now 1892-1917: My Mission to Russia during the Famine of 1891-1892 with Data Bearing upon Russia of To-day*, 37-42 (New York, 1917); R. D. Charques, *A Short History of Russia*, 189-193, 211-212 (New York, 1956); "Famine and Pestilence in Russia," in *Review of Reviews*, 5:571 (June, 1892); William C. Edgar, "Russia's Land System: The Cause of the Famine," in *The Forum*, 13:575-582 (July, 1892); Charles E. Smith, "The Famine in Russia," in *North American Review*, 154:541 (quote) (May, 1892).

² William C. Edgar, *The Russian Famine of 1891 and 1892: Some Particulars of the Relief Sent to the Destitute Peasants by the Millers of America in the Steamship Missouri*, 5 (Minneapolis, 1893); Edgar, "Russia's Conflict With Hunger," in *Review of Reviews*, 5:692 (July, 1892).

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elapsed without reply, and Edgar sent a second telegram on November 27. The Russian chargé d'affaires, Alexander Gregor, replied to the latter, noting that he had relayed the offer to his government and was awaiting instructions. On December 4, 1891, he informed Edgar by telegram that "Your generous offer is accepted with gratitude by the Russian government."³

Edgar immediately prepared a list of potential subscribers who might donate flour for shipment. By the 1880s Minneapolis had developed into the nation's largest flour-milling center. Using the "Mill City" to ascertain the temper of the industry, Edgar had received pledges from every miller in the city by the close of the day. His passionate appeal appeared in the *Northwestern Miller* of December 4: "In this country overflowing with plenty, where crops have been so large as almost to paralyze our tremendous and well-organized transportation facilities, where we have more wheat, corn and flour than we can possibly eat, the details of the famine in Russia . . . are received with incredulity and doubt. . . . The poorest dog which hangs about the city streets of America can pick up better food than the Russian peasant clamors for. . . . The more we learn the more clearly the facts appear in their true light, and, unless humanity the world over, irrespective of race or prejudice, comes to the aid of these starving people, their doom is sealed."⁴

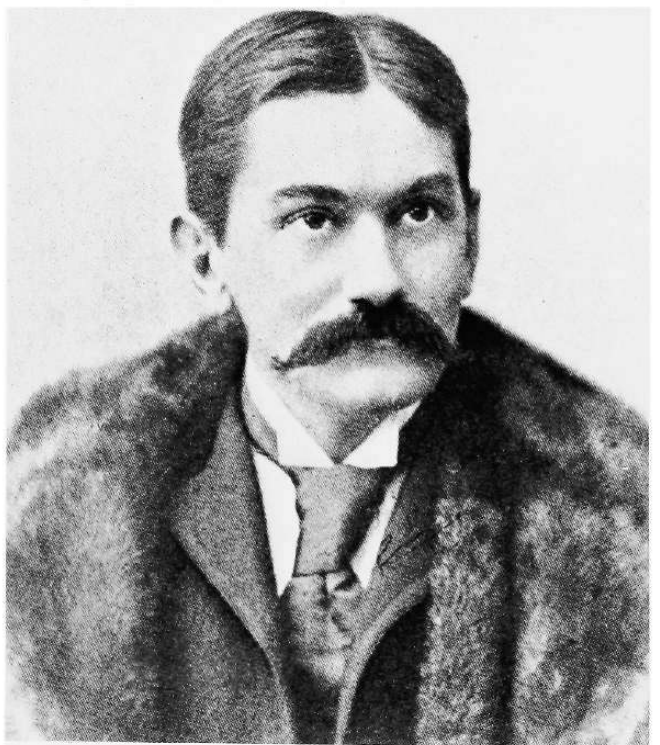
On December 5 Governor William R. Merriam asked Edgar to meet him at the State Capitol. Merriam said he had been corresponding with Russian authorities about relief measures when he learned of the millers' project. Now he wished to make common cause with them. Agreeing to work co-operatively, the two men set their plans in motion. The governor issued a proclamation calling attention to the need and reminding the nation of Russia's contribution to the Union cause during the Civil War. The presence of the imperial navy's Atlantic and Pacific squadrons in American waters for seven months in 1863-64 had been an effective deterrent against French and British aid to the Con-

federacy. For decades following the war, autocratic Russia and democratic America remained united in a firm but informal alliance against a common foe—Great Britain.⁵

Merriam then commissioned Edgar, Colonel Charles McC. Reeve, owner of the Holly Flour Mill in Minneapolis, and George B. Evans, a real estate agent and broker in St. Paul, to receive the contributed breadstuffs and to go to Russia to supervise their distribution. The governors of Iowa, Nebraska, Massachusetts, and other states, as well as local and private organizations, quickly followed Merriam's official sanction of the effort.

AT THE TIME that Edgar was appointed to the governor's commission, he had been associated with the *Northwestern Miller* nearly ten years. Born in La Crosse, Wisconsin, on December 21, 1856, Edgar spent his youth in St. Louis, Missouri. At the age of sixteen, he went to work for the Democrat Lithograph and Printing Company of St. Louis. Edgar was employed as a salesman for Snider and Holmes, wholesale paper dealers and manufacturers in St. Louis, in 1882 when the publisher of the *Northwestern Miller*, Charles M. Palmer, asked him to become the journal's business manager.⁶ In the decade prior to the Russian famine, Edgar assumed the additional responsibility of editor-

WILLIAM C. EDGAR at the time of the Russian famine



³ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 5.

⁴ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 6; *Northwestern Miller*, 32:781 (December 4, 1891). On the milling industry in Minneapolis, see Lucile M. Kane, *The Waterfall That Built A City: The Falls of St. Anthony in Minneapolis* (St. Paul, 1966).

⁵ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 6; *Northwestern Miller*, 32:818 (December 11, 1891); Albert A. Woldman, *Lincoln and the Russians: The Story of Russian-American Diplomatic Relations during the Civil War*, vii-ix, 140-155 (Cleveland, 1952).

⁶ *The Life of William C. Edgar 1856-1932*, 5 (Excerpts from issues of the *Northwestern Miller* published following his death on December 2, 1932) ([Minneapolis, 1933]).



GOVERNOR WILLIAM R. MERRIAM

ship and established himself as a leader in the defense of fair trade and high standards in the milling industry. Under his direction the *Northwestern Miller* became the recognized medium between millers and flour buyers, both in the United States and abroad.⁷

It was in this journal, then, that Edgar unfolded his famine relief plans. In his editorial of December 4, he proposed that millers donate six million pounds of flour to fill a ship for the starving Russians. Each week during the ensuing months the *Northwestern Miller* reported the progress of the undertaking, listing contributors and urging additional pledges. "This is not a Minneapolis movement, or even a northwestern movement," Edgar wrote in the December 11, 1891, issue. "It is national, and every miller east of the Rocky mountains must do his share to make up the grand total to be contributed by the millers of America." He issued reprints of his articles with subscription forms and mailed them to over five thousand millers.⁸

In such milling centers as St. Louis, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Akron, Topeka, and Buffalo, local famine relief committees, sponsored by churches, civic and business groups, and political parties, sprang up. Many prominent newspapers, such as the *Minneapolis Journal* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, and periodicals got behind the drive.⁹

By December 25, 1891, Edgar could announce a total of one million pounds of flour contributed toward the goal of six million. The list of contributors lengthened steadily, including millers in such widely separated states as New Mexico and Pennsylvania. The responses ranged from a \$5 check sent by a widow in Cherry

Creek, New York, to 112,000 pounds of flour donated by the Pillsbury-Washburn Flour Mills in Minneapolis.¹⁰

Edgar received a letter from a teacher and her eighth-grade class in Paris, Texas: "Enclosed find post-office order for the sum of \$5, sent by pupils and myself to aid you in your effort to alleviate the suffering Russians. I read to my classes an account from the *Review of Reviews* and had them reproduce it for a language lesson. Finding the young hearts ready to respond, we send you the enclosed sum."¹¹

Edgar had originally suggested that the Russian government pay freighting charges on the flour to New York and then furnish transportation to Russia. The mission of mercy had snowballed so rapidly, however, that railroads across the nation volunteered to carry the flour free from the points of donation to ports. The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad was the first line to offer its services. Other railroads quickly followed this example.¹²

Governor Merriam worked closely with Edgar to insure that Minnesota played a leading role in the campaign. In the *Northwestern Miller* of January 1, 1892, Edgar praised the chief executive's efforts, noting that "For success in obtaining transportation on the railways of Minnesota for our Russian-bound flour, great credit is due Governor Merriam, who personally wrote each railway corporation in the state. He is deeply interested in the success of the undertaking, and has been doing everything in his power to make the contribution from Minnesota, like the name of Abou Ben Adhem, 'lead all the rest.' In every county, he has appointed special commissioners, to solicit subscriptions and attend to forwarding the flour and cash donations to the proper parties. He has given much time and attention to the matter and, in every way, has helped to arouse attention and enthusiasm, and, in consequence, before the cargo is ready for shipment, not only the millers of the state but the citizens generally, will figure on the lists as generous subscribers."

On January 5, 1892, when the momentum of the relief movement was at its peak, Senator William D.

⁷ *The Life of William C. Edgar*, 5.

⁸ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 7.

⁹ See, for example, *Minneapolis Journal*, December 24, 1891, p. 1, *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, December 30, 1891, p. 1, "An International Charity" and "Help for the Russian Starvelings," in *Review of Reviews*, 4:656 (January, 1892) and 5:37-44 (February, 1892).

¹⁰ *Northwestern Miller*, 33:231 (February 12, 1892) and 266 (February 19, 1892).

¹¹ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 8.

¹² *Northwestern Miller*, 32:781 (December 4, 1891); Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 9.

Washburn of Minnesota introduced a resolution in the Senate to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to transport the contributed flour to Russia. President Benjamin Harrison endorsed the proposal in a special message: "The Secretary of the Navy has no steam vessel at his disposal that could be used for the transportation of these supplies, and I therefore recommend that he be authorized to charter a suitable vessel to receive them, if a sufficient amount should be offered, and to send them under the charge of a naval officer to such Russian port as may be most convenient for

ready distribution to those most in need." The Senate approved the resolution by a heavy majority, but the House of Representatives surprised everyone by rejecting it in a contemporary fervor for retrenchment and economy.¹³

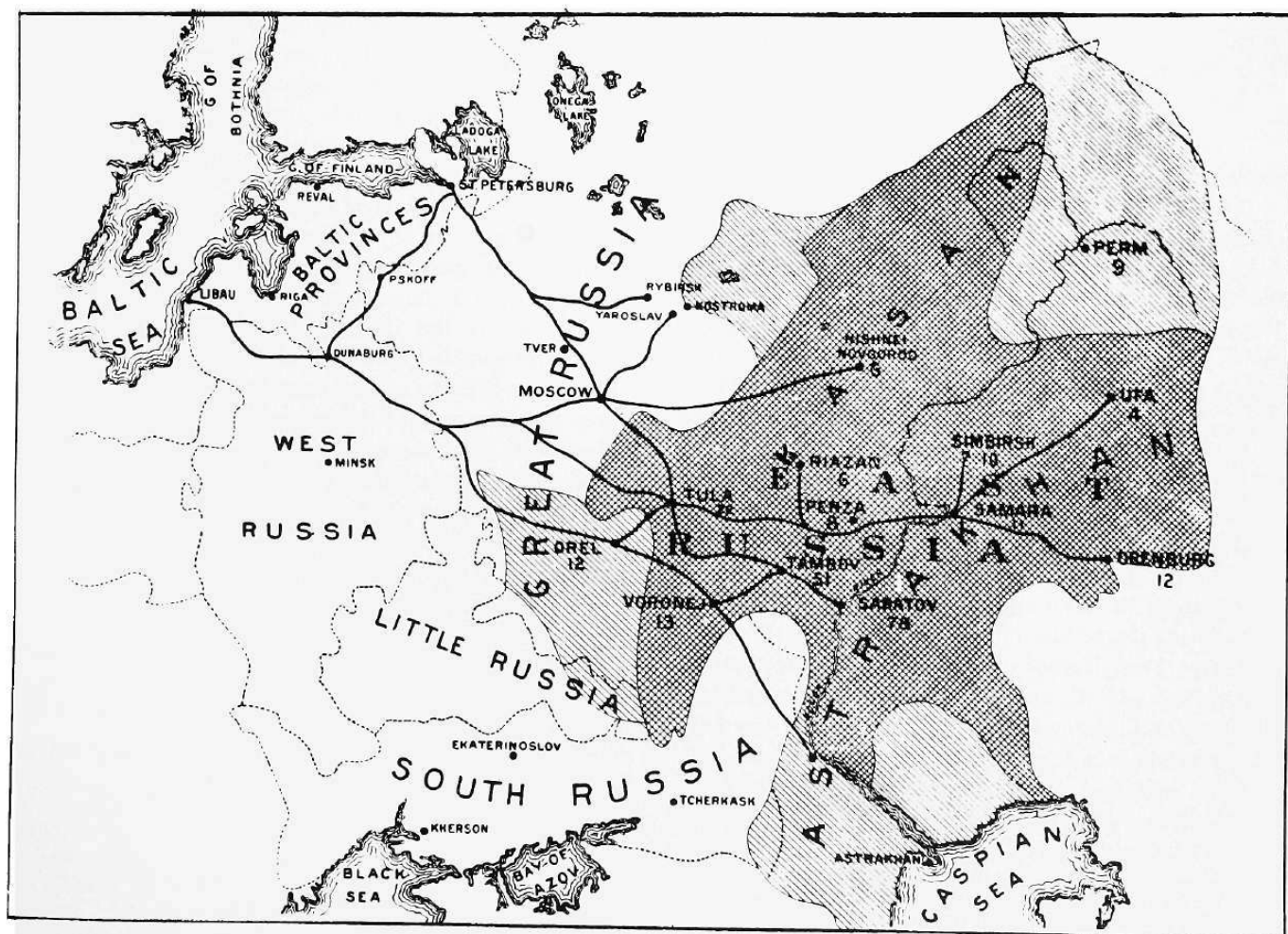
THIS SETBACK seemed to throw the relief effort off stride temporarily. The *Nation* voiced the opinion that it would be better to give the Russians money than flour. Edgar pointed out the poor economy of raising money for food in a country where the latter commodity was scarce. Furthermore, some argued, it was conceivable that, given money, the Russian government would drive up Russian and European grain prices, thereby reducing the relief for the hungry peasants while enriching profiteers.¹⁴

Edgar had to deal with other challenges to his movement's goals. There were numerous published reports that Russia did not want the contributions and that

¹³ *Congressional Record*, 52 Congress, 1 session, 110 (quote), 126, 157-177.

¹⁴ "Aid for Starving Russians," in *Nation*, 54:129 (February 18, 1892); *Northwestern Miller*, 33:302 (February 26, 1892); Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 11, 32; Jonas Stadling, "With Tolstoy in the Russian Famine," in *Century Magazine*, 46:252 (June, 1893).

THIS MAP of Russia was frequently reproduced in contemporary publications. The dark shading indicates total crop failure, while the light shading denotes partial failure. The numbers represent freight cars of flour from the mercy ship "Missouri."



the extent of the famine had been exaggerated. In response, Edgar printed letters from Russian landowners which described the horrors of "families living on grass and roots."¹⁵

Those critics who attacked the seeming indifference of Alexander III's autocratic regime and suggested that charity ought to begin at home posed another threat to Edgar's plans. The editor was quick to acknowledge the "peculiar methods of government, long-continued abuses of officials, and the general unfortunate situation of the peasantry" which prevailed in Russia. He insisted, however, that "If it is necessary, before succor is sent to the starving peasants of Russia, to . . . discuss to an end the complicated politics of the great empire, we fear that kindly death will put an end to the suffering people before our little donation of flour is able to do its charitable mission. . . . This is not a question of politics; it is a question of humanity."¹⁶

Finally, Edgar had to face the competition of rival relief organizations, one of which, founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, sent a shipload of flour to Russia on February 22, 1892, before the Minnesota editor was able to arrange transportation for his movement's contribution. The Eastern group sent a second shipload in April. Edgar maintained, nonetheless, that his project was "more purely charitable" because it had been the first to call attention to the problem and because it represented different sections of the country and citizens from all economic classes.¹⁷

Despite numerous impediments, Edgar successfully championed the cause of the Russian peasants. The Atlantic Transport Line of New York offered to carry the flour to Russia free of charge in its steamship "Missouri." The offer was accepted immediately. Shipments were routed to New York City, where they were stored without cost by the Terminal Warehouse Company. Subscription lists closed during the first week in March.

Edgar and his fellow commissioners left for New York. The departure of the "Missouri" was scheduled for March 12, and stevedores volunteered to load the ship during the preceding week. The late arrival of a consignment of corn meal from Nebraska, however, delayed the departure until the afternoon of March 16. The *New York Herald* of that day indicated that the ship embarked with much bustle and little ceremony.¹⁸

Edgar and Edmund J. Phelps, the secretary-treasurer of the Minnesota Loan and Trust Company of Minneapolis who had replaced George Evans as a relief commissioner, left for England on another ship on March 17. Charles Reeve had preceded his comrades, sailing for Europe during the first week in March. The voyage, according to Edgar, was uneventful. In Lon-

don he procured a few letters of introduction which he thought might be useful in Russia and then journeyed to Berlin. The "Missouri" proceeded to its destination at the port of Libau, now the Latvian city of Liepaja on the Baltic Sea.¹⁹

EDGAR AND PHELPS shared a relatively comfortable train ride to the Russian border, where the editor experienced a moment of anxiety over "the terrible severity of the officers of the law at this Russian custom-house, sometimes called the entrance to the rat-trap." The commissioners, however, were allowed to enter the country without even a routine examination. They met Reeve in St. Petersburg on March 30.²⁰

Edgar was impressed with the capital city which, superficially at least, had not been affected by the famine. Charles E. Smith, the U. S. minister to Russia, received the commissioners at his home and introduced them to J. M. Crawford, the U. S. consul-general, Count Andre Bobrinskoy, the representative of the czar's special relief commission, and emissaries from various other relief associations. Smith had formulated a plan for distribution of the flour, to which all agreed. Responsible people engaged in welfare missions in the various provinces would act as agents to receive allotments of the cargo.²¹

The American commissioners were well treated during their brief stay in St. Petersburg. The press presented Edgar a carved wooden platter on which a loaf of bread and a silver-enameled salt shaker — symbols of good will — rested. The gift was wrapped in a cloth embroidered with the Russian equivalent of "A friend in need is a friend indeed."²²

On April 1 the commissioners went by train to Libau, where the "Missouri" docked two days later. The city heralded its arrival with fireworks, civic and official ceremonies, and great crowds at dockside. Russian soldiers carried the Americans about on their shoulders. Lighters immediately went to work unloading the cargo. Count Bobrinskoy and his staff had made arrangements to transport the flour to the famine districts. After a religious service on Monday afternoon, April 4, the first trainload, bedecked with American and Russian flags, steamed away for the interior. By

¹⁵ *Northwestern Miller*, 33:43 (January 8, 1892) and 79 (quote) (January 15, 1892).

¹⁶ *Northwestern Miller*, 32:889 (quotes) (December 25, 1891) and 33:169-171 (January 29, 1892).

¹⁷ Reeves, *Russia Then and Now*, 1-8; *Northwestern Miller*, 33:301 (quote) (February 26, 1892).

¹⁸ *New York Herald*, March 16, 1892, p. 7.

¹⁹ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 18.

²⁰ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 20-21.

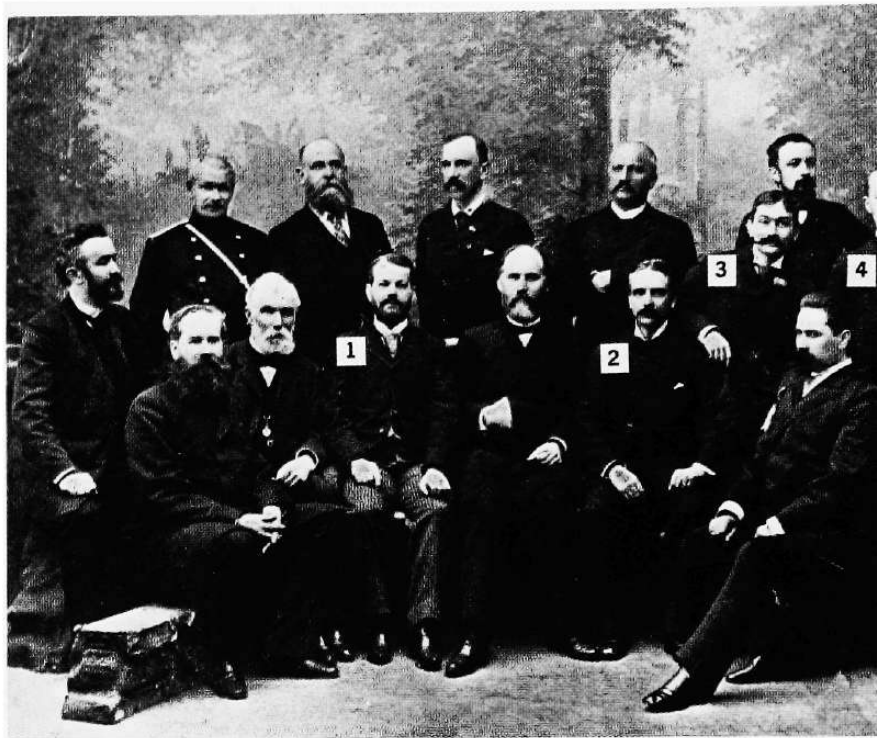
²¹ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 23-24.

²² Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 25.



ON APRIL 3, 1892, the "Missouri," laden with flour, docked at Libau, Russia.

A PUBLIC DINNER officially marked the arrival of the "Missouri" at Libau. American and Russian dignitaries included Consul General J. M. Crawford (1), Edmund J. Phelps (2), William C. Edgar (3), and Count Andre Bobrinskoy (4).



Thursday all the flour in the ship's hold had been unloaded and the last trainload had departed. Altogether the donations filled 241 freight cars and weighed nearly 5,400,000 pounds. Shipments were made to 75 towns and villages in 13 different provinces.²³

Reeve and Phelps returned to the United States after the unloading of the "Missouri." Edgar stayed on, journeying from Libau to Moscow. In his words, "I imagined that the readers of the *Northwestern Miller*, and especially those who had given toward the cargo, would not acquit me of my full duty until I had gone still further and could tell them by actual observation something about the extent of the famine and the state of the relief work."²⁴

The editor was struck by Moscow, a "fascinating, curious, half-oriental city." In contrast to St. Peters-

burg, where Edgar had sensed an insulation from the peasants' plight, Moscow, at the heart of the empire, was close to the scenes of anguish. The unusually large number of tattered beggars in its streets heightened the city's awareness, according to Edgar. After the Easter holidays he left Moscow with an unidentified Russian companion to tour the famine areas.²⁵

The two men, snug in fur coats and Russian boots, traveled by open carriage through one "forlorn collection of alleged houses" after another. Edgar's observations — which he published first as a series of articles for the *Northwestern Miller* and then as a book — confirmed that the food problem was even more severe than generally believed. Hunger and starvation were widespread among the people. The decimation of livestock further complicated the situation. Families were reduced to living off "hunger bread," a substance made from wild archoch, straw, bark, ground acorns, sand, and sometimes a little rye flour. Others ate boiled grass with two or three handfuls of flour and some milk. The women fetched drinking water "From wells filled with the green water from the street."²⁶

Fuel was scarce, and many went without fires in their huts. The resulting dampness, combined with poor nourishment, led to typhus outbreaks of epidemic

²³ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 29–31.

²⁴ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 33.

²⁵ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 35 (quote), 39.

²⁶ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 46 (first quote); *Northwestern Miller*, 33:79 (January 15, 1892); Smith, in *North American Review*, 154:546; Jonas Stadling, "The Famine in Eastern Russia," in *Century Magazine*, 46:564 (second quote) (August, 1893).



A TRAINLOAD of flour steams away from Libau, heading for the famine districts.

proportions. In some districts the annual death rate rose to two hundred per thousand.²⁷

THE RELIEF did not come any too soon. Russia was used to famines, but this one was staggering in its extent. Some thirty million people, through twenty provinces covering 475,000 square miles, were affected. The government had appropriated large sums of money to aid the peasants and remitted taxes to furnish additional relief. Special committees in St. Petersburg and Moscow, presided over by the heir apparent and the czar's sister-in-law, brought as much grain as possible into the stricken areas and created large public works to supply able-bodied men with jobs.²⁸

Some of the Russian nobility, including the well-known author Leo Tolstoy and his family, established bakeries, soup kitchens, children's asylums, and hospitals across the countryside. They awarded bread allowances to the families in their districts. Edgar reported on the procedure: "Each peasant receiving relief was furnished with a small pink ticket, numbered, on which were written his name and the weight of bread per day to which his family was entitled. Below was a calendar for the month. Upon presenting his ticket, he asked for as many days' supply as he could conveniently carry away with him, and, upon weighing and delivery of the due amount, the ticket was returned to him, with the days for which he had drawn bread crossed off or punched out. This performance gone through with, the peasant shouldered his sack and trudged off home, bringing the food to his hungry and expectant family."²⁹

The efforts of landed gentry in distributing the flour solicited by the *Northwestern Miller* turned the tide. Edgar returned to Moscow from his inspection tour in late April, convinced that direct donations of

²⁷ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 54.

²⁸ *Northwestern Miller*, 33:896b (June 10, 1892); Smith, in *North American Review*, 46:549; Charques, *A Short History of Russia*, 212.

²⁹ Stadling, "With Tolstoy in the Russian Famine," in *Century Magazine*, 46:249-263; "Help for the Russian Starvelings," in *Review of Reviews*, 5:37-44; Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 51 (quote).

RED SQUARE in Moscow as it appeared in 1892



flour had been wise and that the means of distribution in Russia had been efficient.³⁰

Returning home by way of St. Petersburg, Edgar was granted an audience with the cesarevitch, later Nicholas II, who took the occasion to express repeatedly Russia's gratitude for America's relief efforts. Edgar subsequently recalled the cesarevitch's invitation to remain in the capital a few days longer. The editor, having already made a train reservation, refused. He later learned that such invitations were regarded as imperial commands and remarked "I might well have been exiled to Siberia for not knowing my manners."³¹

Edgar's arrival in the Twin Cities on June 10, 1892, marked the formal end of the amazing relief operation. Appealing to the generosity of businessmen as well as farmers, school children, and citizens generally, the *Northwestern Miller* had received donations from over 450 municipalities in 25 states. A great number of railroads, newspapers, and journals had contributed their services. More than \$26,000 and 5,389,728 pounds of flour were donated to the cause. Minnesota's contribution was second only to that of New York.³²

Although the Russian famine had abated by the summer of 1892, many peasants continued to feel its

aftereffects during the fall and winter of 1892-93. Edgar continued to receive letters from grateful and concerned nobles, and he always managed to send money to these individuals.³³

On May 27, 1893, the anniversary of Czar Alexander III's coronation, an elaborate ceremony honoring those who had rendered services to the relief campaign was held aboard a Russian flagship anchored in the Delaware River near Philadelphia. Russian officials, including the commander-in-chief of the Russian squadron, the Russian ambassador to the United States, and the czar's nephew, bestowed gifts upon Edgar, his fellow commissioners, the representatives of the Philadelphia Relief Commission—Francis B. Reeves, Rudolph Blankenburg, Anthony J. Drexel, Jr., and Dr. A. L. Biddle—and other contributors. Edgar was given a gilded silver flagon as a token of the czar's regard.³⁴

WHY HAD the Russian famine stimulated this great charitable outpouring? Edgar, who more than any other single person was responsible for organizing and directing the effort, was to comment: "It was noticeable that those states the people of which had, themselves, at some time in their history, felt the need of help, either through drought, crop failures, grasshoppers or other afflictions, were the first to respond to the call from their Russian brethren."³⁵

The Pennsylvania Department of the Grand Army of the Republic pointed out another consideration: "Remembering the acts of friendship shown by the Russian Government and people towards this Nation during the period of the Civil War, each Post of this Department is requested to donate one or more barrels of flour to this worthy object, not only as an act of

³⁰ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 62.

³¹ Edgar, "Personal Impressions of the New Tsar," in *Harper's Weekly*, 38:1118 (November 24, 1894); *The Life of William C. Edgar*, 19 (quote).

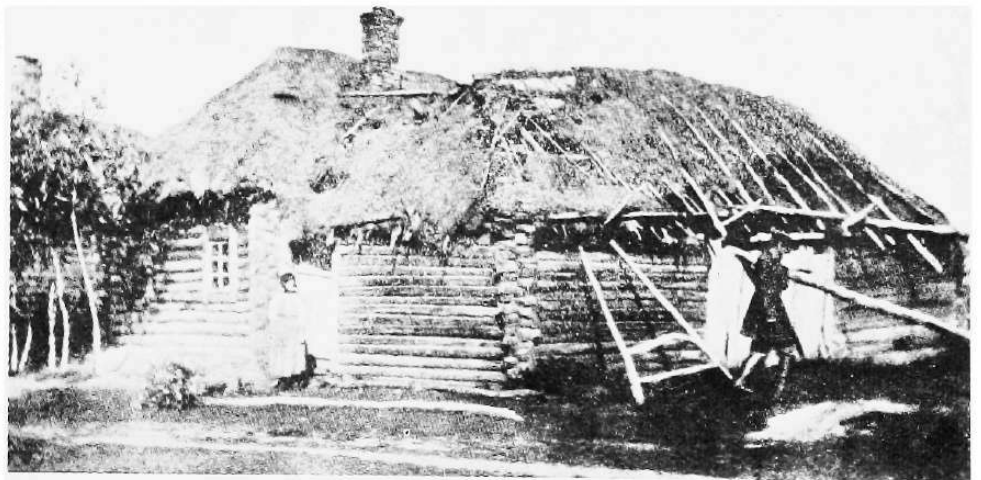
³² Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 9, 70.

³³ Examples of this correspondence may be found in volume 3 of the Edgar Papers, in the Minnesota Historical Society.

³⁴ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 28, 1893, clipping in Edgar Papers; Reeves, *Russia Then and Now*, 104-109.

³⁵ Edgar, *The Russian Famine*, 8.

THE PEASANT and hut below were typical of the scenes Edgar witnessed on his Russian tour.



humanity towards a starving people, but also as an evidence of the appreciation of the services of the Russian Government at that time by the men who

THE HEIR APPARENT personally thanked Edgar for his efforts in the relief campaign.



fought for the perpetuation of American liberty.” The memory of Russia’s assistance was, no doubt, still fresh in the minds of many citizens.³⁶

Certainly William Edgar deserves much of the credit for awakening the American public to the need of its Russian brothers. He continued to edit the *Northwestern Miller* until 1924 and in 1906 founded *The Bellman*, a literary magazine which lasted thirteen years. He authored several books and service publications and wrote a weekly column for the *Minneapolis Tribune* for many years. His efforts on behalf of the destitute never ceased. Using the columns of the *Northwestern Miller* once again, he helped organize the Belgium Relief Movement from 1914 to 1916. As he had done in Russia, Edgar personally supervised the distribution of the shipload of flour sent to Belgium. He assisted in organizing the American milling industry under President Woodrow Wilson before passage of a food control bill and worked under Herbert Hoover in the Food Administration during World War I. Edgar died in Marine on St. Croix on December 2, 1932.³⁷

³⁶ Reeves, *Russia Then and Now*, 7.

³⁷ *The Life of William C. Edgar*, 5-6; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, December 2, 1932, p. 4.

THE PORTRAIT of Merriam on page 56 is from the picture collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. All the other photographs are reproduced from Edgar’s book, *The Russian Famine of 1891 and 1892*.



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