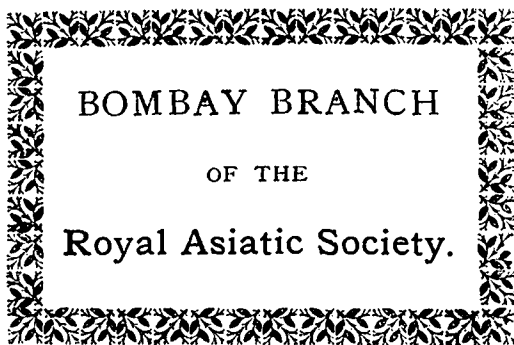




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T R A V E L S ²⁵⁸

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D E N M A R K.

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

By WILLIAM COXE,

A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON, PREBENDARY OF
SARUM,

AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP
OF SALISBURY. -

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T R A V E L S

I N T O

R U S S I A.

B O O K III. *Continued.*

VOL. II.

B

C H A P. IV.

Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the Kremlin.—Tombs of the Russian patriarchs.—Origin and abolition of the patriarchal dignity.—Account of the patriarchal Philaretes father of the house of Romanof.—Biographical anecdotes of the patriarch Nicon.

THE cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, which has long been appropriated to the coronation of the Russian sovereigns, is another church in the Kremlin, that remains to be described. This temple is the most splendid and magnificent in Moscow. The skreen is in many parts covered with plates of solid silver and gold richly worked. From the centre of the roof hangs an enormous chandelier of massy silver, weighing 2940 pounds: it was made in England, and was a present from Morosof, prime-minister and favourite of Alexèy

Michaelovitch. The sacred utensils and episcopal vestments are extraordinary rich; but the taste of the workmanship is in general rude, and by no means equal to the materials.

Many of the figures which cover the inside walls are of a colossal size: some are very antient, and were executed so early as in the latter end of the fifteenth century. This church contains, amongst the rest, a head of the Virgin, supposed to have been painted by St. Luke, and greatly celebrated in this country for its sanctity and the power of working miracles. The face is almost black; the head is ornamented with a glory of precious stones; and the hands and body are gilded, which gives it a most grotesque appearance. It is placed in the skreen, and enclosed within a large silver covering, which is never taken off but on great festivals, or for the curiosity of strangers. This Madonna is more antient than the other paintings: according to the tradition of the church, it was brought from Greece to Kiof when that city was the residence of the Russian sovereigns; from thence it was transferred to Volodimir, and afterwards to Moscow. It seems to have been a Grecian painting, and

was probably anterior to the revival of that art in Italy*.

In this cathedral are deposited the remains of the Russian patriarchs.

The

* I saw several paintings of the Virgin in the north of Italy similar to this: a few were said to be the productions of St. Luke, others of Cimabue, or his scholars. The complexion in these was likewise of a dusky hue, and plainly from the fancy of the painters. This leads me to imagine that the Grecian painters originally represented the Virgin of a dark complexion, which was copied by the earliest Italian artists, Cimabue and his immediate scholars, who received the art from the Greeks. Le Bruyn, speaking of this Madonna at Moscow, says, "It is very gloomy and almost black; but whether this proceeds from the effects of time, or the smoke of tapers, or the fancy of the painter; certain it is, there is no great matter in it." &c. Travels, vol. I. p. 70. An ingenious author, in a late publication, mentions in the monastery of Monte-Virgine, a Colossal portrait of the Virgin Mary, which passes for the work of St. Luke the Evangelist, and adds, "There are in Italy and elsewhere some dozens of black, ugly Madonnas, which all pass for the work of his hands, and as such are revered." To which passage he subjoins the following note, but without citing his authority: "The origin of this fable, or rather mistake, appears to be, that about the time that paintings of holy subjects came into fashion, there lived at Constantinople a painter called Luke, who, by many representations of the Virgin, acquired a very transcendent reputation. He was a man of exemplary life, and on account of his piety, and the edifying use he made of his talents, was generally

The first of these was Job, before whose time the primate of the Russian church was suffragan to the patriarch of Constantinople. Job, being metropolitan archbishop of Moscow, was, in the year 1588, installed in this cathedral patriarch of Russia, by Jeremias patriarch of Constantinople, with all due solemnities. The ceremony of translating the see from the capital of Turkey to this city is thus described by an author, who was himself present*.

“ On

“ known by the name of the Holy Luke. In process
 “ of time, when the epocha and circumstances of his life
 “ were forgotten by the vulgar, and his performances had
 “ acquired by age a smoky, dusky cast, sufficient to perplex
 “ the short-sighted connoisseurs of those days, devotees
 “ ascribed his pictures to the Evangelist, who was pro-
 “ nounced a painter, because they knew of no other saint
 “ of the name, and because if he had been a painter, no
 “ one could have had such opportunities of examining and
 “ delineating the features of the holy model.” Swinburne’s
 Travels in the Two Sicilies, p. 123. For proof of the
 introduction of painting into Russia and Italy by the Greeks,
 see the Description of the Cathedral of St. Sophia at No-
 vogorod.

* Fletcher’s Russia, Chap. 21. This author adds, that Jeremias, whom he calls Hieronimo, had been either banished from Constantinople by the Turks, or deposed by the Greek clergy; that he came to Moscow without any invitation from the Russians, in order to obtain money from the tzar Feodor Ivanovitch; and that with this view
 he

“ On the 25th of January, 1583, the
 “ Greek patriarch, accompanied with the
 “ Ruffe cleargie, went to the great church
 “ of Precheste, or our Ladie, within the
 “ Emperour’s castle, where he made an ora-
 “ tion, and delivered his resignation in an
 “ instrument of writing, and so laid down
 “ his patriarchal staffe; which was presently
 “ received by the metropolitane of Mosko, and
 “ divers other ceremonies used about the
 “ inauguration of the new patriarch.”

• The most venerable of Job’s successors in the patriarchal see was Philaretus, who, though no sovereign himself, is celebrated as being the founder of that line of Ruffian monarchs, distinguished by the name of the House of Romanof*. His secular name was Feodor:

he proposed the translation of the patriarchal see from Constantinople to Moscow.

Others deny that he was either deposed or banished; and relate, that the tzar having formally demanded the consent of the four patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, to the establishment of a new patriarch in Russia, they acceded to the request, and solemnly deputed Jeremias to Moscow, who invested the metropolitan Job with the new dignity. King on the Greek Church, p. 496.

* In consequence of a custom prevalent among the Russians to adopt the appellation of the grandfather for a family name, the new royal line was called Romanof, in honour of Roman, Feodor’s grandfather.

he drew his lineage from Andrew, a Prussian prince, who came into Russia about the middle of the fourteenth century; and whose immediate descendants enjoyed the most considerable honours and the highest offices under the sovereigns of this country. Feodor was son of Nikita Romanovitch, great-grandson of Andrew, and brother of Anastasia first wife of Ivan Vassilievitch II. When Boris himself was elevated to the throne; the high birth, great abilities, and popularity of Feodor Romanof rendered him so obnoxious to the new monarch, that he was compelled to assume the priesthood, and was confined in a monastery; upon which occasion he, according to the Russian custom, changed his name to Philaretes.

Upon the accession, in 1605, of the sovereign whom the Russians call the False Demetrius, he was released from his confinement, and appointed to the archbishoprick of Rostof; but in this period of his life he seemed doomed to a succession of imprisonments. Soon after the deposition of Vassili Shuiski, when a strong party among the nobles had agreed to elect Ladislaus, son of Sigismund III. king of Poland, tzar of Russia; Philaretes was, in 1610, dispatched at the head of an embassy

bally to Sigismond, in order to settle the conditions of his son's election. He found the Polish monarch engaged in the siege of Smolensko; and when the king demanded the immediate cession of that town, Philaretos warmly returned, "When your son has ascended our throne, he will possess not only Smolensko, but all Ruffia; and it ill becomes you to dismember his territories." Sigismond, exasperated at this spirited reply, and still farther inflamed by the remonstrances which Philaretos and the embassadors urged against his conduct towards Ruffia, arrested and threw them into prison. Philaretos languished nine years in the castle of Marienburgh*, in Prussia, under a most rigorous confinement, during which even many of the common necessaries were frequently withheld from him. His absence, however, did not diminish the respect and veneration which the Ruffians entertained for his character: the whole nation unanimously conferred the crown upon his son Michael, a youth only in the seventeenth year of his age; in hopes that a peace with Poland would restore Philaretos to his country, and render him the

* Busching. Hist. Mag. v. II. p. 403.

director of that power with which they had invested his son. This expectation was gratified at the truce of Develina, concluded in 1619, between Russia and Poland which gave Philaretus to the wishes of the people. Immediately upon his arrival at Moscow he was consecrated patriarch, and became the real, though not the ostensible, sovereign of this country; as his son may be said to have held the reins of government under his absolute direction. He was invested with the administration of affairs; his name was frequently associated in the public acts with that of the czar*; he gave audience to ambassadors†; and upon many public occasions was permitted to take precedence of his son‡. His experience, moderation, and abilities, rendered him worthy of these high honours, and this unbounded authority; and the prosperity of Michael's reign proclaimed the wisdom of his sage monitor. Philaretus died in 1633, in an advanced age, regretted by his son and the whole kingdom.

The last of these patriarchs was Adrian, at whose demise, in 1699, Peter, attentive to

* Schmid. Russ. Gef. v. II. p. 13.

† Busching. Hist. Mag. v. VII. p. 329.

‡ Olearius.

the true interests of his crown, could never be prevailed upon to nominate a successor; and in 1721 the patriarchal dignity was formally abolished.

In a former chapter I observed, that there are no seats in the Russian churches, the ceremonial of the Greek worship requiring all persons to stand during the performance of divine service. In this cathedral, sacred to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, I observed two elevated places near the skreen, enclosed with rails without seats: one of them is appropriated to the sovereign; the other was formerly destined for the patriarch, whose state and grandeur were in some instances not inferior to those of the czar himself. Upon some public occasion the archbishop of Novogorod, who aspired to have the patriarchal dignity revived in his person, pointing to the place formerly occupied by the patriarch, remarked to Peter, "Sire, that structure is now useless; will not your majesty order it to be removed?" Peter was silent; but, upon the archbishop's repeating the question, turned to him and said, "That place shall not be removed, nor shall you fill it."

The Russians reckon eleven patriarchs from the first establishment of the dignity in the person of Job, to its final abolition after the death of Adrian. Of these the greatest and most conspicuous was the celebrated Nikon; whom, as he is the only patriarch not interred in this cathedral, I could not mention upon contemplating their tombs. It is hoped that no apology needs be offered for the following account of a man, whom some Russians still abhor as Antichrist, and others adore as a saint; and whose extraordinary character has never been faithfully represented to the English reader.

Nicon was born in 1613, in a village of the government of Nisânèi Noyogorod, of such obscure parents, that their names and station are not transmitted to posterity. He received, at the baptismal font, the name of Nikita, which afterwards, when he became monk, he changed to Nicon; the appellation by which he is more generally known. He was educated in the convent of St. Macarius, under the care of a monk. From the course of his studies, which were almost solely directed to the Holy Scriptures, and the exhortations of his preceptor, he imbibed at a very early period, the strongest attachment to a monastic life;

life; and was only prevented from following the bent of his mind by the persuasions and authority of his father. In conformity, however, to the wishes of his family, though contrary to his own inclination, he entered into matrimony; and, as that state precluded him from being admitted into a convent, he was ordained a secular priest.

With his wife he passed ten years; first as a parish-priest in some country village, and afterwards at Moscow in the same capacity; but losing three children, whom he tenderly loved, his disgust for the world and his propensity to solitude returned with redoubled violence; and, having persuaded his wife to take the veil, he entered into the monastick order. He chose for his own retreat a small island of the White-Sea, inhabited only by a few persons, who formed a kind of ecclesiastical establishment, as remarkable for the austerity of their rules as for the solitude of their situation: about twelve monks dwelled in separate cells, equally distant from each other * and from the church which stood in the center of the island. These lonely anchorites assembled regularly on Saturday evening

* Two versts, or a mile and a half.

in the church, where they assisted in the performance of divine service during the whole night, and the next day until noon, when they retired to their respective habitations. This practice was repeated on certain festivals; at other times each recluse occupied his cell undisturbed by any mutual intercourse. Their food was bread, and fish which they caught themselves, or procured from parts of the contiguous continent. Such was the situation to which Nikon retired, as congenial to the gloomy state of his own mind; where, brooding in solitude upon the uncertainty of human life, he was unhappily led to consider the most debasing austerities as acceptable to the Supreme Being; and necessarily contracted that cloistered pride, which gave an alloy to his sublime virtues, and proved the greatest defect in his character, when he was afterwards called upon to fulfil the duties of a public and exalted station.

After a short residence in this island, Nikon was chosen to accompany the chief of the ecclesiastical establishment to Moscow, in order to raise a collection for the building of a new church. He was scarcely returned from this expedition, when, at the instigation of the chief, whom he had offended during his

§

journey,

journey, he was compelled by the other monks, to retire from the island. He embarked in an open boat, with only a single person to assist him, in an high sea: being overtaken by a violent storm, he was tossed about and in continual danger of perishing; but was at length driven upon an island near the mouth of the Onega.

From this island he repaired to a monastery upon the contiguous continent; and being admitted into the society, instead of inhabiting an apartment in the convent, he, in imitation of his former solitude, constructed a separate cell on an adjacent island; where he lived upon the fish that he caught with his own hands, and never visited the monastery but during the time of divine service. By this reclusive and rigid way of life he was held in such high esteem by the brethren, that upon the death of their superior they unanimously raised him to the vacant dignity. He continued in this capacity for three years, when, being drawn by some family affairs to Moscow, he was casually presented to the czar Alexèy Michaelovitch; who was so captivated with his various talents, extensive learning, and natural eloquence, as to detain him at Moscow, and to take him under his
immediate

immediate protection. Within less than five years he was successively created archimandrite or abbot of the Novospatskoi convent; archbishop of Novogorod; and patriarch of Russia. He deserved these rapid promotions by a rare assemblage of extraordinary qualities, which even his enemies allow him to have possessed; undaunted courage, irreproachable morals, exalted charity, comprehensive learning, and commanding eloquence.

While archbishop of Novogorod, to which dignity he was raised in 1649, he gave a memorable instance of his firmness and discretion. During a tumult in that city, the Imperial governor, prince Feodor Kilkof, ~~took~~ refuge in the archiepiscopal palace against the fury of the insurgents; who, bursting open the gates, threatened instant pillage if the governor was not delivered to them without delay. Nikon, instead of acceding to their demand, boldly advanced into the midst of them, and exhorted them to peace. The populace, inflamed to madness by the prelate's appearance, transferred their rage from the governor to him; assaulted him with stones; dragged him by the hair; and offered every species of violence and indignity to his person. Being conveyed to the palace in a

state of insensibility, he was recovered by immediate assistance; but, regardless of the imminent danger from which he had just escaped, he persisted in his resolution, either to appease the tumult, or perish in the attempt. With this design, as if devoting himself to certain death, he confessed and received the sacrament, and repaired to the town-house, where the insurgents were assembled. He confounded them by his presence; softened them into repentance by a firm, but pathetic, address; and, persuading them to disperse, tranquillity was instantly restored to the town, which the moment before had exhibited a scene of confusion and uproar. This calm, however, was of no long duration: the sedition, which had been thus allayed by the spirit and eloquence of Nikon, being fomented by the ringleaders of the tumult, broke into open rebellion: many of the inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the tzar; and proposed to deliver the town into the hands of the king of Poland. The prelate, however, undaunted by this change in their sentiments, did not discontinue his efforts to bring them back to their duty: his remonstrances and exhortations gradually prevailed; many flocked to his palace, desiring his in-

tercession with their enraged sovereign; and though the remainder of the insurgents blocked up all the avenues to the town, yet he contrived, at the peril of his life, to send information to the tzar. Being armed, by a commission from Moscow, with full powers, he by a vigorous exertion of his authority, but without the effusion of blood, finally quelled the rebellion. To him was committed the trial of the rebels, and the absolute disposal of life and death; an office which he executed with as much judgment as lenity. The leader of the sedition was alone punished with death; ten of his most mutinous adherents were knotted and banished; and a few others were condemned to a short imprisonment. Nikon nobly forgave the outrage committed against his own person; and in chastizing the public offence tempered the severity of justice with the feelings of humanity.

He gained the respect of the inhabitants by the unwearied assiduity with which he performed the functions of his archiepiscopal office; and conciliated their affection by acts of unbounded charity. He built and endowed alms-houses for widows, old men, and orphans: was the great patron of the indigent; the

the zealous protector of the lower class of men against the oppressions of the great; and during a dreadful famine, appropriated the revenues of his see to the general relief of the poor.

He was no less conspicuous in the vigilant discharge of the high duties of his patriarchal office, to which he was appointed in 1652, only in the 39th year of his age. He instituted seminaries for the instruction of priests in the Greek and Latin languages; he enriched the patriarchal library with many rare ecclesiastical and classical manuscripts drawn from a convent at Mount Athos. By a diligent revival of the Holy Scriptures, and a collation of the various editions of the Old and New Testament, perceiving that many errors had crept into the printed copies of the Bible and Liturgy used for divine service; he prevailed upon the tzar to summon a general council of the Greek church at Moscow, in which he presided. By his arguments, authority, and influence, it was determined that the most antient Slavonian version of the Bible was exact; and that the errors with which the later copies abounded should be corrected. He inspected and superintended

the printing of a new edition of the Slavonian Bible, which was become so rare as not to be purchased at any price. He removed from the churches the pictures of deceased persons, to which many of the Russians offered the most blind adoration; he abolished a few ceremonies which had been carried to a most superstitious excess: in a word, his labours tended more to the reformation of the church, than the united efforts of all his predecessors in the patriarchal chair.

Nor was he solely distinguished in his professional character; but proved himself no less qualified in a civil capacity. Notwithstanding the course of his studies had hitherto confined to ecclesiastical subjects, and the recluseness of his former life seemed to impede the attainment of political knowledge; yet he was no sooner called to a public station, than his abilities expanded in proportion as the objects which they embraced became more numerous and important; his sagacity, sharpened by continual application, soon rendered him master of the most intricate affairs; taught him to comprehend and discriminate a variety of the most opposite interests; and to adopt that decisive
line

line of conduct which marks the great and enlightened statesman. Being consulted by the tzar upon all occasions, he soon became the soul of his councils *; and gained the ascendancy in the cabinet by the strength of his reasoning, and by a vast superiority of genius, ever fertile in expedients, and zealous to recommend the most vigorous and spirited measures.

After having thus attained the highest summit of human grandeur to which a subject can arrive, he fell a victim to popular discontents, and to the cabals of a court. His fall, no less sudden than his rise, may be traced from the following causes. The removal of the painted images from the churches disgusted a large party among the Russians superstitiously addicted to the adoration of their an-

*•The influence which Nikon, from the superiority of his genius, obtained in the tzar's councils, perhaps induced Voltaire, in his erroneous account of this patriarch, to declare, that he "voulut elever sa chaire au-dessus du trône; non seulement il usurpait le droit de s'asseoir dans le sénat à côté du czar, mais il prétendait, qu'on ne pouvait faire ni la guerre ni la paix sans son consentement," &c. Hist. de Pierre le Grand, p. 74. From Voltaire, the compiler of the article of Russia, in the Universal History, has adopted this idle assertion. V. XXXVIII. p. 140.

cestors; the correction of the errors in the Liturgy and Bible; the abolition of some ceremonies; and the admission of a few others (introduced, perhaps, with too much haste, and without paying a due deference to the prejudices of his countrymen), occasioned a schism in the church; many persons averse to all innovations, and adhering to the old tenets and ceremonies, formed a very considerable sect under the appellation of *Old Believers*, and, rising in several parts, created much disturbance to the state, circumstances naturally imputed to Nikon by his enemies. He attracted the hatred of an ignorant and indolent clergy by the appointment of Greek and Latin seminaries; he raised the envy and jealousy of the prime-minister and courtiers by his predominance in the cabinet, and by the haughtiness of his deportment; and by the same means he offended the tzarina and her father, who were implacable in their resentment.

All these various parties uniting in one great combination against him, Nikon hastened his fall by a supercilious demeanour, which occasionally bordered upon arrogance; by trusting solely for his support to the rectitude of his conduct and the favour of his sovereign;

reign; and by disdainng to guard against, what he considered, as the petty intrigues of a court.

The only circumstance which seemed wanting to complete his disgrace was the loss of Alexèy's protection; and this was at length effected by the gradual, but secret, insinuations of the tzarina and her party; who finally availed themselves of an unsuccessful war with Poland, of which the patriarch is said to have been the principal adviser, to excite the tzar's displeasure against him. Nikon, finding himself excluded from the presence of a sovereign accustomed to consult him upon every emergency; and disdainng to hold the highest office in the kingdom, when he had lost the confidence of his master, astonished the public by a voluntary abdication of his patriarchal dignity. This measure, censured by many as hasty and imprudent, and highly expressive of that pride which strongly marked his character, must yet be esteemed manly and resolute; which even those who condemn cannot but admire. It may also admit of great palliation, if we consider, what is most probable, that the popular odium was rising against him; that a powerful party had absolutely, though secretly, effectuated his

disgrace; and that, as he forefaw his fall, he preferred a voluntary abdication of his dignity to a forcible deposition, chusing to resign with spirit what he thought he could not retain without meanness*.

This abdication took place on the 21st † of July, 1658, only six years after he had been created patriarch; and he quitted that exalted station with the same greatness of soul with which he had ascended it. He was permitted to retain the title of patriarch, while the functions of his office were performed by the archbishop of Novogorod. He chose for the place of his residence the convent of Jerusalem, built and endowed by himself, which is situated about the distance of thirty miles from the city of Moscow. Upon his arrival at the convent he immediately re-assumed his former recluse way of life, and practised* the most rigid mortifications. The hermitage, which

* This is the opinion of Mayerberg, who came to Moscow six years after his abdication: After enumerating the causes of his fall, he adds, “Propter quæ omnia omnibus exofus, et ad exilium communibus votis expetitus patrociniū nullum invenerit in favore Alexii, cujus animum sensim abalienaverant jactis in longum odiis uxor et focer illi ob privatas causas infensi,” p. 87.

† The 10th, O. S.

he inhabited, lay about a mile from the monastery, and is thus described by an author *, who visited the spot in the beginning of this century: “ A winding stair-case, so narrow
“ that one man could hardly pass, leads to
“ the little chapel of about a fathom in the
“ square, in which the patriarch used to perform his solitary worship. The room in
“ which he lived was not much larger; in
“ it hung a broad iron-plate, with a cross of
“ brass fixed to a heavy chain, weighing above
“ twenty pounds, all which the said patriarch
“ wore about his neck for twenty years together. His bed was a square stone two ells
“ in length, and scarcely one in breadth, over
“ which was spread nothing but a cover of
“ rushes. Below in the house was a small
“ chimney, in which the patriarch used to
“ dress his own victuals.”

While we admire the firmness with which he supported this reverse of fortune; we cannot without regret observe a person of his enlightened understanding submitting to these mortifying penances, which the most ignorant and superstitious Anchorite was no less capable of

* Perry's State of Russia, v. I. p. 140.

performing: he did not, however, waste his whole time in the performance of frivolous austerities; but employed great part of his retirement in compiling a regular series of Russian annals from Nestor, the earliest historian of this country, to the reign of Alexèy Michalovitch. He pursued this plan with the same zeal which had distinguished all his other pursuits. He compared and collated the numerous manuscripts; and, after the most diligent examination, he digested the whole collection in chronological order into a work, which is called sometimes, from its author, the Chronicle of Nikon; and sometimes, from the place where it was begun and deposited, the Chronicle of the Convent of Jerusalem. This compilation, the labour of twenty years, is justly esteemed, by the best Russian historians, a work of the greatest use and authority; and was considered, by its venerable author, of such importance to the history of his country; that, in the true spirit of enthusiasm, he begins the performance by anathematizing all those who should attempt to alter the minutest expression.

The innocent manner in which he seems to have passed his time could not protect him
from

from the further persecutions of his enemies ; who were apprehensive, that while he retained the name of patriarch he might be reinstated in his former dignity. Repeated complaints were lodged against him ; every disturbance, occasioned by the old believers, was made a matter of serious accusation ; not only his former conduct was discussed and arraigned ; but new crimes were invented to render him still more obnoxious. He was accused of expressing himself in a disrespectful manner of the czar, in a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople ; of holding a treasonable correspondence with the king of Poland ; and of receiving bribes from the same monarch.

The czar, continually beset by the patriarch's enemies, was prevailed upon to proceed to the most violent extremities against him. With this view he convened, in 1666, a general council of the Greek and Russian clergy at Moscow ; who, after a short deliberation, formally deposed Nikon from the patriarchal see, and banished him to a distant convent. The principal cause assigned for this deposition was, that Nikon, having by his voluntary abdication meanly deserted his flock, was unworthy to fill the patriarchal chair ;

chair; and this allegation is a sufficient proof that the other crimes were maliciously imputed to him, circulated merely to prejudice the tzar, and to influence the judges against him: for if he had been found guilty of a treasonable correspondence; that alone would have been a much better plea for his deposition and imprisonment, than a trifling charge drawn from his voluntary abdication. In conformity to his sentence, Nikon was degraded to the condition of a common monk, and imprisoned in the convent of Therapont, in the government of Bielozero. His confinement was for some time extremely rigorous; because, conscious of his own integrity, he persisted in a denial of guilt, and refused to accept a pardon for crimes which he had never committed. Upon the death of Alexèy in 1676, Feodor, probably at the instigation of his prime-minister prince Galitzin, the patron and friend of genius, permitted Nikon to remove to the convent of St. Cyril in the same government, where he enjoyed the most perfect liberty.

Nikon survived his deposition fifteen years. In 1681 he requested and obtained permission to return to the convent of Jerusalem, that he might

might end his days in that favourite spot; but he expired upon the road near Yaroslaf, in the 66th year of his age. His remains were transported to that convent; and buried with all the ceremonies which are usual at the interment of patriarchs*.

* For the History of Nikon, I have followed Muller in his *Nachricht von Novogorod* in *S. R. G.* vol. V. p. 541 to 559. L'Evesque has also drawn from the same source a spirited and candid account of this great patriarch, to which I acknowledge myself indebted for a few reflections. *Hist. de Russie*, v. III. p. 391 to 394; also 417 to 430.

C H A P. V.

Russian archives. — English state-papers. — Commencement of the connection between the courts of London and Moscow. — Correspondence between queen Elizabeth and the tzar Ivan Vassilievitch II. — His demand of the lady Anne Hastings in marriage. — Account of that negotiation. — Other dispatches. — A letter from the emperor Maximilian I. to Vassili Ivanovitch. — Rise of the title of tzar. — Negotiation between Peter the Great and the European courts relative to the title of emperor. — University. — Syllabus of the lectures. — Account of Matthæi's Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod. — Hymn to Ceres attributed to Homer, &c. &c.

MR. Muller obligingly accompanied us to the place in the Khitaigorod, where the public archives are deposited: it is a strong brick building, containing several vaulted apartments with iron floors. These archives, consisting of a numerous collection of state-papers, were crowded into boxes, and thrown aside like common lumber; until the present

present emprefs ordered them to be revised and arranged. In conformity to this mandate, Mr. Muller has disposed them in chronological order, with such perfect regularity, that any single document may be inspected with little trouble. They are enclosed in separate cabinets with glass doors: those relative to Russia are all classed according to the several provinces which they concern; and over each cabinet is inscribed the name of the province to which it is appropriated. In the same manner the manuscripts relative to foreign kingdoms are placed in separate divisions under the respective titles of Poland, Sweden, England, France, Germany, &c. The papers which concerned my native country first engaged my attention. The earliest correspondence between the sovereigns of England and Russia commenced about the middle of the 16th century, soon after the discovery of Archangel, and chiefly relates to the permission of trade granted exclusively to the English company of merchants settled in this country. The first record is an original letter of Philip and Mary to Ivan Vassilievitch II. acknowledging the receipt of a dispatch transmitted to England by his ambassador Osef Niphea; and returning thanks for
the

the liberty of opening a free trade throughout the Russian dominions. The charter of privileges granted by the same tzar to the English merchants, together with the numerous letters which he received from Elizabeth, are all preserved in this collection; and most of them are published in Hackluyt's Voyages: I observed one, however, not to be found in that work, it is dated the 18th of May, 1570, and Elizabeth, among other expressions of friendship, offers to Ivan Vassilievitch, in case he should be compelled by an insurrection to quit his country, an asylum for himself and family in England. This letter was signed by Elizabeth in the presence of her secret council: amongst the signatures I noticed the names of Bacon, Leycester, and Cecil.

Some historians having asserted, that the tzar Ivan Vassilievitch II. carried his personal respect for queen Elizabeth so far as to be one of her suitors, while Camden only relates that he proposed to marry lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon, my curiosity led me to make inquiries into this transaction. With respect to any treaty of marriage between the tzar and Elizabeth, the archives are entirely silent; but in regard to the intended espousal of lady Anne Hastings,

ings, they furnished the following curious particulars.

The first hint of this match seems to have been suggested by Dr. Robert Jacob a physician, whom Elizabeth in 1581, at the tzar's desire; sent to Moscow. Dr. Jacob, not unacquainted with the fickleness of Ivan in his amours, and his desire of contracting an alliance with a foreign princess, extolled, in the most extravagant terms, the beauty, accomplishments, and rank of lady Anne Hastings; and actually inspired the tzar with a strong inclination to espouse her, although he had just married his fifth wife Maria Feoderofna. Dr. Jacob represented this lady as a niece of the queen, and daughter of an independent prince; both which circumstances being false, seem to prove that he acted from his own suggestions, without the least authority from Elizabeth. The tzar, fired by his description, dispatched Gregory Pirsenskoi, a Russian nobleman of the first distinction, to England, to make a formal demand of the lady for his wife. It appears by his instructions, that he was ordered, after a conference with the queen, to procure an interview with the lady; obtain her portrait; and inform himself of the rank and situation

of her family : he was then to request that an English embassador might return with him to Moscow, with full powers to adjust the conditions of the marriage. If an objection should be raised, that Ivan was already married, he was directed to answer, that the czar, having espoused a subject, was at liberty to divorce her ; and if it was asked, what provision should be made for the children by lady Anne Hastings ; he was instructed to reply, that Feodor the eldest prince was undoubtedly heir to the throne, but that her children should be amply endowed.

Pirfemskoi, in consequence of these orders, repaired to London ; had an audience of Elizabeth ; saw lady Hastings, who had just recovered from the small-pox ; procured her portrait ; and returned to Moscow in 1583, accompanied with an English embassador, Sir Jerome Bowes. The latter, who was a person of a capricious disposition, at his first interview greatly offended the czar by his freedom of speech ; and more particularly as he was not commissioned to give a final assent to the marriage, but only to receive a more explicit offer, and transmit it to the queen. The czar, little accustomed to brook delay, declared, “ that no obstacle should prevent

“ him from marrying some kinswoman of
“ her majesty’s; that he should send again
“ into England to have some one of them to
“ wife; adding, that if her majesty would not,
“ upon his next embassy, send him such an
“ one as he desired, himself would then go
“ into England, and carry his treasure with
“ him, and marry one of them there.” Sir
Jerome Bowes, probably in conformity to his
instructions, threw every obstacle in the way
of the marriage: instead of speaking favour-
ably of lady Hastings, he mentioned her per-
son with indifference, and denied that she
was any relation to the queen; adding, with
some marks of contempt, that his mistress
had many such nieces. By these means the
affair was suspended; and the negotiation
was finally terminated by the death of the
tzar in the beginning of the following
year.

It appears from these archives, that the
correspondence between the Russian and
English sovereigns, which began in the reign
of Ivan, by no means ceased upon his demise.
The amity, indeed, between the two courts
was so firmly established, that Charles I. sent
a corps of troops, under colonel Sanderson, to
the assistance of Michael Feodorovitch, against

Ladislaus king of Poland; and Alexèy Michælovitch occasionally furnished Charles, in the period of his greatest distress, with money and corn. The last letter from our unfortunate sovereign to Alexèy is dated Isle of Wight, June 1, 1648, and was written during his confinement in Carisbrook-Castle. I observed one from Charles II. to the same tzar, announcing the execution of his father: it is dated September the 16th, 1649, and was brought to Moscow by Lord Culpepper.

During the usurpation of Cromwell, Alexèy maintained a constant correspondence with the exiled Charles. He was accustomed to declare, that all monarchs ought to esteem the cause of Charles I. as their own; and should not, by countenancing an usurper, encourage subjects to rebel against their king. In conformity to these sentiments he refused, for some time*, to hold any intercourse with the protector; and these archives contain no letters between Cromwell and the tzar.

* I say for some time; for although, if I rightly remember, these archives contain no dispatches between the tzar and Cromwell, yet it is certain, that afterwards Alexèy maintained a correspondence with the protector; and had once consented to receive his embassadors at Moscow. This will fully appear in the chapter on the Rise and Progress of the English Trade to Russia in the next volume.

The

The restoration of Charles II. renewed the friendly harmony between the two courts; and as from this interval the dispatches received from England were so numerous, that it would have required several days to have examined them with any degree of attention; I was compelled to retire without having sufficiently satisfied my curiosity. These papers*, as they contain a complete historical series of the alliances, connection, correspondence, and commerce, between Russia and England, could not fail of forming a very interesting publication, if they were printed in chronological order, and interspersed with historical observations.

I had scarcely time to take a glance of the numerous state-papers which relate to the other European powers; but the keeper of the archives did not omit pointing out to me one document of great importance in the

* These papers appeared so curious, that soon after my arrival at Petersburg, I obtained, by the kind intercession of Sir James Harris, permission from count Panin to have them copied. But the demands of the copyist being greatly disproportionate to my finances, I was unwillingly obliged to relinquish my design; and I must leave to some richer traveller the happiness of displaying to the public this *treasure* of political information.

history of Russia: I allude to the famous letter, written in the German tongue*, from Maximilian I. emperor of Germany, to Vassili Ivanovitch, confirming a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive against Sigismund king of Poland. The dispatch, which is dated August the 4th, 1514, and is ratified with the seal of the golden-bull, is remarkable because Maximilian addresses Vassili by calling him *Kayser* und Herrscher aller Ruffen; *Emperor* and ruler of all the Russias. This deed, which was discovered by baron Shavirof in the archives about the beginning of this century, is said to have first suggested to Peter the idea of assuming the appellation of emperor; and of formally demanding that it should never be omitted by the European courts. The claim gave rise to various negotiations, and occasioned a curious controversy among the learned, concerning the rise and progress of the titles by which the monarchs of this country have been distinguished. From their researches, it appeared that the early sovereigns of Russia were called

* The reader will find a copy of the original German in Weber's *Verandertes Rusland*, v. I. p. 357; and a faithful translation in Perry's *State of Russia*, p. 258.

great-dukes; and that Vassili Ivanovitch* was probably the first who styled himself tzar, an expression which, in the Slavonian language, signifies king; and that his successors continued to bear within their own dominions that title as the most honourable appellation, until Peter the Great first took that of *Povélitel*, or emperor. It is nevertheless as certain, that the foreign courts † in their intercourse with that of Moscow, styled the sovereign indiscriminately great-duke, tzar, and emperor ‡. With respect to England in particular, we know for certain, that in Chancellor's Account of Russia, so early as

* The appellation of tzar was not taken, as some authors suppose, from the Tartars, when Ivan conquered Casan, for the prince of Casan was called Khan.

† This is asserted upon the positive testimony of Herberstein; and his authority is unquestionable, because, as he was twice ambassador to Moscow, the first time to Vassili Ivanovitch, and afterwards to Ivan Vassilievitch II. he must have been acquainted with the titles borne by these two sovereigns. Other authors suppose that his son Ivan was the first who assumed the title of tzar.

‡ According to Mayerberg, the title of Alexèy Michælovitch prefixed to his Code of Laws, was "Tzar, et Magnus Dux totius Ruffiæ Autrocor." *Iter in Mos.* p. 113.

the middle of the sixteenth century, Ivan Vassilievitch II. is called lord and *emperor* of all Russia; and in the English dispatches, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Anne, he is generally addressed under the same appellation. We may at the same time remark, that when the European powers stiled the czar emperor of Muscovy, they by no means intended to give him a title similar to that which was peculiar to the emperor of Germany; but they bestowed upon him that appellation as upon an Asiatic sovereign, in the same manner as we now say the emperors of China and Japan. When Peter, therefore, determined to assume the title of emperor, he found no difficulty in proving that it had been conferred upon his predecessors by most of the European powers; yet, when he was desirous of affixing to the term the European sense, it was considered as an innovation, and was productive of more negotiations than would have been requisite for the termination of the most important state-affair. After many delays and objections, the principal courts of Europe consented, about the year 1722, to address the sovereign of Russia with the title of emperor, without prejudice,

prejudice, nevertheless, to the other crowned heads of Europe*.

The

* Many authors have erroneously advanced, that the English ambassador Lord Whitworth, soon after the battle of Pultava, gave, by order of queen Anne, the title of emperor in its *European sense* to Peter the Great. But the following extracts, in a dispatch of Lord Carteret to Sir Luke Schaubé, the English minister at Paris, which fell under my observations since I had finished the account in the text, will fully contradict these assertions; and are here inserted, because they will help to throw further light upon this subject. The United Provinces and the king of Prussia had already, in 1711, acknowledged Peter's right to the title of emperor: but the courts of London and Paris withheld their consent. During the negotiation pending between those courts and Peter, several dispatches passed between lord Carteret, secretary of state, the cardinal Dubois, and Sir Luke Schaubé, English ministers at Paris.

“ Le cardinal,” writes lord Carteret, in one of his dispatches to Sir Luke, dated Jan. 1721-2, “ croit qu'on pourroit accorder le titre de *l'empereur* au tzar, de maniere que les couronnes n'en fussent point prejudiciés.”

“ Le Roy [George I.] a trouvé la réponse très sage, que le cardinal a faite aux ministres du czar touchant la demande du titre *d'empereur*. Nous agirons de concert, avec son eminencé dans cette affaire. Et pour luy donner les éclaircissements; qu'elle souhaite, touchant ce qui s'est passé entre la Grande Bretagne et le czar à l'égard du titre, je vous envoie un extrait, qui a été tiré des registres de nos archives, pour luy être communiqué. Les ministres Moscovites ne sont nullement fondez en ce qu'ils alleguent que ce titre a été accordé au czar comme
“ une

The archives contain also thirteen volumes of letters, journals, notes, and other manuscripts,

“ une partie de la satisfaction dans l'affaire de Matueof.
 “ Il est constant que l'on ne fit alors aucun changement à
 “ cette occasion là.

“ En examinant le stile, dont les roys de la Grande
 “ Bretagne se sont servis, en écrivant aux czars de Mosco-
 “ vie, on est remonté jusqu'au tems de la reine Elizabeth.
 “ On trouve qu'on leur a toujours écrit en Anglois, et
 “ que cette princesse,

An. 1559. Se servoit du stile *d'empereur* et de *highness*.

An. 1616. Le roy Jaques I. de celuy *d'empereur* et de *majesty*.

An. 1633. Le roy Charles I.

1666. Le roy Charles II.

1687. Jaques II. et Guillaume III. de celuy *d'empe-*

16⁸⁹/₈₆. *rour* de *d'imperial majesty*.

- 1707. La reine Anne s'est servie du stile *d'emperour*
 et *d'imperial majesty*, jusqu'à l'an 1707, et alors
 on commença à écrire *commander*, &c. et
czaric majesty.

1708. En 1708 le 19 Juillet et le 19 Septembre, *com-*
mander et *imperial majesty*; et le 9 Novembre
 de la même année *emperour* et *imperial majesty*.
 En 1709, 1710, 1711, *Emperour* et *imperial*
majesty.

En 1712, 1713, 1714, *emperour* et *czarean*,
czarish, et *imperial majesty* tantôt l'un, tantôt
 l'autre, et souvent *czarish*, et *imperial majesty*,
 dans une même lettre.

En

scripts, of Peter the Great, written with his own hand; these papers sufficiently show the indefatigable

En 1714 le 27 Septembre, le stile de la lettre de notification de l'avenement du roy à la Couronne, est, *emperour* et *your majesty*, et dans plusieurs autres lettres depuis ce temps la *czarish*, ou *imperial majesty*, et quelquefois *your majesty* simplement.

Voicy le titre entier.

To the most high, most potent, and most illustrious, our most dear brother, the great lord czar, and great-duke, Peter Alexejewitz, of all the Greater, Lesser, and White Russia, Self-Upholder of Muscovia, Kiovia, Ulodromiria, Novogardia, czar of Cazan, czar of Astrachan, czar of Siberia, lord of Plexoe, and great-duke of Smolensko, Tueria, Ugoria, Permia, Viatkya, Bolgaria, and others, lord and great-duke of Novogardia, and of the Lower Countries of Czernegorsky, Refansky, Rostovesky, Yeroflave, Beloorzerfsky, Udorsky, Obdorski, Condinski, and *emperour* of all the Northern Coasts, lord of the Lands of Iversky, Cartilinsky, and Gruzensky, czar of the Lands of Caberdinsky, Czereasky, and duke of the Mountains, and of many other Dominions and Countries, East, West, and North, from Father, and from Grandfather, Heir, Lord and Conqueror.

Lord

indefatigable pains, with which that great monarch noted down the minutest circumstances,

Lord Carteret, in a letter to the cardinal Dubois, writes,

Le roi concoura fans difficulté avec sa majesté très Chretienne à faire ce que V. Eminence jugera convenable, par rapport au nouveau titre que le czar demande, et un parfait concert à faire esperer à ce prince une telle complaisance pour servir à le gagner, et à nous faire tirer fruits de son ambition. Jan. 30. 1721-2.

And in a dispatch to Sir Luke Schaube, he thus expresses himself :

La coutume icy a toujours été d'écrire aux czars de Moscovie sur du velin enluminé peint et doré, comme on fait aux empereurs de Maroc et Fez, et à plusieurs autres princes non-Europeens lesquels selon cette coutume feroient également fondez d'insister sur le titre d'empereur. On n'a jamais voulu changer l'usage établi, quoique les Moscovites l'ayent fort sollicité durant l'ambassade de my lord Whitworth à Moscow. Ce ministre s'excusa toujours d'en faire la proposition. Il leur dit, qu'il leur donneroit le titre, sans difficulté, tel qu'il le trouvoit établi ; mais qu'il ne leur conseilloit pas de remuer cette matiere, ni de s'eclaircir trop soigneusement sur quel pied on leur donnoit ce titre. Les Moscovites crurent son avis bon pour lors. Quand my lord
Whitworth

stances, that might prove useful in his extensive plans for the civilization and aggrandisement of his country. Mr. Muller has lately given to the public several letters and other pieces of this kind; which throw a considerable light upon the transactions of Peter's reign, and afford striking instances of his persevering genius.

From the archives we repaired to the university, also situated in the Khitaigorod: it was founded at the instance of count Shuvalof, by the empress Elizabeth, for six hundred students, who are clothed, boarded, and instructed at the expence of the crown. We were received, with great civility, by the director of the university and professors, who conducted us first to the printing-office

Whitworth et Mr. l'amiral Norris furent chargés d'une commission auprez du czar à Amsterdam, ils n'eurent que des lettres de cachet, dont le stile étoit *votre majesté*; les ministres Russiens en firent d'abord quelque scrupule, mais n'y insisterent pas.

These extracts are drawn from Sir Luke Schaubé's State Papers, in the rare and ample collection of the earl of Hardwicke, a nobleman as distinguished for the extent, as the liberal communication of his knowledge.

belonging

belonging to their society. One of the presses being at work, several sheets were struck off and presented to us as specimens of the Russian printing: upon looking at them we were surprized to find a complimentary address to ourselves in the English and Russian languages, of which the following is a *fac-simile*.



This Specimen of the Russian print was presented to the Right honourable LORD HERBERT on his Travels thro' Russia, accompany'd by Captain *Floyd* & Mr. *Coxe*; on their honouring the Imperial University of Mosco with a friendly visit this * 1 Day of September 1778.



Оие писмене печати Россійской поднесено Высокопочтеннѣйшему ЛОРДУ ГЕРБЕРТУ въ его путешествіи чрезъ Россію съ Капитаномъ *Флойдомъ* и Господиномъ *Коксомъ* во время, когда они удостоили своимъ благосклоннымъ посѣщеніемъ Императорскій Московскій Университетъ Сентября 1 дня 1778 года.

We next proceeded to the university library, which contains a small collection of books, and a moderate apparatus of experimental philosophy.

Upon taking leave of the director, he obligingly presented me with a Grammar of the Tartar language, which is taught in this society; a Syllabus of a year's lectures; and a Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod.

The following extract from the Syllabus* will display to the reader the general studies, and the principal books used in this university for the instruction of the students.

1. A course of lectures on the History of the Russian Law, on Nettelbadianus, *Systema universæ Jurisprudentiæ*, and on the *Jus Cambiale*; eight hours in the week. 2. On Cicero's Orations against Catiline, the sixth book of Virgil's *Eneid*, plays of Plautus and Terence, instructions on the manner of writing Latin and Russian verses from the examples of Lomonosof and Horace; an exposition of the panegyric orations of Lomonosof, together with translations and exercises in

* It is entitled "Catalogus prælectionum publicarum in Universitate Cæsareâ Mosquensi habendarum."

Latin and Russian prose: eight hours in the week. 3. On arithmetic, trigonometry, and optics, from Weidler's *Mathematicæ Institutiones*; and experimental philosophy from Kruger's Compendium. 4. On antient and modern history, 5. Introduction to the knowledge of moral philosophy, from Bielfield's *Institutes*. 6. On clinic medicine, or the remedies used by antient and modern physicians, from Vogel's Compendium. 7. On the pandects, from the Compendium of Heineccius, and a comparison between the Roman and Russian law: eight hours in the week. Professor Defaitfky, who reads this lecture, teaches also the English language from a Grammar compiled by himself: four hours in the week. 8. Logic and metaphysics from Baumeister's logic, eight hours in the week; and four hours geometry and trigonometry from Weidler. 9. On physic under the following heads, pathology, dietetics, and therapeutics, from Ludwig's Compendium. 10. On Botany, after the system of Linnæus. 11. Anatomy from Ludwig. 12. On the etymology, syntax, and style of the French tongue: eight hours in the week. 13. Etymology, syntax, and style of the German.

Beside the university, there are two gymnasia,

nasia, or seminaries, for the education of youth, endowed also by Elizabeth, in which are taught divinity, classics, philosophy, the Greek, Latin, Russian, German, French, Italian, and Tartar languages; history, geography, mathematics, architecture, fortification, artillery, algebra, drawing and painting, music, fencing, dancing, reading and writing. There are twenty-three professors: amongst these, the Syllabus informed me, that Mr. Alexief teaches divinity two hours in the week. Mr. Matthæi, professor and rector of both seminaries, explains some of Cicero's Orationes and select Epistles, Libanius's Letters, Ernesti's Oratorical Essays, *Xenophon's Anabasis*, teaches the Roman antiquities from Burman's Compendium, and continues his usual Latin exercises upon oratory. Mr. Sinkovski, every morning from seven to nine, treats of the principles of rhetoric, particularly concerning the *Periodologia*, both as to theory and practice, from *Burgius's Elementa Oratoria*; explains Cæsar's Commentaries and Justin; employs his scholars in Latin and Russian translations, and in the etymology and syntax of the Greek tongue: reads Plutarch *περί Πρωχης*; and, from nine to twelve on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays, Ovid's

Metamorphosis, and connects mythology with antient history and geography. Mr. Tsherbotaref, extraordinary professor of logic and morality, and under-librarian to the university, four hours in the week, comments upon *Heineccii elementa philosophiæ rationalis et moralis*, as well in the original Latin, as in the Russian * translation, for the benefit of those who are unacquainted with the Latin tongue. Mr. Urbanski gives instructions in rhetoric from the Compendium of Burgius, both in theory and practice. Mr. Holberstof explains Count Tessin's Letters to a young prince †.

The account of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, presented to me by the director, bore the following title: "*Notitia codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium sanctissimæ synodi Ecclesiæ orthodoxæ Graeco-Russicæ, cum variis anecdotis, tabulis aeneis et indicibus locupletissimis. Edidit Christianus Fredericus Matthæi, Gymnasiorum Universitatis Mosquensis Rector. Mosquæ, typis Universitatis, Anno 1776,*" folio. The author

* Iis præcipue, qui linguæ Latinæ sunt ignari, nec sua studia academicæ in universitate ulterius profequi possunt.

† The present king of Sweden when prince royal.

is Christian Frederick Matthæi, a learned German, who was educated at Leipzig under the celebrated Ernesti; and being drawn to Moscow by the liberality of the empress, was appointed a professor of this university. Soon after his arrival in this city, he turned his first attention to the state of Greek learning in this country; and being informed that the library of the Holy Synod contained a large and curious collection of Greek manuscripts, the greatest part of which had, at the suggestion of the patriarch Nikon, and at the expence of Alexèy Michaelovitch, been collected by the monk Arsenius from the monastery of Mount Athos, he immediately explored this literary treasure.

As a catalogue of these manuscripts, published by Athanasius Schiada, by order of Peter the Great, was exceedingly inaccurate, Matthæi, who had displayed his erudition by several excellent editions * of the Classics, was encouraged, by Prince Potemkin, the great patron of antient literature, who defrayed the expence of the publication, to undertake this

* The late ingenious Mr. Harris has enumerated the editions published by Mr. Matthæi. *Philos. Inquiries*, p. 564.

work upon a more extensive plan. Accordingly, in 1776, the learned editor gave to the public this first part of the performance, in which he has laid down a very accurate and circumstantial detail of fifty-one manuscripts, accompanied with many judicious remarks and critical inquiries. He describes the materials upon which each manuscript is written; specifies its age, contents, and author, the number of pages it contains, and the two words with which it begins and ends: he points out also the particular persons into whose possession it had successively passed. The author proposes to continue the publication at different intervals until he has finished the account. But as it would require many years thus minutely to detail and describe all the manuscripts, whose number amounts to 502; the learned author has, in the mean while, favoured the public with a complete catalogue, in a less circumstantial manner, under the following title: “*Index codicum*
 “ *manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecarum*
 “ *Mosquensium sanctissimae Synodi ecclesiae or-*
 “ *thodoxae Graeco-Russicae: edidit Christianus*
 “ *Fridericus Matthaci. Petropoli, typis Aca-*
 “ *demiae Scientiarum, 1780,”* 4to. To this

index is prefixed a very satisfactory and comprehensive introduction; in which, after having informed us that he compiled it for the use of prince Yufapof, an enthusiast in Greek literature, he enters into a short account of the principal manuscripts. Among these he enumerates several of the Septuagint, and one in particular of the Books of Kings, which is of the ninth century, and contains, in some places, many various readings, materially differing from the printed editions. He mentions also several of the New Testament; some accompanied with antient commentaries, which have never been published, and which the ingenious author has transcribed, collated, and prepared for the press. The most antient of these, containing the New Testament, was written at different periods; the first part so early as the seventh or eighth century, and the remainder in the twelfth and thirteenth. He adds, that this collection, although chiefly confined to theological subjects, is by no means deficient in the classics; among which he particularly mentions Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Æschines, Hesiod, Pausanias, Plutarch, and a most beautiful Strabo, which he has collated for the new edition of that author, preparing

for the Clarendon press by Mr. Falkener of Oxford*.

In this library of the Holy Synod Mr. Matthæi discovered an antient hymn of Ceres in a manuscript of Homer, written about the conclusion of the fourteenth century, but which he supposes to have been a transcript from a most antient and valuable copy: this manuscript, beside a fragment of the Iliad, contained the sixteen hymns usually attributed to Homer, in the same order as they are generally printed. At the end of the sixteenth he found twelve verses of an hymn to Bacchus, and an hymn to Ceres, which, excepting the last part, was entire. Mr. Matthæi, well acquainted with the delays which would have attended the publication at Moscow, sent a copy of the hymn to the celebrated Ruhnkenius, of the university of Leyden, who gave it to the public in 1780; and, as by mistake twenty lines had been omitted, he put forth a second edition the following year †.

* It was a considerable disappointment to me, that Mr. Matthæi was absent from Moscow during my continuance in that city, as I should have derived great information from his acquaintance. I have likewise to regret, that, on account of his absence, I could not obtain a sight of these manuscripts.

† *Homeri Hymnus in Cererem nunc primum editus a Davide Ruhnkenio.*

The learned editor has prefixed a critical disquisition upon this hymn, in which he asserts that it is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and written, if not by Homer himself, yet certainly by a very diligent imitator of his style and phraseology. The express testimony of Pausanias, who repeatedly mentions that Homer had composed an hymn to Ceres, may perhaps seem to some readers a strong argument, that it is the genuine production of the great author whose name it bears: and yet the joint opinion of the two antient grammarians*, quoted by Ruhnkenius in his preface, may be thought of sufficient weight to counterbalance the single evidence of Pausanias; whose judgment (as the editor has well observed) in this case is of the less value, because he has, without discrimination, adjudged the rest of the Homeric hymns to the reputed parent, many of which bear much stronger marks of a less honourable origin, than this composition in question. Though the style and plan of this hymn appears to me (as well as to the celebrated editor) inferior to Homer, and in some places unworthy

* P. VII. & VIII. Scholiastes Nicandri ad Alexiph.—
Grammaticus vetus apud Allatium de Patr. Hom. &c.
Præf.

of him; yet this argument, depending on the taste and feelings of the reader, will not operate on all with equal force; nor will even they who allow its inferiority to the other productions of the divine poet, be immediately inclined to grant the conclusion, that it is not his work; because that objection may be removed by supposing, that Homer might in one particular composition fall below his usual standard of perfection. A stronger proof against its originality may be drawn from the words, phrases, and inflexions occurring in this poem, which are either of a later date than the age of Homer, or not found in his unsuspected works. Some of these the editor has enumerated*.

* The hymn to Ceres has suffered many mutilations and corruptions. It may not be improper to produce an instance. Among other particulars, in which this hymn resembles the Iliad and Odyssey, one of the most conspicuous is that proneness to iteration, which makes a distinguishing feature of Homer. The author of this hymn, from v. 443 to 447 inclusive, mentions the promises which Jupiter commissions Rhea to make in his name to Ceres; these Rhea repeats, v. 461—464. The 465th verse consisting of the same words with the 447th, the copier of the poem absurdly transcribed the five following lines (v. 448—452), and probably omitted at least as many, which originally connected this part with the sequel.

The classical reader, who is desirous of further information relative to the genuineness of this ancient poem, is referred to the last edition of the hymn by Ruhnkenius, and to the preface of Mr. Hole's Translation*.

* Homer's Hymn to Ceres translated into English verse by Richard Hole, LL. B.

C H A P. VI.

Retail trade in the Khitaigorod.—Market for the sale of houses.—Expedition used in building wooden structures.—Excellence of the police in cases of riot or fire.—Chefs very common in Russia.—Account of the Foundling Hospital.—Excursion to the monastery of the Holy Trinity.—Delays of the post.—Description of the monastery.—Tomb of Maria titular queen of Livonia.—The history of that queen and of her husband Magnus.—Tomb and character of Boris Godunof.

MOSCOW is the centre of the inland commerce of Russia, and particularly connects the trade between Europe and Siberia.

The navigation to this city is formed solely by the Moskva, which, falling into the Occa near Colomna, communicates by means of that river with the Volga*. But, as the Moskva is only navigable in Spring, upon

* For the communication of the Volga with the Baltic, see the chapter on the Inland Navigation of Russia in the next volume.

the melting of the snows, the principal merchandize is conveyed to and from Moscow upon sledges in winter.

The whole retail commerce of this city is carried on in the Khitaigorod, where, according to a custom common in Russia, as well as in most kingdoms of the East, all the shops are collected together in one spot. The place is like a kind of fair, consisting of many rows of low brick buildings; the interval between them resembling alleys. These shops or booths occupy a considerable space; they do not, as with us, make part of the houses inhabited by the tradesmen, but are quite detached from their dwellings, which for the most part are at some distance in another quarter of the town. The tradesman comes to his shop in the morning, remains there all day, and returns home to his family in the afternoon. Every trade has its separate department; and they who sell the same goods have booths adjoining to each other. Furs and skins form the most considerable article of commerce in Moscow; and the shops which vend those commodities occupy several streets.

Among the curiosities of Moscow, I must not omit the market for the sale of houses.

It is held in a large open space in one of the suburbs, and exhibits a great variety of *ready-made houses*, thickly strewed upon the ground. The purchaser who wants a dwelling, repairs to this spot; mentions the number of rooms he requires; examines the different timbers, which are regularly numbered; and bargains for that which suits his purpose. The house is sometimes paid for upon the spot, and taken away by the purchaser; or sometimes the vender contracts to transport and erect it upon the place where it is designed to stand. It may seem incredible, that a dwelling may be thus bought, removed, raised, and inhabited, within the space of a week; but it will appear easily practicable by considering that these *ready-made houses* are in general merely collections of trunks of trees, tenanted and mortised at each extremity into one another, so that nothing more is required than the labour of transporting and adjusting them.

But this summary mode of building is not always peculiar to the meaner hovels; as wooden structures of very large dimensions and handsome appearance are occasionally formed in Russia with an expedition, almost inconceivable to the inhabitants of other countries.

countries. A remarkable instance of this dispatch was displayed the last time the empress came to Moscow. Her majesty proposed to reside in the mansion of prince Gailtzin, which is esteemed the completest edifice in this city; but as it was not sufficiently spacious for her reception, a temporary addition of wood, larger than the original house, and containing a magnificent suite of apartments, was begun and finished within the space of six weeks. This meteor-like fabric was so handsome and commodious, that the materials were taken down at her majesty's departure, in order to be re-constructed, upon an eminence near the city, as a kind of imperial villa.

In Moscow I observed an admirable police for preventing riots, or for stopping the course of people in case of fires, which are very frequent and violent in those parts, where the houses are mostly of wood, and the streets are laid with timber. At the entrance of each street there is a *chevaux-de-frize* gate; one end whereof turns upon a pivot, and the other rolls upon a wheel; near it is a centry-box, in which a man is occasionally stationed. In times of riot or fire the sentinel
shuts

shuts the gate and all passage is immediately stopped.

Chess is so common in Russia, that during our continuance at Moscow, I scarcely entered into any company where parties were not engaged in that diversion; and I very frequently observed, in my passage through the streets, the tradesmen and common people playing it before the doors of their shops or houses. The Russians are esteemed great proficient in chess. With them the queen has, in addition to the other moves, that of the knight, which, according to Phillidor, spoils the game, but which certainly renders it more complicated and difficult, and of course more interesting. The Russians have also a method of playing at chess with four persons at the same time, two against two; and for this purpose the board is longer than usual, contains more men, and is provided with a greater number of squares. I was informed, that this mode of playing is more difficult, but far more agreeable, than the common manner.

Among the public institutions of Moscow, the most remarkable is the Foundling Hospital, endowed in 1764 by the present empress, and supported by voluntary contributions and legacies,

legacies, and other charitable gifts. In order to encourage donations, her majesty grants to all benefactors some valuable privileges, and a certain degree of rank in proportion to the extent of their liberality. Among the principal contributors is a private merchant, named Dimidof*, a person of great wealth, who has expended in favour of this charity about £.200,000. The hospital, which is situated in a very airy part of the town upon a gentle ascent near the river Moskva, is an immense pile of building of a quadrangular shape, only part of which was finished when we were at Moscow. It contained, at that time, 3000 foundlings; and, when the whole is completed, will receive 8000.

The children are brought to the porter's lodge, and admitted without any recommendation. The rooms are lofty and large; the dormitories, which are separate from the work rooms, are very airy, and the beds are not crowded: each foundling, even each infant, has a separate bed; the bedsteads are of iron; the sheets are changed every week, and the linen three times

* The ancestors of this gentleman first discovered and worked the richest mines of Siberia; from whence his family acquired immense riches.

a week. In going over the rooms, I was particularly struck with their neatness; even the nurseries were uncommonly clean, and without any unwholesome smells. No cradles are allowed, and rocking is particularly forbidden. The infants are not swaddled according to the custom of the country, but loosely dressed.

The director obligingly favoured us with his company, and shewed us the foundlings at their respective works. Immediately upon his appearance the children crowded round him; some took hold of his arm; some held by his coat; others kissed his hand, and they all expressed the highest satisfaction. These natural and unfeigned marks of regard were the most convincing proofs of his mildness and good-nature; for children, when ill used, naturally crouch before those who have the management of them. I could be no judge merely in visiting the hospital, whether the children were well instructed, and the regulations well observed; but I was perfectly convinced, from their behaviour, that they were in general happy and contented, and could perceive from their looks that they were remarkably healthy. This latter circumstance must be owing to the uncommon care, which

is paid to cleanliness both in their persons and rooms.

The foundlings are divided into separate classes, according to their respective ages. The children remain in the nursery two years, at the end of which term they are admitted into the lowest class; the boys and girls continue together until they are seven years of age, at which period they are separated. Both sexes are instructed in reading, writing, and casting accounts. The boys are taught to knit; they occasionally card hemp, flax, and wool, and work in the different manufactures. The girls learn to knit, net, and perform all kinds of needle-work; they spin and weave lace; and are employed in cookery, baking, and house-work of all sorts.

At the age of fourteen the foundlings enter into the first class; and have then the liberty of chusing any particular branch of trade: for which purpose there are different species of manufactures established in the hospital, of which the principal are embroidery, silk stockings, ribbands, lace, gloves, buttons, and cabinet-work. A separate room is appropriated to each trade. Some boys and girls are instructed in the French and German languages, and a few of the former in the Latin tongue;

tongue; others learn music, drawing, and dancing. About the age of twenty, the foundlings receive a sum of money, and several other advantages, which enable them to follow their trade in any part of the empire: a very considerable privilege in Russia, where the peasants are slaves, and cannot leave their village without the permission of their master.

In another visit which I paid to this hospital, I saw the foundlings at dinner: the girls and boys dine separately. The dining rooms, which are upon the ground-floor, are large and vaulted, and distinct from their work rooms. The first class sit at table; the rest stand; the little children are attended by servants; but those of the first and second class alternately wait upon each other. The dinner consisted of beef and mutton boiled in broth, with rice; I tasted both, and they were remarkably good: the bread was very sweet, and was baked in the house, chiefly by the foundlings. Each foundling has a napkin, pewter-plate, a knife, fork, and spoon: the napkin and table-cloth are clean three times in the week. They rise at six, dine at eleven, and sup at six. The little children have bread at seven, and at four. When they

I are

are not employed in their necessary occupations, the utmost freedom is allowed, and they are encouraged to be as much in the air as possible. The whole was a lovely sight; and the countenances of the children expressed the utmost content and happiness.

In the hospital there is a theatre, in which the several decorations are the work of the foundlings: they constructed the stage, painted the scenes, and made the dresses. I was present at the representation of the *Honnete Criminel*, and the comic opera, *Le Devin du Village*, both translated into the Russian tongue. Not understanding the language, I could be no judge whether they spoke with propriety; but I was surprized at the ease with which they trod the stage, and was pleased with the gracefulness of their action. There were some agreeable voices in the opera. The orchestra was filled with a band by no means contemptible, which consisted entirely of foundlings, excepting the first violin, who was their music-master. On this occasion the play was not, as usual, concluded with a ballet, because the principal performer was indisposed, which was no small disappointment; as we were informed that they dance ballets with great taste and elegance. The empress, I am

told, is induced to countenance theatrical representations in a seminary of this kind, from a desire of diffusing among her subjects that species of entertainment, which she considers a means of civilization, and of enriching the Russian theatres with a constant supply of performers.

Many and great are the advantages of this excellent charity. It diffuses a knowledge of the arts among the people; increases the number of free subjects; and above all has considerably diminished the horrid practice of destroying infants, so prevalent in these parts before the institution of this hospital.

We were unwilling to quit this part of the country without visiting Troitskoi Kloster, or the monastery of the Holy Trinity, which is distinguished in the annals of this country as the asylum for the Russian sovereigns in cases of insurrection and danger; and is more particularly known to foreigners for the refuge it afforded to Peter the Great, when he put an end to the administration of his sister Sophia*.

The distance from Moscow to the monastery being forty miles, we ordered post-horses to

* See Chap. VIII.

be ready at five in the morning, with an intention of viewing the convent, and returning to this city by night. We thought that we should easily have made this excursion in the time proposed: but obstacles continually occur in foreign countries, unforeseen by those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the manners of the natives; and an ignorance of the most trivial circumstances, which better information might easily have obviated, produces considerable embarrassments. Some petty distresses of this nature lengthened our expedition from one to three days.

We rose at five in the morning, but were detained by the want of post-horses, which we found great difficulty in procuring, notwithstanding that our orders for them were signed both by the governor of the province and of the city; and although we importuned the post-master with repeated messages. The case is, that as the price for the hire of horses is very inconsiderable, the owners can employ them in other services to greater advantage: and on this account a stranger, unless he is accompanied with a Russian foldier to quicken the expedition of those who furnish the post, must necessarily meet

with infinite delays. We were, indeed, strongly advised by some of our acquaintance to use this precaution; but, thinking that we should have no occasion for it during so short a journey, we imprudently omitted it, to our great inconvenience, as we soon experienced.

After waiting nine hours, we at length thought ourselves fortunate in seeing the post-horses make their appearance about two in the afternoon; and set off with an expectation of proceeding without interruption to Bretoffhina, where we knew that a relay was waiting for us. But our drivers stopped at a village only four miles from Moscow; and peremptorily refused to carry us any farther. In vain we produced our order for horses; they contended that it authorized us only to take them from village to village; and upon the strength of that construction returned without further ceremony to Moscow. Two hours more were now employed, and much broken Russian spoken by our Bohemian interpreter, before we were able to prevail upon the inhabitants of the place to supply us with horses, who deposited us in a village about the distance of three miles; where all the old process of alteration,

cation, threats, and promises, were again renewed. In this manner we continued wrangling and proceeding from village to village, which were thickly scattered in this part of the country, until near midnight, when we found ourselves at Klisma, only seventeen miles from Moscow, and where we took up our lodging in a peasant's cottage. Our Bohemian servant having fortunately devoted great part of the night to rambling to different houses, and adjusting the difficult negotiation for fresh horses, we were able to depart almost by day-break; and had the still farther satisfaction to pass over the *immense* space of seven miles without either halt or delay; so that by eight in the morning we reached, much to our surprize, Bretoffhina, which stands about half-way between Moscow and the convent. Here we found a Russian serjeant, whom prince Volkonski had obligingly sent forwards to procure the horses, which he had promised we should find in this place, and to accompany us during the remainder of our journey: the experience of the preceding day had taught us the value of this military attendant.

At Bretoffhina we viewed a palace built by Alexèy Michaelovitch, in which he fre-

quently refided: it is a long wooden building, painted yellow, only one story in height, containing a suite of small and low rooms. This palace (if it deserves that name) has long been uninhabited. The empress, pleased with the beauty of the situation, and respecting a place which had once been the favourite residence of Peter the Great's father, purposed to build a large brick palace near the site of the old mansion; and part of the materials were already collected for that purpose. Upon our return to the village we ordered the horses, and were pleased to find our order obeyed almost as soon as it was issued: we had, indeed, a very successful agent in our friend the serjeant; for the peasants, who were beginning to wrangle among themselves, and to make their usual altercations, were instantly dispersed by his cudgel, whose eloquence was more persuasive than the most pathetic remonstrances. The boors were certainly accustomed to this species of rhetorick; for they bore it patiently, and with perfect good-humour; and, the moment they were seated upon the box, began whistling and singing their national songs as usual. We now continued our route, and arrived at the convent, though distant from Bretofshina

shina about twenty miles, without once stopping to change horses.

Troitzkoi Sergief Kloster, or the monastery of the Holy Trinity, is so large as at a little distance to have the appearance of a small town; and, like many convents in this country, is strongly fortified, according to the antient mode of defence, being surrounded with high brick walls, strengthened with battlements and towers. The parapet is roofed with wood, and the walls and towers are provided with holes for muskets and cannon: the whole is surrounded by a deep ditch. This place withstood several sieges; and particularly baffled all the efforts of Ladislaus prince of Poland, who attacked it with a large army.

Beside the convent or habitation for the monks, the walls enclose an imperial palace, and nine large churches constructed by different sovereigns. The convent is a large range of building encircling a court, and is far too spacious for the present inhabitants: it formerly contained 300 monks, together with a proportionate number of students; and was the richest ecclesiastical foundation in Russia. The fraternity possessed considerable estates, upon which were at least

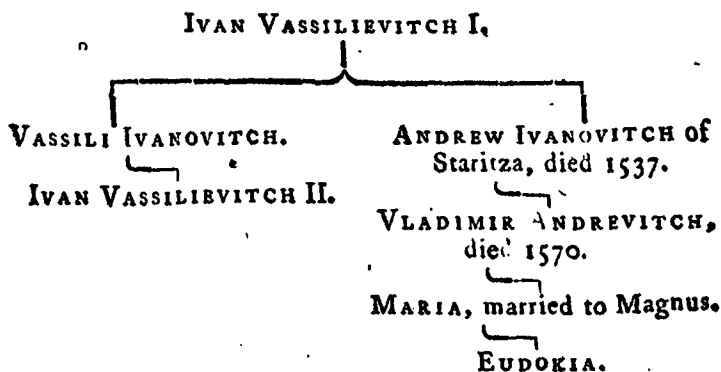
100,000 peasants: these estates, as well as all the other church-lands, being now annexed to the crown, the members receive small pensions. With their revenues their number has been greatly diminished, and they scarcely amount at present to 100 monks. Their habit is black, with a veil of the same colour; they eat no meat, and the discipline of the order is very strict. Within the convent is a seminary for the education of persons intended for the clergy; which contained, as we were informed, about 200 students.

The imperial palace, which was much frequented when the sovereign resided at Moscow, is small; one of the apartments is ornamented with representations in stucco of the principal actions of Peter the Great. The nine churches, like all the other sacred edifices which fell under my observation, are superb and splendid, and extremely rich in gold and silver ornaments, and costly vestments. The principal church has a cupola and four domes; the former is of copper gilt, the latter of tin or iron painted green. We ascended a new belfry, built by the empress Elizabeth, which is not an inelegant piece of architecture: it commands a fine
view

view of the adjacent country, which is gently waving, richly cultivated, producing much grain, and thickly strewed with villages. The archimandrite or abbot of the monastery being absent, we could not obtain permission to see the library, which occasioned some regret, because, according to Busching, it contains a curious collection of books*.

In the principal church a few tombs drew my attention.

The first was that of Maria queen of Livonia, probably the only person who ever bore that title, an empty honour, which she may truly be said to have purchased at a dear rate. Maria, lineally descended from Ivan Vassilievitch I. was a relation of Ivan II. as will appear by the following genealogical table.



* Busching's Erd-beschreibung, v. I. p. 852.

She espoused, in 1573, Magnus duke of Holstein*, and titular king of Livonia, who was raised to that dignity by Ivan Vassilievitch II. in a very extraordinary manner. Livonia, bordering upon Ruffia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally claimed and possessed by those three powers, was, in the middle of the sixteenth century, partly free, partly subject to Poland, and partly to the Swedes, when the tzar made an irruption into that province, and conquered a small portion. Well acquainted, however, with the aversion of the natives to the Ruffian sceptre, he

* This Magnus was son of Christian III. king of Denmark; and is known in history by several different appellations. He is sometimes styled king of Livonia, from his mock-sovereignty in that country; sometimes duke of Holstein, from his inheriting a portion of that duchy upon the decease of his father; and bishop of Æsel, from his exchanging his part of Holstein for the bishopricks of Æsel and Courland, which he secularized. Holberg, the Danish historian, mentions a bond for 1500 marks, which was thus signed. "We Magnus, by the
 " grace of God, Lord of Æsel and Wick, Bishop of
 " Courland, Administrator of the bishoprick of Reval,
 " Heir of Norway, duke of Schleswick, Holstein, Stor-
 " mar, and Ditmarsh, Count of Oldenburgh and Delmen-
 " hurst." Titles, as the historians remark, which could not procure him even a small sum of money without his bond. Holberg, v. II. p. 488.

declared,

declared, that he had entered their country with no interested views; that he had no other ambition than to rescue them from the Swedish yoke; that he, renouncing all right of conquest, would only style himself their protector: he proposed at the same time that they should elect for their sovereign Magnus, brother of Frederic II. king of Denmark, who, in the capacity of bishop of Pilten, had some pretensions to Livonia. This proposal being cheerfully complied with by a great party among the natives; the tzar dispatched an embassy to Magnus, who accepted the proffered crown, and repaired without delay to Moscow, where he was formally installed in his new dignity, upon condition of espousing Maria, and of paying an annual tribute to the tzar.

Magnus, however, was still only a titular sovereign, being opposed by the Swedes, who maintained a large army in Livonia, and not unanimously acknowledged even by the natives. After a fruitless attempt to take possession of his crown, he continued to display his mock dignity at Moscow. At length, in 1577, being escorted to Livonia by the tzar, at the head of 50,000 troops, he obtained the town of Wenden and the adjacent territory,

territory, the remainder of the province being reserved to Russia.

Magnus was scarcely admitted into Wenden, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, than, despising a precarious and dependant sovereignty, he was prevailed upon by his new subjects, ever averse to the Russian yoke, to form a secret alliance with the king of Poland, and to counteract the tzar's progress in Livonia. Ivan, apprized of this negotiation, determined to chastise the perfidy of Magnus, by precipitating him from that throne, which he had so lately assisted him in ascending. With this view he laid immediate siege to Wenden with so numerous an army, that the inhabitants, finding all opposition ineffectual, proposed to capitulate. Magnus himself carried the terms of capitulation, and, advancing to supplicate the incensed monarch, threw himself at his feet, and interceded for the town. The tzar, spurning at him with his foot *, and striking him

* Henning, author of the Livonian Chronicle, relates this transaction more to the honour of Ivan. He is thus quoted by the authors of the Universal History, vol. XXXV. p. 242. "The tzar laid siege to the place, till, at the earnest request of the citizens, Magnus, with only a few attendants, went into the tzar's camp, and, falling on
" his

him in the face, loaded him with reproaches for his ingratitude, and ordered him to prison; then entering the town, his troops committed every species of horror and devastation. Many of the principal inhabitants, retiring into the citadel, determined to defend it to the last extremity; but soon perceiving all resistance to be fruitless, and expecting no quarter, they calmly assembled, received the sacrament, and

“ his knees, begged pardon for himself and the city.
“ Basilowitz no sooner saw the king of Livonia thus
“ prostrate before him, than he dismounted from his horse,
“ and desired him to rise, returned him his sword, and,
“ after reproaching him with the ingratitude of his late
“ conduct, freely pardoned him and the city, and assured
“ them of his protection. At this instant a cannon-ball
“ from the castle narrowly missed killing the tzar; which
“ so incensed him, that he mounted his horse and rode
“ away directly, swearing by St. Nicholas, that for this
“ fresh instance of perfidy, every person in Wenden should
“ suffer death. Magnus was then put under an arrest in
“ a farm-house, and obliged to sign an obligation, by which
“ he engaged to pay the tzar 40,000 Hungarian florins by
“ the next Christmas, as a satisfaction for the money taken
“ from Polubenski; and in case of failure of payment at
“ that time, to forfeit double the sum, and remain a pri-
“ soner at Moscow till the whole should be discharged.”

I have followed the principal historians of Sweden and Denmark, also Heidenstein, and Oderborg, who seem to have given the most probable account of this event.

then

then destroyed themselves by blowing up the citadel. Thus ended the kingdom of Livonia, four years after it had been erected into a sovereignty. Magnus, who thought himself extremely fortunate to obtain his enlargement upon paying a considerable sum of money, repaired, with his consort Maria, to Pilten in Courland, where he died in 1583, in extreme distress*. After the death of her husband, Maria, the titular queen of Livonia, was enticed into Russia, and thrown into a nunnery with her only daughter Eudokia †. She was never released from her confinement, and the time of her decease is uncertain. The remains, both of the queen and her daughter, were deposited in the convent of the Holy Trinity.

In the same church repose the ashes of Boris Feodorovitch Godunof, who, upon the demise of Feodor Ivanovitch in 1597, was raised from a private station to the throne of Russia. It is a circumstance extremely favourable to a virtuous conduct, that a sovereign cannot commit one flagrant offence with-

* Holberg, vol. II. p. 488.

† Fletcher's State of Russia, Chap. V.

ou suffering the imputation of many others; and that supposititious cruelties are always added to acts of real tyranny. This has been the fate of Boris Godunof, who, having deservedly acquired the detestation of posterity by the perpetration of one crime, has been unjustly branded with infamy, even for those actions which merit the highest applause.

Boris Godunof was descended from a Tartar ancestor, who came into Russia in 1329, and, having embraced Christianity, assumed the name of Zachary. From Simon Godun, one of his descendants, the family was known by the surname of Godunof, and became greatly distinguished by the elevation of the personage who is now under consideration.

Boris, son of Feodor Ivanovitch, a nobleman of the Russian court, was born in 1522; and in the 20th year of his age was appointed, by Ivan Vassilievitch II. to attend the person of his son prince Ivan: being successively promoted to higher offices, and obtaining additional influence by the marriage of his sister Irene with Feodor Ivanovitch; he was, upon that monarch's succession to the throne, created privy counsellor, master of the horse, and invested with the sole direction of affairs. His authority was so absolute, that his reign

may be dated from the accession of Feodor; he wanted only the title of tzar; and the whole administration of government must be attributed to him.

Upon the death of Feodor without issue, the election fell unanimously upon Boris Godunof, who owed his elevation to the high opinion which all parties entertained of his capacity and wisdom; to the influence of his sister Irene; and to the artful manner with which he affected to decline, while he was most ambitious to possess, the crown. He deserved his elevation by his consummate abilities and popular manners; and, for his political and civil department, he is justly ranked among the greatest statesmen of his age.

Happy would it have been for himself and his country, if he had united moderation and humanity to these splendid qualities. His persecution of several noble families, who stood in the way of his ambitious designs, and still more the assassination * of Deme-

* This is not the proper place to inquire whether Demetrius was really assassinated, or whether he escaped, for the crime of Boris was the same, whether his orders were carried into execution, or eluded. See the next chapter.

trius, brands his character with indelible infamy. But while we admit and detest in this instance the full extent of his guilt, let not our horror at this transaction induce us to misrepresent his most laudable actions. Let us not assert with his enemies, that in order to turn the attention of the people from the catastrophe of the prince, and to ingratiate himself in their favour by an act of public munificence, he purposely set fire to several parts of Moscow, that he might rebuild them at his own expence. Nor let us, with equal absurdity and injustice, accuse him of privately inviting the khan of the Tartars to invade Russia, that he might occupy the public with a foreign war, and acquire fresh glory by repelling the enemy.

We may add to the list of his supposititious crimes, that he poisoned Feodor*: for the
 tzar

* I am at a loss to know where the compiler of the article of Russia, in the Universal History, obtained the following anecdote. "Theodore died, after a reign of twelve years, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his brother-in-law. The czarina seemed so sensible of this, that she strongly reproached her brother, Boris Godunof, with the murder of her husband, and would never speak to him afterwards." Vol. XXXV.

tzar had long laboured under a declining state of health *; and, the year before his death, had requested a physician from England †. Even his paternal attention and unbounded generosity towards his subjects during a famine, which, soon after his elevation to the throne, desolated Moscow, has been turned as an accusation against him; for prejudice has not been wanting to insinuate, that, from an absurd delicacy, he would not permit foreigners to supply the Russians in their extreme distress with corn; and that he joined several banditti in plundering the houses of the rich ‡; calumnies which have been ably and unanswerably refuted by Muller. But the brightest splendour of abilities, and even the most upright use of power, will

p. 273. For all authentic historians agree, that his elevation to the throne was finally owing to the positive recommendation of his sister the tzarina, whose intercession overcame his affected refusal of the crown.

* Fletcher says of Feodor, that he was inclining to a dropsy.

† As appears from a letter in the Russian archives.

‡ This report, Mr. Muller conjectures, arose from his compelling the bishops and nobles, who had a superfluity of corn, to dispose of it to the poor at an under price, S. R. G. V.

not atone for the ill means of acquiring it; and the time arrived, when Boris paid the price for the affassination of Demetrius. The death and character of Boris Godunof are thus delineated by an impartial historian*.

“ The party of the pretended Demetrius
 “ increased daily, and the Russians flocked
 “ to him from all quarters. This circum-
 “ stance, joined to the inactivity of the Russian
 “ army, had such an effect upon Boris, that,
 “ driven to despair, he swallowed poison †.
 “ The accounts are false, which attribute
 “ his death to poison given to him by one
 “ Peter Bosmanof; or which relate that
 “ while he was giving audience to some
 “ foreign embassadors, he was seized with a
 “ violent colic, and that soon afterwards
 “ the blood gushed from his mouth, nose,
 “ and ears. He felt the first effects of the
 “ poison at dinner, and the symptoms were
 “ so violent, that he had scarcely time to
 “ enter into the monastic order before he
 “ expired. According to the Russian cus-
 “ tom, he changed his name from Boris to

* Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 247.

† Captain Margaret says, that he died of an apoplexy.
 Etat de la Russie, p. 118.

“ Bogolep. His decease happened on the
 “ 13th of April, or the 24th, according to
 “ the new style, 1605, after a reign of eight
 “ years and two months.

“ It must be allowed that his death was a
 “ great loss to Russia; for if we except the
 “ unjustifiable means by which he raised him-
 “ self to the throne, and the cruelty with
 “ which he persecuted several illustrious fa-
 “ milies, particularly the house of Romanof,
 “ he must be esteemed an excellent sove-
 “ reign. Ambition and revenge were his
 “ principal vices: on the contrary, his pe-
 “ netration and sagacity, his affability and
 “ munificence, his political knowledge, his
 “ diligence in the administration of affairs,
 “ his assiduity in introducing into Russia the
 “ improvements of foreign nations, in a word,
 “ his unwearied attention to promote the
 “ advantage of his country, and the wel-
 “ fare of his subjects, were conspicuous parts
 “ of his character. We are apt to over-
 “ look the vices of a sovereign in conside-
 “ ration of his princely virtues, and in this
 “ respect Boris is entitled to our esteem.
 “ When we add to these considerations the
 “ long chain of calamities which succeeded
 “ his

“ his death, his loss could not but be sensibly felt.” His remains were at first deposited in the Imperial sepulchre at Moscow; but were afterwards removed to the convent of the Holy Trinity*.

* For the history of Boris Godunof, see Muller, S. R. G. vpl. V. p. 27 to 249.

C H A P. VII

Inquiry into the history and adventures of the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius.—His reception in Poland.—Invasion of Russia.—Acknowledged as the son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.—Seats himself upon the throne.—His character.—Conspiracy against him.—Is assassinated.—Various opinions concerning him.—Called an impostor by the Russian historians.—By Petreius.—Testimony of Margaret in his favour.—Grounds for supposing him to be the real Demetrius.

AMONG the tombs in the cathedral of St. Michael I had occasion to mention that of a child, called by the Russians Dmitri, or Demetrius, whose intricate and controverted history was reserved for a separate narrative.

Ivan * Vassilievitch II. left two sons; Feodor, who succeeded to the throne; and
Demetrius,

* I had entirely finished this chapter before the publication of L'Evesque's Histoire de Russie. That ingenious author has, in his account of the person who styled himself Demetrius,

Demetrius, an infant, who was educated at Uglitz under the care of his mother the tzarina Maria Feodorofna, and in the eighth year of his age was said to have been assassinated by order of Boris Godunof*. The real circumstances

Demetrius, advanced many plausible arguments to shew, that he was probably not an impostor; and though they appear to me unanswerable, and it is easy to perceive that he entirely leans to that opinion, yet he candidly concludes with asserting, “Plusieurs objections que j’ai hasardées contre l’imposture d’Otrépief me paraissent d’une grande force, je n’oserai cependant décider la question.” See *Hist. de Russ.* v. III. p. 226 to 236. It may serve, perhaps, as an additional proof in favour of Demetrius, that two foreigners, who had visited Russia, both unbiassed by any national prejudices, and without the least communication with each other, should hold nearly the same opinion upon so intricate a subject. I have inserted into the notes a few of his remarks, which seemed to me the most important.

* Muller relates from a Russian manuscript, that twelve persons were privy to the murder, amongst whom were the prince’s nurse and her son, who perpetrated the deed; that it was committed at mid-day in the court-yard of the palace, and that a bell-ringer, who was upon the top of an adjoining cathedral, saw the whole transaction. Petreius asserts, that the prince was murdered during the confusion of a fire, purposely occasioned by one of the assassins. Margaret and Grevenbuck say that the assassin was son of the tzarina Maria’s secretary; and it is generally affirmed, that it happened at midnight.—The Russian authors naturally

circumstances of this assassination, being purposely withheld from the public, are variously related; and the following particulars can alone be unquestionably depended upon. A body, supposed to be that of the young prince, was found weltering in its blood; certain persons, considered as the assassins, were instantly put to death by the inhabitants of Uglitz. When the account of the catastrophe was transmitted to Moscow; Boris Godunof, having first spread a report that Demetrius had, in a violent fit of phrenzy, put a period to his own life, dispatched his creatures Vassili Shuiski and Cletchnin to make inquiries into the circumstances of the prince's death. These persons, having examined the body of the deceased, declared it

turally prefer the first account, because it was more difficult at mid-day to substitute a child. There is no reason to be surprized at these contradictory opinions, when it is considered, as L'Evesque has justly observed, " que Boris
 " supprima tous les détails de cet horrible affaire; qu'il
 " trompa le tzar et le public. Le public fut donc alors
 " mal instruit des circonstances de cet événement, et le
 " temps n'a pu y ajouter que de nouvelles obscurités.
 " D'ailleurs, comme le dit Margaret, on observait en
 " Russie un secret si profond sur toutes les affaires, qu'il
 " était fort difficile d'apprendre la vérité de ce qu'on
 " n'avait pas vu de ses yeux." V. III. p. 228.

to be that of Demetrius, and confirmed the former report which had been circulated by Boris Godunof. Maria Feodorofna, accused of gross inattention to her son's security, was compelled to assume the veil, and confined in a convent; many inhabitants of Uglitz, who spoke freely concerning the murder, were capitally punished; some were imprisoned, and others were banished.

Boris Godunof managed this horrid transaction with such art and secrecy, that scarcely any suspicions were entertained against him; until thirteen years afterwards a person made his appearance who declared himself to be Demetrius: he gave out that his mother, suspicious of the attempts against her son's life, had taken the precaution to remove him from Uglitz, and to substitute another child, who was assassinated in his place; and that, being educated in a convent, and concealed from the knowledge of his persecutors, he had escaped from Russia into Poland. Being there admitted into the service of Wiesnovitki, a Pole of great distinction, he discovered himself to that nobleman; who, convinced, or pretending to be so, that he was the son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. warmly espoused his cause. Boris Godunof, having received intelligence

telligence of this unexpected claimant of his throne, disseminated a report, that the impostor who assumed the name of Demetrius, was a monk styled Gregory or Griska Otrepiet; and spared neither threats nor bribes to obtain possession of his person; but, when these expedients failed of success, he dispatched his emissaries into Poland to assassinate him.

Wiesnovitski, alarmed for the safety of his fugitive, recommended him to the protection of the senator George Mnishek palatine of Sandomir; a nobleman of the largest estate and greatest consequence of Poland. Demetrius (if I may be allowed to call him by that name) being acknowledged by him as the rightful heir of the Russian throne, was soon afterwards betrothed in marriage to the palatine's daughter Maria; and, in the beginning of the year 1603, was introduced to Sigismund III. king of Poland. Being admitted to a public audience before the diet, he excited the compassion of that assembly by the affecting manner in which he related his extraordinary adventures; and though Sigismund and the diet regretted that the situation of their country prevented them from openly seconding his pretensions, yet they testified the most cordial attachment to his interests, and laid

no prohibition on those nobles who might be disposed to engage in his support. By the assistance of his two patrons, Wiefnovitski and the palatine of Sendomir, Demetrius entered Russia in the month of August, 1604, at the head of about 4000 Poles; and being soon joined by many Russians, particularly by the Cossacs of the Don, advanced almost without opposition to Novogorod Severskoi, and routed in December an army of 40,000 men; but was himself not long afterwards defeated, with great slaughter, by prince Vassili Shuiski general of Boris Godunof. Eight thousand of his followers were either killed or taken prisoners; all his artillery and colours fell into the hands of the enemy; his horse was wounded under him, and he himself escaped with difficulty.

This overthrow occasioned the almost total defection of the Polish troops; and Demetrius himself was so dismayed with his loss, that he would have retreated precipitately into Poland, if he had not been dissuaded by the importunities of his Russian adherents; many of whom believed him to be the true Demetrius, and all dreaded the vengeance of Boris Godunof. Overcome by their suggestions, he continued his march; and, notwithstanding

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ing his late discomfiture, soon saw himself at the head of a numerous army of Russians; who flocked to his standard from all quarters: Not only the populace, ever prone to credulity, but even men of the highest birth and quality, gave credit to his pretensions: not only the distant provinces supported his cause; but the people rose even at Moscow, and publicly proclaimed that Demetrius had escaped from his assassins, and claimed allegiance as their rightful sovereign. This insurrection was indeed immediately quelled; but although Boris Godunof inflicted the severest punishment upon his adherents; though the patriarch published a ban of excommunication against him and his party; and though Vassili Shuiski openly affirmed that he had himself examined the body of the deceased prince at Uglitz; yet an universal belief spread itself through all ranks, that the pretender to the throne was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

The sudden death of Boris Godunof, which happened in the month of April, 1605, hastened the success of Demetrius. Feodor Borisovitch was scarcely declared successor to his father by the patriarch and nobles who were present at Moscow; before he was deserted by
the

the principal generals of the Russian army, and by many persons of distinction. His troops at this inauspicious juncture were suddenly attacked and defeated; and those who escaped were persuaded to swear fealty to his rival, who, strengthened by this accession, advanced by hasty marches towards the capital without the least opposition: the highways were lined with people; the towns opened their gates with every demonstration of joy; while Demetrius supported the prepossession of the Russians in favour of his birth by the affability of his demeanor, and the gracefulness of his person. Having published a manifesto, in which he held out to the inhabitants of Moscow offers of clemency and favour on their return to their duty, they rose in arms; stormed the palace; deposed and strangled Feodor Borisovitch; and recognized his title. On the 30th of June the new czar entered Moscow in triumph, and took possession of the throne with universal approbation. His pretensions to the crown, as real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. were still further confirmed by the public testimony of Maria Feodorofna, whom Boris Godunof had imprisoned in a distant monastery, and whom Demetrius, at his accession, instantly released from her confinement.

confinement. Upon her approach to Moscow, on the 8th of July, he rode to meet her at the head of a numerous procession; and at the first appearance of her carriage, alighted from his horse, and ran to embrace her. The tenderness and affection which both parties displayed on this interesting occasion drew tears from the spectators; and the strong expressions of transport with which the tzarina openly acknowledged him for her son, seemed to afford a positive confirmation of the reality of his imperial lineage. Soon after this interview he was crowned with the usual pomp and magnificence, and seemed now firmly seated upon the throne; in the possession of which he would probably have maintained himself, whether he were the real Demetrius or an impostor, by a proper conformity to the manners of his subjects, and by a prudent deference to their civil and religious establishment. But his avowed contempt of the Russian customs; and, above all, his public neglect of their religious ceremonies, soon alienated the affections of his subjects; and precipitated him from the throne as rapidly as he had ascended it.

Margaret, who had frequent access to the person of Demetrius, has sketched his portrait
in

in the following short but lively manner. “ He had no beard, was of a middle stature, “ and of dark complexion, his limbs were “ strong and nervous, and he had a wart under “ his right eye. He was active, spirited, and “ merciful, soon offended, and as soon ap- “ peared ; liberal, ambitious, and desirous of “ making himself known to posterity ; in a “ word, he was a prince who loved honour, “ and recommended it by his own exam- “ ple*.” If we should allow that Margaret has concealed many of his defects, and has placed his virtues in the most advantageous light ; yet the acrimony and injustice which appear in many parts of the following extracts from his character, as drawn even by Mr. Muller the most candid of his opponents, will prevent every impartial person from giving implicit credit to the representations of his enemies.

“ The false † Demetrius was of a middle “ size, dark complexion, and had one of his “ arms shorter than the other. He would “ have been esteemed not deficient in wis- “ dom, if he had not been so precipitate in

* Margaret, p. 141.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 302, &c.

“ his conduct; and if he had conformed his
 “ behaviour to the disposition and temper of
 “ his subjects. In Poland he applied himself
 “ to the study of languages, arts, and sciences;
 “ he conversed in Latin * and Polish with flu-
 “ ency; he was well acquainted with history,
 “ and particularly with that of Russia and the
 “ neighbouring kingdoms; he was well versed
 “ in musick, and possessed other liberal accom-
 “ plishments. On account of his address and
 “ good fortune in obtaining the crown, he
 “ was esteemed a magician. Warlike exercise
 “ and hunting were his principal amusements.
 “ He had some knowledge of engineering and
 “ artillery; was fond of casting cannon; and
 “ shot with such skill and address as to sur-
 “ prize the most dextrous marksmen. He
 “ was zealous to improve the discipline of his
 “ army; for which purpose he would often
 “ review his troops, instruct them in different
 “ manœuvres, storm ramparts and fortifica-
 “ tions; and as he was always for most, and

* His understanding Latin has been urged against him as a proof that he was educated by the Jesuits. Margaret, however, positively asserts, that he was not in the least acquainted with that language. Il est très certain qu'il ne parloit nullement Latin, j'en puis temoigner, moins le sçavoit il lire et ecrire. Ibid. p. 163.

“ the most eager among the assailants, he
 “ frequently was rudely handled in the
 “ fray:

“ Desirous to be esteemed a patron of jus-
 “ tice, he put to death several judges who
 “ had been convicted of iniquitous practices.
 “ But was not this mode of proceeding rather
 “ a proof of his inclination to cruelty? and
 “ might it not arise from a desire of striking
 “ terror into his subjects * ?

“ He has been praised for his munificence,
 “ but it was both extravagant and ill-placed ;
 “ he heaped bounties upon Polish musicians
 “ and other minions, and drained the treasury
 “ by the most enormous expences †. Like
 “ all

* A supposition, which shews a strong disposition in the opposite party to misrepresent the most favourable parts of his conduct.

† The accounts of his extravagance were grossly exaggerated. He is said to have given orders for a throne of massy silver supported with six lions of the same costly materials ; and for a footstool of pure gold, for the ceremony of his coronation : the latter was studded with 600 diamonds, 600 rubies, 600 sapphires, 600 emeralds, 600 Turkish stones, all of a large size, but some of the latter were as big as half a pigeon's egg. It must be remarked, that this footstool was already in the treasury when Demetrius ascended the throne ; and had been present-

“ all voluptuaries he was fickle and impetu-
 “ ous. All his actions proved an extraordinary
 “ proneness to prefer his own precipitate re-
 “ solutions to the most prudent advice, and
 “ to adopt the rashest measures. His sudden
 “ elevation rendered him insolent; he was
 “ so ambitious, that even the Russian em-
 “ pire appeared too small to satisfy his lust
 “ of dominion; and he extended his views
 “ to the reduction of Turkey and Tartary.
 “ His ebriety and incontinence were his
 “ most notorious vices, which frequently ex-
 “ posed him in the eyes of the public. Be-
 “ side the princess Irene, the daughter of
 “ Boris Godunof, all who pleased him were
 “ sacrificed to his desires, without the least
 “ regard to rank or age *.

“ Upon

ed from the Sophy of Persia to Ivan Vassilievitch II.
 S. R. G. vol. V. p. 335. Many similar ornaments em-
 ployed at his coronation had been used by the former so-
 vereigns, who were crowned with Asiatic magnificence.

* These parts of his conduct were also greatly misre-
 presented. L'Évesque asserts, with great appearance of
 probability, that these reports of his incontinence were not
 founded in truth; and particularly denies that the princess
 Irene was sacrificed to his desires. “ On a écrit, qu'elle
 “ avoit été réservée pour servir aux plaisirs brutaux du
 “ bourreau de sa famille; mais cette accusation, dictée
 “ par

“ Upon his first accession to the throne he
 “ was easy of access, but he gradually be-
 “ came suspicious of his subjects; he had a
 “ foreign guard; he often refused audience to
 “ the Russian nobility, when he admitted the
 “ Poles without reserve. He seemed to sum-
 “ mon the privy-counsellors only for the pur-
 “ pose of turning them to ridicule. If a
 “ Russian lodged a complaint against a Pole,
 “ he could never obtain justice, and insult was
 “ even added to injury. Probably this insol-
 “ lence was the chief cause of his subsequent
 “ misfortunes; and his fall would at least
 “ have been retarded, if he had endeavoured
 “ to conciliate the affection of the principal
 “ nobles. But the circumstance which prin-
 “ cipally contributed to his loss of popu-
 “ larity, was the little reverence which he
 “ professed for the ceremonies of the Greek
 “ church. Upon his first arrival at Moscow
 “ he entered the two cathedrals with drums
 “ beating and trumpets sounding; he paid
 “ no respect to the clergy; he made no dis-

“ par la haine, n'est ni vraisemblable ni confirmée par
 “ l'ancienne chronique que nous suivons, et qui parait
 “ fidele. On peut en croire que Dmitri fut un impos-
 “ teur; mais rien ne fait soupçonner, qu'il fut adonné
 “ à de sales debauches.” V. III. p. 202.

“ tinction between faſts and feſtivals; would
 “ neither bow nor croſs himſelf before the ſa-
 “ cred paintings; he profaned the churches by
 “ admitting foreigners at the time of divine
 “ ſervice, and ſtill more by the number of
 “ dogs which followed him upon the ſame
 “ occaſion.

“ He was not only ſo much attached to
 “ the Polish cuſtoms and dreſs as to prefer
 “ them upon all occaſions; but he even ridi-
 “ culed the Ruſſian manners, and in every
 “ inſtance deviated from the examples of the
 “ tzars his predeceſſors. Inſtead of ſhowing
 “ himſelf to the people ſeldom, and only
 “ upon extraordinary occaſions with a large
 “ retinue, he was accuſtomed to traверſe the
 “ ſtreets without any ſuite but a few ſervants;
 “ he commonly rode, and, as he was an ex-
 “ cellent horſeman, was generally mounted
 “ upon the moſt fiery ſteeds; he hunted
 “ frequently; had muſic at his repaſs; ne-
 “ ver ſlept at mid-day; never bathed. Theſe
 “ trifling circumſtances were at that time
 “ regarded in ſo ſerious a light, that the
 “ omiſſion of them rendered him the object
 “ of general hatred; and it was commonly
 “ reported, that the perſon who could ſhow
 “ ſuch a diſtaſte for the cuſtoms of his coun-
 “ try,

“ try, could never be descended from the race
 “ of its ancient sovereigns. It was an obvi-
 “ ous inference, to consider the despiser of
 “ his subjects as their enemy. Under such
 “ circumstances his destruction seemed inevi-
 “ table * ; and yet near a year elapsed before
 “ any

* Mr. Muller, in this place, relates an account of a
 match with snow-balls between the Russian soldiers and
 the Poles; when the latter were said, at the command of
 Demetrius, to have filled their snow-balls with sand and
 stones, by which the Russians (*blaue Augen und blutige
 Koepfe bekamen*) received many black eyes and bloody
 heads. Such absurd accusations do not merit any serious
 refutation. Many other idle tales are also gravely related
 against him; and indeed every circumstance of his con-
 duct seems to have been malevolently interpreted. Among
 the public diversions which he gave in honour of his mar-
 riage was a fire-work, in which a dragon was represented
 with three heads spitting out flames. Such a spectacle,
 being uncommon in the country, affrighted the Russians;
 and it was reported, that the tzar had contrived it on pur-
 pose to alarm his subjects. The Poles were not wanting
 upon this and all other occasions in ridiculing the igno-
 rance and simplicity of the Russians, which increased
 the hatred against them and the sovereign who protected
 them. A wooden tower was also constructed near the
 city, which, upon a certain day, was to be attacked with
 a cannonade and stormed. After the assassination of De-
 metrius, Vassili Shuiski publicly asserted in a manifesto, that
 it was the intention of Demetrius to have taken the op-
 portunity, which the storming of this tower presented, of
 massacring

“ any tumult broke out against him. At length his marriage with a foreign lady closed the scene; and it would have been a wonder if he had continued any longer upon the throne.”

Having in Poland betrothed himself to Marina, the daughter of the palatine Mnifchek, he dispatched a splendid embassy to demand her in marriage. The espousals were performed at Cracow; and the bride, having made her entry into Moscow, accompanied with a large suite of Poles, was lodged in a nunnery until the solemnization of the nuptials: during this interval he disturbed the devotion of the holy sisterhood with repeated feasts, concerts, and balls, whereby he excited public horror, as a sacrilegious violator of

massacring many inhabitants of Moscow. The gates of the city were to be suddenly shut; the cannon to be fired among the people assembled upon the occasion; and those who escaped were to be hewn in pieces by the Cossacs and Strelitz. At the same time the Russian nobles were to be murdered by the Polish troops. This account, so improbable in itself, is only supported by the supposed confession of two Polish nobles, to whom Demetrius is said to have revealed it a day or two before his assassination; but we may more justly believe it to have been a calumny, invented by Vassili Shuiski, to render the memory of his rival more odious. See S. R. G. vol. V. 342—346.

religious discipline. By this infatuated behaviour he inflamed the disaffection of his subjects to such a degree, that a regular conspiracy was concerted against him. The leader of this conspiracy was prince Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski, the same person who had owed his life to the lenity of Demetrius; and on whom this act of clemency had no other effect than to render him more cautious in his subsequent machinations against his benefactor. Demetrius had frequently received intimations from different quarters of a projected insurrection. The popular odium betrayed itself by the most alarming symptoms. Persons were heard crying in the streets, "The tzar
" is an heretic worse than a Turk, and not
" the son of Ivan Vassilievitch." But, either from natural magnanimity that braved all danger, or from the inconsiderate levity of his character, which would not attend to it, he was insensible to all these prognostics; and by obstinately persevering in his obnoxious and unpopular conduct, seemed almost to invite the destruction which awaited him.

The insurrection broke out early in the morning on the 17th of May. The conspirators possessed themselves of the principal avenues leading to the city; the
great

great bell in the Kremlin, the common signal of alarm, was tolled; and a confused cry was spread among the people, that the Poles were preparing to massacre the inhabitants. Vassili Shuiski, who had secretly fomented and inflamed the public discontents, led the way to the palace, bearing a cross in one hand, and a sabre in the other, accompanied by a vast multitude armed with the first weapons which chance presented. This party, having overpowered the guards, burst open the gates of the palace, and rushed towards the apartment of Demetrius. The latter, awakened by the tumult, summoned the few guards who were immediately about his person, and falling, without a moment's deliberation, against his assailants, hewed down several of the foremost: being soon overborn by numbers, he attempted to retreat into the interior part of the palace; but, closely pressed by his pursuers, he precipitated himself from a window into a court, and dislocated his thigh with the fall.

Being discovered in this deplorable condition, he was conveyed back to the palace, and brought before Vassili Shuiski, who loaded him with reproaches for his imposture. Not dismayed, however, with the menaces
of

of his enemy, he persisted * in maintaining himself to be the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. and, as a proof of the truth of his assertion, appealed to the testimony of his mother, who resided in the neighbouring convent of Viesnovitskoi. The firmness and consistency of his asseverations made a considerable impression upon many of the Russian soldiers; who peremptorily declared, that they would protect him from all injury, unless Maria Feodorofna formally renounced him as her son. On this unexpected declaration, Vassili Shuiski, accompanied with some Russian nobles of his party, repaired to the convent, and returned instantly with the following answer from that princess; “That the real Demetrius was slain at Uglitz; that the person who at present assumed his name was an impostor; and that she had been constrained by menaces to acknowledge him for her son.” Upon the delivery of this message, the unhappy monarch was instantly sacrificed to the fury of his

† Mr. Muller says, all the Russian writers declare, that he confessed his imposture; but it is certain that he did not; otherwise, why did Vassili Shuiski repair to the convent to obtain the tzarina’s declaration, when his own confession would have been fully sufficient?

enemies. Neither was their vengeance appeased by his death, but extended even to his inanimate body; it was pierced with repeated wounds, stripped naked, and exposed for three days in the streets to the insults of the populace; it was then deposited in the public charnel-house, and afterwards * reduced to ashes, from a notion that the earth would be polluted by the interment of so unholy a corpse.

The assassination of Demetrius was followed by a general tumult: the houses of all the foreigners were pillaged; and not only the Poles, who fell into the hands of the people, but even many Russians who wore the Polish dress, were massacred. Though this state of anarchy lasted only ten hours; yet more than two thousand persons lost their lives. The

* It seems, by other accounts, that the body was first buried without the city; and that the multitude flocked in crowds to the place. "The common people believe that music was heard in the night, and that spectres were seen hovering about the place where he was buried. For these reasons the body was dug up, and shot from the mouth of a cannon." Schmidt R. G. vol. I. p. 362. The author of the Russian Impostor also writes, "The people dug up his poor carcase out of an obscure grave; and after a repetition of barbarities upon him, they burnt the body, and scattered the ashes in the air." p. 125.

dreadful

dreadful scene was finally closed by the election of Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski to the throne of Russia. Manifestoes * were immediately published, in which the new tzar justified his conduct, and detailed the history and fortunes of his predecessor; whom he pronounced an adventurer, whose real name was Griska Otrepief. He ascribes to him an intention of extirpating the principal Russian nobility, and of introducing the Roman catholic religion into Russia: accuses him of holding a correspondence with the pope for that purpose; insinuates that he had even promised to cede the provinces of Smolensko and Severia to the king of Poland; represents him as an heretic and a forcerer; displays, in the most odious colours, his aversion to the manners and customs of the Russians, his attachment to foreigners; and expatiates with much art upon every part of his character which was most likely to excite the public abhorrence. A few days afterwards a manifesto appeared, in the name of the tzarina Maria Fedorofna, in which she apologizes for having owned the impostor for her son, and

* Mr. Muller found these manifestos in the archives of Therdin. S. R. G. 347. 364. 366.

again acknowledges that the real Demetrius was assassinated at Uglitz; that the impostor, upon their first interview near Moscow, first accosted her alone*, and threatened her and her family with the most cruel torments, if she refused to recognize him as her offspring.

All these allegations, however, thus urged against the pretensions of Demetrius, could not efface the prepossessions entertained by the generality of the Russians in favour of his imperial descent. A fresh insurrection was hourly expected; and some transient tumults took place, in which Vassili Shuiski narrowly escaped destruction. In this critical state of affairs he had recourse to the following expedient, for the purpose of appeasing the public suspicions. A rumour being spread, that the body of the young prince, formerly murdered at Uglitz, had performed miracles; a deputation of several bishops and nobles was dispatched to take up the hallowed corpse

* Habe mit ihr geredet ohne dass jemand von den Boiaren, oder andern Leuten, dabey seyn doerfen. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 367. Margaret, on the contrary, who was probably present at this interview, says expressly, "après conferences d'un quart d'heur, en presence de tous les nobles et de ceux de la ville," &c. p. 125.

from the sepulchre, and to transport it to Moscow. "Upon opening the tomb," relates Mr. Muller from the Russian archives, "an agreeable odour filled the whole church: the body was uncorrupted, and the very clothes entire; one of his hands grasped some nuts, that were sprinkled with blood, and which the young prince had been eating at the instant of his assassination. His relics were carried in great state to Moscow: on their approach to the city they were met by Vassili Shuiski, the widow of Ivan Vassilievitch II. and a large concourse of people, and deposited with much solemnity in the cathedral of St. Michael. During the procession many troubled with various disorders were miraculously restored to health: after the body had been placed in the cathedral, thirteen sick persons declared themselves to have been relieved of their complaints by the interposition of the faint; and the same number were healed on the ensuing day*."

Let us contrast this account with the relation of the opposite party. "On the 4th of June a dispute concerning Demetrius arose,

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 371.

“ between the Strelitz and the people, who
 “ asserted that he was not an impostor. The
 “ tzar and the boyars cry out, The people
 “ shall have ocular conviction that the true
 “ Demetrius was killed at Uglitz; his body
 “ is now removing to Moscow, and has per-
 “ formed many stupendous miracles. The
 “ boyars procured a poor man’s child, about
 “ thirteen years of age, cut its throat; and
 “ having committed it for a few days to the
 “ ground, conveyed it to Moscow, showed it
 “ to the people, and declared that this was
 “ the true Demetrius, whose body, although
 “ so long interred, was still uncorrupted,
 “ which the foolish multitude believed, and
 “ were appeased *.”

The reader will judge which of these two accounts is most likely to be true.

These are the principal circumstances in
 the adventures of the person, who seated
 himself upon the Russian throne under the
 name of Demetrius. His history is greatly
 involved in contradiction and obscurity: un-
 biaſſed, however, by the prejudices of either
 party, let us compare with candour their
 opposite representations; and endeavour to

* Payerne in Schmidt Russ. Geſſ. vol. I. p. 364.

ascertain,

ascertain, whether he was an impostor, or the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

They who contend that he was an impostor, thus relate his history: He was of the family of Otrepief; his real name was George, which, upon his assuming the monastic habit in the fourteenth year of his age, he changed into Gregory, and was generally known by the appellation of Griſka * Otrepief: for some time he resided at Susdal, and having afterwards wandered from convent to convent, was consecrated deacon in the monastery of Tchudof at Moscow, where he was employed by the patriarch in transcribing books for the service of the church. It is not ascertained, even from these accounts of his life, at what period he first styled himself Demetrius. Some report, that while he continued in the monastery of Tchudof, he obtained the most minute information relative to the person and character of the prince, and even began to assume his name, for which he was deemed insane, and excited the laughter of the monks. Others observe, that he was in possession of several jewels

* Griſka, in the Russian tongue, signifies little Gregory. He was called also Roſtriga, or Desertet, from having quitted his convent.

which had formerly belonged to Demetrius; and, having one day declared that he should ascend the throne of Russia, he was confined, by order of Boris Godunof, in a distant monastery, from whence he escaped into Poland; his adventures in which country have been already related.—On the contrary, Margaret, who asserts that he is the true Demetrius, gives the following detail.

Demetrius, being rescued from assassination by the substitution * of another child, was
secretly

* The principal objection to the account of Margaret, arises from the difficulty of substituting a child in the place of Demetrius, particularly if the son of his nurse was one of the assassins; and that Vassili Shuiski is said to have examined the body of the deceased, soon after the supposed assassination. To this it may be answered, that his mother had sufficient reasons to be upon her guard against the attempts of Boris Godunof; and it is evident that such attempts had been made previous to the assassination, from the following passage in Fletcher, who was at Moscow in the beginning of Feodor's reign. "Besides the emperor
" that now is, who hath no child, nor ever like to have,
" there is but one more, a child of six or seven years old,
" in whom resteth all the hope of the succession, and the
" posterity of that house. He is kept in a remote place
" from Mosko, under the tuition of his mother, and her
" kindred of the house of the Nagaies; yet not safe (as I
" have heard) from attempts of making away by practice of
" some

secretly educated in Russia until the election of Boris Godunof, when he was conveyed into Poland

“ *some that aspire to the succession, if this emperor die without issue.*” Fletcher’s Russia, Chap. V.

“ Il est assez à presupposer,” as Margaret justly observes, “ que la mere & les autres, &c. voyant ce but où le dit Boris tendoit, essayèrent par tous moyens à delivrer l’enfant du danger où il estoit. Or je scay et je crois que l’on confessera qu’il n’y avoit nul autre moyen que de le changer et en supposer un autre en sa place, et le faire nourrir secretement, en attendant si le temps ne changeroit ou empêcheroit point les desseins du dit Boris Ferdervits. Ce qu’ils effectuèrent si bien que nuls, fors ceux de la partie n’en scurent rien,” &c. p. 154.

With respect to the privity of the nurse, and her son, the witness of the bell-ringer, and the testimony of Vassili Shuiski, L’Evesque makes the following judicious observations.

“ Mais ces circonstances sont elles bien confirmées. Tous les assassins du tzarévitch furent massacrés presque aussi-tôt qu’ils eurent commis ce crime. Ils n’ont point été interrogés, on n’a rien su de leur bouche. Un sonneur de la cathédrale fut témoin du meurtre de Dmitri. Mais qui a reçu son témoignage? Est il même certain que ce témoin ait existé? Si les assassins furent trompés, n’ait il pas pu l’être lui même, et prendre pour le tzarévitch un enfant du même age! Ne convient-on-pas que Boris, &c. Mais Chouiski mais Clechnin furent envoyés à Ouglitch par Boris; ils virent et reconnurent le corps du tzarévitch et lui rendirent les honneurs funebres. Eh! sait-on ce qu’ont vu ces deux émissaires de Boris, ce qu’ils lui ont rapporté en secret? Le corps même

Poland under the care of the monk Griska, which afterwards gave rise to the report that Griska had personated Demetrius. As a proof that they were two distinct persons, he informs us, that Boris Godunof sent repeated expresses to his guards upon the frontiers, to prevent all travellers from quitting the country, even should they be provided with passports; for there were *two traitors* who were endeavouring to escape into Poland. Margaret adds, Griska was thirty-five years of age, and Demetrius scarcely twenty-four; he accompanied the new tzar to Moscow, and was seen by many in that city, being a person well known, and having a brother who possessed an estate near Galitz: he was notorious before his flight into Poland for his

“ qu'ils examinerent, défiguré par des blessures, et gardé
 “ long-temps sans être embaumé, devait être reconnaissable. On ignore absolument ce qu'ils ont découvert, et ce qu'ils ont pensé. S'ils ont débité à leur retour une fable concertée entr'eux et le ministre, ils n'ont pu dans le suite faire connaître la vérité, sans avouer qu'ils avoient été des fourbes vendus à un scélérat,” &c. Vol. III. p. 227.—In a word, the belief that a child was substituted in the place of Demetrius, though liable to many objections, is yet attended with much fewer difficulties, than the notion that the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was an impostor.

insolence and drunkenness, and, on account of his misconduct, was banished by Demetrius to Yaroslaf. Margaret, moreover, was informed by an English merchant of Yaroslaf, well acquainted with Griska, that the latter, upon the news of the tzar's death, and even after the election of Vassili Shuiski, solemnly protested that the said Demetrius was the real son of Ivan Vassiliévitch; and that he himself was Griska Otrepiéf, who had conducted the prince into Poland. Soon afterwards Griska was conveyed to Moscow by order of Vassili Shuiski, and totally disappeared*.

If this narrative is authentic, according to the confession of Mr. Muller, it completely refutes the representation of the opposite party. In what manner then does this ingenious author attempt to discredit the positive testimony of Margaret; for upon this the whole question seems to turn? "But how," says he, "can we imagine, that any one could ever hold two persons to be the same individual, at a time when the contrary could be so easily proved?" The contrary indeed could be easily proved during the reign of

* Margaret, 152 to 157.

Demetrius, when Griska was at Moscow or at Yaroslaf, and at a time when few Russians doubted the fact; but the assertion was not so easy to be refuted when Griska was sent no one knows where, and when no person durst contradict the manifesto of Vassili Shuiski, "Let us suppose," adds Mr. Muller, "that the opposite party, in defiance of all truth, had first invented so groundless a fable; let us suppose that Griska was immediately banished, as soon as the enemies of Demetrius had made the latter pass for that monk; how does it happen that no writer, beside Margaret *, has taken notice of so remarkable a circumstance?" It is generally allowed that one good evidence ought to outweigh a croud of prejudiced witnesses; so that if Margaret's credibility is superior to that of his opponents, we must, though he stands single, assent to the truth of his ac-

* Margaret, however, does not stand single in supposing Griska, and him who passed for Demetrius, to be distinct persons. For, among others, Conrad Buffau, who was present at Moscow during the troubles, asserts, that Demetrius was the natural son of Stephen Bathori king of Poland, which is sufficient to show that the report prevailed at that time of Griska and the other being different persons. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 191.

count. And who are the writers whose authority is preferred to that of Margaret? The native historians, who wrote after the accession of Vassili Shuiski.—But their testimony cannot be admitted in this case; for could any Russian venture to contradict the manifesto of the sovereign, or call in question the sanctity of the relics established by a decree of the church *?

It

* It may perhaps be thought by many too bold to set aside the authority of all the Russian historians, who may be supposed to have obtained better intelligence than foreigners. But Mr. Muller calls in question the testimony of a Russian ambassador in favour of Demetrius, because he wrote at a time when the latter was upon the throne, and acknowledged by the whole nation; for the same reason, therefore, we must set aside the evidence of the Russians who wrote after his assassination, and at a time when his being an impostor was made an article of the public faith.

And, indeed, if it is considered from what suspicious memorials the Russian authors must have drawn their materials, this mode of reasoning will not appear unjustifiable. Of all the Russian writings relating to the history of Demetrius, cited by Mr. Muller, the principal are the manifestoes of Shuiski, and a manuscript account of the troubles, compiled by order of the tzar Michael, and sent to the king of France as a justification of the war entered into against Sweden. But such documents issuing from government must in this instance be allowed to be very ex-

It must be confessed, however, that there is one author who is not liable to these suspicions. "Petreius;" continues Mr. Muller, "has given, in many instances, the most exact intelligence; and he has demonstrated the imposture of the false Demetrius with many proofs. Is it possible, therefore, to suppose him ignorant that Demetrius and Griska were two different persons, if that fact had been well grounded?" Here then the testimony of Petreius is put in the opposite scale against that of Margaret; both foreigners; both present at Moscow at the time of the insurrection; and both supposed to be unbiassed by the civil and religious prejudices of the Russians; and yet both of different sentiments. Let us therefore examine their character and situation, and consider whether there are any circumstances which render one writer more worthy of credit than the other. Margaret was a Frenchman, who entered the Russian service in the reign of Boris Godunof; was present in the army which was sent against

ceptionable records.—In all affairs, wherein the national prejudices are not concerned, the evidence of a native is to be preferred to that of foreigners; but the testimony of the latter becomes superior, when the former are warped by fear or prejudice.

Demetrius ;

Demetrius; and always acted with approved bravery and fidelity. Afterwards, when Demetrius ascended the throne, he was continued in his service as captain of the guards. He possessed, therefore, many opportunities of investigating his real history; and he has recorded it in a work which, upon his return to France, he published at the command of Henry IV.*

Mr. Muller, however, objects to the authenticity of Margaret's narrative in the following words. " A witness of this sort
 " would not be admitted in any court of
 " justice, and cannot, in this instance, merit
 " our belief. His judgment might be warp-
 " ed; partly from considering it as a disgrace
 " to have engaged in the service of an im-
 " postor; and partly from not being well
 " used by the opposite party after the death
 " of the false Demetrius. Hence he might
 " be enticed, from motives of resentment, to
 " brand with infamy the enemies of Deme-
 " trius, and to treat as mere falsehoods all
 " the reports of the impostor's real origin.
 " We must, therefore, accuse Margaret either

* *Estat de l'Empire de Russie, &c. par le Capitaine Margaret.*

“ of having advanced a falsehood ; or suppose
 “ that he had heard of another Otrepief, who
 “ was at that time present at Moscow, and
 “ whom he strangely confounds with Grif-
 “ ka *.” This is the only objection which
 even the ingenuity of Mr. Muller can urge
 against Margaret.

Petreius, whose authority is so fondly preferred to that of Margaret, was minister † from Charles IX. king of Sweden to the court of Moscow in the reigns of Boris Godunof, Demetrius, and Vassili Shuiski. The close connection of Demetrius with Sigismond king of Poland, the inveterate enemy of Charles IX. induced the latter to tender his assistance * to Boris Godunof, upon the first entrance of the new claimant into Russia. Charles is also represented as greatly alarmed at the success of Demetrius ; and immediately after his assassination entered into a treaty of the strictest amity with Vassili Shuiski. It was therefore the interest of the Swedish court to represent Demetrius as an impostor ; and Petreius, as Swedish minister, was obliged to countenance the report patronized by his

* B. R. G. vol. V. p. 182 and 193.

† Dalin's Geschichte von Schweden, vol. IV. p. 475.

master. But if we should even allow that Petreius was not influenced in his judgment by the politics of his own court; yet, as an author, he is liable to great exception: for the numberless fictions and gross misrepresentations, which he retails in his Chronicle, prove his extreme proneness to credulity*. Whereas, on the contrary, the credibility of Margaret stands unimpeached; and even the

* Mr. Muller has noticed and corrected innumerable errors, relative to the most important transactions, in the Chronicle of Petreius. It would be endless to mention them. I shall therefore only relate one, which will unquestionably prove the credulity of Petreius. "Feodor "Ivanovitch," says that author, "upon his death-bed, "being requested by the nobility to name a successor, answered, 'That person to whom I shall deliver my sceptre "shall be tzar after me.' Soon afterwards he offered it to "Feodor Nikititch Romanof; but he delivered it to his "brother Alexander, who gave it to a third called John, "who presented it to a fourth called Michael. The latter "passed it to another nobleman: at last the tzar threw the "sceptre from him, crying out in a passion, 'Take it who "will;' upon which Boris took it up, and the tzar died "immediately." This ridiculous tale is contradicted by the most authentic records, by the whole history of the subsequent election of Boris Godunof; and yet this is the writer whose authority is opposed to Margaret. See §, R. G. vol. V. p. 64, &c.

penetrating

penetrating sagacity of Mr. Muller himself can only discover in his work a few trifling errors which are of no moment. It appears then, that both as to character and situation, the testimony of Margaret is preferable to that of Petreius; and if the question is to be ultimately decided by one of these two writers, whose authority is the most unquestionable; the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was no impostor, but the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

I shall now throw together a number of particulars; which, in addition to those already enumerated, induce me to espouse the opinion that the tzar was no impostor.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof.
2. Supposed resemblance between the real Demetrius and the person who reigned in his name.
3. His success and conduct upon the throne.
4. Testimony of Maria Feodorofna.
5. Arguments used by the Russians to prove the imposture.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof plainly demonstrates that he thought him the real Demetrius. For otherwise, why did he not produce Maria Feodorofna, the mother of Demetrius, and obtain her public avowal that her

her son was not alive *? Her testimony at that time would have unquestionably ascertained the imposture of the person, who claimed the throne as her offspring. Probably Boris Godunof examined her privately; and, finding her to persist in her assertion, that Demetrius had escaped from Uglitz, he removed her to a convent at a considerable distance from Moscow, that she might not give a sanction to the pretensions of his rival.

2. The supposed resemblance between the prince Demetrius, who was educated at Uglitz, and the person who reigned under his name, comes next under consideration. This resemblance consisted in a wart under the right eye, and in one arm shorter than the other. "But how is it known," says Mr. Muller upon ~~this~~ head, "that the prince had these defects? for they are not mentioned in the Russian narratives, but are only related by foreigners, who had never seen him. May we not therefore suppose them mere inventions, calculated to display some

* "Puis tant de fausses allegations pour persuader de peuple, qu'il estoit un imposteur, sans que jamais Boris voulust interroger la mere en public, pour teinoigner de ce qui en estoit." Margaret, p. 171.

“resemblance between the true and false
 “Demetrius*?” In answer to this we may
 reply, that the Russian accounts, evidently
 compiled long after the period in question,
 and chiefly taken from the manifestos of go-
 vernment, would never record any circum-
 stance which might tend, in the slightest
 degree, to favour any likeness between a
 person whom they styled an impostor, and
 the young prince. And it may be added,
 that if the czar alledged the wart under his
 right eye, and the shortness of his arm, as
 proofs of his being the real Demetrius; who
 can suppose that the prince had not these
 defects, when there were so many persons of
 the first distinction who could contradict the
 truth of the report? “But even allowing
 “the fact,” continues Mr. Muller, “the
 “conclusion by no means follows; as the
 “strongest resemblance has been frequently
 “observed between two different persons;
 “and it is likewise possible, that the false
 “Demetrius might have imitated a wart in
 “his face, and have feigned a defect in his
 “arm.” It is possible, indeed, to account
 for these circumstances in this manner; still,

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 190.

however,

however, they must be considered, though not as positive, yet as strong presumptive evidence in his favour, especially when joined to many other collateral proofs.

3. The success of his enterprize, and his conduct upon the throne, seem to prove that he was the real Demetrius. He entered Russia with an inconsiderable force, which increased as he advanced; and although totally defeated, and almost deserted by the Poles, yet his army was soon recruited, and became more formidable than before his discomfiture. Persons of the first distinction joined him from all quarters; and the more he became personally known to the Russians, the greater number of partizans flocked to his standard. Nor did this seem owing to any want of popularity in Boris Godunof, whose administration was greatly respected for its vigour and wisdom; it rather proceeded from a general conviction that he was Demetrius. When he was seated upon the throne he did not act like an impostor. Had he been one, he would scarcely have pardoned Vassili Shuiski, who had thrown doubts upon the reality of his descent. Instead of disbelieving, as he did, the strongest reports of an impending insurrection; he would have turned a
ready

ready ear to the slightest rumours of plots and machinations, and have taken every precaution against them. In a word, his general character was as thoughtless and inconsiderate as it was open and sincere: and, above all, his freedom from suspicion and jealousy were incompatible with the principles of an usurper*.

4. The conduct of Maria Feodorofna must be admitted as supporting the same side of the question. After having openly acknowledged him for her son, she is said to have publicly disowned him. If both the avowal and denial were equally public, they both might

* "Puis parlons," says Margaret, "de sa clemence, envers un chacun après qu'il fut receu en Mosco, et principalement envers Vacilli Choutski, lequel fut convaincu de trahison, &c. et-mesmes fut ledit Demetrius prié par tous les assistans de le faire mourir, vu qu'il s'estait toujours trouvé perturbateur du repos public. Je parle comme ayant ouy et veu le tout de mes oreilles. Ce non obstant il luy pardonna, combien que Demetrius sçavoit bien que nul n'osoit aspirer à la couronne que la dite maison de Choutski. Il pardonna aussi à plusieurs autres; car il estoit sans soupçon," p. 171.

"Si il se fut senty coupable en aucune chose, il eust eu juste sujet de croire les machinations et trahisons complotées et trammées contre sa personne, des quelles il estoit assez adverty, et y eust pû remedier avec grande facilité," p. 174.

equally

equally have been extorted by fear; and her testimony must be considered as null. For what credit can that woman deserve who could at one time admit a person to be her son, and at another reject him as such? We may observe, however, this difference, that in the former instance she owned him in person; in the latter, she was not confronted with him, but her answer was brought by Vassili Shuiski *, who was most interested to prove him an impostor. It therefore follows, that if (as seems to be the case) her avowal was public; and her denial was not, the former is more to be depended upon than the latter, and her testimony must be admitted in his favour †.

5. The

* Mr. Muller says, Vassili Shuiski *took the trouble of repairing himself* to the convent. Gab sich selbst die muhe.

† The Russian authors assert, that at the time when the relics were conveying to Moscow, she publicly retracted the former testimony which she had given in his favour, upon their first interview near Moscow; confessing, that she had been induced by threats, as well as from a desire of procuring her liberty, to acknowledge an alien for her son. But how are we certain that she really made this public confession? Its truth entirely rests upon the Russian papers, which cannot, in this instance, be esteemed authentic records. But why was her public recantation postponed to so late a period? and why was she not confronted

5. The very arguments advanced by the Russians to ascertain his imposture, strongly establish the contrary position. For how was the reality of his imperial descent invalidated by his being a forcerer, an heretic, or a musician; by his predilection to the Poles; not bowing to the image of St. Nicholas; not bathing; eating veal; and such frivolous accusations*? Does not the adoption of these nugatory insinuations bespeak a great deficiency of solid arguments? they may incline, indeed, the Russians to believe him an usurper, but do not prove him one in the eyes of dispassionate judges. The truth seems to be, that as he began to lose the affection of his subjects by his inconsiderate contempt of their customs and religion; these, and many other unfavourable reports, calculated to raise

fronted with the tzar, when he so repeatedly appealed to her testimony as the strongest proof of his being the real Demetrius? Have we not every reason to conclude, either that she did not publicly retract her former asseverations in his favour; or that, being in Vassili Shuiski's power, she had been finally compelled to act in subserviency to his mandate?

* Many Russians, while they confessed that he was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch, denied his right to the throne, because his mother being the seventh wife of that tzar, he was illegitimate. Margaret, p. 171.

and increase the popular odium; were circulated by the intrigues of Vassili Shuiski, who, upon his assassination, was raised to the throne.

The same remarks extend, with still greater force, to the assertion, that the body interred at Uglitz was that of the real Demetrius from its uncorrupted state, and the miracles it performed. For the uncorrupted state of that body, when it was first conveyed to Moscow, evidently proves it to have been supposititious; and the miracles it is said to have performed will convert no profelytes without the pale of the Russian church. When every other expedient failed of convincing the generality of the Russians, that the late czar was an impostor, recourse was finally had to pretended miracles and sacred relics. And it must be allowed, that this method of convincing an ignorant and superstitious people who doubted (and there were many who doubted) was a stroke of the most consummate policy; as by these means the assertions of Vassili Shuiski were sanctified by an ecclesiastical decree; and the imposture of his rival became an article of public faith. Indeed, such is the superstition with which the usurpation of Griska is still maintained,

that even at this distance of time no Russian historian could venture to hint that Demetrius was not assassinated at Uglitz, and that the person who assumed his name was not Griska: for it would be contradicting a fundamental principle of belief, and rejecting the relics of a saint much revered in this country.

But it is time to finish this inquiry; and I shall only add; that having endeavoured to examine the history of the tzar Demetrius without prejudice or partiality, I am strongly inclined to believe that he was not an impostor, but the real personage whose name he assumed*.

* For the history of Demetrius, see Petreius Moscov. Chron. Margaret's *Estat de la Russie*, p. 18 and 19.—111—175. Payern in Schmidt: *Russ. Gef.* vol. II. and particularly Muller's *S. R. G.* vol. V. p. 181 to 380. That ingenious author has drawn together, in one point of view, the principal events of this troublesome æra, and has reconciled, as much as possible, the contradictory accounts of the different writers: and though he has entirely adopted the Russian prejudices, yet he has given the arguments of the opposite party with as much candour as could be expected from an author who wrote in Russia.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the princess Sophia Alexiefna.—Her character misrepresented—and from what causes.—Her power and influence during the reign of Feodor Alexievitch.—Upon his demise excluded from all share in the administration of affairs.—Peter appointed tzar to the prejudice of his brother Ivan.—Proofs that he was not raised to the throne by the nomination of Feodor, and that his election was not unanimous.—Insurrection of the Strelitz.—Tumult and massacre.—Ivan and Peter declared joint sovereigns, and Sophia regent.—Probable causes of that revolution.—The conduct of Sophia justified from various aspersions.—Her fall and imprisonment.—Unjustly accused of attempting to assassinate Peter.—Rebellion of the Strelitz.—Defeated.—Fruitless attempts to convict Sophia of a correspondence with the rebels.—She assumes the veil.—Her death.

THERE is scarcely any portion in the annals of this country more important than the minority of Peter the Great; and no character more grossly misrepresented than

that of his sister Sophia Alexiefna, who governed Russia during that period. This illustrious princess united, in a very extraordinary degree, a variety of personal and mental accomplishments; but as she headed a party in opposition to Peter, the idolatry, which has been universally paid to his extensive genius, has greatly contributed towards diminishing the lustre of her administration.

I was led into these reflections from a visit which I paid to the Devitchéi nunnery in the suburbs of Moscow, where Sophia was confined during the last seventeen years of her life; and as we have scarcely any knowledge of her character but through the medium of her adversaries, I shall throw together a few particulars, which induce me to judge favourably of her conduct; and shall endeavour to rescue her name from that obloquy, which has so unjustly persecuted her memory.*.

Sophia

* Three foreign writers have principally contributed to render the character of Sophia extremely odious.

1. The first of these writers is Gordon, in his *Life of Peter the Great*. But his testimony is in this instance extremely exceptionable, as well on account of his notorious partiality to Peter, as because he was particularly prejudiced against prince Vasilii Galitzin, Sophia's prime minister,

Sophia was born in the month of October, 1658. Her father, Alexèy Michaelovitch, the

minister, for having degraded his relation and patron general Patrick Gordon. See Korb Diarium, p. 216.

2. The second author is La Neuville, in his Relation de la Moscovie, who dignifies himself with the title of envoy from the king of Poland to the court of Moscow; and is generally supposed to have been resident in that city at the time of Sophia's fall. His authority, therefore, is deemed unquestionable; and the enemies of this princess have not failed to cite it in proof of their accusations. Any person, however, in the least conversant with the history of Russia, will perceive in this work the grossest contradictions, and the most absurd tales. The author, after loading the character of Sophia with more deceit and cruelty than ever disgraced a Tiberius, or a Cæsar Borgia, affects the most perfect knowledge of all the secret cabals between her and prince Galitzin: he asserts their intention of marrying; of re-uniting the Greek and Latin churches; of compelling Peter to assume the monastic habit, or, if that failed, of assassinating him; of declaring the children of Ivan illegitimate; and of securing the throne to themselves and their heirs. And as if this chimerical project had been thought sure of success, he adds, that prince Galitzin had still further views: he hoped, that by re-uniting Russia to the Roman catholic church, he should be able to obtain the pope's permission (if, as he flattered himself, he should survive Sophia) to appoint his own legitimate son his successor to the throne, in preference to those whom he should have by the princess, while his wife was alive. But such absurd accounts carry their own refutation, and the writer who retails them must

the second sovereign of the house of Romanof, was twice married; first to Maria, Ilinitchna
of

surely deserve no degree of credit, even should he be “le témoin oculaire,” as Voltaire styles him, “de ce qui se passa.” But the truth is, that this envoy to Moscow is a supposititious person: the author was Adrien Baillet, who styled himself de la Neuville, from a village of that name, in which he was born, and was never in Russia. The Relation de la Moscovie was published at the Hague in 1699; and was probably compiled by the author from the vague accounts of some of Peter’s adherents, who accompanied that monarch into Holland in the year 1697. I shall have occasion to mention other objections against the authenticity of this performance.

See Menkeni Bibliotheca, where La Relation de la Moscovie is mentioned among the works of Adrien Baillet. For an account of that author, see Niceron Hommes Illustres; article Ad. Baillet.

3. Voltaire has contributed more than any other writer to spread reports injurious to Sophia; but the truth of his narrative of her rise, administration, and fall, is liable to the strongest objections: he draws many facts, urged against Sophia, from the work of the supposed Polish envoy, La Neuville, which has been just shown to be of no authority; and extracts the remainder almost solely from certain memoirs, which being transmitted to him by order of the empress Elizabeth, Peter’s daughter, would naturally throw the severest censures upon Sophia, and adopt all the misrepresentations of her adversaries.

But the violent prepossessions conceived against the memory of this unfortunate princess begin to subside. Muller has ventured to justify her character in some instances;

of the family of Milolaffski; fecondly, to Natalia Kirilofna, of the family of Narifkin: by the former he had Feodor, Ivan, and feveral princeffes, among whom was Sophia; by the latter, Peter the Great. During Maria's life, her family was diftinguifhed by Alexèy, and enjoyed a confiderable influence; but after her deceafe, and upon his marriage with Natalia, their power was eclipsed by the fuperior afcendancy of the Narifkins, who fucceeded to the confidence and favour of their fovereign. Hence two parties were formed in the court; and perpetual quarrels took place between the children of Alexèy by his firft wife, and their ftep-mother Natalia. During this period, Ivan Michaelovitch Milolaffki, the head of that family, endeavoured fecretly to undermine the Narifkins: he attributed to their influence that the taxes were increafed; that

the author of the *Antidote to the Abbé de Chappe's Journey into Siberia*, fpeaks of her in a favourable manner; and L'Evefque has evidently fhewn, that her charaéter has been grofsly mifrepresented, that fhe was a princefs of great merit, and by no means deferving of the reproaches which have been caft upon her conduct. I had already finifhed this chapter, as well as the laft, before his hiftory made its appearance; and though the arguments of that judicious hiftorian had no fhare in forming, they certainly confirmed my opinion in favour of Sophia.

the pay was with-held from the soldiery; and, in a word, reproached them as the authors of all the grievances which were urged against the government of Alexèy. By these and other artifices he laboured to render them unpopular; and having gained over to his party a large body of Strelitz *, waited for a favourable opportunity of executing his designs †.

Upon the accession of Feodor to the throne, his relations, the family of Milolaffki, reassumed their former importance, and the Narifkins were excluded from all share in the administration of affairs.

Sophia had gained the esteem and affection of her brother Feodor, by the superiority of her understanding; her insinuating address; and unwearied attention during the long illness which at length brought him prematurely to the grave. To her that weak prince, whose infirmities rendered him unfit to govern, resigned the absolute direction of affairs; and, at her suggestion, placed his sole confidence

* The Russian regiment of guards were called Strelitz, or Streltsi, until they were suppressed, and the name abolished, by Peter the Great.

† Sunorokof's Aufruhr der Strelitzen, p. 4.

in prince Vassili Galitzin, a nobieman who had greatly distinguished himself, under the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, for his political abilities.

Upon the demise of Feodor without issue, on the 27th of April, 1682, Ivan his brother, and rightful heir of the throne, was excluded from the succession on account of his incapacity, and his half-brother Peter was declared tzar. In regard to this event, the partizans of Peter endeavour to establish two positions: 1. That he was raised to this dignity in consequence of Feodor's express appointment; and, 2. By the unanimous voice of the nation.

1. With respect to the first position, that Peter was nominated tzar in consequence of Feodor's * express appointment; when we consider, that Feodor was entirely governed by Sophia and his own family, it is not probable, that he should act in direct opposition to their interests, and ensure, by the nomination of Peter, the administration of affairs to the Nariskins: and this state of the case

* Feodor avant d'expirer, voyant que son frère Ivan, trop disgracié de la nature, était incapable de regner, nomma pour héritier des Russes son second frère Pierre, &c. Voltaire.

has been lately established by an historian * of unquestionable authority, who informs us, upon the authority of the most authentic records, that Peter did not owe his elevation to any declaration of Feodor in his favour, but merely to the suffrages of those persons in whom the right of nominating the successor was vested.

2. In regard to the second position, the unanimity of Peter's election; Muller, who has explored the Russian archives with a view of ascertaining this point, can supply us with no better proofs than the following information †.

“ Soon after the death of Feodor, all the
 “ servants of the court, the officers, and ec-
 “ clesiastics, who were then at Moscow, as-
 “ sembled in the palace and the court-yard to
 “ kiss the hand of the deceased monarch;
 “ after which ceremony they also kissed the
 “ hands of the two princes Ivan and Peter,
 “ the former of whom was sixteen, and the
 “ latter ten years of age. The ill health of
 “ Ivan, the hopeful appearance of Peter, and

* Prince Sherebatof. See Bach. Russ. Bib. vol. V. p. 502.

† Von Peter's des Grossen erstern Gelangung zum Thron. in Jour. Pet. for 1780.

“ the well-known prudence and virtue of
 “ his mother *, induced all who were present
 “ to prefer the younger to the elder brother,
 “ and unanimously to raise Peter to the throne.
 “ The astonishing quiet and unanimity with
 “ which this important affair was accom-
 “ plished, seems to prove, that it was precon-
 “ certed by the patriarch and principal nobi-
 “ lity. The patriarch Joachim, descended
 “ from a noble family, was at the head of
 “ this transaction. As soon as the principal
 “ courtiers, ecclesiastics, nobles, officers, mer-
 “ chants, and a great concourse of people,
 “ were assembled before the imperial palace,
 “ he demanded of them, whom they would
 “ nominate tzar, Ivan or Peter? The ques-
 “ tion *was extremely unusual*, but, being jus-
 “ tified by the circumstances, was imme-
 “ diately answered in favour of Peter. Pro-
 “ bably the party of Ivan had not foreseen that
 “ a younger prince, who was a minor, would
 “ be preferred to his elder brother; *and were*

* This princess was then scarcely 24 years of age, and had hitherto given no proofs of her prudence and wisdom. —L’Evesque more justly styles her “ *jeune princesse qui n’avoit pu se faire encore aucune reputation.*”

“ *therefore*

“ therefore not prepared to make any opposition
 “ to the appointment of Peter.

“ Two contradictory accounts of this no-
 “ mination are given in two of the most au-
 “ thentic records in the archives of Moscow.
 “ The first informs us that Ivan, as the eldest,
 “ publicly renounced his right to the crown,
 “ before it could be conferred upon Peter: “
 “ the second makes no mention of this re-
 “ nunciation, but ascribes the nomination
 “ of Peter to the general wishes of the
 “ nation.”

The first record in the office for foreign affairs thus relates the transaction.

“ And the patriarch Joachim, and the
 “ metropolitans and archbishops, and all the
 “ clergy, and the Siberian and Kassimovian
 “ princes, and the Boiars and Okolnitski,
 “ and the Doumnie-Diaki, and the Stolnies
 “ and Straeptski, and the nobility of Moscow,
 “ and the Shilitki, and the nobles from the
 “ country, and the soldiers and Gosti, and
 “ the merchants and people, entreated the
 “ princes, Ivan and Peter, that one of them
 “ would please to ascend the hereditary throne
 “ of Russia,” &c. And the tzarovitch Ivan said,
 “ It being advantageous for the public that
 “ my brother the tzarovitch and great-duke
 “ Peter

“ Peter should ascend the throne of Russia,
 “ *because his mother the tzarina Natalia is*
 “ *alive* : I, therefore, the tzarovitch and great-
 “ duke Ivan, resign the throne to the tzaro-
 “ vitch and great-duke Peter. And the tzar
 “ and great-duke Peter ascended the throne,”
 &c.

According to the other record, which is in the Journal of Occurrences at court, “ the
 “ patriarch demands of the persons assembled
 “ for the nomination of the new sovereign,
 “ whom they would elect tzar, Ivan or
 “ Peter. And the Stolnics and Straeptshi,
 “ and the nobles, and the Diaki, and the Shi-
 “ litfi, and the Dietiboiarski, and the Gosti,
 “ and the merchants, and the other people of
 “ different ranks, answered unanimously, that
 “ the throne of all the kingdoms of the great
 “ Russian empire belonged to Peter Alexie-
 “ vitch :” and then the patriarch addressed
 “ the Boiars, Okolnitshi, privy counsellors,
 “ and principal persons belonging to the
 “ court ; and the Boiars, &c. answered unani-
 “ mously, The tzarovitch and great-duke
 “ Peter is, by the choice of all the states and
 “ people of the Moscovite empire, tzar and
 “ great-duke of all Great, Little, and White
 “ Russia,” &c. &c.

We may remark upon these extracts, that being evidently compiled by the friends of Peter, even if they did not contradict each other, their authority would be exceedingly exceptionable; nor could their silence, with respect to any opposition, be considered as a sufficient testimony that the suffrages in favour of Peter were unanimous; because his adherents would never record any particulars tending in the smallest degree to invalidate his pretensions, or to support those of Ivan. Besides, when we recollect the power of the family of Milolasski during the reign of Feodor; the influence which prince Vassili Galitzin must have acquired from his office of prime minister; and particularly the insinuating manners and popularity of Sophia; all of whom were bound, not only by the strongest ties of interest, but even for their common security, to support the cause of Ivan; we cannot, with any degree of probability, suppose, that the nomination of Peter was as unanimous as it is represented. And indeed it is certain *, that a nobleman, named Sumbalof, absolutely objected to the invalidity of the election, because the younger brother was

* Sumorokof, p. 55—57.

preferred to the elder; that his remonstrance was followed by those of many others; and that even the patriarch Joachim, who is esteemed by Mr. Muller a strong advocate of Peter, soon afterwards embraced the party of Ivan: these circumstances seem to imply that Peter was not raised to the throne by the unanimous voice of the nation; and that the suffrages of the assembly had been *surprized* by the secret machinations of the Nariskins.

Peter, however, by whatsoever means his nomination was obtained, received, as sole sovereign, the fealty of his subjects; and the government was entrusted to his mother Natalia. But this state of affairs was of no long duration: the party in opposition to Peter was strong and powerful; his election was not as yet confirmed by the whole body of Strelitz, who, to use the spirited expression of a Russian author, possessed above 14,000 armed votes*; and their peculiar situation at this important juncture rendered them fit instruments of a new revolution.

Just before Feodor's demise, and even while that monarch was at the point of death; nine of these regiments, quartered at Moscow,

* 14198 bewaffnete stimme. Sumorokof, p. 19.

having tumultuously assembled, demanded redress of the ill-treatment they pretended to have received from their colonels, and an instant discharge of all their arrears. Prince George Dolgorucki, their chief, having ordered one of the ringleaders to be seized, stripped, and punished with the knout, an immediate insurrection was the consequence; the executioners were insulted, and the prisoners rescued*. On the day subsequent to the interment of Feodor, the soldiers proceeded in a large body to the Kremlin, and presented a petition against nine of their colonels, who being delivered to them by the ministry, as the only means of appeasing the tumult, they were publicly whipped and discharged †. Ivan Milolasski inflamed the discontents of this mutinous body; and though he was confined to his chamber by a pretended sickness, he yet contrived to hold several interviews with the ringleaders, who assembled at night in his palace. Sophia is also accused of being present at these meetings; of distributing money to the principal insurgents; and of exasperating them against the

* Gordon, p. 70.

† Ibid. p. 72; and Voltaire.

family of Nariskin. On the morning of the 15th of May, a report being spread that Peter was not unanimously elected; the drums beat to arms by order of Ivan Milolasski, and the Strelitz being tumultuously assembled, two persons of his party entered their quarters, crying, "The hour of vengeance is at hand, " Ivan Alexievitch is assassinated, and the " Nariskins are masters of Russia. Revenge " the murder of the tzarovitch." The soldiers, being inflamed to fury by these exclamations, marched instantaneously with drums beating and colours flying to the Kremlin; tolled the great bell; surrounded the palace; and demanded the traitors who had assassinated Ivan: although the tzarina immediately produced both Ivan and Peter; yet they were not appeased, but vehemently called aloud for the execution of the Nariskins, whose ambition and tyranny would entail ruin upon their country; adding, that although Ivan had hitherto escaped their machinations, he was yet in danger of being assassinated at some future period; and their fury was still further augmented by a rumour industriously circulated, that Ivan Nariskin, the brother of the tzarina, had seized the diadem and royal robes. In the midst of this tumult, one of the offi-

cers ventured to harangue the soldiers: he assured them, that Ivan Alexievitch was in perfect safety; that all their grievances should be redressed; and exhorted them to disperse. This harangue seemed to make a sensible impression, and the tumult was subsiding; when prince Dolgorucki imprudently threatened them with the severest punishment for their mutiny and rebellion: inflamed by this ill-timed menace, they seized the prince; hurled him into the air; received him upon their pikes; and hewed his body to pieces. This affassination was the prelude to a more general massacre; which took place in the Kremlin, and in different parts of Moscow; and continued during three days without intermission. It would be needless, as well as shocking to humanity, to enter upon a detail of all the murders committed by the lawless rabble: it is sufficient to observe, that not only the two brothers of the tzarina, and a few others most obnoxious to the insurgents, fell victims to their fury, but several persons, by no means unpopular, were sacrificed amidst the general confusion; and as the soldiers were roused almost to madness by intoxication, the houses of many citizens were plundered, and the city underwent a general pillage.

In order to close this horrid scene, the principal nobles assembled on the 18th of May, and, by a compromise between the two parties, Ivan and Peter were declared joint sovereigns; but as Ivan was judged incapable of governing, and Peter was in his minority, the administration of affairs was vested in the hands of Sophia. Hence conclusions have been drawn unfavourable to that princess: she is accused of having for some time maintained a secret intelligence with the ring-leaders of the Strelitz; of exciting them by false reports to revolt; of ordering money and spirituous liquors to be distributed among the soldiers; and even of delivering to them a list* of forty nobles whom she had proscribed. All her actions are malignantly interpreted: when Ivan Nariskin was led to execution; she publicly accompanied the tzarina and the

* "Enfin, Sophie," says Voltaire, "fait remettre entre leurs mains une liste de quarante seigneurs qu'elle appelle leurs ennemis, et ceux de l'Etat et qu'ils doivent massacrer." I cannot give credit to this list of forty nobles, which Voltaire compares "aux proscriptions de Sylla et des triumvirs de Rome." Whoever will attentively peruse the account of the ensuing massacre in Gordon, or even in Voltaire, will find that the fury of the Strelitz, except against the Nariskins, was more directed by chance than by design.

patriarch to intercede for his life, placed the image of the Virgin Mary in his hands to stop the fury of the Strelitz, and endeavoured, though in vain, to sooth his assassins *. They who judge unfavourably of her conduct, say, that this compassion was only feigned; and that she secretly encouraged his assassination, though she outwardly affected to intercede for him †. Upon this supposition the whole conduct of Sophia implies such a deep-laid scheme of hypocrisy, artifice, and revenge, as seems rather adapted to a politician grown grey in iniquity, and long practised in the arts of sedition, than to a princess like Sophia, only in the 25th year of her age.

Upon reviewing the causes which led to this revolution; they may be traced from several events in the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, long before Sophia had the least influence in political affairs, and particularly from the domestic feuds in the imperial family: it appears also that the first insurrection of the Strelitz was casual; that it was occasioned by the arrears of pay, and the unpopularity of the colonels, and cannot, with the least

Gordon, p. 81.

Sumorokof.

degree

degree of probability, be imputed to the intrigues of Sophia; and that therefore she can only be accused, even by the most malignant interpretation of her conduct, of availing herself of that mutiny to procure the election of Ivan. But there is surely a wide difference between asserting the injustice of his exclusion from the throne; or, under the mask of moderation and candour, inflaming to madness the fury of a disaffected soldiery, and calmly leading them from assassination to assassination*. And if any unjustifiable cabals were really employed on this occasion; why should the whole blame be laid upon Sophia? and why are her faults alone handed down to us with so many heavy aggravations?

But is it not more reasonable to suppose, that Ivan Milolasski, who, as we have before observed, had formed a strong party against the Nariskins, even during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, should, in conjunction with his family, take advantage of this sedition of the Strelitz, with whom he had long entertained a secret intelligence; and that Sophia was but the ostensible instrument

* Tandis que les Strelitz commençaient ainsi à se faire craindre, la princesse Sophie, qui les animait sous main, pour les conduire de crime en crime, &c. Voltaire.

of their designs? In a word, that she was raised to the regency by the cabals of a powerful party, who forefaw their own ruin and the advancement of their rivals in the nomination of Peter; and who, in the midst of an insurrection, held forth to this licentious body the unalienable rights of Ivan. Examples were not wanting to prove that the incapacity of Ivan was no bar to his election: a memorable instance was exhibited in the person of Feodor Ivanovitch, who, notwithstanding his absolute imbecillity, was raised to the throne, and a regency entrusted with the administration of affairs*. And it must also be considered, that Peter, then only in his eleventh year, had not displayed any instances of that vast superiority of understanding, which afterwards marked his character; and that his mother, who was to sway the reins of empire, was a person of no experience, and extremely unpopular. Nor is it matter of surprize that the care of Ivan and the administration of government should be committed to Sophia. The victorious family would naturally choose a regent devoted from interest and inclination to their party; a person of

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 19.

imperial lineage, popular manners, respectable character, and great abilities; and all these requisites centered in Sophia.

However authors may have censured the ambitious designs of Sophia; they unanimously concur in delineating her engaging manners, the beauties of her person*, the vigour and wisdom

* Weber, the Hanoverian envoy at St. Peterburgh in the beginning of this century, says of Sophia, "The tzar was frequently heard to declare, that, excepting her inordinate ambition, she was a princess of great personal and mental accomplishments." Ver. Russ. vol. I. p. 143.

Voltaire, in a very spirited portrait, closes it by saying, "une figure agreable relevoit tous ses talens." Perry describes her, at the time of the revolution, as a handsome young lady, then upwards of 23. He came into Russia in 1702, two years before her death; and though he never saw her himself, on account of her imprisonment, he must have known many persons who had been personally acquainted with her. Perry's State of Russia, p. 143.

Sumorokof says of her, that she possessed a good understanding and great beauty. "Sie besats grossen verstand und grosse schoenheit," p. 10.

Many other authors might be quoted to the same purpose, but as there is nothing which party-malice will not invent to depreciate an obnoxious character; the supposititious Polish envoy La Neuville has misrepresented her person as much as her conduct, in the following extraordinary passage: "Sophie dont l'esprit & le merite ne tiennent rien de la difformité de son corps, etant d'une grosseur monstrueuse,

wisdom of her administration, and her extensive plans of reformation for the advantage of her country.

Sophia reposed her principal confidence in prince Vassili Galitzin, commonly known by the name of the Great Galitzin, a most able minister, and consummate politician. The scandalous chronicle of those times, or rather of a later period, attributed her partiality for this minister to a softer passion, though he was above sixty years of age; and her enemies have not even scrupled to declare *, that she had formed the plan of assassinating the two tzars, usurping the throne, and of espousing prince Galitzin, who was to obtain a divorce from his wife: but this calumny, as it is not founded on the least substantial evidence, deserves not to be refuted.

Sophia † has been also accused, not only of neglecting the education of Peter; but of in-

*“ monstreueuse, avec une-tête large comme un boisseau, du
 “ poil au visage, des loups aux jambes & au moins 40 ans;
 “ mais autant que sa taille est large, courte, & grossiere, au-
 “ tant son esprit est fin, delié & politique & sans avoir
 “ jamais lû Machiavel, elle possède naturellement toutes
 “ ses maximes,” &c. p. 151.*

* Gordon, p. 86.

† Voltaire.

troducing him into the company of the most profligate young men, and of encouraging his propensity to every species of excess which might enervate his frame; weaken his understanding; and render him averse to business. This calumny, however, has been amply refuted by Mr. Muller *, who has shewn from unquestionable authority, that Ivan and Peter had two different courts; that the education of the latter was solely entrusted to his mother; and that if improper persons were placed about him, the blame must fall upon her, and not upon Sophia. With respect to his propensity to drinking, that vice was extremely common in Russia, and prince Vassili † Galitzin was as remarkable for his sobriety as the favourites of Peter, Le Fort, and Boris Galitzin, were notorious for their intemperance. "Le Fort," says a writer, who was in Livonia when the tzar and his suite passed through that country in his first jour-

* Journal of St. Pet. Mar. 1778, p. 168, 169.

† "Galitzin was the only man of quality in Russia who could entertain, without forcing his company to drink to excess. Brandy, the liquor which flowed at every other table, was seldom seen at his, who never drank any himself, but took much delight in rational and ingenious conversation." Mottley's Life of Peter.

ney to Holland, “ is a man of a good understanding ; very personable, engaging, and entertaining ; a true Swifs for probity and bravery, but *chiefly for drinking*. Open tables are kept every where with trumpets and mufick, attended with feasting and excessive drinking, as if his tzarish majesty had been another Bacchus. I have not yet seen such hard drinkers ; it is not possible to express it, and they boast of it as a mighty qualification *.”

Thus then it appears that Peter had examples of intemperance in his own household ; and it will hardly be supposed that Le Fort was the creature of Sophia. The evident falsehood of such virulent accusations should induce us not to give credit to other calumnies ; and particularly to the charge that she attempted to destroy Peter by poison, which, though it failed of its intended effect, disordered his constitution, and occasionally produced a species of melancholy and despair that bordered upon madness. This report took its rise from his proneness to epileptic fits ; a disorder common in his family, to which he was subject from his infancy, which gradually

* Account of Livonia, p. 293.

diminished as he grew stronger, but never entirely forsook him. Previous to an attack, the natural vehemence and savageness of his temper broke out with redoubled violence, and rendered him the terror of all who approached him. The inveterate rancour with which the enemies of Sophia have calumniated her memory, is in no instance more evident than from their absurdly imputing the brutal ferocity and sanguinary disposition of Peter to the effects of poison which she administered*.

But

* “ Il prenoit quelquefois des accès d’humeur chagrine,
 “ ou il semblait frappé de l’idée noire qu’on voulait attenter
 “ à sa personne, et ou ses amis les plus familiers craignai-
 “ ent ses emportemens. CES ACCES ETAIENT UN RESTE
 “ FATAL DU POISON, QU’IL RECUT DE SON AMBI-
 “ TIEUSE SOEUR SOPHIE. On en connaissait l’approche
 “ à certains mouvemens convulsifs de sa bouche. L’Impera-
 “ trice était avertie. Elle venait lui parler ; le son de cette
 “ voix le calmait à l’instant. Elle le faisait asseoir, et s’em-
 “ parait en le cajolant de sa tête, qu’elle grattait douce-
 “ ment. C’était comme un charme, qui l’assoupissait en
 “ peu de minutes. Pour ne pas troubler son sommeil, elle
 “ soutenait sa tête sur son sein, sans se remuer pendant deux
 “ ou trois heures. Alors il se reveillait, entierement rassis
 “ et remis au lieu qu’avant qu’elle eût étudié cette mani-
 “ ère si simple de le soulager, ces accès étaient la terreur
 “ de ceux qui l’approchaient, aiant causé dit on quelques
 “ malheurs, et étant suivi de maux de tête affreux, qui du-
 “ raient

But it is time to trace the principal causes, which contributed to the fall and imprisonment of Sophia. That princess, to whom Ivan had surrendered the absolute direction of affairs, assumed some exterior marks of homage, which seem to have been hitherto appropriated only to the sovereigns of Russia. While the heads of her two brothers were impressed on one side of the coins, her image, arrayed with the crown, sceptre, and imperial robes, was stamped upon the reverse; in the public acts her name was added to the signature of the two tzars *; and she appeared in processions decorated with all the ensigns of royalty †: circumstances which naturally gave

“ raient des journées entieres.” Bassevitz in Bus. H. M. IX. p. 294.

Strange effects of poison given in his infancy. Those who have been used to see persons in epileptic fits, will easily discover all the effects of that disorder from the words in Italics. Bishop Burnet says, “ that he was subject to “ convulsive motions all over his body, and that his head “ seemed to be affected with these.”

* She did not sign her name in the public decrees until 1687. Bus. Hist. Mag. v. I. p. 9.

† These circumstances cannot imply a design of usurping the sovereign authority; for she was only accused, even by her enemies, of secretly conspiring against Peter, and not of an open attempt to seize the crown.

umbrage to the rival family; and afforded a specious pretence for inveighing against her ambitious designs.

Peter, as he advanced in years and felt himself born for empire, could not, without great dissatisfaction, behold all the power lodged in the hands of a rival party: encouraged by his mother and her adherents, he claimed a share in the administration of affairs; and took his seat, for the first time, in the privy council, on the 25th of January, 1688, and in the eighteenth year of his age. Sophia, though unwilling to resign any part of her authority, could not withhold her consent; but as Peter's spirit was above controul, she availed herself of some violent altercations which passed between them, to exclude him, for the future, from a seat in the council. From this period the dissensions between them arose to so great an height, as to threaten an open rupture; and the fall of the one seemed necessary for the security of the other*.

Things remained in this state of jealousy and variance, until the month of September, 1689; when the aspiring genius of Peter

* Journ. of St. Pet. for 1778, p. 175, 176.

acquired the ascendancy, and secured his undivided authority by the fall and imprisonment of Sophia. By the advice of Boris Galitzin and the Nariskins, Peter resolved to arrest his sister, and to seize the reins of government: and it is asserted by his adherents*, that Sophia and prince Vassili Galitzin, apprized of his intentions, determined to prevent their own ruin by his assassination; that they had gained over the chief of the Strelitz and a corps of 600 men, and had actually commissioned them to perpetrate that infamous deed. Peter had retired to sleep at his palace of Preobashenski near Moscow; when two † of the conspirators, it is said, struck with horror at their crime, quitted their companions, and hastened to the young tzar with the information that a body of Strelitz were upon their march to assassinate him. The same accounts add, that Peter refused to give credit to their report, until it was confirmed by Boris Galitzin and one of his uncles, whom he immediately dispatched to reconnoitre; and that the

* Gordon.

† It is remarkable, that this same story of two conspirators who were engaged to assassinate Peter, but, repenting, discovered the plot, is again related as happening in 1697. Schmidt. Russ. Gef. v. II. p. 90.

conspirators

conspirators were already so near, that he had scarcely time to make his escape *. He instantly proceeded to the convent of the Holy Trinity ; where his danger being spread abroad, troops flocked to him from all quarters, and in such numbers, that in the space of three days he had an army of 60,000 men under his command, and found himself in a situation to give law to the opposite party.

In the mean time Sophia, in a state of the utmost consternation, denied all intercourse with the conspirators ; expressed the utmost horror at their attempt ; dispatched repeated messages to her brother to justify her conduct ; and even set off in person to assert her innocence ; but was ordered to return without delay to Moscow, and to deliver the ringleaders

* Voltaire, though convinced of Sophia's intention to assassinate Peter, and notwithstanding the intelligence he received from the court of Petersburg, can only give us the following scanty information : " *La Neuville resident alors à Moscou, et témoin oculaire de ce qui se passa, prétend que Sophie et Galitzin engagèrent le nouveau chef des Strelitz à leur sacrifier leur jeune czar : il paraît au moins que six-cant de ces Strelitz devaient s'emparer de sa personne. Les mémoires secrètes que la cour de Russie m'a confiés, assurent que le parti étoit pris de tuer Pierre Premier : le coup alloit être porté, et la Russie étoit priée à jamais de la nouvelle existence, qu'elle.*" &c.

of the mutiny. Soon afterwards Peter himself repaired to the capital: the principal conspirators, being tortured in his presence, confessed a design against his life, and suffered the severest punishment. Vassili Galitzin* was banished into Siberia; and Sophia was imprisoned for life in the Devitchèi nunnery: Peter alone assumed the reins of government, and found sufficient scope for his vast and enterprising genius; while the name of Ivan was still inserted, as a matter of formality, in the public acts until his death, which happened in 1696.

Such are the principal circumstances of this extraordinary revolution: but we must consider, that this is the account given by the victorious party; and that the cause of Sophia never underwent a candid examination. It may be impossible to exculpate that princess entirely from ambitious views: she might be extremely unwilling to relinquish a power which she had long enjoyed, and which she exercised with great ability; she might esteem the right of Ivan to the throne as superior to

* This able minister survived his fall 24 years; he was released from prison in 1711; and died at his own estate in 1713.

that of Peter; and might consider Peter's acquisition of the sole sovereignty as the certain prelude to her own destruction: but we have no positive evidence * which should induce us to believe that she conspired against her brother's life: and perhaps the whole story of the intended assassination was feigned by Boris Galitzin † and her enemies. Had she been really guilty of that attempt, she wanted not opportunities of escaping from Russia; and she never would have imprudently demanded admittance into Peter's presence, in order to assert her innocence, if the proofs of her guilt had been as strong as her adversaries pretended ‡. In a word, the conflict between Peter and

* We have no certain proofs that any of the conspirators accused Sophia of being privy to any design upon Peter's life; and, even if they did name her as an accomplice, their evidence, as it was extorted by the rack, is by no means to be depended upon.

† It appears from the following passage that the discovery of Sophia's designs came from that quarter. "Prince Boris Galitzin, a faithful subject of the czar Peter, coming timely to penetrate into his kinsman's prince Bail's designs, put the czar upon his guard, advising him, without delay, to take the government into his hands." Gordon, v. I. p. 89.

‡ "Avait elle," as L'Evesque judiciously remarks, "comme on l'en accuse, formé le dessein d'ôter la vie à

and Sophia was the conflict of two rivals impatient of controul, and striving for pre-eminence: the cause of the successful party would necessarily be deemed just and equitable; and the vanquished faction was sure to be loaded with every species of guilt and enormity.

The restless spirit of Sophia, brooding in the solitude of a convent, is said to have excited fresh troubles and insurrections; and, during her life, no conspiracy was undertaken against Peter, in which she was not suspected of being concerned. She was more particularly accused of being privy to the rebellion which broke out in 1697; when 8000 Stre-

“ Pierre ? voulait-elle seulement l’enlever, et le faire de-
 “ poser ? Fut-elle même complice de l’entreprise de Stché-
 “ glovitoi ? c’est ce que nous n’oserions prononcer. Il
 “ faudrait avoir des piéces authentiques pour juger ce
 “ grand procès. Les historiens l’accusent ; aucun ne dit
 “ qu’elle ait été nommée par les coupables. Pierre devait
 “ la craindre, il savait qu’elle étoit aimée des Strélits et de
 “ leur chefs : Elle tenait les rênes du gouvernement ; elle
 “ ne voulait pas les lâcher, et il voulait s’en saisir : elle
 “ étoit détestée de Natalie, & de tous les parents de cette
 “ Princesse : On l’accusait d’intrigues ; elle en formait sans
 “ doute, et sans cesse il s’en formait contre elle : elle en
 “ fut la victime, et la Calomnie devait la poursuivre long-
 “ tems encore après sa disgrâce, & même audela du tom-
 “ beau.” Vol. IV. p. 103.

litz seized the opportunity of Peter's absence upon his travels to rise in arms upon the frontiers of Lithuania, and to march towards Moscow. The rebels were attacked and defeated by the address and courage of general Patrick Gordon; many were put to the sword, and the remainder surrendered at discretion. The tzar received at Vienna the account of the mutiny and defeat of the Strelitz; and instantly hastened to Russia, that he might examine the delinquents in person.

Peter, upon his arrival at Moscow, was particularly anxious to discover the causes of the rebellion; to learn by whose intrigues it was excited; and, above all, to convict Sophia, whom he charged with fomenting the public discontents, and with holding a correspondence with the rebels. But as no persons could give immediate and pertinent answers to all his questions; he entertained suspicions of all his courtiers, and determined to institute a court of inquiry at his palace of Preobraschenski, where the instruments of the question were brought. The tzar himself examined the accused; urged them to confession; and ordered those who maintained silence to be racked in his presence. The cruelty of the tortures employed on this occasion

caſion was inexpressibly dreadful: human nature shudders at the recital, but it is necessary to mention them in justification of Sophia. Some of the rebels were repeatedly whipped; others had their shoulders dislocated by a cord and pulley, and in that painful posture received the strokes of the knout; many after undergoing the knout were roasted over a slow fire, the raw parts being exposed to the flame *. Physicians were present to ascertain the degree of pain the unhappy convicts were capable of supporting, and to recover those who had fainted away; that the application of fresh tortures might recommence upon the renewal of their strength. This dreadful inquisition was continued, without the least intermission, through the whole month of October. Not only every species of punishment, the most refined which human cruelty could devise, was inflicted in order to extort an accusation of Sophia; but promises of pardon, and even of great promotion, were offered for the same purpose to the wretched

* It appears from Olearius, and other travellers into Russia, that these tortures were ordinarily used in that country for the purpose of forcing confession,

sufferers in the midst of the most excruciating agonies*.

At

* This account is extracted from the Diary of Korb, secretary of the Austrian embassy to Russia in the year 1697, and who was present at Moscow during these horrid proceedings. He received information of these dreadful tortures from several German officers in the service of Peter, who were eye-witnesses of their infliction upon the Strelitz. Korb's authority is also the more to be depended upon in this instance, because he speaks highly in favour of Peter, and condemns the ambition of Sophia. Gordon also, though so partial to Peter, informs us, that the rebels were tortured and examined in his presence. Vol. I. p. 129.

“Prima,” says Korb, in the 164th page of his Diary, “post adventum sollicitudo de rebellione fuit; quomodo composita? quid animi tumultuantibus fuisset? quibus authoribus tantum nefas ausi? Cùm autem nemo esset qui ad omnia puncta accuratè respondere posset, his suam ignorantiam, illis Streliziorum pertinaciam ob- tendentibus, omnium fidem suspectam habere, & novæ inquisitioni cogitationes suas admovere, cœpit. Qui in vicinis variis locis custoditi asservabantur rebelles, ii omnes per quatuor militum pretorianorum regimina ad quæstionem novam & torturam retrahebantur. Braschentsko reductis carcer, tribunal fuit, & equuleus. Nulla dies quæstoribus vacua, fasta aut nefasta, omnes ad torquendum idonei licitique visi. Quot rei, tot knutzæ; quot quæstiores, tot carnifices. Princeps Feodor Jurowitz Romadonowski, quantum cæteris severior, tantum præstabat inquirendi aptitudine. Ipsemet Magnus Dux, ob conceptam in suos diffidentiam, inquisitoris officio

At length a few * of the Strelitz, overcome by the severity of the torments, or seduced by hopes of pardon and the promise of promotion, confessed that it was their intention to set fire to the suburbs of Moscow, to massacre all foreigners, to banish or assassinate

“ functus est. Ipse interrogatoria ponebat, examinabat
 “ reos, non confitentes urgebat, pertinacioris etiam silentii
 “ Strelizios crudeli jubeat subjici torturæ, jam multa
 “ facti, de pluribus quærebantur, quos tormentorum, ex-
 “ cessus viribus, mente, et ipsis vix non sensibus destituit,
 “ medicorum industria pristinis suis viribus, per novos
 “ cruciatus denuo enervandis, cogebatur restituere. Totus
 “ mensis Octobris reorum tergoribus per knuttas & ignes
 “ excarnificandis infumebatur: nulla die à flagris aut flam-
 “ mis fuere immunes, quàm quàm vel rotâ fractos, ad fur-
 “ cam actos, vel securi interemptos, vita ipsa reliquerat.”

And again, “ Inaudita fuit adhibitæ torturæ immanitas: flagris sævissimè cæsi, si pertinaciam silentii nondum rumpebant, faucia reorum tergora, sanie & tabo fluentia, igni admovebantur, ut per lentam cutis & carnis morbosæ adustionem, acuti dolores ad ima ossium, & extrema sensuum, cum atrocissimis cruciatibus descenderent. Hæc tormentorum vicissitudo unâ & alterâ vice repetebatur. Horrenda visu & auditu tragœdia. Ultra triginta in aperti campi planitie funestissimi collucebant ignes, ubi miserimi inquisiti cum ejulatu terribili torrebantur; parte ex alia resonabant crudelissimi flagrorum ictus, ut ex jucundissimâ terræ viciniâ sævissima hominum carnificina facta sit.” *Diarium Itineris in Moscovian, &c.* p. 162.

* “ Quorundam pertinaciâ demum victâ.” Korb.

finatè

finite the principal nobility, to raise the tzarovitch Alexèy to the throne, and to appoint Sophia regent during his minority; others declared that the ringleaders had actually drawn up a petition, which they intended to present to that princess, praying her to accept the administration of affairs.

Although none of the rebels charged Sophia with being accessory to their insurrection, yet Peter was so prejudiced against her, that he put to the torture one of her female attendants; and when no evidence of her guilt could be procured by that horrid expedient, he even repaired to the nunnery and examined her in person. The princess, whose high spirit was subdued by her misfortunes, and worn out by a long confinement, could not refrain from weeping at the sight of her obdurate brother; and she even extorted tears from Peter himself, though without melting his resentment*. But neither this, nor every other effort that was employed to convict her, was attended with success; and the only proof

* “Ad monasterium Neo virginum discessit tzarus, ut
 “sororem suam Sophiam, dicto monasterio inclusam, ex-
 “minaret; publicè enim nuperi tumultus vulgo rea ha-
 “bebatur: primus utriusque introitus uberrimas amborum
 “lacrymas excivisse dicitur.” Korb.

of her carrying on a secret correspondence with the rebels was derived from the confession of a boy belonging to an officer of the Strelitz, who declared, that letters inclosed in loaves of bread had passed between Sophia and his master*. The latter, however, peremptorily denied the fact even upon the rack; and he was led to execution persisting to the last moment in this asseveration. The case seems to be, that the innovations of Peter created a considerable number of malcontents; that the introduction of the European discipline, and the partiality which he showed to the foreign regiments, inflamed the disaffection of the Strelitz to such a degree as to account for their rebellion, without the supposition of any cabals on the part of Sophia; that this princess had long been the object of affection to all the enemies of Peter; and was naturally the person to whom they would have consigned the administration of affairs, if the revolt had been attended with success.

Peter was so greatly exasperated against Sophia, that he had once determined to put her to death; but, having changed his resolution, he compelled her to assume the veil.

* Gordon, Vol. I. p. 129, 130.

In order to strike her with terror, and to announce to the public that he thought her privy to the rebellion; two hundred and thirty Strelitz were hanged within sight of the nunnery in which she was confined; and three of the ringleaders were suspended upon a gibbet erected close * to the window of her apartment: they held in their hands petitions similar to that which, according to the confession just mentioned, was to have been presented to Sophia.

From this period history is silent in relation to Sophia: she was confined under a strict guard in the monastery until her death, which happened in the month of July, 1704. She was interred in the church of the convent; the tomb is covered with a black cloth, and contains the following inscription: "A. M. 7212 (or 1704 of the Christian æra) on the third of July †, died Sophia Alexi-

* Gordon, p. 95—130.

Korb, who saw them hanging, says, "Tam prope ad ipsas Sophiani cubiculi fenestras, ut Sophia eisdem manu facile posset attingere."

On this occasion above 2000 Strelitz suffered capital punishment. Peter broke at the same time the whole body of Strelitz, and abolished their name,

† O. S. the 14th, N. S.

“ efna, aged 46 years, nine months, and fix
 “ days: her monaftick name was Sufanna.
 “ She had been a nun five years, eight months,
 “ and twelve days: ſhe was buried the 4th
 “ in this church, called the Image of Smo-
 “ lenſko. She was daughter of Alexèy Mi-
 “ chaelovitch, and of Maria Ilinitchna,” &c.

Although Peter always ſuſpected the in-
 trigues of his ſiſter, yet he never failed paying
 a juſt tribute to her genius and abilities.
 “ What a pity,” he was frequently heard to
 ſay, “ that ſhe perſecuted me in my minority,
 “ and that I cannot reſoſe any confidence
 “ in her! otherwiſe, when I am employed
 “ abroad, ſhe might govern at home*.”

One ſtriking feature in Sophia's character,
 which I had no opportunity of mentioning
 while my inquiry was chiefly confined to her
 political conduct, muſt not be omitted in this
 place. She deſerves the veneration of poſte-

* This anecdote, which I received from a Ruſſian
 nobleman of great diſtinction, is confirmed by the follow-
 ing paſſage in Perry's State of Ruſſia. “ I remember
 “ that upon a certain occaſion, when mention was made
 “ of her [i. e. Sophia], the czar himſelf gave her this
 “ character, that ſhe was a princeſs endowed with all the
 “ accompliſhments of body and mind to perfection, had
 “ it not been for her boundleſs ambition, and inſatiable de-
 “ fire of governing.” Vol. I. p. 138.

rity for the patronage which she afforded to persons of genius and learning ; and for encouraging, by her own example, the introduction of polite literature into Russia, then plunged in the deepest ignorance. At a period when there was no national theatre, and when the lowest buffooneries, under the name of *moralities*, were the sole dramatic representations even at court ; this elegant princess translated the *Medecin malgré lui* of Moliere into her native tongue, and performed one of the characters herself. She also composed a tragedy, probably the first extant in the Russian language ; and she composed it at a time when the most violent cabals were excited against her ministry, and when the most weighty affairs seemed to engross her sole attention.

T R A V E L S

I N T O

R U S S I A

B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

Departure from Moscow.—Arrival at Tver.—History and description of that town.—Productions of the neighbouring country.—Quadrupeds.—Birds.—Fish.—Description of the Sterlet.—Continuation of the journey.—Torshok.—Vishnèi-Voloshok.—Valdai hills and lake.—Bronitza.—Wooden road, how formed.—Further account of the peasants.—Their cottages, manners, and customs.—Of the Yamshics, who furnish post horses.—Singing extremely common among the Russians.—On the subject of their songs, &c. &c.

WE quitted Moscow on the 14th of September, and traversed a gently rising country, some part of it open, and the rest overspread with forests. We passed the night at the small village of Pariki, in a peasant's cottage, as usual, and changed horses the next morning at Klin, situated upon the Sestra, a broad rivulet; this village had been

lately burnt, and the peasants were engaged in rebuilding their huts: near it we observed a saw-pit, which, in this country, was too curious an object not to attract our notice. Beyond Savidof we crossed a small river, and soon afterwards reached the banks of the Volga, which we coasted to Gorodna. The next morning the springs of our carriage being ready to start, and one of the wheels in a crazy state; we sent it on slowly, under the care of our servants, and hired for ourselves the carts of the country, called *kibitkas*, which we filled with hay; and arrived, after a considerable degree of jolting, at Tver, which is magnificently situated upon the elevated banks of the Volga.

Tver * owes its origin to Vlodimir Georgivitch, great-duke of Volodimir, who in 1182 raised a small fortress upon the point where the Tvertza falls into the Volga; in order to protect his territories against the incursions of the inhabitants of Novogorod. Afterwards, in 1240, the great-duke Yaroslav II, built another citadel upon the spot now occupied by the present fortress, and laid the founda-

* See Hist. Geog. Beschreibung der Stadt Twer, &c. Journ. Pet. for November, 1780.

tion of a new town; which soon increased in population and wealth to so great a degree, as to become the metropolis of an independent sovereignty, called from the town the duchy of Tver. Yaroslav III. son of Yaroslav II. and brother of Alexander Nevski, received this duchy as his inheritance; and transmitted the succession to a long train of descendants. The last sovereign of this hereditary line was Michael Borisovitch; whose sister Maria was married to the great-duke Ivan Vassilievitch I. The harmony which had for some time subsisted between these two neighbouring princes was at first strengthened by this alliance: but in the course of a few years, either mutual jealousies, or the ambitious views of Ivan, produced an open rupture; and in 1486 the latter besieged Tver with a large army. Michael, unable to resist so formidable an antagonist, abandoned the town, and fled into Lithuania, where he died in extreme indigence. Upon his retreat the inhabitants surrendered Tver to Ivan Vassilievitch, who bestowed it and the duchy as a fief upon his eldest son Ivan; that prince dying in 1490, the great-duke annexed the duchy to his other dominions in the form

of a province, and it has never been again dismembered.

Tver is divided into the old and new town : the former, situated on the opposite side of the Volga, consists almost entirely of wooden cottages ; the latter, about fifteen years ago, was, a few buildings excepted, scarcely superior ; but being, in 1763, destroyed by a dreadful conflagration, it has risen with lustre from its ashes. The empress was no sooner informed of this calamity, than she ordered a regular and beautiful plan of a new town to be sketched by an eminent architect ; and enjoined, that all the houses should be re-constructed in conformity to this model. She raised, at her own expence, the governor's house ; the bishop's palace ; the courts of justice ; the new-exchange ; the prison ; and several other public edifices : and offered to every person, who would engage to build an house with brick, a loan of £.300 for twelve years without interest. The money advanced by her majesty upon this occasion amounted to £.60,000 ; and she has since remitted one third of this sum. The streets, which are broad and long, issue in a straight line from a square, or rather an octagon, in the center ;
the

the houses of this octagon, and of the principal streets, are of brick stuccoed white, and form a very magnificent appearance. Part only of the new town; when we passed through it, was finished: when it is completed, it will consist of two octagons, with several streets leading to them, and intersecting each other at right angles; and would be no inconsiderable ornament to the most opulent and civilized country.

There is an ecclesiastical seminary at Tver, which is under the inspection of the bishop, and admits 600 students. In 1776 the empress founded a school for the instruction of 200 burghers' children: they are taught to read, write, and cast accounts; and a few of them are trained to handicraft trades. In June, 1779, an academy was also opened in this town, for the education of the young nobility of the province, at the charge of the same imperial patroness. It admits 120 students; who are instructed in foreign languages, arithmetic, geography, fortification, tactics, natural philosophy, music, riding, dancing*, &c.

* Ibid.

Tver is a place of considerable commerce; and both the Volga and the Tvertza were covered with boats. It owes its principal trade to its advantageous situation; being near the conflux of those two rivers, along which are conveyed all the goods and merchandize sent by water from Siberia and the southern provinces towards Petersburgh.

The Volga, the largest river in Europe, rises in the forest of Volkonki, about the distance of eighty miles from Tver; and begins to be navigable a few miles above the town. It is there about the breadth of the Thames at Henley, but exceedingly shallow; it is, however, considerably increased by the junction of the Tverza; which is broader, deeper, and more rapid. By means of the Tverza, a communication is made between the Volga and the Neva, or, in other words, between the Caspian and the Baltic; as will be explained in a future chapter. The number of barges which passed by the town in 1776 amounted to 2537; in 1777 to 2641; and the average number is generally computed at about 2550. The boats are flat-bottomed, on account of the frequent shoals in the Volga, and other rivers which

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compose

compose this long inland navigation. They are constructed with new planks, which shrink and leave wide intervals, that are sometimes filled up with thin slips of wood cramped with iron, and not unfrequently stopped with tow. The rudders of these vessels have a very singular appearance: the handle is a tree about 50 feet long; at the further end whereof is a pole which descends perpendicularly to the water, where it is fixed to a broad piece of timber, which floats upon the surface. The pilot stands upon a kind of scaffold at the distance of about 30 or 40 feet from the stern, and turns the rudder by means of its long handle. These boats are only built for one voyage; for, upon their arrival at Petersburg, they are taken to pieces and sold for fuel.

I have already had occasion to mention the prodigious waste of wood arising from the prevailing custom of forming planks with the axe. This practice, extremely detrimental to the forests of the empire, was no less usual among the shipwrights than among the peasants; and the former, either from ignorance or prejudice, could only be reconciled to the use of the saw by the following expedient. Orders were issued from government, that

each vessel, passing by Tver, in which there was one plank fashioned with the hatchet, should pay a fine of £.6. In consequence of this decree the officer, who was sent to levy the fine, collected the first year £.6000; the second £.1500; the third £.100; and the fourth nothing. By this judicious regulation the use of the saw has been introduced among the Russian shipwrights; and will probably in time recommend itself to the carpenters and peasants.

The rising spirit of commerce has added greatly, within these few years, to the wealth and population of the town. It contains at present at least 10,000 souls; and the number of inhabitants in the government of Tver has increased in a very surprizing degree: a circumstance which shews the advantages arising from her present majesty's new code of laws. Tver was the first province of this empire which was newly modelled according to that code; and it has already experienced the beneficial effects of these excellent regulations.

Tver being a large town, we concluded that we should find no difficulty in obtaining the necessary repairs for our carriage, so as to enable it to convey us, during two or three days

days at least, without requiring any further assistance. Trusting, therefore, to the workmanship of a Russian smith, we set off about six in the evening with the expectation of reaching, in about four hours, the next post, where we purposed to pass the night; but we had scarcely proceeded ten miles, before we perceived that the wheel, instead of being strengthened, had been weakened by the smith's unskilfulness, and seemed every instant in danger of breaking. In this situation we stopped at a small village; where it was not possible to procure any assistance, not even a candle to smear the wheel, which required a constant supply of grease to prevent it from taking fire; and as the next place in our route, likely to afford a new wheel, was above sixty miles distant, we thought it most prudent to return to Tver. I readily consoled myself for this delay; as it gave us an opportunity to pay more attention to the town and its environs than our transient stay had hitherto permitted. We took up our abode at the same house we had just quitted: it was an inn kept by a German; and was one of the new magnificent brick edifices lately erected; but almost totally without furniture or beds.

On the following day we made an agreeable excursion into the adjacent country: we first crossed the Volga over a bridge of boats, and the Tvertza over a raft; and rode between the banks of those two beautiful rivers. We then left the Volga to pursue its course towards the Caspian Sea, watering, as it passes, some of the most fertile provinces of Russia, and bathing the walls of Casan and Astracan; and we made a circuit in the environs of Tver: we frequently stopped to admire several delightful views of the new town proudly seated upon the steep bank of the Volga, the country gently sloping towards the river.

Tver lies in the midst of a large plain, interspersed here and there with gentle acclivities, which can hardly be called hills: the country produces in great abundance wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, hemp and flax, and all sorts of vegetables. Its forests yield oak, birch, alder, poplar, mountain-ash, pines and firs, junipers, &c. The quadrupeds, which rove in the neighbouring country, are elks, bears, wolves, and foxes; wild-goats, and hares; also badgers, martens, weasels, ermines, ferrets, squirrels, and marmottes, &c. The principal birds observed

in this district are eagles and falcons, cranes, herons, swans, wild-geese and ducks, partridges, quails, woodcocks and snipes, black-game; also crows and ravens, magpies and black-birds, sparrows and starlings, together with nightingales, linnets, larks and yellow-hammers. The fish which are caught in the Volga are salmon, sterlet, tench, pike, perch, groundlings, gudgeons, and sometimes, but rarely, sturgeon and beluga.

The sterlet being a very uncommon fish, and probably peculiar to the northern parts of the globe, I am induced to give a description of it, and to enumerate the principal rivers of Russia in which it is found. The sterlet, the *acipenser ruthenus* of Linnæus, is a species of sturgeon, highly esteemed for the flavour and delicacy of its flesh, and for its roe, from which the finest caviare is made. It is distinguished from the other sturgeons by its inferior size*, being seldom more than three † feet in length, and by its colour.

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* This description is chiefly taken from Lepekin's Reise, in his account of the fishery of Sinbirk upon the Volga, vol. II. p. 154.

† Mr. Pallas says, that the sterlets of the Irtysh are, next to those of the Oby, the largest in Russia, being frequently
“ ucher

The top of the head and the back are of a yellowish grey; the sides of the body whitish; and the belly white mixed with rose-colour, especially towards the mouth and vent. The eyes are of a sky-blue, encircled with white. The snout is long and pointed, compressed and fluted. The mouth is transverse with thick prominent lips, which it has the power of drawing inwards, with a beard, consisting of four small and soft *cirri*, or wattles. It has five rows of pointed bony imbricated scales, one upon its back, two along its sides, and two under its belly. The row upon its back begins from the neck and reaches to the dorsal fin. Their number*, by which Linnæus ascertains the species, and fixes at 15, varies from 14 to 17. The two side rows begin from the upper angle of the gill-covers, and reach to the middle of the tail: their form is flat in the middle, with dentated

“ ueber anderthalb ellen long,” or an ell and an half long. By an ell, I suppose, is meant an arshime = 26 inches, and then the length of these will be 3 feet 1 inch. See Pallas’ Reise, Part II. p. 446. Lepekin says, that the sterlets of the Volga are seldom more than two feet in length.

* *Acipenser Ruthenus cirris* 4. *squamis dorsalibus* 15. *Mus. Fred. I.* p. 54. and *Faun. Sue.* 272.—In the *Syst. Nat.* p. 403, he defines it, *Acipenser ordinibus* 5. *squamarum ossæarum, intermedio officulis* 15.

margins turning towards the tail; their number varies from 60 to 70. The two rows, which lie under the belly, begin from the pectoral and reach towards the ventral fins: they are four-sided, much smaller than those upon the back, and thicker than those on the sides. Beside these five rows, there are also some adipose bony-scales between the tail and the vent; their number is invariably five. The rest of the skin is totally without scales, but is extremely rough to the touch. It has, like most other fish, two pectoral fins, two ventral, one anal, one dorsal, and its tail is forked*. Many authors have erred in supposing this fish to be peculiar to the Volga and the Caspian Sea; for they frequent many other rivers, lakes, and seas, of the Russian empire. Muller informs us, that they are caught in the Dnieper, and several rivers falling into the Frozen Ocean, particularly the Lena†. Lange asserts, that they are found in the Yenisei; Pallas describes them

* The reader will find an engraving of the sterlet in the Museum Fred. I. of Linnæus, in Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 89; and in Lepekin's Reise, Tab. 9:

† S. R. G. IX. p. 4. Haygold's Rusland, vol. II. p. 416. Pallas Reise, P. I. p. 284. P. II. p. 446. Georgi Reise, vol. I. p. 177.

as inhabiting the Irtish, Oby, and Yaik; Georgi mentions them among the fish of the lake Baikal, and sometimes in the Angara.— We learn from Linnæus, that by order of Frederic I. king of Sweden, some live sterlets, procured from Russia, were thrown into the lake Mæler, where they propagated*. They have been sometimes caught in the Gulf of Finland, and even in the Baltic; yet they are supposed not to have been natives of those seas, but stray fish, which escaped from some vessels that were dashed to pieces in passing the falls of the river Maſta †.

Sept. 19. Having obtained the valuable acquisition of a new wheel, we proceeded on our journey in the afternoon; and were enabled to reach, before the close of the evening, Torshok, which is situated upon the banks of

* Habitat in lacu Mælero, quem potentissimus Rex Sueciæ Fredericus I. ex Russiâ allatum in hoc lacu plantari curavit. Faun. Sue. No. 272.

† Bruce relates, in his Memoirs, that some vessels “going for Peterburgh with live fish, called Sterlit, in “passing the falls of Ladoga were beat to pieces, by which “accident the fish regained their liberty; and some of them “were afterwards taken at Cronſtadt, and one caught at “Stockholm, which were considered as great curiosities, “as none of them had ever been seen in those seas before.”

the Tvertza. It is a large straggling place, consisting chiefly of wooden buildings, intermixed with a few public structures and houses of brick, lately erected at the expence of the empress.

Although Torshok was only forty miles distant from Tver, we esteemed it a fortunate circumstance that, during that space, no accident had happened to our carriage. But we were not so successful on the ensuing day : for the axle-tree breaking about six miles from Vidropusk, we walked to that village ; and having procured a temporary axle-tree to support our infirm vehicle, we again proceeded in *kibithas* as far as Vishnei-Voloshok ; a place remarkable for the canal, which, by uniting the Tvertza and the Mafta, connects the inland navigation between the Caspian and the Baltic.

Vishnei-Voloshok, one of the imperial villages enfranchised by the empress, and endowed with considerable privileges, has already reaped many benefits from its new immunities. The inhabitants, raised from the situation of slaves to that of freemen, seem to have shaken off their former indolence, and to have caught a new spirit of emulation and industry : they have turned their attention to trade ; and are
awakened

awakened to a sense of the commercial advantages possessed by the place of their abode. The town is divided into regular streets; and is already provided with a large range of shops and warehouses, which line each side of the canal. All the buildings are of wood, excepting the court of justice erected at the charge of the empress, and four brick houses belonging to a rich burgher. During our stay at Vishnei-Voloshok, we did not fail to examine, with great attention, every part of the celebrated canal, of which an account will be given in a future chapter*.

Having procured a new axle-tree, we quitted, on the 21st, Vishnei-Voloshok, crossed the river Shlina; and continued along a timber road, carried over extensive morasses, and abounding with innumerable small bridges, without railing, and mostly in a shattered state. I observed several villages, as well as fields and gardens, surrounded with wooden palisadoes, about twelve feet in height, which presented a picturesque appearance. The custom of encircling villages in this country with stakes is very antient: for among the earliest laws of Russia we find one which

* On the inland navigation of Russia, in the next volume.

enjoins * the peasants, under pain of the knout, to surround the towns and villages with palisades. These enclosures were probably intended as a kind of defence against the desultory incursions of the Tartar hordes before the invention of gunpowder; and the practice has been preserved, though no longer of use, among a people remarkably tenacious of old usages.

The country was for some way almost a continued bog, covered with forest; and the villages were built upon eminences of sand rising out of the morass. We passed the night at Kholiloff, a small village, which had also lately been consumed by fire. These repeated conflagrations will by no means appear a matter of wonder, when it is considered, that the cottages are built with wood; and that the greatest part of the peasants, like those in Poland, use, instead of candles, long slips of lighted deal, which they carry about the house, and even into hay-lofts, without the least precaution. The next morning, the bad roads having shattered our new wheel, which was awkwardly put together, and began already to discover symptoms of premature

* Haygold, vol. I. p. 357.

decay, we stopped to repair: but the repairs were as treacherous as the original fabric; for, before the end of the stage, it again came to pieces, and we were again delayed some hours at Yedrovo before we could venture to continue our journey; but we now thought ourselves blessed with the assistance of a very masterly mechanic, as his workmanship lasted to Zimagor, a small village, prettily situated upon the borders of the lake Valdai. The country around Valdai is the most agreeable and diversified, which we had traversed since our departure from Moscow. It rises agreeably into a variety of gentle eminences; and abounds with beautiful lakes, prettily sprinkled with woody islands, and skirted with forest, corn-fields, and pastures. The largest of these lakes is called Valdai, and seemed to be about twenty miles in circumference: in the middle is an island containing a convent, which rises with its numerous spires among clusters of surrounding trees. Valdai, which gives its name to the lake, and to the range of hills in the midst of which it is situated, contains several new brick-buildings; and even the wooden houses are more decorated than the generality of Russian cottages: it lies upon an agreeable slope, and commands a
pleasant

pleasant view of the lake. The Valdai hills, though of no considerable elevation, are the highest in this part of the country; and separate the waters which flow towards the Caspian from those which take their course towards the Baltic. From their foot, there was no longer a beautiful diversity of hills and dales, enlivened with lakes; but the country presented, for a considerable way, an uniform flat, with a vast extent of morafs.

On the 24th, in the afternoon, we arrived in good time at Bronitza, a village upon the Mafta, within twenty miles of Novogorod. We took up our abode for the night in the house of a Russian priest, which in no wise differed from the other buildings either in size or goodness. It was very clean, however, and comfortable; having a chimney, and being provided with a large plenty of wooden and earthen utensils. The priest, not being attired in his clerical habits, was dressed like the peasants; and was only distinguished from them by his hair, which hung loose over his shoulders to a considerable length. He, his wife, and the rest of the family, were busily employed in extracting the roe from large quantities of fish, which

are caught in the Maſta, and with which an excellent caviare is prepared. Having obtained from our landlady ſome of the choicest of theſe fiſh, and having procured in the village, by means of our ſervant, a brace of ptarmigans, a bird of the partridge ſpecies; we fauntered out, while ſupper was preparing, towards a neighbouring hill, which ſtrongly attracted our attention.

About two miles from the village, in the middle of a vaſt plain, riſes, in a circular form, an inſulated hill compoſed of ſand and clay; the lower part, and upwards, to about half its height, is thickly ſtrewed with detached pieces of red and grey granite, ſimilar to many others which appear about the adjacent country. I meaſured one of theſe maſſes, and found it to be twelve feet broad, eight thick, and five above the ſurface of the ground, but how deep it was buried I could not aſcertain. Naturaliſts greatly differ concerning the origin of theſe granitical maſſes, and by what means they were thus diffuſed over the face of the earth. Some conjecture, that they were brought and left there by the waters; others ſuppoſe them to have originally made parts of the primitive rocks which exiſted in many places of the globe, and which by laſe of
I time,

time, or by violent convulsions, having crumbled or been broken to pieces, have left every where these vast fragments as monuments of their prior existence*.

Upon the summit of this hill stands a brick white-washed church, which is a pleasing object from the adjacent grounds. From its top we had a very singular and extensive prospect. Immediately at its foot the country, for three or four miles, is somewhat open, and divided into large enclosures of pasture and corn. Towards the south rise the Valdai hills, skirting an immense plain, which stretches towards the north, east, and west, as far as the eye can reach; a vast expanse without a single hillock to obstruct the view: it seemed little more than an endless forest, dotted with a few solitary wooden villages, which appeared so many points in a boundless desert. Beyond, at a great distance, we observed the spires of Novogorod, and the lake Ilmen scarcely discernible through the thick gloom of the trees.

* See some curious conjectures upon these granite stones of Bronitza, in Pallas's Travels; and also in *Histoire des Decouvertes dans plusieurs contrées de la Russie*, &c. Vol. I. p. 42, &c.

The forwardness of the harvest in this northern climate has been already mentioned * ; it had been some time taken in, and the new corn was already springing up in many places. The corn remains, during winter, buried under the snow ; at the melting of which, in spring, it shoots up speedily in these countries, where vegetation, upon the returning warmth of the season, is very quick in all its operations. But as the shortness of the summer does not always allow the grain time to ripen, the peasants use the following method of drying it. They raise a wooden building, without windows, and with only a small door, somewhat similar to the shell of their common cottages : under this structure is a large cavity, in which, a fire being made, the new-cut corn, in the ear, is laid upon the floor and dried ; it is then hung upon frames in the open air, and afterwards threshed.

In this part of our journey, we passed by numberless herds of oxen, moving towards Petersburg for the supply of that capital. Most of them had been brought from the Ukraine, the nearest part of which country is distant 800 miles from the metropolis.

* Vol. I. p. 333.

During

During this long progress the drivers seldom enter any house; they stop to feed their cattle upon the slips of pasture which lie on each side of the road; and they themselves have no other covering in bad weather but what is afforded by the foliage of the trees. In the evening the still silence of the country was interrupted by the occasional lowing of the oxen, and the carols of the drivers; while the solitary gloom of the forest was enlivened by the glare of numerous fires, surrounded by different groups of herdsmen in various attitudes: some were sitting round the flame, some employed in dressing their provisions; and others sleeping upon the bare ground. They resembled, in their dress and manners, a rambling horde of Tartars.

The route from Moscow to Petersburg is continued during a space of 500 miles, almost in a straight line cut through the forest, and is extremely tedious: on each side the trees are cleared away to the breadth of forty or fifty paces; and the whole way lies chiefly through endless tracts of wood, only broken by villages, round which, to a small distance, the grounds are open and cultivated.

ceived than described. In many places the road may be considered as little else than a perpetual succession of ridges ; and the motion of the carriage a continual concussion, and much greater than I ever experienced over the roughest pavement.

The villages which occasionally line this route are extremely similar to each other ; they usually consist of a single street, with wooden cottages ; a few only being distinguished by brick houses. The cottages in these parts are far superior to those we observed between Toltzin and Moscow : they seemed, indeed, well suited to a rigorous climate ; and although constructed in the rudest and most artless manner, are very comfortable habitations. The site of each building is an oblong square, which surrounds an open area, and, being inclosed within an high wooden wall, with a penthouse roof, looks on the outside like a large barn. In one angle of this inclosure stands the house, fronting the street of the village, with the stair-case on the outside, and the door opening underneath the penthouse roof : it contains one, or at most two rooms.

I have frequently had occasion to observe, that beds are by no means usual in this country ;

country; inſomuch that, in all the cottages I entered in Ruſſia, I only obſerved two, each of which contained two women at different ends with their clothes on. The family ſlept generally upon the benches, on the ground, or over the ſtove *; occaſionally men, women, and children, promiſcuouſly, without any diſcrimination of ſex or condition, and frequently almoſt in a ſtate of nature. In ſome cottages I obſerved a kind of ſhelf, about ſix or ſeven feet from the ground, carried from one end of the room to the other; to which were faſtened ſeveral tranſverſe planks, and upon theſe ſome of the family ſlept with their heads and feet occaſionally hanging down, and appearing to us, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch places of reſoſe, as if they were upon the point of falling to the ground. The number of perſons thus crowded into a ſmall ſpace, and which ſometimes amounted to twenty, added to the heat of the ſtove, rendered the room intolerably warm; and produced a ſuffocating ſmell, which nothing but uſe enabled us to ſupport. This inconvenience was ſtill more diſagree-

* The ſtove is a kind of brick oven; it occupies almoſt a quarter of the room, and is flat at top.

able in those cottages which were not provided with chimnies, where the smoke, being confined in the room, loaded the atmosphere with additional impurities. If we opened the lattices during the night, in order to relieve us from this oppression by the admission of fresh air; such an influx of cold wind rushed into the room, that we preferred the heat and effluvia to the keenness of these northern blasts.

In the midst of every room hangs from the ceiling a vessel of holy water, and a lamp, which is lighted only on particular occasions. Every house is provided with a picture of some faint coarsely daubed upon wood, which frequently resembles more a Calmuc idol, than the representation of a human head: to this the people pay the highest marks of veneration. All the members of the family, the moment they rose in the morning, and before they retired to sleep in the evening, never omitted standing before the saint: they crossed themselves during several minutes upon the sides and on the forehead; bowed very low; and sometimes even prostrated themselves on the ground. Every peasant also, upon entering the room, always paid his obeisance to
this

this object of worship, before he addressed himself to the family.

The peasants, in their common intercourse, are remarkably polite to each other: they take off their cap at meeting; bow ceremoniously and frequently; and usually exchange a salute. They accompany their ordinary discourse with much action and innumerable gestures; and are exceedingly servile in their expressions of deference to their superiors: in accosting a person of consequence, they prostrate themselves; and even touch the ground with their heads. We were often struck at receiving this kind of eastern homage, not only from beggars, but frequently from children, and occasionally from some of the peasants themselves.

In the appearance of the common people, nothing surprised us more than the enormous thickness of their legs, which we at first conceived to be their real dimensions; until we were undeceived by the frequent exhibition of their bare feet, and by being admitted to their *toilets* without the least ceremony. The bulk, which created our astonishment, proceeded from the vast quantity of coverings with which they swaddle their legs, in summer as well as in winter. Beside one or two pair of thick worsted stockings, they envelop
their

their legs with wrappers of coarse flannel or cloth, several feet in length; and over these they frequently draw a pair of boots, so large as to receive their bulky contents with the utmost facility.

The peasants are well clothed; comfortably lodged; and seem to enjoy plenty of wholesome food. Their rye-bread, whose blackness at first disgusts the eye, and whose sourness the taste, of a delicate traveller, agrees very well with the appetite: as I became reconciled to it from use, I found it at all times no unpleasant morsel, and, when seasoned with hunger, it was quite delicious: they render this bread more palatable by stuffing it with onions and groats, carrots, or green corn, and seasoning it with sweet oil. The other articles of their food I have enumerated on a former occasion*, in addition to which I shall only observe, that mushrooms are so exceedingly common in these regions, as to form a very essential part of their provision. I seldom entered a cottage without seeing great abundance of them; and in passing through the markets, I was often astonished at the prodigious quantity exposed for sale: their variety was no less remarkable than their num-

* Vol. I. p. 338.

ber; they were of many colours, amongst which I particularly noticed white, black, brown, yellow, green, and pink. The common drink of the peasants is quass, a fermented liquor, somewhat like sweet-wort, made by pouring warm water on rye or barley-meal; and deemed an excellent antiscorbutic. They are extremely fond of whisky, a spirituous liquor distilled from malt; which the poorest can occasionally command, and which their inclination often leads them to use to great excess.

The backwardness of the Russian peasants in all the mechanical arts, when compared with those of the other nations of Europe, is visible to the most superficial observer. As we approached, indeed, towards Peterburgh, and nearer the civilized parts of Europe; we could not fail to remark, that the villagers were better furnished with the conveniences of life, and somewhat further advanced in the knowledge of the necessary arts, than those who fell under our notice between Tolitzin and Moscow. The planks were less frequently hewn with the axe; and saw-pits, which we had long considered as objects of curiosity, oftener occurred: the cottages were more spacious and convenient, provided

provided with larger windows, and generally had chimnies; they were also more amply stored with household furniture, and with wooden, and sometimes even earthen utensils. Still, however, their progress towards civilization is very inconsiderable; and many instances of the grossest barbarism fell under our observation.

Those peasants who furnish post horses are called *yamshics*, and enjoy some peculiar privileges. They are obliged to supply all couriers and travellers at a most moderate price, in the dearest parts at $1 \frac{1}{2}d.$ and in many other parts at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per verst * for each horse; and, in compensation, they are exempted from the payment of the poll-tax, and from being enlisted as soldiers: notwithstanding these immunities, the price they receive for their horses is so inconsiderable, that they frequently produce them with the greatest reluctance. The instant a traveller demands a supply of fresh horses, the *yamshics* assemble in crowds, and frequently wrangle and quarrel to such a degree, as to afford amusement to a person who is not impatient to depart. Their squabbles and disputes upon this occasion are so remark-

* Three quarters of a mile.

able, as to have struck all travellers who have given any account of this country. Chancellor, the first Englishman who landed at Archangel, and went from thence to Moscow, could not fail to observe this circumstance, which equally prevailed at that period as at present*. “ *Expreffe commandement* “ was given, that post-horses should be “ gotten for him, and the rest of his com- “ pany, without any money. Which thing “ was, of all the Russes in the rest of their “ journey, so willingly done, that they began “ to quarrel, yea, and to fight also, in striv- “ ing and contending which of them should “ put their post-horses to the sledde.”

In this description, however, Chancellor has made a ludicrous mistake; for the object of their squabbles was not to obtain, but to decline, the honour of furnishing him with horses. The same scene is frequently renewed at present; as I have occasionally observed that an hour's unremitted altercation produced no effect, and that the post-master was at length obliged to compel the yamshiks to settle the intricate contest by drawing lots. Indeed, as I have before remarked †, it is

* Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 247.

† P. 69, 70.

absolutely

absolutely necessary for any foreigner, who wishes to travel with expedition, not only to be provided with a passport, but also to be accompanied with a Russian soldier. The latter, immediately upon his arrival at the post-house, instead of attending to the arguments of the peasants, or waiting for the slow mediation of the post-master, summarily decides the business by the powerful interposition of his cudgel. The boors, quickly *silenced* by this *dumb mode of argumentation* *, find no difficulty in adjusting their pretensions, and the horses almost instantly make their appearance.

In our route through Russia I was greatly surpris'd at the propensity of the natives to singing. Even the peasants who acted in the capacity of coachmen and postilions, were no sooner mounted than they began to warble an air, and continued it, without the least intermission, for several hours. But what still more astonish'd me was, that they performed occasionally in parts; and I have frequently observed them engaged in a kind of musical dialogue, making reciprocal questions and responses, as if they were chanting (if I may

* Argumentum baculinum.

so express myself) their ordinary conversation. The postilions *sing*, as I have just observed, from the beginning to the end of a stage; the soldiers *sing* continually during their march; the countrymen *sing* during the most laborious occupations; the public-houses re-echo with their carols; and in a still evening I have frequently heard the air vibrate with the notes from the surrounding villages.

An ingenious author*, long resident in Russia, and who has turned his attention to the study of the national music, gives the following information upon this curious subject. The general music that prevails among the common people in Russia, from the Duna to the Amoor and the Frozen Ocean, consists in one species of simple melody, which admits of infinite variation, according to the ability of the singer, or the custom of the several provinces in this extensive empire. The words of the songs are mostly in prose, and often extempore, according to the immediate invention or recollection of the singer; perhaps an ancient legend; the history of an enormous giant; a declaration of love; a dialogue

* Stachlin. See his *Nachrickten von der Musik in Rußland*, in Haygold's *Beylägen*, Vol. II. p. 60 to 65; where specimens of this air are given.

between a lover and his mistress; a murder; or the description of a beautiful girl: sometimes they are merely letters and syllables taken from some old accident, metrically arranged, but seldom in rhyme, and adapted to this general air. These latter words are chiefly used by mothers in singing to their children; while the boors, at the same time, perform their national dance to the same tune, accompanied with instrumental music. I have been also informed, that the subject of the song frequently alludes to the former adventures of the singer, or to his present situation; and that the peasants adapt the topics of their common discourse, and their disputes with each other, to this general air: which, altogether, forms an extraordinary effect; and led me to conjecture, as I have before expressed myself, that they chanted their ordinary conversation.

C H A P. II.

Novogorod.—*Its antiquity, power, grandeur, independence, decline, subjection, and downfall.—Its present state.—Cathedral of St. Sophia.—Early introduction of painting into Russia.—Price of provisions at Novogorod.—Incidents of the Journey to Petersburg.*

AT Bronitza we crossed the Maſta upon a raft composed of ſeven or eight trees rudely joined together, and which ſcarcely afforded room for the carriage and two horſes. We then continued our route, through a level country, to the banks of the Volkovetz, or little Volkof, which we paſſed in a ferry; and, after mounting a gentle riſe, deſcended into the open marſhy plain of paſture, which reaches, without interruption, to the walls of Novogorod: that place, at a ſmall diſtance, exhibited a moſt magnificent appearance; and, if we might judge from the great number of churches and convents, which on every ſide preſented themſelves to our view, announced our approach to a conſiderable city; but upon our entrance our expectations were by no means realized.

No place ever filled me with more melancholy ideas of fallen grandeur, than the town of Novogorod. It is one of the most antient cities in Ruffia; and was formerly called *Great Novogorod*, to distinguish it from other Ruffian towns of a similar appellation*. Nestor, the earliest of the Ruffian historians, informs us that It was built at the same time with Kiof, in the middle of the fifth century, by a Sclavonian horde, who, according to Procopius, issued from the banks of the Volga. Its antiquity is clearly proved by a passage in the Gothic historian, Jornandes; in which it is called *Civitas Nova*, or *New Town*†. We have little insight into its history before the ninth century, when Ruric, the first great-duke of Ruffia, reduced it, and made it the metropolis of his vast dominions. The year subsequent to his death, which happened in 879, the seat of government was removed, under his son Igor then an infant, to Kiof; and Novogorod continued, for above a century, under the jurisdiction of governors no-

* Nishnei Novogorod, and Novogorod Severfskoi.

† Sclavini a Civitate Novâ et Sclavino Rumunense, et lacu qui appellatur Musianus, &c. The lake is the Ilmen; and the *Civitas Nova*, Novogorod. S. R. G. Vol. V. p. 383.

minated by the great-dukes. At length, in 970, Svatoflaf, the son of Igor, created his third son Vladimir duke of Novogórod: the latter, succeeding his father in the throne of Ruffia, ceded the town to his son Yaroflaf; who, in 1036, granted to the inhabitants very confiderable privileges, that laid the foundation of that extraordinary degree of liberty which they afterwards gradually obtained. From this period Novogorod was for a long time governed by its own dukes: thefe sovereigns were at firft subordinate to the great-dukes, who refided at Kiof and Volodimir; but afterwards, as the town increafed in population and wealth, they gradually ufurped an abfolute independency*.

But while they thus fhook off the yoke of a diftant lord, they were unable to maintain their authority over their own fubjects. Although the fucceffion continued in the fame family; yet, as the dukes were elected by the inhabitants, they gradually bartered away, as the price of their nomination, all their moft valuable prerogatives. They were alfo fo frequently depofed, that, for near two centuries, the lift of the dukes refembles more a

* S. R. G. Vol. V. p. 397.

calendar of annual magistrates, than a regular line of hereditary princes: and, in effect, Novogorod was a republic under the jurisdiction of a nominal sovereign. The privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants, however unfavourable to the power of the dukes, proved extremely beneficial to the real interests of the town: it became the great mart of trade between Russia and the Hanseatic cities; and made the most rapid advances in opulence and population. At this period its dominions were so extensive *, its power so great, and its situation so impregnable, as to give rise to a proverb, *Quis contra Deos et Magnam Novogardiam?* “Who can resist the Gods and Great “Novogorod?”

It continued in this flourishing state until the middle of the 15th century, when the great-dukes of Russia, whose ancestors had reigned over this town, and who still retained the title of dukes of Novogorod, having transferred their residence from Kiof to Volodimir, and afterwards to Moscow, laid claim to its feudal sovereignty; a demand which the in-

* Its territory extended to the north as far as the frontiers of Livonia and Finland, and comprised great part of the province of Archangel, and a large district beyond the north-western limits of Siberia.

habitants sometimes evaded by composition, sometimes by resistance, but were sometimes compelled to acknowledge. At length, in 1471, Ivan Vassilievitch I. having secured his dominions against the inroads of the Tartars, and having extended his empire by the conquest of the neighbouring principalities, ventured to assert his right to the sovereignty of Novogorod; and enforced his pretensions by a formidable army: he vanquished the troops of the republic opposed to him in the field; and, having forced the citizens to acknowledge his claims, appointed a governor, who was permitted to reside in the town, and to exercise the authority formerly vested in their own dukes*. This power, however, being exceedingly limited, left them in the entire possession of their most valuable immunities: they retained their own laws; chose their own magistrates; and the governor never interfered in public affairs, except by appeal.

Ivan however, by no means contented with this limited species of government, watched

* Its government was similar to that of the German republics, who acknowledge the emperor as their liege-lord, but are under the jurisdiction of their own magistrates.

a favourable opportunity of extending his authority; and, as a pretence is never wanting to a powerful aggressor, he, in 1477, laid siege to the town. His designs being abetted by the internal feuds and dissensions which had long prevailed in this independent republic; the inhabitants were constrained to subscribe to all the conditions imposed by the haughty conqueror. The gates were thrown open; the great-duke entered the place in the character of sovereign; and the whole body of people, tendering the oath of allegiance, delivered into his hands the charter of their liberties, which unanimity would still have preserved inviolate. One circumstance, recorded by historians as a proof of the unconditional subjection of the town, was the removal of an enormous bell from Novogorod to Moscow, denominated by the inhabitants *eternal*, and revered as the palladium of their liberty and the symbol of their privileges. It was suspended in the market-place; its sacred sound drew the people instantly from the most remote parts, and tolled the signal of foreign danger or intestine tumult. The great-duke peremptorily demanded this object of public veneration, which he called "*The larum of sedition*;" and the inhabitants considered

considered its surrender as the sure prelude of departing liberty*.

From this period the great-duke became in effect absolute sovereign of Novogorod, although the ostensible forms of its government were still preserved: in order to ensure the obedience of his new subjects, he transplanted at once above a thousand of the principal citizens to Moscow and other towns; and secured the Kremlin, in which he generally resided when he came to Novogorod, with strong walls of brick. Notwithstanding the despotism to which the inhabitants were subject, and the oppression which they experienced from Ivan and his successors; yet Novogorod still continued the largest and most commercial city in all Russia, as will evidently appear from the following description of Richard Chanceler, who passed through it in 1554 in his way to Moscow. "Next
 " unto Moscow, the city of Novogorode is
 " reputed the chiefest of Russia; for although

* " Devenue sujette," says L'Evesque with great spirit, " elle va chaque jour perdre de son domaine, de sa population, de son commerce, des ses richesses, &c, dans moins d'un siècle, à peine sera-t-elle une ville importante: tant le souffle du pouvoir arbitraire est brûlant & destructeur." Histoire de Russie, Tom. II. p. 327.

“ it be in majestie inferior to it, yet in greatnessse it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest marte towne of all Moscovie; and albeit the emperor’s seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousnesse of the river, falling into that gulfe which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by merchants, makes it more famous than Mosco itself*.”

An idea of its populoufness, during this period, when compared with its present declined state, is manifest from the fact; that in 1508 above 15,000 persons died of an epidemical disorder †; more than double the number of its present inhabitants. In its most flourishing condition it contained at least 400,000 souls ‡. Under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II. the prosperity of Novogorod experienced a most fatal downfall, from which it never recovered: that monarch having, in 1570, discovered a secret correspondence between some of the principal inhabitants and Sigismond Augustus king of Poland, relative to a surrender of the city into

* Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 251.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 494.

‡ It now contains scarcely 7000.

his hands, inflicted the most exemplary and inhuman vengeance upon them. He repaired in person to Novogorod; and appointed a court of inquiry, justly denominated the *tribunal of blood*. Contemporary historians relate that its proceedings continued during the space of five weeks; and that on each day of this fatal period more than 500 inhabitants fell victims to the vengeance of incensed despotism. According to some authors, 25,000, according to others, more than 30,000 persons perished in this dreadful carnage. Those writers, who were the czar's enemies, have probably exaggerated the number of these executions; and it is but justice to add, that some circumstances in their relations are proved to be unquestionably false: but though we ought not to give implicit credit to all the accounts recorded by his adversaries; yet, even by the confession of his apologists, there still remains sufficient evidence of his savage ferocity in this barbarous transaction; which equals, if not surpasses, in cruelty, the massacre at Stockholm under Christian II.

This horrid catastrophe and the subsequent oppressions which the town experienced from that great though sanguinary prince, so impaired its strength; that it is described as a
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place of ruin and desolation by Uhlfield, the Danish embassador, who soon afterwards passed through it. But although the splendour of this once flourishing town received a very considerable diminution; yet it was not totally obscured until the foundation of Peterburgh, to which favourite capital Peter the Great transferred all the commerce of the Baltic, that before centered in Novogorod.

The present town is surrounded by a rampart of earth, with a range of old towers at regular distances, forming a circumference of scarcely a mile and an half; and even this inconsiderable circle includes much open space, and many houses which are not inhabited. As Novogorod was built after the manner of the antient towns of this country, in the Asiatic style; this rampart, like that of the Semlainogorod, at Moscow, probably enclosed several interior circles: without it was a vast extensive suburb, which reached to the distance of six miles, and included within its circuit all the convents and churches, the antient ducal palace and other structures; that now make a splendid, but solitary appearance, as they lie scattered in the adjacent plain.

Novogorod stretches on both sides of the Volkof, a beautiful river of considerable
depth

depth and rapidity, and somewhat broader than the Thames at Windsor. This river separates the town into two divisions; the Trading Part, and the Quarter of St. Sophia, which are united by means of a bridge, partly wooden and partly brick.

The first division, or the Trading Part, is, excepting the governor's house, only a rude cluster of wooden habitations, and in no other respect distinguished from the common villages than by a vast number of brick churches and convents, which stand melancholy monuments of its former magnificence. In all parts I was struck with these remains of ruined grandeur; while half-cultivated fields enclosed within high palisadoes, and large spaces covered with nettles, attested its present desolate condition. Towards its extremity a brick edifice, and several detached structures of the same materials, erected at the empress's expence, for a manufacture of ropes and sails, exhibited a most splendid figure when contrasted with the surrounding wooden hovels in the town.

The opposite division, denominated the Quarter of St. Sophia, derives its appellation from the cathedral of that name; and comprehends the fortress or Kremlin, erected for the

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the purpose of curbing the inhabitants, and of preventing the frequent insurrections occasioned by the rising spirit of oppressed liberty. It is of an irregularly oval form, and surrounded by an high brick wall, strengthened with round and square towers: the wall is similar to that which encloses the Kremlin at Moscow; and was built in 1490 by the Italian architect Solarius of Milan, at the order of Ivan Vassilievitch I. soon after his conquest of Novogorod. The fortress contains the cathedral of St. Sophia; the old archiepiscopal mansion with its stair-case on the outside; part of a new palace which was not yet finished; a few other brick buildings; but the remaining space is a waste, overspread with weeds and nettles, and covered with ruins.

The cathedral of St. Sophia is probably one of the most antient churches in Russia: it was begun in 1044 by Vlodimir Yaroslavitch duke of Novogorod, and completed in 1051*. It was probably constructed soon after Christianity was first introduced into Russia by the Greeks, and was called St. So-

* S, R. G. vol. V. p. 398. A wooden church of the same name had been first constructed about the year 1000 by Joachim, the first bishop of Novogorod, on the spot where this cathedral now stands. Ibid. p. 394.

phia, from the church of that name in Constantinople. It is a high square building with a gilded cupola, and four tin domes. We entered this venerable pile through a pair of brazen gates, ornamented with various figures in alto relievo, representing the Passion of our Saviour, and other scriptural histories. The priest informed me, that, according to tradition, these gates of brass were brought from the antient town of Cherson, where Vlodimir the Great was baptized, and are supposed to be of Grecian workmanship: they are in consequence of this persuasion called Korfuniskie Dveri, the doors of Cherson. But if we admit the truth of this tradition, how shall we account for the following Latin characters, which I observed upon them?

p. e. WICMANNVS MEGIDEBVGENSIS
ALEXANDER epe DEBLVCICH. •
AVE MARIA GPACIA PLEHS DHS TEECVGI.

The first part of this inscription seems to prove rather, that they came from Magdeburgh in Germany; a circumstance by no means improbable, as the inhabitants of Novogorod, through their commercial connections, maintained, even in those early times,

a no less frequent intercourse with Germany than with Greece.

In the inside of this cathedral are twelve massy pillars white-washed, which, as well as the walls, are thickly covered with the representations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of various saints. Some of these paintings are of very high antiquity, and probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy. The following reasons induce me to adopt this opinion. Many of these figures are finished in a *hard flat style* of colouring upon a *gold ground*, and exactly similar to those of the Greek artists, by whom, according to Vafari, painting was first introduced into Italy in the following manner.

Towards the latter end of the 13th century, some Greek artists were invited to Florence to paint a chapel in the church of Santa Maria Novella in that city. Although their design and colouring were very *hard and flat*, and they chiefly represented the figures on a *field of gold*; yet their productions were much admired in that ignorant century. Cimabue, who was then a boy, was so struck with their performance; that he was accustomed to pass all the time he could steal from school in contemplating the progress of their work. His

enthusiasm being thus kindled, he turned his whole attention to the study of an art to which his natural genius seemed inclined. His first compositions had all the defects of the masters whom he imitated; but he gradually improved as he advanced; and laid the first rude foundation of that astonishing excellence which the schools of Italy afterwards attained.

As painting was thus brought into Italy from the Greek empire, when there was scarcely any connection between those two countries, we may be well assured that it was introduced at a more early period into Russia, from the same quarter; not only because a constant intercourse had been long maintained between the great-dukes and the emperors of Constantinople; and because the patriarch of that city was formerly the head of the church established in Russia; but likewise because the Russians, being converted to Christianity by the Greeks, were accustomed, after their example, to decorate their temples with various figures; and must have received from them many portraits of saints, which form in their religion a necessary part of divine worship. We may conclude, therefore, that the cathedral of St. Sophia, which was built in the 11th century, and is one of the most antient church-

es of Ruffia, was necessarily ornamented with the figures of faints by some Greek artists, whom the great-dukes of Novogotod drew from Constantinople. The representations in question, indeed, are such mere daubings, as not to have deserved a particular inquiry, if they had not assisted in illustrating the progress of the liberal arts; and in ascertaining the early introduction of painting into this country, at a period when it was probably unknown even in Italy*.

Several princes of the ducal family of Ruffia are interred in this cathedral. The first is Vladimir Yaroslavitch, who was born in 1020, died in 1051 †, and was buried in this church, which he himself had founded, and just lived to see completed. Beside his tomb, are those of his mother Anne, daughter of the eastern emperor Romanus; his wife Alexandra; his brother Miclissaf; and, lastly, of Feodor, brother of Alexander Nevski, who died in 1228. The most antient of these sepulchres are of carved wood gilt and silvered, and surrounded with iron rails; the others are of brick and

* Jam diu pingunt Rutheni, et quis credat? seculo duodecimo, says Falconi.—See Essai sur la Bib. &c. p. 19.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 399.

mórtar. Within the sanctuary the walls are covered with Mosaic compartments, of coarse workmanship, but curious as being very antient.

Our landlord was a German; and his inn, though small, was one of the most commodious we had hitherto met with in Russia: it was neatly furnished, and afforded us beds, an article of singular luxury in this country, which we had no small difficulty to procure even in the city of Moscow.

By the assistance of our landlord we obtained the following list of the price of provisions in these parts:

| | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Butcher's meat per Russian pound * | - | 1½ | to 0 | 2 |
| Black bread per ditto | - | - | - | ½ |
| White common ditto | - | - | - | 1 |
| French ditto | - | - | - | 2 |
| Butter ditto | - | - | - | ¼ |
| Ten eggs from | - | - | - | 1½ to 0 5 |
| Pair of fowls from | - | - | 1 | 3 to 1 8 |
| Fatted goose | - | - | 1 | - |
| Couple of wild ducks | - | - | - | 6 |
| Tame ditto | - | - | 1 | 3 |
| Brace of partridges | - | - | - | 10 |
| Black game, cock and hen | - | 1 | - | 6 |
| Hare | - | - | - | 7½ |
| Quart of milk | - | - | - | 1½ |
| Best spirituous liquors per quart | 1 | - | - | 5½ |

* A Russian pound = 14½ English ounces.

| | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|
| Worst sort - - - - - | - | 8½ |
| Pair of peasants leather shoes - | 1 | 3 |
| Boots - - - - - | 4 | 10 |
| Round hat - - - - - | 1 | 3 |
| Peasant's shirt, no collar or wrist- band, and very short - - - } | 1 | 3 |

Our coach was so shattered by the bad roads; that we left it at Novogorod; and continued our journey in the common carriages of the country, called *kibitkas*. A *kibitka* is a small cart, capable of containing two persons abreast, while the driver sits upon the further extremity close to the horses' tails. It is about five feet in length, and the hinder half is covered with a semicircular tilt, open in front like the top of a cradle, made of laths interwoven and covered with birch or beech-bark. There is not a piece of iron in the whole machine. It has no springs, and is fastened by means of wooden pins, ropes, and sticks, to the body of the carriage. The Russians, when they travel in these *kibitkas*, place a feather-bed in the bottom, admirably calculated to break the intolerable jolts and concussions, occasioned by the uneven timber roads. With this precaution a *kibitka*, though inferior in splendour, equals in comfort the

most commodious vehicle. The traveller stretches himself at his length upon the feather-bed, and, if inclined, may dose away the journey in perfect tranquillity. But being novices as to the best method of equipping this species of conveyance, we suffered a layer of trunks and other hard baggage to be substituted in the place of feather-beds; these substances, so much more bulky, and so much less yielding than down, obliged us either to sit under the tilt in a sloping posture, or upon the narrow edge of the carriage; in the alternate enjoyment of which delectable positions, we passed twelve hours without intermission, and with no refreshment. Those who have ever regaled themselves amidst a pile of loose trunks and boxes in the basket of a heavy-laden stage coach, over the roughest pavement, would esteem that mode of conveyance luxury to what we experienced. Our impatience, however, to reach Peterburgh beguiled in some measure the bruises we received from our *kibitkas* and their contents; and induced us to persevere in our route till after ten at night; when, upon our being deposited in a small village, I had scarcely strength remaining to crawl to some fresh straw spread for our beds in the corner of an unfurnished inn: with the
 comforts

comforts of this delightful place of repose I was so enamoured; that I could not be prevailed upon to relinquish it even for a few minutes, for the enjoyment of an excellent ragout prepared by our servant; and which a constant fasting since nine in the morning tended greatly to recommend.

A tolerable night's rest, and the prospect of only fifty miles between us and Peterburgh, induced us to reassume our former stations, and to brave a repetition of our fatigue.

The country we passed through was ill calculated to alleviate our sufferings, by transferring our attention from ourselves to the objects around us. Excepting the environs of Novogorod, which were tolerably open; the road made of timber, as described on a former occasion, and as straight as an arrow, ran through a perpetual forest, without the least intermixture of hill or dale, and with but few slips of cultivated ground. Through the dreary extent of 110 miles, the gloomy uniformity of the forest was only broken by a few solitary villages at long distances from each other, without the intervention of a single house. Itchora, the last village at which we changed horses, though but 20 miles from the capital, was small and wretched;

ed; and the adjacent country as inhospitable and unpeopled as that we had already passed. About ten miles from Itchora we suddenly turned to the right; and the scene instantly brightened: the woods gave way to cultivation; the country began to be enlivened with houses; the inequalities of the timber road were succeeded by the level of a spacious causeway equal to the finest turnpikes of England; the end of each verst* was marked with superb mile-stones of granite and marble; and a long avenue of trees was closed at the distance of a few miles with a view of Petersburg, the object of our wishes, and the termination of our labours.

* Throughout all the high roads of Russia, each verst (or three quarters of a mile) is marked by a wooden post, about twelve feet in height, painted red.

C H A P. III.

Justification of Peter the Great for transferring the seat of empire from Moscow to St. Peterburgh.—Description of the new metropolis.—Its foundation and progress.—Circumference and population.—Inundations of the Neva.—Remarkable flood in the year 1777.—Bridge of pontoons.—Plan for a bridge of a single arch across the Neva.—Colossal statue of Peter the Great.—Account of the pedestal, and of its conveyance to Peterburgh.—General observations on the weather at St. Peterburgh during the winter of 1778.—Precautions against the cold.—Diversions and winter scenes upon the Neva.—Ice-hills.—Annual fair upon its frozen surface.

SAIN T Peterburgh is situated in the latitude of $59^{\circ} 56' 23''$ north, and longitude $30^{\circ} 25'$ east, from the first meridian of Greenwich. It stands upon the Neva, near the Gulf of Finland, and is built partly upon some islands in the mouth of that river, and partly upon the continent. Its principal divisions are as follow: 1. The Admiralty quarter;

quarter; 2. The Vassili Ostrof*; 3. The fortrefs; 4. The Island of St. Petersburg; and 5. The various suburbs, called the suburbs of Livonia, of Moscow, of Alexander Nevski, and of Wiburgh. Their peculiar situation, with respect to each other, will be better explained by the annexed plan of the town, than by the most elaborate description.

Peter the Great has incurred considerable censure for transferring the seat of empire from Moscow to Petersburg: it has been urged, with some degree of plausibility, that he was in effect more an Asiatic than an European sovereign; that Moscow, lying nearer to the center of his dominions, was better calculated for the imperial residence; and that, by removing his capital, he neglected the interior provinces, and sacrificed every other consideration to his predilection for the settlements upon the Baltic.

But it by no means appears, that although Petersburg was thus situated at the extremity of Russia, that therefore he neglected any other part of his vast dominions. On the contrary, he was no less attentive to his Asiatic

* Ostrof signifies Island.

than to his European provinces: his repeated negotiations with the Chinese; his campaigns against the Turks; and his conquest of the Persian provinces, which border upon the Caspian, prove the truth of this assertion. It is no less obvious, that Europe was the quarter from whence the greatest danger to his throne impended; that the Swedes were his most formidable enemies; and that from them the very existence of his empire was threatened with annihilation. It was not by leading his troops against the desultory bands of Turks or Persians, that he was able to acquire a solid military force; but by training them to endure the firm attack of regular battalions, and to learn to conquer at last by repeated defeats: with this design, the nearer he fixed his seat to the borders of Sweden, whose veterans had long been the terror of the north, the more readily his troops would imbibe their military spirit, and learn, by encountering them, their well-regulated manœuvres. Add to this, that the protection of the new commerce, which he opened through the Baltic, depended upon the creation and maintenance of a naval force, which required his immediate and almost continual inspection. To this circumstance alone is owing the
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the rapid and respectable rise of the Russian power; its preponderance in the north; and its political importance in the scale of Europe. In a word, had not Peter I. transferred the seat of government to the shores of the Baltic; the Russian navy had never rode triumphant in the Turkish seas; and Catharine II. had never stood forth what she now is, the arbitress of the north, and the mediatrix * of Europe.

Thus much with respect to the political consequence which Russia derived from the position of the new metropolis. Its internal improvement, the great object of Peter's reign, was considerably advanced by approaching the capital to the more civilized parts of Europe: by this means he drew the nobility from their rude magnificence and feudal dignity at Moscow to a more immediate dependence upon the sovereign; to more polished manners; to a greater degree of social intercourse. Nor was there any other cause, perhaps, which so much tended to promote his plans for the civilization of his subjects, as the removal of the imperial seat from the in-

* It must be remembered, that Catharine II. mediated the peace of Teschen, in 1779, between the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia,

land provinces to the Gulf of Finland. For the nearer the residence of the monarch is brought to the more polished nations; the more frequent will be the intercourse with them, and the more easy the adoption of their arts; and in no other parts could the influx of foreigners be so great as where they were allured by commerce.

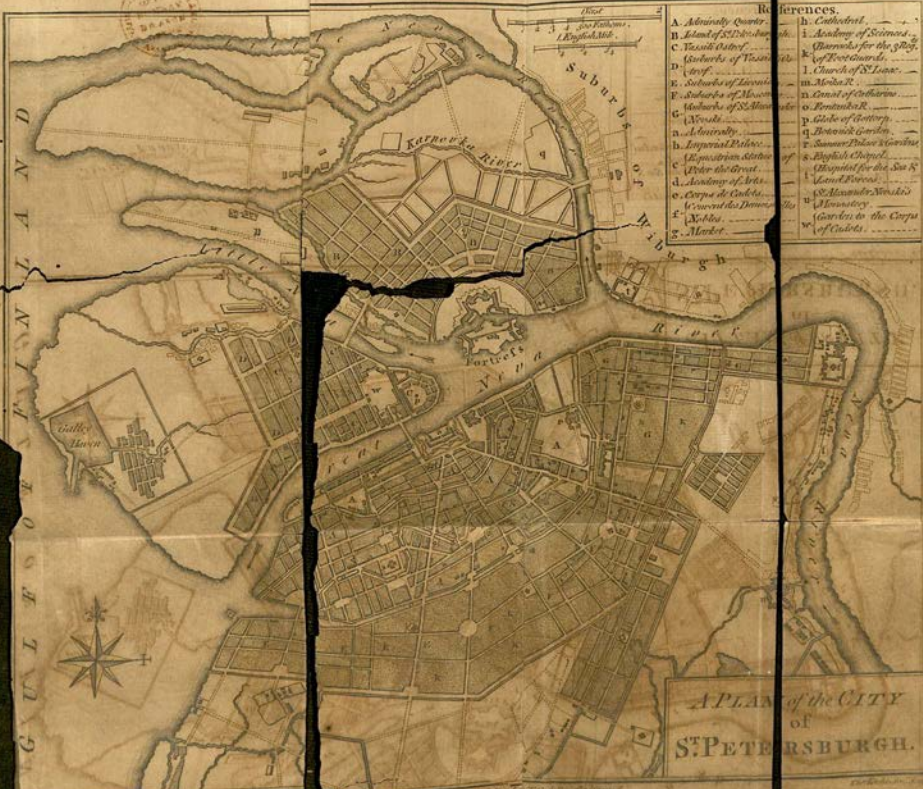
In opposition, therefore, to the censurers of Peter, we cannot but esteem this act as extremely beneficial: and we might even venture to assert, that if, by any revolution of Europe, this empire should lose its acquisitions on the Baltic; if the court should repair to Moscow, and maintain a fainter connection with the European powers before any essential reformation in the manners of the people should have taken place; Russia would soon relapse into her original barbarism; and no traces of the memorable improvements introduced by Peter I. and Catharine II. would be found but in the annals of history.

As I walked about this metropolis I was filled with astonishment upon reflecting, that so late as the beginning of this century, the ground on which Petersburgh now stands was only a vast morass occupied by a few fishermen's huts. The first building of the city
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is so recent as to be almost remembered by some persons who are now alive; and its gradual progress is accordingly traced without the least difficulty. Peter the Great had no sooner wrested Ingria from the Swedes, and advanced the boundaries of his empire to the shores of the Baltic; than he determined to erect a fortress upon a small island in the mouth of the Neva, for the purpose of securing his conquests, and opening a new channel of commerce*. As a prelude to this undertaking, a small battery was immediately raised on another island of the Neva, upon the spot now occupied by the Academy of Sciences; and it was commanded by Vassili Demitrievitch Kotschmin. All the orders of the emperor sent to this officer were directed Vassili na Ostrof, To Vassili upon the island; and hence this part of the town was called Vassili Ostrof, or the Island of Vassili.

The fortress was begun on the 16th of May, 1703; and, notwithstanding all the obstructions arising from the marshy nature of the ground, and the inexperience of the workmen; a small citadel surrounded with a ram-

* See Hist. Geog. and Top. Beschreibung der Stadt S. Pet. in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.



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| References. | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| A Admiralty Quarter | h Cathedral |
| B Island of St. Peter's | i Academy of Sciences |
| C Vasilki Outpost | j Churches for the Greg. of Foot Guards |
| D (Island) of Vasili | k Church of St. Isaac |
| E Suburbs of Vasili | l Church of St. Isaac |
| F Suburbs of Vasili | m Monks R. |
| G Suburbs of Vasili | n Canal of Catharine |
| a Admiralty | o Penitents R. |
| b Imperial Palace | p Globe of Peter |
| c Expedition Palace | q Botanic Garden |
| d Academy of Arts | r Summer Palace of Catharine |
| e Corps of Cadets | s Physical Chapel |
| f (Island) of Vasili | t Hospital for the Sea R. |
| g Market | u Canal of Peter |
| | v St. Alexander Nevski's Monastery |
| | w Garden to the Corps of Cadets |

A PLAN of the CITY of ST. PETERSBURGH.

Printed and Sold by J. G. ...

part of earth, and strengthened with six bastions, was completed in a short space of time. An author*, who was in Russia at that period, informs us, “ that the labourers were “ not furnished with the necessary tools, as “ pick-axes, spades and shovels, wheel-barrows, planks, and the like; notwithstanding which, the work went on with such “ expedition, that it was surprizing to see “ the fortrefs raised within less than five “ months, though the earth, which is very “ scarce thereabouts, was, for the greater part, “ carried by the labourers in the skirts of “ their clothes, and in bags made of rags “ and old mats, the use of wheel-barrows “ being then unknown to them.”

Within the fortrefs a few wooden habitations were erected. For his own immediate residence Peter also ordered, in the beginning of the year 1703, a small hut to be raised in an adjacent island, which he called the island of St. Peterburgh, and from which the new metropolis has taken its name: this hut was low and small; and is still preserved in memory of the sovereign who condescended to dwell in it. Near it was soon afterwards

* Perry's State of Russia, vol. I. p. 300.

constructed another wooden habitation, but larger and more commodious, in which prince Mentchikof resided, and gave audience to foreign ministers. At a small distance was an inn, much frequented by the courtiers and persons of all ranks; to which Peter himself, on Sundays after divine-service, frequently repaired; and would there drink with his suite and others who happened to be present, as spectators of the fire-works and diversions, which were exhibited by his orders.

On the 30th of May, 1706, Peter ordered the ramparts of earth to be demolished, and began the foundation of the new fortress on the same spot. In 1710, count Golovkin built the first edifice of brick; and in the following year the czar, with his own hand, laid the foundation of an house, to be erected with the same materials*. From these small beginnings rose the present metropolis of the Russian empire; and in less than nine years after the first wretched hovels of wood were erected, the seat of empire was transferred from Moscow to Petersburgh.

The despotic authority of Peter, and his zeal for the improvement of the new capital,

* Journal St. Pet. for 1779.

will appear from the following orders issued by his command. In 1714 he published a mandate, that all buildings upon the island of St. Peterburgh, and in the Admiralty Quarter, particularly those upon the banks of the Neva, should be constructed after the German manner with timber and brick; that each of the nobility and principal merchants should be obliged to have an house in Peterburgh; that every large vessel navigating to the city should bring 30 stones, every small one 10, and every peasant's waggon three, towards the construction of the bridges and other public works: that the tops of the houses should be no longer covered with birch-planks, and bark, so dangerous in case of fire, but should be roofed with tiles or clods of earth. In 1716 a regular plan * for the new city was approved by Peter; according to which the principal part of the new metropolis was to be situated in the Vassili Ostrof; and, in imitation of the Dutch towns, canals were to be cut through the principal streets, and to be lined with avenues of trees. This plan, however, was never carried into execu-

* The reader will find a delineation of this plan in Perry's State of Russia.

tion. Under the empress Anne, the imperial residence was removed to the Admiralty Quarter. The nobility soon followed the example of the sovereign; and at present, if we except some of the public edifices, and the row of houses fronting the Neva; the Vassili Ostrof is the worst part of the city, and alone contains more wooden buildings than all the other quarters.

Succeeding sovereigns have continued to embellish Petersburgh, but none more than the present empress; who may, without exaggeration, be called its second foundress. Notwithstanding, however, all these improvements, it bears every mark of an infant city, and is still, as Mr. Wraxall * justly observes, “only
“an immense outline, which will require fu-
“ture empresses and almost future ages to
“complete.” The streets in general are broad † and spacious; and three of the principal streets, which meet in a point at the Admiralty, and reach to the extremities of the suburbs, are at least two miles in length. Most of them are paved; but a few are still suffered to remain floored with planks. In

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 231.

† They are mostly as broad as Oxford-Street: those with canals much broader.

several parts of the metropolis, particularly in the Vassili Ostrof, wooden houses and habitations, scarcely superior to common cottages; are blended with the public buildings; but this motley mixture is far less common than at Moscow, where alone can be formed a true idea of an antient Russian city.

The brick houses are ornamented with a white stucco, which has led several travellers to say that they are built with stone; whereas, unless I am greatly mistaken, there are only two stone structures in all, Peterburgh; the one is the church of St. Isaac, of hewn granite, and marble columns, but not yet finished; the other is the marble palace constructed at the expence of the empress, on the banks of the Neva, facing the citadel. Her Imperial majesty gave this superb edifice to prince Orlof; and, at his death, purchased it from his executor for 2,000,000 of roubles. The style of architecture is magnificent but heavy: the front is composed of polished granite and marble, and is finished with such nicety, and in a style so superior to the contiguous buildings, that it has the appearance of having been transported to the present spot, like the palace in the Arabian tales, raised by the enchantment of Aladdin's lamp. It contains forty rooms upon

each floor, and is fitted up in a style of such profusion and splendour, that the expence of the furniture amounted to 1,500,000 roubles.

The mansions of the nobility are many of them vast piles of building, but are not in general upon so large and magnificent a scale as several I observed at Moscow: they are furnished with great cost, and in the same elegant style as at Paris or London. They are situated chiefly on the south side of the Neva, either in the Admiralty Quarter, or in the suburbs of Livonia and Moscow, which are the finest parts of the city.

The views upon the banks of the Neva exhibit the most grand and lively scenes I ever beheld. That river is in many places as broad as the Thames at London: it is also deep, rapid, and as transparent as chrystal; and its banks are lined on each side with a continued range of handsome buildings. On the north side the fortress, the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Arts are the most striking objects; on the opposite side are the Imperial palace, the Admiralty, the mansions of many Russian nobles, and the English line, so called because (a few houses excepted) the whole row is occupied by the English.

English merchants. In the front of these buildings, on the south side, is the Quay, which stretches for three miles, except where it is interrupted by the Admiralty; and the Neva, during the whole of that space, has been lately embanked, at the expence of the empress, by a wall, parapet, and pavement of hewn granite; a most elegant and durable monument of imperial munificence. The canal of Catharine, and of the Fontanha, which are several miles in length, have been lately embanked in the same manner, and add greatly to the ornament of the city.

The quantity of polished granite used in these public works is sufficient to astonish an European architect, when he considers the hardness of the stone, and with what difficulty it is fashioned and polished. Indeed, I have frequently viewed with surprize the process employed by the commonest Russian workmen, in smoothing the granite. They make use of an iron hammer with a steel edge, with which they batter the stone. The quantity which flies off at each stroke, is almost imperceptible; but by repeatedly applying the edge to the same place, the prominent particles are worn away, and the stone becomes perfectly smooth. To this gradual at-

trition may be applied the proverb, *Gutta cavat lapidem* *.

Petersburgh, although it is more compact than the other Russian cities, and has the houses in many streets contiguous to each other; yet still bears a resemblance to the towns of this country, and is built in a very straggling manner. By an order lately issued from government, the city has been enclosed within a rampart, the circumference whereof is 21 versts, or 14 English miles.

The average population of Petersburgh may be collected from the following list of births and deaths during seven years.

* A drop of water (continually falling upon the same place) hollows a stone.

| B I R T H S. | | | D E A T H S. | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|----------|------|
| 1771 | Males 2459 | =4781 | Males 3137 | =4779 | |
| | Females 2322 | | Females 1642 | | |
| 1772 | - | =4759 | - | =4727 | |
| 1773 | - | =5483 | - | =5031 | |
| 1774 | Males 2839 | =5437 | Males 2899 | =4458 | |
| | Females 2598 | | Females 1559 | | |
| 1775 | - | =4961 | - | =3107 | |
| 1776 | Males 2816 | =5397 | Males 2694 | =4463 | |
| | Females 2581 | | Females 1769 | | |
| | Natives. | | Natives. | | |
| | Males 2717 | } 5854 | Males 3117 | } 5660 | |
| | Females 2618 | | Females 2043 | | |
| 1777 | Foreigners. | | Foreigners. | | |
| | Males 265 | | Males 265 | | |
| | Females 254 | | Females 235 | | |
| Total of births for 7 years | - | } 36,672 | Total of deaths | } 32,165 | |
| Annual average of births, omitting small fractions | - | - | - | } 5238 | |
| - | - | of deaths | - | - | 4594 |

By multiplying the births 5238 by 25; the sum is 134,950; and the deaths 4594 by 26, the sum is 119,444. By taking the medium, therefore, between these two sums, we have 126,697 for the number of inhabitants*.

Petersburgh,

* Suflick estimates the population of Petersburgh at 133,196, by multiplying the births with 28; and 132,990, by multiplying the deaths by 26; neither of which numbers differs essentially from the average number in the text: he

Petersburgh, from its low and marshy situation, is subject to inundations, which have occasionally risen so high as to threaten the town with a total submerſion. Theſe floods are chiefly occaſioned by a weſt or ſouth-weſt wind, which, blowing directly from the gulf, obſtructs the current of the Neva, and cauſes a vaſt accumulation of its waters. On the 16th of November we had nearly perſonal experience of this dreadful calamity. Being invited to a maſquerade at the Cadet's in the Vaſſili Oſtrof, on our approach to the bridge, we perceived that a ſtormy weſt wind had already ſo much ſwelled the river as conſiderably to elevate the pontoons; and the tenſion of the bridge was ſo great as to endanger its being broken to pieces. Inſtead, therefore, of repairing to the maſquerade, we returned home; and waited for ſome hours in awful expectation of an immediate deluge. Providentially, however, a ſudden change of wind preſerved Petersburgh from the impending catastrophe,

adds, that Petersburgh is the only large town in which there are more births than deaths. Upon the whole, the population of Petersburgh may be eſtimated in round numbers at 130,000 of ſouls. See Suſſlick Gottliche Ordnung, vol. III. p. 650.

and

and the inhabitants from an almost universal consternation, which their recent sufferings had impressed upon their minds. I allude to the flood which overwhelmed the town in the month of September, 1777, and whose effects are thus described: “* In the evening
 “ of the 9th, a violent storm of wind blowing
 “ at first S. W. and afterwards W. raised the
 “ Neva and its various branches to so great
 “ an height; that at five in the morning the
 “ waters poured over their banks, and sud-
 “ denly overflowed the town, but more par-
 “ ticularly the Vassili Ostrof and the island
 “ of St. Petersburg. The torrent rose in
 “ several streets to the depth of four feet
 “ and an half; and overturned, by its rapi-
 “ dity, various buildings and bridges. About
 “ seven, the wind shifting to N. W the flood
 “ fell as suddenly; and at mid-day most of
 “ the streets, which in the morning could
 “ only be passed in boats, became dry. For
 “ a short time the river rose 10 feet 7 inches
 “ above its ordinary level †.”

The

* Journ. St. Pet. Sept. 1777.

† Mr. Kraft, professor of experimental philosophy in the Imperial Academy of Sciences, has written a judicious treatise upon the inundation of the Neva; from which the following observations are extracted. These floods are

The opposite divisions of Petersburgh, situated on each side of the Neva, are connected

less alarming than formerly, as the swelling of the river to about six feet above its usual level, which used to overflow the whole town, has no longer any effect, excepting upon the lower parts of Petersburgh; a circumstance owing to the gradual raising of the ground by buildings and other causes.

Upon tracing the principal inundations, the professor informs us, that the most antient, of which there is any tradition, happened in 1691, and is mentioned by Weber, from the account of some fishermen inhabiting near Nieschants, a Swedish redoubt upon the Neva, about three miles from the present fortress of Petersburgh. At that period the waters usually rose every five years; and the inhabitants of that district no sooner perceived the particular storms which they had been taught from fatal experience to consider as forerunners of a flood, than they took their hovels to pieces, and, joining the timbers together in the form of rafts, fastened them to the summits of the highest trees, and repaired to the mountain of Duderof, which is distant six miles from their place of abode, where they waited until the waters subsided.

The highest inundations, excepting the last of 1777, were those of the 1st of November, 1726, when the waters rose 8 feet 2 inches; and on the 2d of October, 1752, when they rose 8 feet 5 inches.

From a long course of observations the professor draws the following conclusion. The highest floods, namely, those which rise about six feet, have generally happened in one of the four last months of the year: no sensible effect is ever produced by rain or snow; a swell is sometimes occasioned

ned by a bridge on pontoons, which, on account of the large masses of ice driven down the stream from the Lake Ladoga, was usually removed * when they first made their

caused by the accumulation of masses of ice at the mouth of the Neva; but the principal causes of the overflowing of that river are derived from violent storms and winds blowing S. W. W. or N. W. which usually prevail at the autumnal equinox; and the height of the waters is always in proportion to the violence and duration of those winds. In a word, the circumstances most liable to promote the overflowings of the Neva, are when, at the autumnal equinox, three or four days before or after the full or new moon, that luminary being near her perigæum, a violent N. W. wind drives the waters of the Northern Ocean, during the influx of the tide, into the Baltic, and is accompanied, or instantaneously succeeded by a S. W. wind in that sea and the Gulf of Finland. All these circumstances concurred at the inundation of 1777: it happened two days before the autumnal equinox, four before the full moon, two after her passing through the perigæum, and by a storm at S. W. which was preceded by strong W. winds in the Northern Ocean, and strong N. winds at the mouth of the Baltic.

See Notices et Remarques sur les debordemens de la Neva à St. Petersbourg accompagnées d'une carte représentant la crue et la diminution des eaux, &c.—In Nov. Ac. Pet. for 1777, P. II. p. 47. to which excellent treatise I would refer the curious reader for further information.

* This bridge was, in December of 1779, replaced for the first time, and continued during the winter; a practice which has been since renewed, and renders the communication more convenient.

appearance;

appearance; and for a few days, until the river was frozen hard enough to bear carriages, there was no communication between the opposite parts of the town.

The depth of the river renders it extremely difficult to build a stone bridge; and if one should be constructed, it would probably be destroyed by the vast shoals of ice, which in the beginning of winter are hurried down the rapid stream of the Neva. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a Russian peasant has projected the sublime plan of throwing a wooden bridge of a single arch across the river, which in its narrowest part is 980 feet in breadth. The artist has executed a model 98 feet in length, which I examined with great attention, as he explained its proportion and mechanism.

The bridge is upon the same principle with that of Schaffhausen, excepting that the mechanism is more complicated, and that the road is not so level. I shall attempt to describe it by supposing it finished, as that will convey the best idea of the plan. The bridge is roofed at the top, and covered at the sides: it is formed by four frames of timber, two on each side, composed of various beams or trusses, which support the whole machine. The road

is not, as is usual, carried over the top of the arch, but is suspended in the middle.

The following proportions I noted down, as they were explained to me by the artist.

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Length of the abutment on the north end | 658 feet. |
| Span of the arch - - - - - | 980 |
| Length of the abutment on the south end | 658 |
| Length of the whole structure, including the abutments - - - - - } | 2296 |
| The plane of the road upon its first ascent makes an angle of five degrees with the ordinary surface of the river. | |
| Mean level of the river to the top of the bridge in the center - - - - - } | 168 |
| Ditto to the bottom of the bridge in the center - - - - - } | 126 |
| Height of the bridge from the bottom to the top in the center - - - - - } | 42 |
| Height from the bottom of the bridge in the center to the road - - - - - } | 7 |
| Height from the bottom of ditto to the water - - - - - } | 84 |
| Height from the water to the spring of the arch - - - - - } | 56 |

So that there is a difference of 35 feet between the road at the spring of the arch, and the road at the center; in other words, an ascent of 35 feet in half 980, or in the space of 490 feet, which is little more than eight-tenths of an

an inch to a foot *. The bridge is broadest towards the sides, and diminishes towards the center.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|---------------|
| In the broadest part it is | - | - | 168 feet. |
| In the center or narrowest | - | - | 42 |
| The breadth of the road is | - | - | 28 |

The artist informed me, that to complete the bridge would require 49,650 iron nails, 12,908 large trees, 5,500 beams to strengthen them, and that it would cost 300,000 roubles, or £.60,000. He speaks of this bold project with the usual warmth of genius; and is perfectly convinced that it would be practicable. I must own that I am of the same opinion, though I hazard it with great diffidence. What a noble effect would be produced by a bridge striking across the Neva, with an arch 980 feet wide, and towering 168 feet from the surface of the water! The description of such a bridge seems almost chimerical; and yet, upon inspection of the model, we become reconciled to the idea. But whether the execution of this stupendous work may be deemed possible or not; the model itself is worthy of attention, and re-

* The ascent of the road of the bridge at Schaffhausen is barely four-tenths of an inch in a foot.

flects the highest honour on the inventive faculties of that unimproved genius: it is so compactly constructed, and of such uniform solidity, that it has supported 3540 pood, or 127,440 pounds, without having in the least swerved from its direction, which I am told is far more, in proportion to its size, than the bridge, if completed, would have occasion to sustain from the pressure of the carriages added to its own weight.

The person who projected this plan is a common Russian peasant; and, like the Swiss carpenter who built the bridge of Schaffhausen*, possessed of but little knowledge in the theory of mechanics. This extraordinary genius was apprentice to a shop-keeper at Nishnei Novogorod: opposite to his dwelling was a wooden clock, which excited his curiosity. By repeated examinations he comprehended the internal structure, and, without any assistance, formed one exactly similar in its proportion and materials. His success in this first essay urged him to undertake the construction of metal clocks and watches. The empress, hearing of these

* For the account of the bridge of Schaffhausen, see Travels in Switzerland, Letter II.

wonderful exertions of his native genius, took him under her protection, and sent him to England; from whence, on account of the difficulties attending his ignorance of the language, he soon returned to Russia. I saw a repeating watch of his workmanship at the Academy of Sciences: it is about the bigness of an egg; in the inside is represented the tomb of our Saviour, with the stone at the entrance, and the centinels upon duty; suddenly the stone is removed, the centinels fall down, the angels appear, the women enter the supulchre, and the same chant is heard which is performed on Easter-eve.* These are trifling, although curious performances; but the very planning of the bridge was a most sublime conception. This person, whose name is Kulibin, bears the appearance of a Russian peasant; he has a long beard, and wears the common dress of the country. He receives a pension from the empress, and is encouraged to follow the bent of his mechanical genius.

One of the noblest monuments, as my ingenious friend Mr. Wraxall observes, of the gratitude and veneration paid to Peter I.*

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 224.

is the equestrian statue of that monarch in bronze: it is of a Colossal size, and is the work of Monsieur Falconet, the celebrated French statuary, cast at the expence of Catharine II. in honour of her great predecessor, whom she reveres and imitates. It represents that monarch in the attitude of mounting a precipice, the summit of which he has nearly attained. He appears crowned with laurel, in a loose Asiatic vest, and sitting on a housing of bear-skin: his right hand is stretched out as in the act of giving benediction to his people; and his left holds the reins. The design is masterly, and the attitude is bold and spirited. If there be any defect in the figure, it consists in the flat position of the right hand; and, for this reason, the view of the left side is the most striking, where the whole appearance is graceful and animated. The horse is rearing upon its hind legs; and its tail, which is full and flowing, slightly touches a bronze serpent, artfully contrived to assist in supporting the vast weight of the statue in due equilibrium. The artist has, in this noble essay of his genius, represented Peter as the legislator of his country, without any allusion to conquest and bloodshed; wisely preferring his civil qualities to his military exploits.

plots *. The contrast between the composed tranquillity of Pèter (though perhaps not absolutely characteristic) and the fire of the horse, eager to press forwards, is very striking. The simplicity of the inscription corresponds

* Monsieur Falconet has ably refuted the censures urged against his statue on this account. See his Letter to Diderot, in "Pieces written by Monf. Falconet," translated by Mr. Tooke, p. 47. The reader will also find in that work an engraving of the statue. "I have endeavoured," said Monsieur Falconet to Mr. Wraxall, "to catch, as far as possible, the genuine feelings of the Muscovite legislator, and to give him such an expression as himself would have owned. I have not decked his person with emblems of Roman consulage, or placed a marshal's baton in his hand: an ancient dress would have been unnatural, and the Russian he wished to abolish. The skin on which he is seated, is emblematical of the nation he refined. Possibly," said M. Falconet, "the czar would have asked me why I did not put a sabre into his hand; but, perhaps, he made too great use of it when alive, and a sculptor ought only to exhibit those parts of a character which reflect honour on it, and rather to draw a veil across the errors and vices which tarnish it. A laboured panegyrick would have been equally injudicious and unnecessary, since history has already performed that office with impartial justice, and held up his name to universal regard; and I must do her present majesty the justice to say, she had taste and discernment enough perfectly to see this, and to prefer the present short inscription to any other which could be composed."

Wraxall's Tour, p. 225—227.

to the sublimity of the design, and is far preferable to a pompous detail of exalted virtues, which the voice of flattery applies to every sovereign without distinction. It is elegantly finished in brass characters, on one side in Latin, and on the opposite in Russian.

PETRO PRIMO *,
CATHARINA SECUNDA
1782.

PETRU PERVOMU,
EKATHERENA VTORAIYA
1782.

When Falconet had conceived the design of his statue, the pedestal of which was to be formed by an huge rock †, he carefully examined the environs of Petersburg; if, among the detached pieces of granite ‡, which are scattered

* Catharine II. to Peter I.

† “ Pour marquer à postérité, d’où cet héros législateur étoit parti, et quels obstacles il avoit surmonté.”—Description d’une Pierre pour servir de Piedestal, &c. in Haygold’s *Russland*, V. II. p. 211.

‡ The pedestal is a reddish granite, in which the micæ are very large and resplendent. This circumstance induced a person, who has published an account of it, and was willing to make a prodigy where there is none, to give the following ridiculous and exaggerated description upon breaking part of it asunder.

“ Ce qui surtout frappa d’étonnement, c’étoit l’intérieur de la pierre. Un coup de foudre l’avoit endommagé d’un côté. On abbattit ce morceau, & l’on vit, au lieu de parties homogènes, un assemblage de toutes sortes de
S 2 “ pierres

scattered about these parts, one could be found of magnitude correspondent to the dimensions of the equestrian figure. After considerable research, he discovered a stupendous mass half buried in the midst of a morass. The expence and difficulty of transporting it were no obstacles to Catharine II. By her order the morass was immediately drained; a road was cut through a forest, and carried over the marshy ground; and the stone, which after it had been somewhat reduced weighed at least 1500 tons, was removed to Petersburgh.

This more than Roman work was, in less than six months from the time of its first discovery, accomplished by a windlass, and by means of large friction-balls alternately placed and removed in grooves fixed on each side of the road. In this manner it was drawn, with forty men seated upon its top, about four miles to the banks of the Neva; there it was embarked in a vessel constructed on purpose to receive it, and thus conveyed about the same

“ pierres fines & précieuses. C'étoient des Cristaux, des Agathes, des Grenats, des Topazes, des Cornalines, des Améthystes, qui offroient aux yeux des curieux un spectacle, aussi nouveau que magnifique, & aux physiciens un objet de recherches des plus intéressans.” Ibid.
p. 212.

distance

distance by water to the spot where it now stands. When landed at Peterburgh it was 42 feet long at the base, 36 at the top, 21 thick, and 17 high : a bulk greatly surpassing in weight the most boasted monuments of Roman grandeur ; which, according to the fond admirers of antiquity, would have baffled the skill of modern mechanics ; and were alone sufficient to render conspicuous the reign of the most degenerate emperors.

The pedestal, however, though still of prodigious magnitude, is far from retaining its original dimensions ; as, in order to form a proper station for the statue, and to represent an ascent, the summit whereof the horse is endeavouring to attain, its bulk has been necessarily diminished. But I could not observe, without regret, that the artist has been desirous to improve upon nature ; and in order to produce a resemblance of an abrupt broken precipice, has been too lavish of the chissel. It appeared to me, that the art was too conspicuous ; and that the effect would have been far more sublime, if the stone had been left as much, as possible in its rude state, a vast unwieldy stupendous mass.

The statue was erected on the pedestal on the 27th of August, 1782. The ceremony

was performed with great solemnity, and was accompanied with a solemn inauguration. At the same time the empress issued a proclamation, in which, among other instances of her clemency, she pardons all criminals under sentence of death; all deserters, who should return to their respective corps within a limited time; and releases all criminals condemned to hard labour, provided they had not been guilty of murder.

Having passed several months in Russia, I shall here throw together such facts and observations as occurred to me concerning the state of the weather, and the effects of the cold in this severe climate.

During our journey from Moscow to Petersburgh, in the month of September, we found the weather very changeable, the autumnal rains being extremely frequent, and heavy*. The mornings and evenings were extremely

* In 30 days it rained 24; and the quantity of water which fell at St. Petersburgh in the month of September O. S. was equal to $2\frac{3}{4}$ English inches in depth.

From accurate observations during fourteen years to ascertain the quantity of rain and snow which fell at St. Petersburgh, the result was; that the average annual duration of snowy and rainy weather was equal to 42 times 24 hours, or something less than the ninth part of the year. From

extremely cold; and, whenever it did not rain, we generally observed that the grass and trees were covered with a white frost. Upon our arrival at Peterburgh on the 29th of September N. S. the winter was not yet set in: in October the weather, for the first twenty days, was the most part rainy; and the mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, was seldom below freezing point, and mostly fluctuated between 32 and 44. The first snow made its appear-

a course of ten years observations it appeared, that rain fell during some part of 103 days, and snow during some part of 72; and that if the year was divided into twelve parts, a fourth was fine weather, a third rain, and a fifth snow.

The whole quantity of rain and snow water, taken together, which fell in the course of a year, was in the following proportion:

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|--------|-----------|
| January | - | - | - | 0,979 | } Inches. |
| February | - | - | - | 0,979 | |
| March | - | - | - | 0,801 | |
| April | - | - | - | 1,246 | |
| May | - | - | - | 1,335 | |
| June | - | - | - | 3,116 | |
| July | - | - | - | 2,760 | |
| August | - | - | - | 2,671 | |
| September | - | - | - | 3,473 | |
| October | - | - | - | 2,493 | |
| November | - | - | - | 1,513 | |
| December | - | - | - | 0,979 | |
| | | | | 22,345 | |

The average quantity of rain which falls in London in the course of a year is equal to 19,241.

ance in fleet on the 9th, and the following day it came down in flakes and in large quantities: on the 24th the mercury suddenly sunk to 25; but in the ensuing morning it rose above freezing point; there came a sudden thaw; and all the snow disappeared in a few hours. The summer and winter are not, as in our climate, gradually divided by a spring and autumn of any length, but seem almost to succeed each other.

On the 15th of November the Neva*
was

* The freezing of the Neva is not attended with any peculiarities which distinguish it from other rivers. The following circumstances, which fell under my observation, are extracted from my journal.

Monday morning, Nov. 9. On Saturday the 7th, small pieces of ice, which came from the lake Ladoga, were first observed floating with the stream: the same day in the evening the bridge of boats was removed, as in these cases they collect and would carry it away. Yesterday the pieces of ice were more frequent and massy: to-day they are small floating islands, which almost cover the river; the sides of the Neva are frozen only a few feet from the banks: all the canals are covered with ice, and people are skating upon them.

Nov. 12 and 13. The Neva is frozen above the place where the bridge was stationed, by the pieces of ice which have united and barred the passage: below it the stream is perfectly free from any floating masses, and the river is open for boats; which are continually passing to and fro.

Nov.

was entirely frozen *: soon afterwards the Gulf of Finland was covered with ice; and sledges began to pass from Petersburg to Cronstadt, the road being marked over the surface by rows of trees.

I found, that even during the months of December and January, the weather was extremely changeable, as it shifted in a very

Nov. 13. The bridge of boats is again replaced, as there is no longer any danger of its being carried away by the floating masses of ice; and will continue during the whole winter, a circumstance which has not happened since the foundation of Petersburg.

Nov. 15. The river about and below the bridge is entirely frozen, and I saw persons walking across it. I am informed that yesterday the ice was strong enough to bear foot passengers; this will convey some idea of the severity of the weather in this climate; as the rapid current was open on the 13th, and on the next day was frozen.

Table of the freezing and thawing of the Neva for five successive years, from Professor Kraft's Observations:

| | 1773. | 1774. | 1775. | 1776. | 1777. |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| April, New Style | $\frac{16}{27}$ | April $\frac{21}{2}$ | May $\frac{22}{3}$ | May $\frac{25}{6}$ | May $\frac{30}{11}$ |
| April, Old Style | | May | May | May | May |
| Nov. | $\frac{19}{30}$ | $\frac{7}{18}$ | $\frac{12}{21}$ | $\frac{12}{23}$ | Dec. $\frac{26}{7}$ |
| | Open 217 days. | 200 | 204 | 201 | 210 |

See Nov. Ac. Pet. for 1777. P. II. p. 73.

* In 1784, the Neva was not finally frozen until the night of the 5th of December, N. S.

sudden

sudden manner from a severe frost to a thaw; and the mercury in the thermometer often rose within the course of twenty hours from 20 to 34; and sunk again as rapidly in the same space of time. Although I examined the thermometer every day; yet I did not attempt to form a series of regular observations, which I now very much regret. I occasionally, indeed, made a few remarks, which I shall insert in a note, as I find them scattered in my journal: they will tend to confirm the truth of what I have advanced in relation to the change of weather observable at Petersburg; and will serve to contradict those authors who have asserted that, as soon as the hard frost commences, the cold continues with uniform severity, and with little variation, during the whole season*.

When

* Nov. 16. To-day a thaw; the thermometer mounted to 40: in the evening sharp frost again; the mercury falling to 20.

Nov. 23. The thermometer at 4, 5, and 6.

Dec. 3. It has been these few days mostly a thaw and changeable weather.

Dec. 6. The thermometer fell almost suddenly from 33 to 10.

Dec. 11. Thermometer at — 10.

Dec. 14. A sudden thaw, which continued the 15th and 16th.

Dec.



Sorodomat del.

C. Flucte sculptor.

ARUSSIAN GENTLEMAN in a WINTER DRESS .

Published according to Act of Parliament . Jan 5 1784 . by T. Cadell in the Strand .

When the frost was not very severe, namely, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer was not below 10, I frequently walked out in a common great coat. When the cold was more intense, I was dressed in the manner of the natives; and wore, in my daily excursions through the city, a *pelisse*, or large fur cloak, fur boots or shoes, a black velvet or fur bonnet, that prevented the frost from

Dec. 17. Thermometer at — 7.

18. Thermometer at — 5, and a fog at the same time.

19. Windy, thaw, thermometer above freezing point.

21. Changeable weather all this week, from sharp frost to sudden thaw.

Jan. 1, 1779. Weather very changeable, the thermometer one morning at — 8, the next above freezing point; this winter it has not as yet been lower than — 13.

Jan. 6. Thermometer at — 14.

9. Thermometer at — $7\frac{1}{2}$; the barometer mounted suddenly very high since last night.

10. Early this morning the thermometer at — 23, and at 11 at — $20\frac{1}{4}$. Barometer at $30\frac{6}{10}$. The smoke of the chimnies was pressed down to the ground.

11. Thermometer at — 28, according to my own observation, at ten in the morning: but earlier the mercury had sunk to — $31\frac{1}{2}$ or $63\frac{1}{2}$ below freezing point.

15. Thermometer, since the 11th, rose gradually; on the 12th in the morning it stood at — 13; from thence it fell to 0, to 15; and to-day it is above freezing point.

I made the same observations during the second winter which I passed at Petersburg, and found the weather equally uncertain.

from nipping my ears, the part which I found the most liable to be affected. During three days,

Meteorological Journal during four months, O. S. from the Observations in the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, 1778.

- October
1. Cloudy, snow in great quantity.
 2. Cloudy, snow.
 3. Cloudy, snow.
 4. Partly clear, partly snow.
 5. Cloudy, snow, windy W.
 6. snow.
 7. Cloudy, snow and rain.
 - 8.
 9. snow, windy, S. W.
 10. Stormy, S. W.
 11. Rain.
 12. Cloudy, snow, windy S.
 13. Windy, N. W.
 14. Cloudy, violent rain, stormy, S.
 15. Cloudy, snow, windy, S. W.
 16. Clear.
 - 17.
 18. Snow.
 19. Cloudy.
 20. Cloudy, snow.
 21. Foggy, rain.
 22. Cloudy, rain.
 23. "
 - 24.
 25. Clear.
 26. Clear.
 27. Clear.
 28. Cloudy.
 29. Cloudy, snow.
 - 30.
 31. Cloudy, snow.

November

days, namely, on the 9th, 10th and 11th of January, the frost was nearly as intense* as it had ever been felt at Petersburg; the mercury

- November
1. Windy S. E. snow.
 2. Windy S. E. cloudy.
 3. Windy S. E. cloudy, snow.
 4. Windy S. cloudy, snow in great quantity.
 5. Cloudy, snow in great quantity.
 6. Cloudy, snow in great quantity.
 7. Cloudy, snow.
 8. Cloudy, snow.
 9. Windy N. W.
 10. Windy N. W. snow.
 11. Cloudy, snow.
 12. Windy S. E. clearish, snow.
 13. Cloudy, stormy S. W. rain, snow.
 14. Cloudy.
 15. Clearish.
 16. Clearish.
 17. Windy S. E. cloudy.
 18. Cloudy, rain.
 19. Windy S. E. cloudy, snow.
 20. Cloudy, snow.
 21. Cloudy, snow.
 22. Cloudy, foggy, snow.
 23. Cloudy.
 24. Cloudy, foggy.
 25. Clearish.
 26. Windy S. E. clearish.
 27. Stormy S. cloudy.
 28. Cloudy, snow.
 29. Windy 29 N. clearish.
 30. Windy 30 N. W. clearish:

* The winter in which professor Braun congeled quicksilver, the cold was so intense, that De Lisle's Thermometer sunk to 204 = in Fahrenheit's to — 33, or 65 below freezing point.

mercury in the thermometer falling at one time to 63 below freezing point, or — 31. This cold, however, did not detain me at home; but I walked out, as usual, with no other precaution than my *pelisse*, boots, and cap, and found it by no means unpleasant, the

- December 1. Cloudy, snow, stormy *N. W.*
 2. Cloudy, snow.
 3. Cloudy, rain, snow.
 4. Cloudy.
 5. Cloudy, much snow, windy N. E.
 6. Windy N. W.
 7. Clear.
 8. Cloudy, rain, snow, stormy S. W. wind shifted to E.
 9. Cloudy, stormy W.
 10. Cloudy, foggy, stormy W.
 11. Windy W.
 12. Snow, windy N. W.
 13. Windy N. W.
 14. Windy N. W.
 15.
 16. Clear, stormy W.
 17. Rain, snow.
 18. Rain, snow, windy S.
 19. Snow, windy S.
 20. Much snow, windy S. E.
 21. Cloudy.
 22. Windy N. E.
 23. Snow, windy W.
 24. Cloudy, snow.
 25. Cloudy, snow.
 26. Snow, stormy S. E.
 27. Clear.
 28.
 29. Cloudy, snow, windy N. W.
 30. Clear, snow, windy W.
 31. Much snow, windy W.

January

the sun shining with great brightness. As I traversed the city on the morning of the 12th, I observed several persons whose faces had been bitten by the frost: their cheeks had large scars, and appeared as if they had been singed with an hot iron. As I was walking

- January
1. Snow, stormy S. W.
 2. Snow.
 3. Foggy, snow.
 4. Snow.
 5. Cloudy, snow, windy S. W.
 6. Windy N.
 7. Snow, windy N.
 8. Clear.
 9. Foggy, clear.
 10. Clear.
 11. Clear, foggy.
 12. Foggy.
 13. Cloudy, windy S.
 14. Cloudy, snow.
 15. Cloudy, windy S. W.
 16. Cloudy, stormy S. W.
 17. Cloudy, snow, windy S. W.
 18. Cloudy, foggy.
 19. Cloudy, snow, windy W.
 20. Cloudy, snow, stormy S. W.
 21. Cloudy, snow, windy S. W.
 22. Snow.
 23. Foggy.
 24. Cloudy, snow.
 25. Stormy W.
 26. Cloudy, windy W.
 27. Snow.
 - 28.
 29. Foggy, windy W.
 30. Stormy N. W.
 31. Clear.

with an English gentleman, who, instead of a fur cap, had put on a common hat, his ears were suddenly frozen: he felt no pain, and would not have perceived it for some time; if a Russian, in passing by, had not informed him of it*, and assisted him in rubbing the part affected with snow, by which means it was instantly recovered. This, or friction with flannel, is the usual remedy; but should the person in that state approach the fire, or dip the part in warm water, it immediately mortifies and drops off.

The common people continued at their work as usual, and the drivers plied in the streets with their sledges seemingly unaffected by the frost: their beards were incrusted with clotted ice; and the horses were covered with icicles. The people did not (even during this extreme cold) add to their ordinary cloathing; which is at all times well calculated for the severities of their climate. They are careful in preserving their extremities against the cold, by covering their legs, hands, and head, with fur. Their upper garment of sheep-skin, with the wool turned

* The part frozen always turns quite white, a symptom well known, and immediately perceived by the Russians.



A RUSSIAN in a WINTER DRESS .

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan: 2. 1784. by T. Cadell. in the Strand.

inwards, is tied round the waist with a sash; but their neck is quite bare, and their breast only covered with a coarse shirt: these parts, however, are well guarded by their beard, which is, for that reason, of great use in this country. I observed with much surprise, that even at this time several women were engaged in washing upon the Nev. or on the canals. They cut holes in the ice with a hatchet; dipped their linen into the water with their bare hands; and then beat it with flat sticks. During this operation the ice continually formed again; and they were constantly employed in clearing it away. Many of them passed two hours without intermission at this work, when the thermometer was at 60 below freezing point; a circumstance which proves that the human body may be brought to endure all extremes.

It sometimes happens that coachmen or servants, while they are waiting for their masters, are frozen to death. In order to prevent as much as possible these dreadful accidents, great fires of whole trees, piled one upon another, are kindled in the courtyard of the palace, and the most frequented parts of the town. As the flames blazed above the tops of the houses, and cast a

glare to a considerable distance; I was frequently much amused by contemplating the picturesque groups of Russians, with their Asiatic dress and long beards, assembled round the fire. The centinels upon duty, having no beards, which are of great use to protect the glands of the throat, generally tie handkerchiefs under their chins *; and cover their ears with small cases of flannel.

Nothing can be more lively and diversified than the winter scenes upon the Neva; and scarcely a day passed that I did not take my morning walk, or drive in a sledge upon that river. Many carriages and sledges, and numberless foot passengers perpetually crossing it, afford a constant succession of moving objects; and the ice is also covered with different groups of people, dispersed or gathered together, and variously employed as their fancy leads them. In one part there are several long areas railed off for the purpose of skating; a little further is an enclosure, wherein a nobleman is training his horses, and teaching them the various evolutions of the manage. In another part the croud are spectators of what is called a sledge race. The course is

The women use also this precaution.

an oblong space about the length of a mile, and sufficiently broad to turn the carriage. It can hardly be denominated a race, for there is only a single sledge drawn by two horses; and the whole art of the driver consists in making the shaft-horse trot as fast as he can, while the other is pushed into a gallop.

The ice-hills are exceedingly common, and afford a perpetual fund of amusement to the populace. They are constructed in the following manner: a scaffolding is raised upon the river about thirty feet in height, with a landing place on the top, the ascent to which is by a ladder. From this summit a sloping plain of boards, about four yards broad and thirty long, descends to the superficies of the river: it is supported by strong poles gradually decreasing in height, and its sides are defended by a parapet of planks. Upon these boards are laid square masses of ice about four inches thick, which being first smoothed with the axe and laid close to each other, are then sprinkled with water: by these means they coalesce, and, adhering to the boards, immediately form an inclined plain of pure ice. From the bottom of this plain the snow is cleared away for the length of 200 yards and the breadth of four, upon

the level bed of the river; and the sides of this course, as well as the sides and top of the scaffolding, are ornamented with firs and pines. Each person, being provided with a sledge*, mounts the ladder; and, having attained the summit, he seats himself upon his sledge at the upper extremity of the inclined plain, down which he suffers it to glide with considerable rapidity, poising it as he goes down; when the velocity, acquired by the descent, carries it above 100 yards upon the level ice of the river. At the end of this course, there is usually a similar ice-hill, nearly parallel to the former, which begins where the other ends; so that the person immediately mounts again, and, in the same manner, glides down the other inclined plain of ice. This diversion he repeats as often as he pleases. I have frequently stood for above an hour at the bottom of these ice-hills, observing the sledges following each other with inconceivable rapidity; but I never had the courage myself to try the experiment. The only difficulty consists in steering and poising the sledge as it is hurried

* Something like a butcher's tray, as Dr. King justly observes in his ingenious pamphlet on the effects of cold in Russia.

down the inclined plain; for if the person who sits upon it is not steady, but totters either through inadvertence or fear, he is liable to be overturned, and runs no small risk of breaking his bones, if not his neck. And, as one failure might have proved fatal, I contented myself with seeing others engaged in the diversion without partaking of it myself. The boys also continually amuse themselves in scating down these hills: they glide chiefly upon one skate, being better able to preserve their proper poise upon one leg than upon two. These ice-hills exhibit a pleasing appearance upon the river; as well from the trees with which they are ornamented, as from the moving objects which, at particular times of the day, are descending without intermission.

The market upon the Neva is too remarkable to be omitted. At the conclusion of the long fast which closes on the 24th of December, O. S. the Russians lay-in their provisions for the remaining part of the winter. For this purpose an annual market, which lasts three days, is held upon the river near the fortress. A long street, above a mile in length, was lined on each side with an immense store of provisions, sufficient for the

supply of the capital during the three following months. Many thousand raw carcases of oxen, sheep, hogs, pigs, together with geese, fowls, and every species of frozen food, were exposed for sale. The larger quadrupeds were grouped in various circles upright, their hind legs fixed in the snow, with their heads and fore legs turned towards each other. These towered above the rest, and occupied the hindermost row: next to them succeeded a regular series of animals, descending gradually to the smallest, intermixed with poultry and game hanging in festoons, and garnished with heaps of fish, butter, and eggs. I soon perceived, from the profusion of partridges, pheasants, moorfowl, and cocks of the wood, that there were no laws in this country which prohibited the felling of game. I observed also the truth of what has been frequently asserted, that many of the birds, as well as several animals, in these northern regions, become white in winter, many hundred black cocks being changed to that colour; and some, which had been taken before they had completed their *metamorphosis*, exhibited a variegated mixture of black and white plumage.

The most distant quarters contributed to supply this vast store of provisions; and the
finest

finest veal had been sent by land-carriage as far as from Archangel, which is situated at the distance of 830 miles from Petersburgh; yet every species of food is surprizingly cheap: beef was sold at 1*d.* the Ruffian pound*, pork at five farthings, and mutton at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; a goose for 10*d.* and a pig for 8*d.* and all other articles as reasonable in proportion. In order to render this frozen food fit for dressing, it is first thawed in cold water.

Frozen meat, however, certainly loses much of its flavour; and accordingly the tables of persons of condition, and those of the English merchants, are supplied with fresh-killed meat, which is sold at the same price as in London.

* A Ruffian pound contains 14 ounces and $\frac{1}{2}$.

C H A P. IV.

Presentation to the empress.—Court.—Balls.—Masquerades.—Public entertainments.—Orders of knighthood.—Account of the palace called the Hermitage.—Distribution of the Empress's time.—Russian nobility.—Their hospitality.—Politeness.—Assemblies.—English merchants.—Club.

ON the first of October, in the morning, between eleven and twelve, we attended our minister, Sir James Harris, to the drawing room, impatient to behold Catharine II. It was luckily the name-day, or, as we term it, the birth-day of the Great-duke, in honour of whom a most brilliant court was assembled. At the entrance into the drawing room stood two centinels of the foot-guards: their uniform was a green coat, with a red cuff and cape, and white waistcoat and breeches; they had silver helmets fastened under the chin with silver clasps, and ornamented with an ample plume of red, yellow, black, and white feathers. Within the drawing room, at the doors of the passage leading to her majesty's apartments, were two soldiers of the knights body.



CATHARINE
EMPRESS

THE SECOND,
OF RUSSIA.



Stenton Pinel. Rufin.

Ch. W. B. sculp. London.

body-guard; a corps perhaps more sumptuously accoutred than any in Europe. They wore casques, like those of the ancients, with a rich plumage of black feathers, and their whole dress was in the same style: chains and broad plates of solid silver were braided over their uniforms, so as to bear the appearance of a splendid coat of mail; and their boots were richly ornamented with the same metal.

In the drawing room we found a numerous assembly of foreign ministers, Russian nobility, and officers in their different uniforms, waiting the arrival of the empress, who was attending divine service in the chapel of the palace, whither we also repaired. Amid a prodigious concourse of nobles, I observed the empress standing by herself behind a railing; the only distinction by which her place was marked. Immediately next to her stood the great-duke and duchess; and behind an indiscriminate throng of courtiers. The empress bowed repeatedly, and frequently crossed herself, according to the forms used in the Greek church, with great expressions of devotion. Before the conclusion of the service we returned to the drawing room; and took our station near the door, in order to be presented at her majesty's entrance. At length,
a little

a little before twelve, the chief officers of the household, the mistress of the robes, the maids of honour, and other ladies of the bed-chamber, advancing two by two in a long train, announced the approach of their sovereign. Her majesty came forward with a slow and solemn pace; walking with great pomp; holding her head very high; and perpetually bowing to the right and to the left as she passed along. She stopped a little way within the entrance of the drawing room, and spoke with great affability to the foreign ministers while they kissed her hand. She then advanced a few steps, and we were singly presented by the vice-chancellor Count Osterman, and had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. The empress wore, according to her usual custom, a Russian dress; it was a robe with a short train, and a vest with sleeves reaching to the wrist, like a Polonaise; the vest was of gold brocade, and the robe was of light green silk; her hair was dressed low, and lightly sprinkled with powder; her cap ornamented with a profusion of diamonds; and she wore a great deal of rouge. Her person, though rather below the middle size, is majestic; and her countenance, particularly when she speaks, expresses both dignity and sweetness. She
walked

walked slowly through the drawing room to her apartment, and entered alone. The great-duke and duchefs followed the empress to the door, and then retired to their own drawing room, where they had a levee; but, as we had not yet been presented to them at a private audience, we could not, according to the etiquette of the Russian court, follow them. The great-duchefs leaned upon the arm of his imperial highness; and they both inclined their heads on either side to the company, as they passed along the line which was formed for them.

In the afternoon, about six o'clock, we repaired to a ball at court. The private apartments of the empress, as well as those in which she holds her court, are on the third story, and the whole suite is remarkably grand and splendid. We found the company assembled in the anti-chamber, who, as soon as the great-duke and duchefs made their appearance, all entered a spacious ball-room.

The great-duke opened the ball by walking a minuet with his consort; at the end of which his imperial highness handed out a lady, and the great-duchefs a gentleman, with whom they each performed a second minuet at the same time. They afterwards

ſucceſſively conferred this honour in the ſame manner upon many of the principal nobility, while ſeveral other couples were dancing minuets in different parts of the circle: the minuets were ſucceeded by Polish dances; and theſe were followed by Engliſh country-dances. In the miſt of the latter the empreſs entered the room: ſhe was more richly apparelled than in the morning, and bore upon her head a ſmall crown of diamonds.

Upon her majeſty's appearance the ball was inſtantly ſuſpended; while the great-duke and duchefs, and the moſt conſiderable perſons who were preſent, haſtened to pay their reſpects to their ſovereign; Catharine, having addreſſed a few words to ſome of the principal nobility, aſcended a kind of elevated ſeat, when, the dancing being again reſumed, ſhe, after a ſhort time, withdrew into an inner apartment. We, in company with ſeveral courtiers, threw ourſelves into her majeſty's ſuite, and formed a circle round a table, at which ſhe had ſat down to cards. Her party conſiſted of the Duchefs of Courland, Counteſs Bruce, Sir James Harris, Prince Potemkin, Marſhal Razomoffki, Count Panin, Prince Repnin, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The game was Macao; the pieces in circulation

lation were imperials * ; and a player might win or lose two or three hundred pounds.

In the course of the evening the great-duke and duchess presented themselves before the empress, and stood by the table for about a quarter of an hour, during which time her majesty occasionally entered into conversation with them. The empress seemed to pay very little attention to the cards ; conversed familiarly and frequently with great vivacity, as well with the party at play, as with the persons of rank standing near her. About ten her majesty retired ; and soon after the ball concluded.

On the 6th we had the honour of being presented at a private audience to the great-duke and duchess ; both of whom conversed with us in the most affable and condescending manner : according to the etiquette of this court, we kissed her imperial highness's hand.

There is a drawing room at court every Sunday morning, about twelve o'clock, and on other particular festivals, at which the ambassadors are usually present, and which all foreign gentlemen, who have been once presented, are permitted to attend. The cere-

* An imperial = £. 2.

mony of kissing the empress's hand is repeated every court day by foreigners in the presence chamber; and by the Russians in another apartment; the latter bend their knee on this occasion; an expression of homage not ~~ex-~~acted from the former. No ladies, excepting those of the empress's household, make their appearance at the morning levees.

On every court day the great-duke and duchess have also their separate levees at their own apartments in the palace. Upon particular occasions, such as her own and the empress's birth-day, &c foreigners have the honour of kissing her imperial highness's hand; but upon common days that ceremony is omitted.

In the evening of a court day, there is always a ball at the palace, which begins between six and seven. At that time the foreign ladies kiss the empress's hand, who salutes them in return on the cheek. Her majesty, unless she is indisposed, generally makes her appearance about seven; and, if the assembly is not very numerous, plays at Macao in the ball-room; the great-duke and duchess, after they have danced, sit down to whist. Their highnesses, after a short interval, rise; approach the empress's table; pay their respects; and

and then return to their game. When the ball happens to be crouded; the empress forms her party, as I have before-mentioned, in an adjoining room, which is open to all persons who have once been presented.

The richness and splendour of the Russian court surpasses description. It retains many traces of its antient Asiatic pomp, blended with European refinement. An immense retinue of courtiers always preceded and followed the empress; the costliness and glare of their apparel, and a profusion of precious stones, created a splendour, of which the magnificence of other courts can give us only a faint idea. The court-dress of the men is in the French fashion: that of the ladies is a gown and petticoat, with a small hoop; the gown has long hanging-sleeves and a short train, and is of a different colour from the petticoat. The ladies wore, according to the fashion of the winter of 1777 at Paris and London, very lofty head-dresses, and were not sparing in the use of rouge. Amid the several articles of sumptuousness which distinguish the Russian nobility; there is none perhaps more calculated to strike a foreigner than the profusion of diamonds and other precious stones, which sparkle in every part of their dress. In
 most

most other European countries these costly ornaments are (excepting among a few of the richest and principal nobles) almost entirely appropriated to the ladies; but in this the men vie with the fair sex in the use of them. Many of the nobility were almost covered with diamonds; their buttons, buckles, hilts of swords, and epaulets, were composed of this valuable material; their hats were frequently embroidered, if I may use the expression, with several rows of them; and a diamond-star upon the coat was scarcely a distinction. This passion for jewels seems to pervade the lower ranks of people, for even private families abound with them; and the wife of a common Russian burgher will appear with a head-dress or girdle of pearls, and other precious stones, to the value of two or three hundred pounds. I will only mention a few more particulars; when the solemnity of the occasion added some variety to the general sameness which characterises a court.

The empress, on days of high ceremony, generally wears a crown of diamonds of immense value; and appears with the ribbands of the order of St. Andrew and Merit, both of them flung over the same shoulder, with the collars of those orders, and the two stars emblazoned

emblazoned one above the other upon her vest.

On certain anniversaries the empress dines in public; two of these days occurred in the course of our stay at Peterburgh. The 2d of December being the feast of the Ismailof regiment of guards, her majesty, who as sovereign is colonel of the corps, gave, according to annual custom, a grand entertainment to the officers. Being desirous to be present, we repaired to court at twelve. Her majesty was dressed in the uniform of the regiment, which is green trimmed with gold lace, made in the form of a lady's riding habit. As soon as all the officers of the regiment had kissed her hand; a salver of wine was brought in by one of the lords in waiting, and the empress presented a glass to each officer, who received it from her hands, and, after a low obeisance, drank it off. At the conclusion of this ceremony her majesty led the way, about one o'clock, into an adjoining apartment, in which a sumptuous dinner was spread: she took her place in the middle of the table; and the officers were ranged on each side according to their respective ranks. The empress helped the soup herself; and paid the greatest attention to her guests during the whole re-

past, which lasted about an hour, when her majesty rose from table and withdrew.

On a subsequent occasion we attended another entertainment given by the empress to the knights of the order of St. Andrew. Her majesty had on a robe of green velvet, lined and faced with ermine, and a diamond collar of the order. The dress of the knights was splendid, but exceedingly gaudy and inelegant. They wore a green velvet robe, lined with silver brocade, a coat also of silver brocade, waistcoat and breeches of gold stuff, red silk stockings, a hat *à la Henry IV.* ornamented with a plume of feathers, and interspersed with diamonds. As the order of St. Andrew * is the most honourable in this country,

* The order of St. Andrew, or the Blue Ribband, the first ever known in this country, was instituted by Peter I. in the year 1698, soon after his return from his first expedition into foreign countries *.

That of St. Alexander Nevski, or the Red Ribband, was founded by the same sovereign, but never conferred until the reign of Catharine I. in 1725 †.

The order of St. Anne of Holstein was instituted, in 1735, by Charles Frederick duke of Holstein, in memory of his wife Anne daughter of Peter the Great, and introduced into Russia by her son Peter III. It is in the dis-

* Weber's Ver. Russ. Part III. p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 38.

country, it is confined to a few persons of the first rank and consequence; and there were only

posal of the great-duke as sovereign of Holstein. The knights wear a red ribband bordered with yellow.

The military order of St. George, called also the order of Merit, and which has the precedence over that of St. Anne, was created by the present empress in 1769. It is appropriated to persons serving by land or by sea, and, excepting the small cross of the fourth class, never bestowed in time of peace. The knights wear a ribband with black and orange stripes.

This order is divided into four classes:

The knights of the first class, called the *Great Cross*, wear the ribband over the right shoulder, and the star upon the left side. Each receives an annual salary of 700 roubles = £. 140. The knights of the second class wear the star upon their left breast, the ribband with the cross pendent round their neck. Each receives 400 roubles = £. 80 *per ann.* The knights of the third class wear the small cross pendent round their neck. Each receives 200 roubles, or £. 40 *per ann.* This class admits 50. The knights of the fourth class wear the small cross fastened by a ribband to the button-hole like the French *Croix de St. Louis*. Each receives 100 roubles, or £. 20 *per ann.*

The fund of this order, assigned by the empress for the payment of their salaries and other expences, is 40,000 roubles = £. 8000 *per ann.* Of this 1680 is destined for the first class; and 2000 for each of the remaining three.

The number of knights is unlimited. In 1778 the first class, which is confined to commanders in chief, contained only four; namely, marshal Romanzof, for his victories over the Turks; Count Alexèy Orlof, for burning the

only twelve of them at Petersburg who sat down to dinner with the empress: these were Prince Potemkin, Prince Orloff, Marshal Galitzin, Counts Alexey Orloff, Panin, Razomofski, Ivan Tchernichef, Voronzof, Alexander and Leon Nariskin, Munnich, and Mr. de Betskoi. The empress before dinner, as on the former occasion, presented each knight with a glass of wine: at the table she was distinguished by a chair ornamented with the arms of Russia, and presided with her usual dignity and condescension. The foreign ministers and a splendid train of courtiers stood spectators

Turkish fleet at Tchesme; Count Panin, for the taking of Bender; and Prince Dolgorucki, for his conquests in the Crimea. The second class comprized only eight knights: the third 48; and the fourth 237. No person can obtain this order without having performed some gallant exploit, or having served with credit in the rank of officer 25 years by land, or 18 by sea*.

The order of St. Catharine, appropriated to the ladies, was instituted in 1714 by Peter, in honour of his wife Catharine. The motto of "Love and fidelity" was intended to commemorate the display of those virtues in her behaviour on the banks of the Pruth. This order is extremely honourable, as, besides the empress, the great-duchess, and a few foreign princesses, only five Russian ladies were decorated with it.

* See Ukase ueber die Stiftung des St. Georg's-Ordens, in Schmidts Beytrage.

spectators of the entertainment; and many of them were occasionally noticed by the empress.

Two or three times in the winter there are masquerades at court, to which persons of all ranks are admitted. At one of these entertainments which we attended, about eight thousand tickets were distributed; and from the great concourse I should suppose that number to have been actually present. A magnificent suite of twenty apartments were opened on this occasion, all handsomely illuminated. One of these apartments, a large oblong room, the same in which the common

The first and most distinguished of these several orders is the order of St. Andrew, which, beside the sovereign princes and foreigners, comprized, in 1778, 26 Russians; that of St. Alexander Nevski 109; and that of St. Anne 208. The empress may also be said to have the disposal of the Polish orders of the White Eagle and of St. Stanislaus.

Since our departure from Russia her majesty founded, on the 4th of October, 1782, a new order, called St. Volodimir, in favour of those who serve in civil employments; and it is nearly on the same footing as that of St. George with respect to the salaries annexed to the different classes. There are to be ten great crosses, twenty of the second class, thirty of the third, and sixty of the fourth, beside a fifth for those who have served 35 years, which gives them a right to wear it.

balls at court are held, had a space in the middle enclosed with a low railing, appropriated to the nobility who danced. A most elegant saloon of an oval form, called the great-hall of Apollo, nearly as big as the rotunda at Ranelagh, but without any support in the middle, was allotted for the dances of the burghers, and other persons, who had not been presented at court. The remaining rooms, in which tea and other refreshments were served, were filled with card-tables, and crowded with persons continually passing and repassing. The company either kept on their masks, or took them off at their pleasure. The nobles in general wore dominos; the natives of inferior rank appeared in their own provincial clothes, embellished, perhaps, with a few occasional ornaments. An exhibition of the several dresses actually used by the different inhabitants of the Russian empire, afforded a greater variety of motley figures than the wildest fancy ever invented in the masquerades of other countries. Several merchants wives were decked with large quantities of valuable pearls, many of which were split in halves for the purpose of making more show.

About

About seven the empress made her appearance at the head of a superb *quadrille*, consisting of eight ladies led by as many gentlemen. Her majesty and the other ladies of this select band were most sumptuously apparelled in Greek habits; and the gentlemen were accoutred in the Roman military garb, their helmets richly studded with diamonds: among the ladies I particularly distinguished the Duchess of Courland, Princess Repnin, and Countess Bruce. Among the gentlemen, Prince Potemkin, Marshal Razomoffski, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The empress led the way, leaning upon the arm of Marshal Razomoffski, and, passing in great state through the several apartments, walked two or three times round the hall of Apollo, and then sat down to cards in one of the adjoining rooms; the company flocked thither in crowds without distinction, and arranged themselves as they could find admittance round the table at a respectful distance. The empress withdrew as usual before eleven.

A few days before our departure from Peterburgh; Baron Nolken, minister from the court of Stockholm, gave a masquerade and ball on the birth of a son to the present king

of Sweden, which the empress, great-duke and duchess, honoured with their presence. Five hundred persons of the nobility were invited, together with the ambassadors, and other foreigners who had been presented at court. The ball began at seven: the great-duke and duchess first made their appearance with a small suite; and soon afterwards her imperial majesty arrived at the head of a *quadrille*, composed of nearly the same persons as that just described at court. Madame Nolken conducted her majesty and her party through the ball-room to an inner apartment; where a rich canopy was erected for the occasion, under which she sat down to Macao. At nine a small table was spread, with little ceremony, for the empress and her *quadrille*, in the same room where they were engaged at cards. Her majesty, who never sups, took nothing but a piece of bread and a glass of wine. At the same time a most splendid entertainment was served in a large saloon to the great-duke and duchess and the rest of the company. Their imperial highnesses were seated at a central table, with a party of about thirty persons; and the remaining gentlemen and ladies were distributed at different tables, placed round the sides of the room. The cheerfulness

fulness and complacency of the great-duke and duchess, the attention and politeness of Baron Nolken and his lady, diffused an universal gaiety throughout the assembly; and rendered the entertainment as agreeable as it was splendid.

A separate edifice of brick stuccoed white, called the Hermitage, communicates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes its appellation from its being the scene of imperial retirement; but bears no other resemblance to an hermitage except in its name, the apartments being extremely spacious, and decorated in a superb style of regal magnificence. To this favourite spot the empress usually repairs for an hour or two every day; and on a Thursday evening she gives a private ball and supper to the principal persons who form her court; foreign ministers and foreign noblemen being seldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is said to be banished, as far as is consistent with that respect which is paid to a great sovereign. The attendance of servants is excluded; while the supper and various refreshments are presented on small tables, which rise through trap-doors. Many directions for the regulation of
this

this select society are disposed in the various apartments: the meaning of those written in the Russian tongue was explained to me by a gentleman of the company; and their general tendency was to encourage freedom from etiquette, and to inculcate the most unrestrained ease of behaviour. One written in the French language I comprehended and retained. “*Asséyez vous où vous voulez, et quand il vous plaira, sans qu'on le repete mille fois* *.”

A winter and summer garden, comprised within the site of the building, are singular curiosities, and such as do not, perhaps, occur in any other palace in Europe. The summer garden, in the true Asiatic style, occupies the whole level top of the edifice: at this season of the year it was entirely buried under the snow, which prevented our viewing it. The winter-garden is entirely roofed and surrounded with glass frames: it is an high and spacious hot-house, laid out in gravel walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange trees and other shrubs, and peopled with several birds of sundry sorts and various climates, which flitted from tree to tree. The

* Sit down where you chuse and when you please, without its being repeated to you a thousand times.

whole exhibited a pleasing effect; and was the more delightful as being contrasted with the dismal and dreary season of the year.

A magnificent range of buildings has been added to the imperial palace. It joins to the Hermitage, and is so extensive, that it may be called another palace. A superb suite of apartments, chiefly occupied by the empress herself, contains the cabinet of pictures, which I found much finer than I had reason to expect.

This cabinet is principally composed of the following collections :

1. The celebrated collection of Crozat, at Paris, which vied with that in the palais royal belonging to the duke of Orleans. It consisted of more than 370 pieces, including various sketches.

2. The small but well chosen collection of Counsellor Tronchin, of Geneva; in which may be particularly noticed several by Teniers; and a Christ bearing the cross, by Ludovico Caracci, half length, of the natural size; the countenance expressive of that meek dignity by which the founder of the Bolognese school has peculiarly characterised the Saviour of mankind.

3. The

3. The collection of Count Bruhl, remarkable for twelve Woverman's; a Holy Family, by Watteau; an Ecce Homo, by Michael Angelo Caravagio; a painter who succeeded in delineating simple nature and low life, but was extremely deficient in treating dignified subjects,

4. Part of the collection of the Chevalier Baudouin, purchased at Paris; the possessor reserving to himself several landscapes by the Dutch masters, and Vernet. Among the pictures which came to the empress, I observed several excellent paintings by Rubens and Vandyke, particularly an inestimable head of Henry the Fourth, by Rubens; a Study after Nature, for the Luxemburgh gallery, greatly expressive of that vivacity and *bon-homme* which characterised that amiable monarch; two, by Ferdinand Bol; several, by Rembrandt, in his strong but uncouth manner; and two lovely groupes of children's heads, in the characters of angels, by the inimitable Corregio.

5. The collection of Houghton-house, the loss of which every lover of the arts must sincerely regret, and upon which I need not enlarge, as the pictures are well known, from
the

the catalogue published by the honourable Horacè Walpole, and from the engravings by Boydell.

6. A collection from Venice, containing several, by old Palma, Titian, Paul Veronese, and the Bassans; many of which are, however, very doubtful whether they are originals.

Of the Roman school the empress possesses four undoubted originals, by Raphael.

1. A Holy Family, in that great master's best manner, and in the highest preservation.
2. Portrait of Cardinal Pole, also in his best manner.
3. A St. George, of which there is an engraving by Vosterman. These three paintings from the cabinet of Crozat.
4. The Last Supper, an undoubted original, but in bad condition.

I must not omit an old and an excellent copy of the School of Athens, of which the original picture, for composition, correctness of design, and just delineation of character, stands unrivalled in the art of painting.

Several fine landscapes by Claude Lorraine, the painter of nature; and two delightful landscapes by Gaspar Poussin, in which that poetical painter, so remarkable for his picturesque

resque pencil, has delineated towers and battlements,

“ Bosom'd high in tufted trees;”

and in which he realizes the beautiful imagery described in the *Penferoso* of Milton :

“ And when the sun begins to fling
His flaming beams, me, goddess, bring
To arched walks of twilight groves,
And shadows brown that Sylvan loves
Of pine, or monumental oak,
Where the rude axe with heaved stroke
Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,
Or fright them from their hallow'd haunts.”

By Salvator Rosa, the well-known picture of the Prodigal Son, from the Houghton collection; Democritus and Protagoras, not less celebrated; and several fine landscapes.

Of the Bolognese school, two Guercinos, and several invaluable pieces by Guido Rheni. Besides the celebrated picture of the doctors consulting on the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, from the Houghton collection, I could not sufficiently admire that delightful painting, known by the name of *Les Couseuses*, from the Crozat collection. That charming picture represents an aged governess superintending

superintending several young women at work, who are models of perfect beauty, unaffected grace, and serene innocence. These two paintings are of themselves sufficient to exculpate Guido from the censures of those connoisseurs, who, judging hastily from a few specimens, indiscriminately accuse him of always sacrificing too much to the graces, and of introducing affected attitudes.

The cabinet contains also a few pictures by Battoni and Mengs, in whom the genius of the Roman school seems to have expired. Of Battoni, Thetis approaching Charon with her infant Achilles asleep is not without merit.

Three pictures by Mengs deserve to be mentioned: 1. Perseus and Andromeda, in which that painter has erred against *costume*, by representing the hero naked, and Andromeda half clothed. The author varied somewhat from his original design, which was an exact copy of the basso relievo of the Faustina, on the pedestal of a column at Rome, and on which is engraved, Pietro Santo Bartoli. With respect to the drapery, Mengs seems to have adopted that from the gem of Callyrrhoe, the Bacchanalian Woman. 2. The Judgment of Paris, a very fine picture. 3. St. John preaching

preaching in the wilderness, a single figure; his air and motion are dignified. Mengs finished this picture for his friend M. de Liana, formerly envoy to the court of Parma.

In order to distinguish St. John, the artist drew on one side of the picture the head of a sheep badly executed. Mengs having copied this picture for a friend, omitted the sheep's head, and inserted in its place a trunk of a tree, which had a picturesque effect. The St. John, in the empress's collection, is a third copy of the same subject; the figure, though of a smaller size, being the same as in the two former, and the sheep's head is omitted. Mengs has not in this instance alone re-copied his figures. He painted his own portrait for Mr. de Saphorin, and from this picture he made several copies; one he sent to the gallery of Florence, a second is at Turin, a third at Madrid, and a fourth in the possession of his friend, Mr. Azara, at Rome.

This circumstance sufficiently shews, that the great masters frequently copied their own works; and proves the possibility of finding several paintings in the different collections, which, although exactly the same, are equally originals. In general the master orders his best scholars to copy the outlines, which he corrects

corrects and re-touches. The scholars then sketch the remainder, and the master revises and finishes the whole.

The question, which is the original? is frequently puerile; for sometimes the second is better and more studied than the first. Indeed, when the painter employs his scholars too much in these copies, as Rubens was accustomed to do, the perfection of the original usually suffers by these frequent repetitions; as the hasty touches of the master cannot correct the defects of the scholars.

It is a well-known anecdote, that Raphael himself mistook a copy of one of his own pictures, done by Andrea del Sarto, for the original. Three paintings of his celebrated John the Baptist are now existing, of which it is impossible to discover which is the finest, or which is the original. One of these is in the great duke's gallery at Florence, a second in a private collection at Rome, and the third in the palais royal at Paris.

Under the same circumstances may also be mentioned the celebrated portrait of Lord Strafford dictating to his secretary, of which I have seen three, one at Wentworth house, the second at Wentworth castle, and the third at Blenheim.

The ordinary distribution of the empress's time at Petersburg, as far as I could collect from inquiries which I had many opportunities of making, as it concerns so great a princess, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

Her majesty usually rises about six, and is engaged till eight or nine in public business with her secretary. At ten she generally begins her toilet; and while her hair is dressing, the ministers of state, and her aid-de-camps in waiting, pay their respects and receive their orders. Being dressed about eleven, she sends for her grand-children the young princes Alexander and Constantine, or visits them in their own apartment. Before dinner she receives a visit from the great-duke and duchess; and sits down to table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, usually about nine persons, consisting of the generals and lords in waiting, a lady of the bed-chamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Russian nobility, whom she invites. Their imperial highnesses dine with her three times in the week, on which days the party is increased to eighteen persons. The lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, who always sits opposite to the empress, carves one dish and presents it

it to her; an attention, which, after having once politely accepted, she afterwards dispenses with. Her majesty is remarkably temperate, and is feldom at table more than an hour. From thence she retires to her own apartment; and about three frequently repairs to her library in the Hermitage. At five she goes to the theatre*, or to a private concert; and, when there is no court in the evening, has a private party at cards. She feldom fups; generally retires at half paf t ten; and is ufually in bed before eleven.

The great-duke is extremely fond of the manage; and, two or three times in the week, takes the diversion of a tournament, which is thus described in my friend Colonel Floyd's Journal: "Count Orlof having obtained the
 " great-duke's permission for me to attend the
 " manage of the court, I accordingly went
 " this morning to fee a tournament. His
 " impèrial highnefs and eleven of his nobles,
 " dressed in uniforms of buff and gold, and
 " armed with a lance, fword, and piftols,
 " were affembled by nine o'clock, although it

* An Italian opera, a company of Ruffian and another of French players were, in 1778, maintained at her majesty's expence, at which the fpectators were admitted gratis.

“ was as yet dusk. The great-duke drew
 “ them up by pairs; and upon the sound
 “ of the trumpet, himself, and the knights
 “ immediately mounted their horses, and re-
 “ tired in due order without the rails. Two
 “ rings were suspended on opposite sides of
 “ the walls on each side of the manage; at
 “ each corner was a moor’s head of paste-
 “ board, or an apple fixed upon a pole, and
 “ between them two heads with a squib
 “ in their mouths. These were all placed
 “ upon stands almost as high as a man on
 “ horseback, and at some paces from the
 “ wall; at each end was also an helmet of
 “ pasteboard raised upon a stand about a foot
 “ from the ground, and about four from the
 “ wall. The two judges, with Lord Her-
 “ bert and myself, who were the only spec-
 “ tators, took our station on the outside of the
 “ rail. Upon a second signal from the trum-
 “ pet two knights entered at opposite ends of
 “ the manage. A band of music played a
 “ quick air; while each knight, galloping his
 “ horse to the right, and making a volt, fa-
 “ luted with their lances at the same time;
 “ then, continuing their course round the
 “ manage, each ran with his lance, first at
 “ the rings suspended from the walls, and
 “ next

“ next at the moor’s heads ; after which they
“ delivered their lances, as they went on, to
“ their servants on foot. The knights then
“ drew their pistols, and each making a se-
“ cond volt round the other heads, discharged
“ them in order to set fire to the squib ; then,
“ pursuing their course round the manage,
“ they drew their swords, and, making a
“ third volt round the apple, endeavoured to
“ strike it to the ground. They finished their
“ career by stooping down, and, as they gal-
“ loped by, thrusting their swords through
“ the helmets ; then poising them in the air,
“ they met in the middle, and riding to-
“ wards the judge, saluted him, related the
“ attempts in which they had succeeded, and
“ demanded their prizes : the prize was about
“ four shillings for each atchievement, and an
“ equal value was paid for every failure. The
“ whole was performed on a continued gallop,
“ and always to the right. In running at
“ the ring, the head, or the helmet ; it is
“ esteemed honourable to put the horse into
“ full career, which encreases the difficulty.
“ The judge having bestowed the rewards, or
“ taken the forfeits, ordered the two knights
“ to retire. The trumpets again sounding,
“ two others made their appearance, and per-

“ formed the same manœuvres. This exercise
 “ was repeated twice by each pair of knights.
 “ The whole troop then entered at the same
 “ time, marched, charged, formed, drew and
 “ returned their swords, and dismounted by
 “ word of command from the great-duke.
 “ At the conclusion they adjourned to the
 “ fire; chocolate was brought in; and, after
 “ a short conversation, the great-duke bowed
 “ and retired.”

The Russian nobility of Petersburg are no less than those of Moscow distinguished for their hospitality towards foreigners. We were no sooner presented to a person of rank and fortune, than we were regarded in the light of domestic visitants. Many of the nobility keep an open table, to which the first invitation was considered as a standing passport of admission. The only form necessary to be observed on this occasion was to make inquiry in the morning if the master of the house dined at home; and if he did, we, without further ceremony, presented ourselves at his table. The oftener we appeared at these hospitable boards, the more acceptable guests we were esteemed; and we always seemed to confer, instead of receiving, an obligation.

The tables were served with great profusion and taste. Though the Russians have adopted the delicacies of French cookery; yet they neither affect to despise their native dishes, nor squeamishly reject the solid joints which characterize our repasts. The plainest, as well as the choicest viands, were collected from the most distant quarters: I have frequently seen at the same time, sterlet from the Volga; veal from Archangel; mutton from Astrachan; beef from the Ukraine; and pheasants from Hungary and Bohemia. Their common wines are chiefly claret, Burgundy, and Champagne; and I never tasted English beer and porter in greater perfection and abundance. Before dinner, even in the houses of persons of the first distinction; a small table is spread in a corner of the drawing room, covered with plates of caviare, dried and pickled herrings, smoked ham or tongue, bread, butter, and cheese, together with bottles of different *liqueurs*; and few of the company of either sex omitted a prelude of this kind to the main entertainment. This practice has induced many travellers to relate, that the Russians swallow bowls of brandy before dinner. What are the usages of the vulgar in this particular I cannot determine; but among the nobility I never observed the

least violation of the most extreme sobriety: and this custom of taking *liqueur* before dinner, considering the extreme smallness of the glasses used on this occasion, is a very innocent refreshment, and will not convey the faintest idea of excess. Indeed the Russians in no other wise differ from the French in this instance; than that they taste a glass of *liqueur* before their repast, while the latter defer it till after dinner. The usual hour of dining is at three: their entertainments are mostly regulated according to the French ceremonial, the wine being circulated during meals; and the dishes are no sooner removed than the company retire from table into another room, and are immediately served with coffee. Nor do the gentlemen, as in England, continue wedded to the bottle; while the ladies withdraw into a separate apartment.

Several of the nobility also receive company every evening in the most easy manner: the parties usually met about seven; some sit down to whist, macao, loo, and other games; some converse, and others danced. Amid the refreshments tea was handed round no less frequently than in England. At ten supper was brought in; and the party generally broke up between eleven and twelve.

It

It is no exaggeration to say, that, during our continuance in this city, not one evening passed but we had it in our power to attend an assembly of this sort; and if we had always frequented the same, we should always have found the greatest cordiality of reception. From these circumstances there is perhaps no metropolis in Europe, excepting Vienna, which is rendered more agreeable to foreigners than Petersburg.

The houses of the nobility are furnished with great elegance; and the suite of apartments in which they receive company is uncommonly splendid. They are fitted up in the style of London and Paris; and the new fashions make their appearance as soon as in those two capitals.

I have, on a former occasion, described the modes of salutation practised by the peasants and common people; I shall here mention those which I observed in use among persons of higher rank. The gentlemen bow very low; and the ladies incline their heads instead of curtsying. Sometimes the gentlemen kiss the ladies hands as a mark of respect, which is usual in many countries: if the parties are well acquainted, or of equal condition, or if the lady means to pay a compliment;

ment; she salutes his cheek while he is kissing her hand. Frequently, while she stoops to touch his cheek, he takes that opportunity of saluting her. I have often observed this ceremony performed and repeated, as well in the drawing-room at court, as at the different assemblies. If the gentleman is a person of very high rank, the lady offers first to kiss his hand, which he prevents by saluting her on the cheek. The men, and particularly relations, exchange salutes in this manner; each kissing the other's hand at the same instant, and afterwards their cheeks.

The Russians, in their usual mode of address, never prefix any title or appellation of respect to their names; but persons of all ranks, even those of the first distinction, call each other by their christian names, to which they add a patronymic. These patronymics are formed in some cases by adding Vitch* to the christian name of the father, in others by Of or Ef; the former is applied only to persons of condition, the latter to those of inferior rank. Thus,

| | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Ivan Ivanovitch | } | is Ivan the son of Ivan. |
| Ivan Ivanof | | |
| Peter Alexievitch | } | Peter the son of Alexèy. |
| Peter Alexeof | | |

* Vitch is the same as our Fitz, as Fitzherbert, or the son of Herbert.

The female patronymic is Efna or Ofna, as Sophia Alexefna, or Sophia the daughter of Alexèy; Maria Ivanofna, or Maria the daughter of Ivan.

Great families are also in general distinguished by a surname, as those of Romanof, Galitzin, Sheremetof, &c.

Travellers who have experienced the great politeness and taste, which distinguish the behaviour and manners of the Russian nobility, both in their entertainments and assemblies, must be surprized to find; that scarcely sixty years ago Peter the Great * thought it necessary to establish the following regulations by authority.

Regulations for assemblies at Petersburg in 1719.

“ Assembly is a French term, which cannot be rendered
“ in Russian in one word: It signifies a number of persons
“ meeting together, either for diversion, or to talk about
“ their own affairs. Friends may see each other on that
“ occasion to confer together on business or other subjects,
“ to enquire after domestic and foreign news, and so to
“ pass their time. After what manner we will have those
“ assemblies kept, may be learned from what follows.

I. “ The person, at whose house the assembly is to be in
“ the evening, is to hang out a bill or other sign, to give
“ notice to all persons of either sex.

* Perry's State of Russia, vol. I. p. 186.

II. “ The

II. "The assembly shall not begin sooner than four or five in the afternoon, nor continue later than ten at night.

III. "The master of the house is not obliged to go and meet his guests, to conduct them out, or to entertain them; but though himself is exempt from waiting on them, he ought to find chairs, candles, drink, and all the necessaries asked for, as also to provide for all sorts of gaming, and what belongs thereto.

IV. "No certain hour is fixed for any body's coming or going; it is sufficient if one makes his appearance in the assembly.

V. "It is left to every one's liberty to sit, walk, or play, just as he likes; nor shall any body hinder him, or take exception at what he does, on pain of emptying the Great Eagle (a bowl filled with wine or brandy). As for the rest, it is enough to salute at coming and going.

VI. "Persons of rank, as, for instance, noblemen, and superior officers, likewise merchants of note, and head-masters, (by which are understood ship-builders), persons employed in the Chancery, and their wives and children, shall have liberty of frequenting the assemblies. ||

VII. "A particular place shall be assigned to the footmen (those of the house excepted), that there may be sufficient room in the apartments designed for the assembly."

The English merchants live in a very social and even splendid manner. Besides constant meetings at their respective houses; they have, once in a fortnight, a regular assembly, to which they obligingly invite all their countrymen who happen to be at Peterburgh, and occasionally

occasionally, some Russian ladies. There is a ball, cards, and supper: twelve or fourteen couple usually dance at these meetings, which are perfectly cheerful and agreeable.

A traveller who frequents the houses of the Russian nobility will be struck with the variety of complexions and faces which are observable among the retainers and servants; Russians, Fins, Laplanders, Georgians, Circassians, Poles, Tartars, and Calmucs. He will likewise be no less surpris'd on being inform'd, that many of the servants, who belong to the English and other foreigners, are Mahometans, of whom numerous colonies are still resident in this vast empire.

C H A P. V.

Description of the fortress of Peterburgh.— Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul.— Tomb and character of Peter the Great, and those of the imperial family.— Mint.— History of the boat called The Little Grandfire, which gave rise to the Russian navy upon the Black Sea.

THE origin of the fortress, which occasioned the foundation of this capital, has been already related in the general description of Peterburgh. Its walls of brick, faced with hewn granite, and strengthened with five regular bastions, encircle a small island of about half a mile in circumference, formed by the Great and Little Neva. Within the walls are barracks for a small garrison; several wards used as a common jail; and dungeons for the confinement of state-prisoners.

In the middle of the island stands the cathedral of St. Peter and Paul, in a different style of architecture from that usually employed in the construction of churches for the service of the Greek religion. Instead of domes, it has

has a spire of copper gilt, the highest part whereof rises above 240 feet from the ground. Its interior decorations are much more elegant and less gaudy than those in the churches of Novogorod and Moscow; and the paintings are executed in the modern style of the Italian school, and not in the dry manner of the Greek masters.

In this cathedral are deposited the remains of Peter the Great, and of all the successive sovereigns, excepting those of Peter II. buried at Moscow, and of the late unfortunate Peter III. interred in the convent of St. Alexander Nevski. The tombs are of marble, and in the shape of a square coffin; and, one only excepted, have an inscription in the Russian tongue: when I saw them they were covered with gold brocade, bordered with silver lace and ermine.

I viewed, not without a peculiar kind of veneration and awe, the sepulchre which contains the body of Peter I. who founded the greatness of the Russian empire: the sternness, or rather the ferocity, of whose disposition, neither spared age nor sex, nor the dearest connections; and who yet, with a strong degree of compunction, was accustomed to say of himself, " I can reform my people,
" but

“but I cannot reform myself.” A * royal historian has justly observed of Peter, that he covered the cruelties of a tyrant by the virtues of a legislator. We must readily allow that he considerably reformed and civilized his subjects; that he created a navy; that he new-modelled and disciplined his army; that he promoted the arts and sciences, agriculture, and commerce; and laid the foundation of that glory which Russia has since attained. But, instead of crying out in the language of panegyric,

Erubescè, ars! Hic vir maximus tibi nihil debuit:
Exulta, natura! Hoc stupendum tuum est †:

We may, on the contrary, venture to regret that he was not *taught* the lessons of humanity; that his sublime and unruly genius was not controuled and improved by proper *culture*; nor his savage nature corrected and softened by the refinements of *art*. And if

* Pierre I. mourut dans ces circonstances, laissant dans le monde plutôt la réputation d'un homme extraordinaire, que d'un grand homme, & couvrant les cruautés d'un Tiran des vertus d'un législateur. Hist. de la Maison de Brandebourg.

† Blush, art! this hero owed thee nothing.

Exult, nature! for this prodigy is all thy own.

See Gordon's Life of Peter. Vol. II.

Peter

Peter failed in enlightening the mass of his subjects as much as he wished; the failure was principally occasioned by his own precipitate temper; by the chimerical idea of introducing the arts and sciences by force; and of performing in a moment what can only be the gradual work of time; by violating the established customs of his people; and, in contradiction to the dictates of sound policy, requiring an immediate sacrifice of those prejudices which had been sanctified by ages. In a word, his failure was the failure of a superior genius wandering without a guide; and the greatest eulogium we can justly offer to his extraordinary character, is to allow that his virtues were his own; and his defects those of his education and country.

Peter the Great was born at Moscow on the 30th of May, O. S. 1672; and died at Petersburg on the 28th of January, 1725, in the 53d year of his age, and in the 44th of a glorious reign.

I observed near the tomb of Peter some Turkish colours: they were taken in the naval engagement of Tchefme, displayed during a solemn procession in honour of that victory; and then placed by the hand of the

present empress at the tomb of the sovereign who was the founder of the Russian navy.

Near the ashes of Peter are deposited those of his second wife and successor Catharine I. the beautiful Livonian, who, by a wonderful train of events, was exalted from a cottage to unbounded sovereignty*.

In the vault of this church, but without any tomb or inscription, lies Alexèy son of Peter I. who fell a sacrifice to the artifices of the designing Mentchikof, and to the resentment of an inhuman, though, perhaps, justly offended father. The recollection of his fate makes a strong impression on a feeling mind; and must still more forcibly strike a subject of the British empire; where will is not law; where the heir apparent is as secure as the sovereign himself; and where the right of succession stands irrevocable, not to be altered by the caprice or jealousy of a reigning monarch. The speculative theorist may indeed argue for Peter, that there ought to be a power invested in the sovereign to exclude an unworthy successor, who should threaten to overturn his plans of reformation, and again

* See an account of Catharine I. in Chap. VII. of this Book.

to plunge his country into the barbarism from which he had raised it with so much difficulty. But, in effect, this is nothing less than rendering the fate of a whole empire absolutely dependent upon the will of one person, who, during his life, may change his heir as often as he changes his opinion; or who, like Peter, may expire without nominating his successor; and leave the crown to be seized or disputed by those who have not the least shadow of pretension. By these means the throne is open to every claimant, who may have a chance of securing the concurrence of the army. If all the evils which might have been expected from this change of the succession have not been hitherto experienced in Russia, it must be ascribed to the following consideration: that notwithstanding the absolute power which the sovereign possessed of nominating his heir; yet the notions of hereditary right, and the privilege of primogeniture, though annulled by Peter's law, still retained a considerable degree of influence in the opinion of the nation. The exclusion, however, of Alexèy, the decree * subsequent

* " In the month of February, 1722, a proclamation was made by the sound of trumpet, requiring every

quent to his death, and the unsettled ideas concerning the right of succession necessarily introduced

“ natural-born subject of the Russian empire, and all
 “ foreigners then residing there, to swear and sign an
 “ oath, ‘ that they will acknowledge, as successor to the
 “ empire, the person whom his majesty shall nominate for
 “ their sovereign, after his death.’ This order struck a
 “ damp on the spirits of every body, when they reflected
 “ on the undoubted title of the young prince Peter, his
 “ majesty’s grandson, and only remaining heir of the im-
 “ perial family.” Bruce’s Memoirs, p. 226. “

The oath was thus worded: “ I do vow and swear
 “ before Almighty God, and upon the Holy Evangelists,
 “ that I own and acknowledge the decree concerning the
 “ succession to the crown of Russia, published the 5th of
 “ February, 1722, by order of the most illustrious and
 “ mighty prince, Peter I. emperor and sovereign of all
 “ Russia, our most gracious lord and master: wherein it is
 “ ordained, *that the present, or any succeeding emperor of*
 “ *Russia, not only may at pleasure nominate and appoint a suc-*
 “ *cessor to the crown, but likewise alter the succession, as often*
 “ *as he, the present, or any other succeeding emperor shall see*
 “ *cause, or think fit.* This imperial ordinance, I the under-
 “ named do acknowledge to be just and right, and promise
 “ all due obedience to the person so named and appointed
 “ successor to the imperial crown of Russia; I will hold
 “ and acknowledge him to be the only lawful heir, and my
 “ only sovereign, and accordingly will hazard life and for-
 “ tune to maintain him on the throne, and defeat the de-
 “ signs of his enemies. Moreover, if I shall ever be
 “ found to act contrary to this oath, or to put any other
 “ construction upon it, then, and in that case, I will be
 “ accounted

introduced by that fatal mandate, have occasioned frequent revolutions in the government of this country; and the disposal of the sceptre has in some measure depended upon the regiments of guards * stationed in the capital.

“ accounted a traitor, and not only be liable to an ignominious death, but also to the anathema of the church. In confirmation of which, I kiss the Holy Gospel and Cross, and hereunto do set my hand.”

* The licentious conduct of the guards (soon after the accession of Catharine I.), which proceeded from their power of disposing of the crown, was uncontrollable. Although the empress appeared to rule with an absolute authority, yet it is certain that she entirely depended upon the caprice of the Preobreshensky regiment of guards, and the nobles who had placed her upon her throne, neither of whom she durst contradict or reduce. Catharine, well aware of her situation, endeavoured to free herself from this dependent state, by declaring all the majors, who had most authority, lieutenant-generals; and, under pretence of these promotions, to remove them from the regiment of guards, and, in their stead, to appoint several foreigners, who were officers in the other regiments, to be majors; but as the captains of the guards were unanimously dissatisfied with these regulations, she was constrained to place affairs upon the old footing.” Austrian Envoy in B. H. M. XI. p. 507.

Also, upon Elizabeth's accession, Manstein says, “ The whole company of grenadiers of the regiment of Preobreshensky were ennobled and promoted. The private men had the rank of lieutenants; and the corporals of

capital. Though I do not mean to justify the conduct of Alexèy; yet I cannot but assent to the opinion of a judicious historian, that as Peter I. opened by this law an abun-

“ majors; the armourer and quarter-master that of lieutenant-colonels; and the serjeants that of colonels of the army. It was called the company of body-guards. Grunstein was made adjutant of this company, with the title of brigadier. He did not long keep his ground; accustomed to the low ambition of a private soldier, his head was too weak to bear a higher fortune, and growing giddy with his preferment, he was guilty of all kind of insolences, broke out into disrespect to the empress herself, and ended with undergoing the knout, and being banished to the lands which the empress had given him, when she first promoted him.

“ This company committed all imaginable disorders for the first months that the empress remained at Petersburg. The new noble lieutenants ran through all the dirtiest public-houses, got drunk, and wallowed in the streets. They entered into the houses of the greatest noblemen, demanding money with threats, and took away, without ceremony, whatever they liked. There was no keeping within bounds, men, who having been all their life-time used to be disciplined by drubbing, could not presently familiarise themselves to a more civil treatment. It must have been the work of time to reduce them to good manners. I do not know whether they were ever brought to correct themselves, but the most unruly of them were expelled the corps, and placed as officers in other regiments of the army, where the vacancies were many. An admirable expedient this for procuring excellent officers!” *Memoirs of Russia*, p. 319, 320.

dant

dant source of troubles and confusion, it had been better for the country if that weak prince, with all his defects, had been suffered to reign *. And I may venture to add, that the

* "C'est à cette imprudente loi, qu'on doit attribuer toutes les revolutions qui ont affligé la Russie. C'est Pierre I. qui a ouvert dans son empire cette source abondante de troubles et de défolation. Ne valait-il pas mieux qu' Alexis regnât." L'Evesque, vol. IV. p. 454.

An ingenious author, who has lately published part of a voluminous work upon Russia, controverts this judicious reflection, justifies this decree of Peter, and denies that it had the least bad tendency, or has been the cause of any revolutions. See Le Clerc's Hist. Moderne de Russie, p. 441 to 445.

His arguments, however, will scarcely appear convincing to any person who has perused with attention the History of Russia since the demise of Peter the Great; and must appear of little weight, unless the following queries can be answered in the negative.

Was not the accession of Catharine I. a revolution? The abolition of despotic authority, and the election of Anne, a revolution? The resumption of despotic authority by the same empress, a revolution? The removal of Biren from the regency, a revolution? The accession of Elizabeth, a revolution? The dethronement of Peter III. and the accession of Catharine (though justified by the peculiar situation of the empire) a revolution? Were they not all occasioned by the loose notions concerning the right of succession, and accomplished by the intervention of the guards? Were not the execution, scourging, and banishment of

the re-establishment of hereditary right may be justly classed among the foremost of those excellent regulations, which distinguish the reign of Catharine II.

In the same vault, which contains the body of the unfortunate Alexèy, is placed that of Charlotte Christina Sophia princess of Brunswick, his no less unfortunate wife; and whose fate is more affecting, because she deserved it less. She was born in 1694; married in 1711 the tzarovitch, who had seen her at her father's court; and died on the first of November, 1715, partly of a broken heart occasioned by her husband's ill treatment, and partly by the consequences of her delivery of Peter II. *

many principal nobles, the confiscation of estates, and the confinement of numberless state-prisoners, the fatal consequences of these frequent changes? the last excepted, when the lenity of the empress spared the usual victims to policy and resentment. Have not these civil feuds, which so long convulsed this empire, been diminished by the well-grounded expectation of an unbroken hereditary line in the present imperial family? And as the influence of Peter's fatal decree is considerably abated, and the most distant probability of another revolution scarcely exists, has not the rapid increase of commerce and population throughout every part of this vast empire proclaimed the beneficial effects of the more stable government of Catharine II?

* See an account of this princess in Chap. VIII. of this Book.

Among

Among the imperial sepulchres is that of Anne of Holstein, eldest daughter of Peter and Catharine, who is less known, though far more deserving of notice, than her sister the empress Elizabeth, because her virtues were not ennobled by a diadem. Anne is described * as a princess of a majestic form and expressive features, of an excellent and improved understanding, and of irreproachable morals. While she was very young, count Apraxin, a Russian nobleman, paid his addresses to her, but was rejected with scorn. Not daunted, however, with this repulse, he

* “ Anna Petrowna ressembloit de visage et d’humeur à son auguste pere, mais la nature et l’éducation avoient tout embelli chez elle. On lui passoit plus de cinq piés de hauteur, en faveur d’une taille extrêmement déliée, et d’une finesse parfaite dans toutes ses proportions. Rien de plus majestueux que son port et sa physionomie, rien de plus regulier que ses traits, et non obstant cela, des graces tendres dans le regard et le sourire; des cheveux et des sourcils noirs, un teint d’une blancheur eclatante, et ce vermillon frais et délicat qui restera sans cesse inimitable au fard; les yeux d’une couleur indécise et d’un feu éblouissant. Bref, de pied en cap l’envie n’y pouvoit trouver aucun défaut. Avec cela un jugement pénétrant, une vraie candeur et bonté de caractère, libérale, et magnifique, très bien instruite, parlant élégamment sa langue maternelle, le François, l’Allemand, l’Italien et le Suedois.” Bassewitz in Bus. Hist. Mag. IX, p. 370, 371.

continued

continued his courtship; and, finding her one day alone, he threw himself at her feet; offered his sword; and entreated her to put an end to his life and misery. "Give it me," said the princess, stretching out her hand, "you shall see, that the daughter of your emperor has strength and spirit sufficient to rid herself of a wretch who insults her." The count, apprehensive that she might execute her threat, withdrew the sword; and demanded instant pardon; and, as the princess told the story with great humour, became the derision of the court*.

Anne espoused, in 1725, Charles Frederick duke of Holstein-Gottorp, to whom she had been long betrothed. Bred up with the expectation of two crowns†, she was disappointed

* Bassewitz, p. 371.

† Those of Sweden and Russia: the former by marriage, and the latter by her father's nomination.

With respect to the former, her husband, the only son of Hedwige eldest sister of Charles XII. was, upon that monarch's death, the undoubted heir of the Swedish crown, but was set aside by the Swedes, who preferred, Ulrica Eleonora, Charles's youngest sister. See Genealogical table of the House of Vasa, and the chapter on the death of Charles XII. both in the fourth volume.

As to her expectations of the Russian crown, Bassewitz, her husband's minister, positively asserts, that Peter I. had
"formed

pointed of both; nominated by her mother Catharine I. one of the council of regency during

formed the resolution of raising her to the throne. " C'é-
 " toit dans les mains de cette princesse, que Pierre le Grand
 " souhaitoit de voir passer son sceptre." Bus. His. Mag. IX.
 p. 371.

A short time before his last illness he explained to her and the duke of Holstein the system he had pursued during his reign, and instructed them in the details of government. While he lay upon his death-bed, having recovered his understanding by a momentary intermission of the delirium (see Chapter VIII. on Catharine I.), he called for Anne to dictate his last sentiments, but upon her arrival he relapsed into his former state of insensibility. Ibid. p. 372.

It also appears, from the following extracts from Sir Luke Schaube's papers, in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke, that Peter had even taken some steps towards settling the crown upon his daughter Anne.

" Le Cardinal [Dubois] ne paroît guere touché de l'in-
 " justice qui seroit faite au fils du czarowitz; et il dit,
 " que si le czar regleroît la succession en faveur de sa fille, il
 " faudroit bien que ceux qui voudroient se lier avec lui de
 " son vivant, promissent de la maintenir après sa mort,
 " après laquelle toutefois il arriveroit vraisemblablement
 " de cette disposition comme si elle n'avoit jamais existé."
 Extract of a letter from Sir Luke Schaube to Lord Car-
 teret, dated Paris Jan. 20, 1722.

" Ce que les ministres Moscovites disoient au Monf.
 " de Campredon que le czar voulut se procurer une ga-
 " rantie pour la succession à ses états de la manière qu'il se
 " propose de l'établir, paroît fort singulier, &c. Par rapport
 " à l'exclusion de son petit-fils en faveur de sa fille, sans mar-
 " quer

during the minority of Peter II.; excluded from that council after having only once taken her seat, by the despotism of prince Menzikof, whom she herself had promoted with all her influence; driven from Russia by the mandate of that arrogant minister; she retired with her husband to Kiel; where she died in 1728, in the 22d year of her age, and leaving one son, the unfortunate Peter III.

Her cousin the empress Anne*, second daughter of Ivan Alexievitch, lies interred in the

“*quer en même temps à quel prince il la destine.*” Extract from a letter of Lord Carteret to the Cardinal du Bois, dated Jan. 1721-2.

The decree which he issued in February, 1722, seemed a prelude to this appointment, which was probably prevented by the suddenness of his death.

Catharine I. was no less inclined to appoint Anne her successor, and a strong party was formed in her favour; but that empress was prevented from following her inclinations in this instance by the shortness of her reign, and the danger of excluding Peter Alexievitch; who, as the grandson of Peter the Great, was supported by a still more powerful party.

* “The czarina is about my height, but a very large-made woman, very well shaped, for her size, and easy and graceful in her person. She has a brown complexion, black hair, dark and blue eyes; she has an awfulness in her countenance that strikes you at first sight; but when she speaks, she has a smile about her mouth that is inexpressibly sweet. She talks a good deal to every body, and has such

“ an

the same cathedral. She was widow of the duke of Courland; and resided at Mittau, when she was unexpectedly called to take possession of the empire. Upon the death of Peter II. without issue, the sceptre, according to Catharine's will, ought to have reverted to her grandson, afterwards Peter III. son of Anne of Holstein; but as hereditary right was abolished by Peter's decree; and no successor was appointed by Peter II. a privy council of seven nobles, in whom the regal power was vested at the decease of the emperor, formed a plan for limiting the enormous prerogative of the crown; leaving the title and pomp of royalty to the reigning monarch, but reserving to themselves the whole supreme authority. Having, according to this project, drawn up certain conditions to be ratified by the future sovereign, they chose the princess Anne in preference to the family of Peter the Great, and to her eldest sister Catharine of Mecklenburgh, because, having no legal claim,

“ an affability in her address, that you seem talking to an
 “ equal; and yet she does not, for one moment, drop the
 “ dignity of a sovereign. She seems to have great huma-
 “ nity; and is, I think, what one would call a fine agree-
 “ able woman, were she a private person.” Letters by a
 Lady from Russia.

she

she would more readily be induced to agree to any terms which might secure her the succession. Anne signed the articles without hesitation, only for the purpose of breaking them with greater facility; and she had scarcely arrived at Moscow before she was enabled, by the assistance of the guards, to annul the act of renunciation; to dissolve the privy council itself; and to re-assume the imperial authority in as unlimited a form, as it had ever been enjoyed by any of her predecessors. This empress resigned herself implicitly to the direction of Biren, a native of Courland; who, from the lowest extraction, had risen to be absolute favourite of his mistress, and regulated all her councils with the most arbitrary sway. Anne has generally been censured for her severity; and is said to have ruled the Russians with the knot in her hand. But the cruelties, which tarnished her reign, must be attributed to the brutal temper of Biren. The empress herself was naturally of an humane disposition: she frequently opposed the sanguinary measures of her favourite; and in vain endeavoured to soften his merciless disposition, by submitting frequently to intreaties, and interceding even with tears,

for

for the unfortunate objects of his resentment *. But, in effect, the sovereign who permits cruelties is, and ought to be, equally guilty in the eyes of the world with the sovereign who commands them; and posterity justly imputes to the mistress the vices of the servant, who is uncontrouled in his abuse of power. Anne died on the 17th of October, 1740, after having nominated for her successor her nephew Ivan, then an infant; with a view of prolonging the reign of Biren, whom she appointed regent during the minority of that emperor.

As I viewed the tomb of Elizabeth; I recollected the motley character of that indolent and voluptuous empress, who, by the revolution of 1741, renewed in her person the line

* " J'ai été présent," writes count Munic, " lorsque l'impératrice pleuroit à chaudes larmes sur ce que Biron fulminoit & menaçoit de ne vouloir plus servir si l'impératrice ne sacrifioit Volinski & ainsi des autres." Ebauche, &c. p. 119.

Mrs. Vigor says of her, " I have often seen her melt into tears at a melancholy story, and she shews such unaffected horror at any mark of cruelty, that her mind to me seems composed of the most amiable qualities that I have ever observed in any one person; which seems a particular mark of the goodness of Providence, as she is possessed of such power." Letters from Russia, p. 89.

of Peter the Great upon the throne of Russia: Elizabeth was born in 1709; and, when arrived at years of maturity, was extremely admired for her great personal attractions*.

Her beauty, as well as her rank and large dowry, occasioned several offers, none of which, however, took place, and she died single. During the life of her father Peter I. a negotiation had commenced for her marriage with Louis XV. but although not feri-

* Mrs. Vigor thus describes the person of Elizabeth in the 24th year of her age. "The princess Elizabeth, who is, you know, a daughter of Peter I. is very handsome. She is very fair, with light brown hair, large sprightly blue eyes, fine teeth, and a pretty mouth. She is inclinable to be fat, but is very genteel, and dances better than any one I ever saw. She speaks German, French, and Italian; is extremely gay, and talks to every body, in a very proper manner, in the circle, but hates the ceremony of a court."

And again, "She has an affability and sweetness of behaviour...that insensibly inspires love and respect. In public she has an unaffected gaiety, and a certain air of giddiness, that seem entirely to possess her whole mind; but in private I have heard her talk in such a strain of good sense and steady reasoning, that I am persuaded the other behaviour is a feint; but she seems easy: I say *seems*, for who knows the heart? In short, she is an amiable creature; and though I think the throne very worthily filled, yet I cannot help wishing she were to be the successor at least." Letters from Russia, p. 73 and 76.

ously adopted by the court of France; it was never relinquished until the daughter of Stanislaus, titular king of Poland, was publicly affianced to the young monarch. By the will of Catharine, Elizabeth was betrothed to Charles Augustus, bishop of Lubeck, duke of Sleswick and Holstein, and brother to the late king of Sweden; but he died before the completion of the ceremony. In the reign of Peter II. she was demanded by Charles Margrave of Anspach; in 1741, by the Persian tyrant Kouli Khan; and at the time of the revolution the regent Anne endeavoured to force her to espouse prince Louis of Brunswick, for whom she entertained a settled aversion*. From the period of her accession she renounced all thoughts of the connubial state, and adopted her nephew Peter. Her dislike to marriage, however, certainly did not proceed from any disinclination to man; for she would freely and frequently own to her confidants, that she was never happy but when she was in love †; if we may dignify

* See Manstein's Memoirs, p. 25. 285. 309.

† "Elle étoit voluptueuse à l'excès, née de sang voluptueux, & elle disoit souvent à ses confidentes, qu'elle n'étoit contente que tant qu'elle étoit amoureuse; mais elle étoit avec cela fort inconstante & changeoit souvent de favoris." Ebauche, &c. p. 170.

by that name a capricious passion ever changing its object. The same characteristic warmth of temper hurried her no less to the extremes of devotion: she was scrupulously exact in her annual confessions of the wanderings of her heart; in expressing the utmost contrition; and in punctually adhering both in public and private to the minutest ceremonies and ordinances of the church.

With respect to her disposition and turn of mind; she is generally styled the humane Elizabeth, as she made a vow upon her accession to inflict no capital punishments* during her reign; and is reported to have shed tears upon the news of every victory gained by her troops, from the reflection that it could not have been obtained without great bloodshed. But although no criminal was formally executed in public; yet the state prisons were filled with wretched sufferers, many of whom, unheard of and unknown, perished in damp and unwholesome dungeons: the state inquisition, or secret committee, appointed to judge persons suspected of high treason, had constant occupation during her reign; many upon

* See Remarks on her celebrated edict, which abolished capital punishments, in the chapter on the Penal Laws of Russia in the next volume.

the slightest surmises were tortured in secret; many underwent the knoot, and expired under the infliction. But the transaction which reflects the highest disgrace upon her reign, was the public punishment of two ladies of fashion; the countesses Bestuchef and Lapookin: each received fifty strokes of the knoot in the open square of Peterburgh; their tongues were cut out; and they were banished into Siberia. One of these ladies, Madame Lapookin, esteemed the handsomest woman in Russia, was accused of carrying on a secret correspondence with the French ambassador; but her real crime was her having commented too freely on the empress's amours. Even the mere relation of such an affecting scene, as that of a woman of great beauty and high rank publicly exposed and scourged by the common executioner, must excite the strongest emotions of horror; and forbid us to venerate the memory of a princess, who, with such little regard to her own sex, could issue those barbarous commands. But let us lament the inconsistency of human nature; and in considering the character of Elizabeth, let us not deny that her heart, perhaps naturally benevolent, was occasionally corrupted by power, and steeled with suspicion; and that although

mercy might predominate whenever it did not interfere with her passions and prejudices; yet she by no means deserves the appellation of humane, the most noble * attribute of a sovereign, when it interposes to temper and mitigate the severity of justice. Elizabeth died in 1761, in the twenty-first year of her reign, and in the 53d of her age: she expired in December, the same month in which she was born, and in which she acceded to the throne.

In the fortress is a small arsenal, which, among other military stores, contains some antient cannon, cast in the middle of the sixteenth century under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II. and which I was surprized to find of such good workmanship. I had occasion to mention in a former chapter, that the art of casting cannon was introduced into Russia under Ivan Vassilievitch I. by Aristotle.

* I was informed from undoubted authority, that it was impossible to obtain Elizabeth's consent for the execution of a felon who had even committed the most horrid species of premeditated murder, and that the master of the police used secretly to order the executioner to knote to death those delinquents who were found guilty of the most atrocious crimes. It is a pity that she did not reserve her humanity, which in this instance was cruelty to her people, for more respectable objects.

of Bologna. Ivan II. did not fail to imitate the example of his grandfather in procuring, by means of foreign artists, the best artillery; and it is to this judicious policy that both these monarchs were chiefly indebted for their successes in war; and for the conquest of several provinces, which they annexed to their hereditary dominions.

In a separate building of the fortress is the mint. The gold and silver are sent from the mines of Siberia, and the separation is performed in this laboratory. We surveyed the whole process from the first smelting of the ore to the coining. Among the silver we observed a large quantity of Dutch dollars, which were melting down in order to be re-coined in roubles. Peter I. wanting silver for the new coinage, issued out a decree, that all the customs should be paid in Dutch dollars: at present half the duties are still discharged in that money by all foreign merchants, excepting the English, who are exempted by treaty. But as the gold and silver obtained from the mines of Siberia, with the addition of the dollars, are by no means sufficient for the money in circulation; a considerable quantity of both these metals is annually imported. The coinage, in its present

debased state, must be very advantageous, as in the gold there is so much alloy, that a profit of 48 *per cent.* is gained, and in the silver of 37 *. This state of the Russian money renders useless the prohibition against exporting it; and is productive of one mischievous effect, that it promotes the contraband introduction of false coin from foreign countries, upon which a considerable profit is acquired.

Among the remarkable objects in the mint, the machine for stamping the coin deserves to be mentioned; because it was invented by her present majesty, and is esteemed a very ingenious and simple piece of mechanism.

Within the fortress is a four-oared boat, secured, with great veneration, in a brick building; and preserved as a memorial to future ages of its being the origin of the Russian fleet. Peter I. used to call it the *Little Grandfire*; and, in the latter part of his reign, ordered it to be transported to Pe-

* See *Essai sur le commerce de Russie*, C. X. where the reader will find a very accurate state of the Russian coinage, in which the difference of the present money from that of the former reigns is laid down, as I was informed from good authority, with great exactness, p. 254—255.

tersburgh: it was conducted in solemn procession, in order to excite the admiration of the people, and held up that they might compare in what condition he had found the marine, and to what perfection he had brought it. The history of this little boat is worthy of notice; not only as it comprehends the first rise of the navy, but because, during the course of this narrative, I shall be enabled to point out sundry errors which have been advanced by several historians of Peter the Great; and which, if not duly corrected, will be consecrated by time, and admitted as truths.

I shall begin by remarking; that there is not the least foundation for the report * that
Peter

* L'Evesque has adopted this notion, and he cites for his authority a History of Peter the Great in the Slavonian tongue, first printed at Venice, and republished at Petersburg, with notes, by prince Sherebatof. He seems to cite from the text, and not from the notes. But I may venture to contradict this notion from the undoubted authority of General Patrick Gordon, cited by Mr. Muller, in his *Nachricht von der Ursprung, &c.* in *Journ. of St. Pet.* for 1778, p. 241.

General Gordon a native of Scotland was born in 1635: having served with glory in the Swedish and Polish armies, he entered into the Russian service in 1661, in which he continued to the end of his life. He wrote his *Journal* in

Peter was naturally afraid of the water; and that he had the utmost difficulty in surmounting this aversion: on the contrary, he seems to have always expressed a strong attachment to that element. The boat, which has given rise to this detail, was constructed during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, by Karstens Brandt, a Dutch shipwright, whom Alexèy Michaelovitch had invited into Russia. Pe-

the English tongue: it is now in the archives at Moscow, and has never been printed. Mr. Muller, who has made great use of it in some of his writings, proposed to extract and publish all the circumstances relating to Russia; but, to the great regret of all lovers of history, has been prevented by other occupations from carrying his design into execution.

I find, from Bachmeister's *Russ. Bibl.* for 1782, that a German translation of it is given in Part. IV. of the *Journal of St. Petersburg* for 1782, which I have not yet seen.

Gordon died in 1699, so much regretted by the czar, that, to use the words of his relation, "His majesty visited him five times during his illness, was present the moment he expired, and shut his eyes with his own hand."

The same author also says of him, greatly to his honour, "General Gordon was a sober man, in a country where drinking is much in fashion; and though he used to be much in the czar's company, his majesty, knowing his inclinations, would never allow him to be urged. He was ever mindful of his business, and did great service to the Russian nation." *Gordon's Hist. of Peter the Great*, vol. I. p. 137, 138.

ter,

ter *, about the year 1691, accidentally seeing this boat at a village near Moscow, inquired why it was built in a different manner from all those which he had hitherto observed: Timmerman, a foreigner, who taught him fortification, and to whom he addressed the question, informed him that it was a vessel † so contrived as to go against the wind. Peter's curiosity was roused by this intelligence, and Brandt, who was still in Russia, being instantly summoned, repaired it without delay, provided it with a mast and rigging, and, having launched it upon the Yaufa, sailed in it, to the surprize and astonishment of the young tzar, who immediately embarked in it himself, and, under the direction of Brandt, soon learned the management of the vessel.

Having repeated these experiments upon the Yaufa, as well as upon a neighbouring lake, to which it was transported, he ordered Brandt

* This part is taken from L'Evesque, who cites for his authority the Life of Peter, by the archbishop Theophanes, with notes, by prince Sherebatof. Hist. de Russie, vol. IV. p. III.

† L'Evesque says, from the authority of Prince Sherebatof, that it was une chaloupe Angloise; but we must prefer the authority of General Gordon, who informs us it was built by Brandt. Perhaps Timmerman might think it an English vessel.

to build a yacht * upon the banks of the Moskva, which was launched in 1691; and in which Peter embarked and sailed as far as Columna. Animated with the success of this expedition, he commanded the same shipwright to construct, upon the lake of Perislaw, several small vessels carrying guns; in which the tzar sailed on the 8th of February, the 3d of March, and the 5th of April of the following year. On the 1st of May another vessel was launched; and on the 9th Peter returned to Moscow. The death of Brandt, which soon followed, seems to have interrupted the increase of this little fleet; but did not prevent Peter from continuing his expeditions upon the lake. The following extracts, from General Gordon's Journal, will show with what eagerness the young monarch pursued his new occupation; when such trifling incidents as weighing anchor, and sailing across a lake, are circumstantially recorded.

“ Gordon went on the 11th of August to
 “ Pereslaw; on the 14th he was entertained in
 “ due form and ceremony on board of the

* From hence I follow implicitly Muller's Extracts from General Gordon's Journal.

“ admiral’s * ship; on the 18th,” he adds,
 “ we sailed from one side of the lake to the
 “ opposite bank; on the 21st we got under
 “ way, and sailed to the other side, where we
 “ again came to an anchor; on the 24th
 “ Gordon attended the tzar on ship-board;
 “ on the 28th we departed from Pereaslaf; and
 “ on the 31st reached Alexeyfk.” But as the
 limits of a lake were become too confined
 for the rising ambition of the tzar, he hurried
 to Archangel, where he arrived in the month
 of June, 1693. “ On the 17th,” says Gor-
 don, “ the post brought the news that the
 “ tzar had been upon the White Sea, and
 “ was happily arrived into port; and on the
 “ 11th of October he came back to Moscow.
 “ In the beginning of May, 1694, he returned
 “ to Archangel; and continued in those parts
 “ until September; during which time he
 “ made frequent expeditions upon the sea, and
 “ improved his knowledge of navigation.”

These little adventures, which seemed no-
 thing more than mere youthful amusements,
 were, however, soon afterwards productive of
 the most glorious event that distinguished the

* Mr. Muller conjectures that Le Fort was the admiral
 of this little squadron.

reign of Peter. When the tzar, in his campaign of 1695 against the Turks, besieged Azof, he found it impossible to take the town without blocking up the harbour; and as he did not at that time possess one ship, he was compelled to raise the siege.

His spirit being excited, rather than extinguished, by this disappointment, he gave orders for the immediate construction of several vessels: some were framed at Occa, and transported over land to the Don; but the greatest part were built at Veronetz. In less than a year he renewed the siege of Azof; and brought before it, to the infinite surprize of the Turks, two men of war, 23 galleys, two galleots, and four fire-ships*. With this little squadron, which sailed down the Don into the Black Sea, he blockaded the harbour; gained a naval victory over the Turkish galleys; and took Azof. He signalized this wonderful event by a triumphal entry into Moscow, and by a medal representing the taking of Azof, with a motto in Russian, "Victor by thunder and the waves." This success was only the prelude to still greater achievements; and as the security of his new conquests upon the

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 226.

Black Sea seemed to depend upon a powerful navy; the tzar having collected from all quarters the most expert ship-builders, and himself superintended the necessary preparations at Veronetz, Azof, and Taganroc, set out upon his first expedition into foreign parts. In 1699, soon after his return, he was present at a naval review upon the Black Sea, in which ten frigates were engaged, the largest carrying fifty, and the smallest twenty-six guns*: and the Russian navy, in the harbours of the Euxine, constructed and upon the stocks, is described, only three years after the first preparations, as consisting of nine ships of 60 guns, ten of 50, ten of 48, two of 42, fourteen of 34, two of 32, three of 30, one of 26, one of 24, four of 18, three of 14, and four of 8 guns; beside 18 triremes, 100 brigantines, and 300 boats in the Dnieper. This stupendous account would be almost incredible if it was not recorded by the secretary † to the Austrian

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 184.

† Korb Diarium. The reader will find, in p. 236, a catalogue of the names of all these vessels, together with the breadth, length, depth, number of guns, and complement of men.

Le Bruyn, who was at Veronetz in 1703, mentions the shipping in the following words: "With regard to the
" ships

Austrian embassy, then resident at Moscow. It is scarcely paralleled by the naval exertions of the Romans in the first Punic war.

The rapidity with which Peter created his fleet for the Black Sea, was equalled by similar exertions upon the Baltic after the acquisition of Cronstadt and the foundation of Petersburg. But to return to the boat which occasioned this digression, and which, accord-

“ Ships here, we saw fifteen in the water, four men of war,
 “ the biggest of 54 guns, three victuallers, two fire-ships,
 “ and six bomb-ketches. On shore, and ready to be
 “ launched, were five men of war, after the Dutch fashion,
 “ from 60 to 64 guns, two after the Italian from 50 to 54,
 “ a galeas after the Venetian, and four gallies, besides 17
 “ gallies at Siefoskie, two versts from the town. Besides
 “ all this, they were at work upon five men of war after
 “ the English built, two bored for 74 guns, and two for
 “ 60 or 64; the fifth, which is called after his majesty, be-
 “ cause he had the direction of her upon the stocks, is
 “ bored for 86 guns. They were at work also upon a
 “ packet-boat; and ashore, on the other side of the river,
 “ were about 200 brigantines, most of them built at Vero-
 “ nis; and at this time there were 400 stout brigantines
 “ upon the Nieper, and the Borysthenes, in the neigh-
 “ bourhood of Crim Tartary; and 300 flat-bottomed vessels
 “ upon the Volga; besides 18 men of war at Asoph, a
 “ bomb vessel, and a yacht. The czar has several other
 “ ships, the largest of which is of 66 guns, four from 41
 “ to 50, five of 36, two of 34, and others smaller, the
 “ least of 28 guns.” *Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 62.*

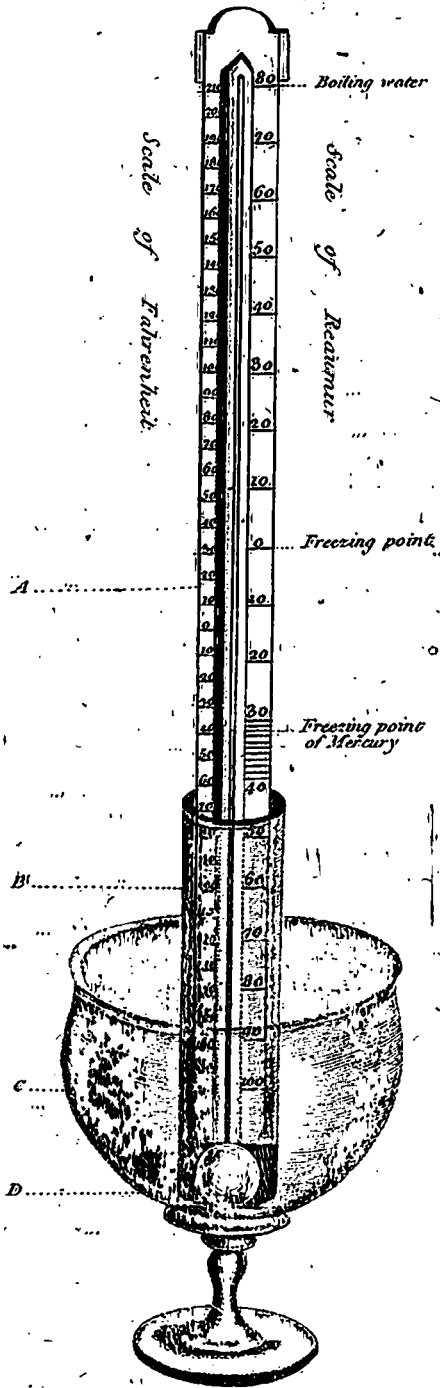
ing

ing to Peter I. was the original cause of the Russian navy. In 1723 Peter, at the close of the Persian expedition, ordered it to be transported from Moscow to the new metropolis; and gave a public entertainment, which was called the *Consecration of the Little Grandfire*. The fleet, consisting of twenty-seven men of war, was ranged at Cronstadt in the form of an half-moon, when his majesty embarked in this boat, himself steering, while three admirals and prince Mentchikof performed the office of rowers: being then towed by two sloops, it made a small circuit in the Gulf; and, returning by the fleet, the ships, as it passed along, struck their flags and saluted with all their guns; while the *Little Grandfire* returned each salute by a discharge of three small pieces. It was then brought into the harbour, and surrounded by the men of war. A few days afterwards the *Little Grandfire* was conveyed to St. Petersburg, where its arrival was solemnized by a masquerade upon the water*. This memorable boat, freighted with the emperor, proceeded to the fortress, and was conducted, Peter himself assisting in the ceremony; under the discharge of all the ar-

* Consett's present State of Russia, p. 218.

tillery, to the place where it now remains enshrined as a memorial to posterity.

From the fortrefs we took water; and landed at an adjacent spot in the island of Peterburgh, near a wooden hovel, which is dignified by its having served for the habitation of Peter the Great while the fortrefs was constructing. It still exists in its original state; and stands under a brick building, purposely erected to preserve it from destruction. The house is a ground floor, with only three rooms, which I had the curiosity to measure. They are but eight feet in height: the apartment for the reception of company, as it was called, is 15 feet square; the dining-room is 15 by 12; and the bed-chamber ten feet square. Near this house is another four-oared boat, the work of Peter's own hands, and which has been erroneously called the *Little Grandfire*; an honourable appellation due only to that just described.



Apparatus for freezing Quicksilver.

C H A P. VI.

- *Congelation of Quicksilver.*—Dr. Guthrie's experiments to ascertain the freezing point of mercury, and to prove that the purity or impurity of the mercury by no means affects its congelation.

AS the curious experiment of freezing quicksilver was first discovered at Petersburgh by Professor Braun, I was greatly desirous of being a witness to the repetition of the same process; particularly as many doubts had been entertained by several philosophers, concerning the real congelation of *pure* quicksilver, and I had frequent opportunities of seeing this phenomenon during a series of experiments made by Dr. Guthrie, physician to the Imperial Corps de Cadets.

Having inserted a tube containing some quicksilver in a mixture of snow and spirit of nitre, he took it out in about ten minutes, and placed it in a second mixture, and in about five minutes the quicksilver was perfectly congeled. The tube being broken, the quicksilver

appeared in a solid mass like a ball of silver, and being struck with a hammer was flattened into twice its extension before it broke and liquefied.

But as the hammer was much warmer than the frozen quicksilver, it immediately melted the parts which it touched, seeming to have the same effect upon the mercury as a warm iron would have upon wax. I desired, therefore, Dr. Guthrie to place the hammer also in the freezing mixture, so as to acquire the same degree of cold as the frozen quicksilver. Another portion of quicksilver being congealed by the same process as before, I took out the hammer, and struck the solid mass of quicksilver as hard as I could; it resisted the stroke, and yielded a dead sound like lead; I struck it again, and made a small dent; a third time, and made a larger dent, until it gradually extended and flattened under the hammer, separated like an amalgama of the consistence of cheese, and soon liquefied.

To me the congelation of quicksilver was a matter of mere curiosity; but the doctor's experiments tended not only to prove its absolute congelation, but likewise to ascertain exactly the freezing point, and to shew, contrary to the opinion of several philosophers, that

that the purity or impurity of the mercury did not in any wise affect the success of the experiment.

As the subject is in itself extremely curious, and rendered still more interesting by the very able treatise published by Dr. Blagden, Secretary of the Royal Society, in the Philosophical Transactions, on the History of the Congelation of Quicksilver, I shall here insert a summary account of the experiments and observations communicated by Dr. Guthrie himself. I shall only add, that I myself was witness to most of the experiments mentioned in the following account.

“ Mr. Joseph Adam Braun, Professor of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Peterburgh, discovered, in December 1759, that mercury might be rendered solid by means of artificial cold; and since that time it has been congeled in severe winters by the cold of the atmosphere in the northern countries of both the old and new continent.

“ This congelation of mercury by the natural cold, renders the knowledge of its freezing point a matter of great importance to the natural history of the earth as well as of man, as by determining the degree of cold necessary

to effect this phenomenon, we shall be able to form an estimate of the real degree of cold obtaining in the countries near the poles, and consequently of the power inherent in living animals to resist it. Until lately our ideas on this subject were confused and erroneous. The experiments and observations of the most able naturalists in different parts of Europe and America were only of partial use to natural history and physics, by giving a place to mercury amongst the malleable metals, and by demonstrating that there is nothing essentially fluid in its nature, but that it is a metal which melts with a less degree of heat than the others.

“ But still the philosopher was not informed what reliance he could place on the mercurial thermometer towards determining the cold of climates, as the motions of the quicksilver appeared by those very experiments extremely irregular in the lower parts of the scale, falling many degrees in an instant, and after it had descended below a certain point, sinking suddenly into the bulb, and thereby indicating (if any conclusion could be drawn from its descent) that the animals of the northern countries could resist the action of cold some hundred degrees below the freezing point

point of water. This supposition staggered the faith of many philosophers, and made them anxious that the matter should be more fully investigated. Accordingly the Royal Society of London desired its members residing in cold countries to turn their attention towards determining the point of congelation of mercury, and to remark the descent of the mercury in the thermometer during the process from the freezing point of water to that of mercury, in order to form a juster notion of the real contraction of that metal. But it was not till lately that light was thrown upon the subject, by a course of experiments made at the desire of the Royal Society, by Mr. Hutchins, governor of Hudson's Bay, who received excellent instructions from Mr. Cavendish, and Dr. Black, professor of chymistry in the university of Edinburgh. These directions, and an apparatus made in London for the purpose, enabled the governor to perceive, that the sudden and considerable descent which takes place in the lower parts of the thermometer, when exposed to great cold, happens from the contraction of the metal in its frozen state, and does not affect the regularity and justness of its contraction whilst it remains fluid. This great point was principally ascertained by

means of a spirit thermometer, which was found not to freeze as soon as the mercury, and thereby indicated the degree of cold produced by his frigorific mixture, when the mercurial thermometer ceased to measure it on account of its contraction on becoming solid.

“ In order to prove, that the descent of the mercury in the thermometer was derived from this new-discovered principle, namely, the contraction of this metal in freezing, and to try whether pure mercury required a greater degree of cold to freeze it than adulterated mercury, I made the following experiments with the following sorts of mercury :

“ 1. I procured from Mr. Winterberger, a famous chymist of St. Petersburg, the purest mercury known to chymists, viz. revived from calomel by filings of iron. 2. From Dr. Pallas, native mercury, collected in a mine where no other metal is found but a little iron. 3. Common barometer mercury, furnished by Mr. Morgan, an English optician at Petersburg, just as he received it from England for filling his instruments. 4. Six drachms of common mercury, which I adulterated by dissolving in it a quarter of a grain of tin foil.

“ I procured

“ I procured also some thermometers made with great care and accuracy by Mr. Morgan, filled with the same purified mercury, N° 1. for the express purpose of these experiments; also one with highly rectified spirits of wine, distilled by Mr. Winterberger.

“ Adjoined is a drawing of the apparatus I employed in these experiments, and which was suggested to me by my learned friend Dr. Black: it differs from that employed by Mr. Hutchins in being more simple, and consequently the mercury easier to be examined during the process of congelation. It consists of a half pint water-glass C, wrapped round with coarse flannel, and filled with fuming spirit of nitre and snow to produce artificial cold; a glass tube B, of about half an inch diameter, containing a little mercury to be frozen, and in this tube is inserted a thermometer A, so that its bulb is buried in the mercury, but no part of the stem: the tube and thermometer thus arranged, are placed in the above-mentioned water-glass, containing the freezing mixture.

“ December the 22d, 1784. In a calm clear evening, Reaumur's thermometer at 17 degrees below O, after having exposed the apparatus on a table in my court-yard (where

I made my experiments) for two hours, to acquire the temperature of the atmosphere, I poured a little of the purified mercury, N° 1, into the glass tube, and having inserted a thermometer filled with the same purified mercury, so that its bulb was covered with the mercury in the tube, I placed them in the water-glass, filled with the freezing mixture, and in six minutes transported them into a second, with similar contents; the mercury in four minutes more became solid, and when I drew out the thermometer, with the frozen mercury surrounding its bulb in the form of a solid cylinder, it stood at $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below O. Perceiving, however, a little fluid mercury still remaining in the tube, I immediately replaced the thermometer with the mercury adhering to its bulb, and in a few minutes the mercury rose about half a degree; when drawing it up a second time, I found the mercury was melted, and the bulb quite free from it. Now this experiment appeared decisive, that the freezing point of pure mercury is at $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below O on this thermometer; for as there remained a little mercury still fluid in the tube, there seems to have been only produced sufficient cold to freeze it, and as on its rising half a degree the mercury became fluid, the point

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point of congelation seems to be accurately determined.

“ Second experiment.—On the 9th January, 1785, between the hours of six and half past seven in the evening, I made the following experiments in presence of Mr. Epinus, Mr. Coxe, and other gentlemen; I inserted the mercurial thermometer used in the last experiment in a portion of the purified mercury, N^o 1, and placed them in the cold mixture: the thermometer fell slowly to $32\frac{1}{2}$, and was there stationary some time, whilst we perceived the mercury in the tube freezing round the sides of it, so as to produce a coating like tin foil in the Leyden phial; and on transporting it to a second glass of cold mixture, the thermometer fell in five minutes to 36 degrees, where it remained stationary during the time it continued in the mixture. What was very remarkable in this experiment, the mercury in the thermometer was still fluid, although its bulb was frozen into that contained in the tube; for on reversing the instrument, the mercury ran out of the bulb into the stem. Now, here is a proof that mercury may be cooled $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below its freezing point without becoming solid.

“ Third

“ Third experiment with native mercury.— It having been lately asserted, that a thermometer, filled with highly rectified spirits of wine, is better calculated to determine the freezing point of mercury, than one filled with the same metal, because it resists congelation longer, I plunged the spirit thermometer into the tube containing the native mercury. Having placed the apparatus in the glass with the refrigerant mixture for five minutes, and transported it into a second glass, the spirit falling in the thermometer to 32, we examined the mercury, and found it frozen, although the spirits of wine remained fluid, and the thermometer stood at the same degree, not only while the apparatus remained in the cold mixture, but even after I transported it into a warm room, and kept at the same point, until a large part of the bulb of the thermometer was uncovered by the melting of the frozen mercury, drop by drop, into a glass.

“ Fourth experiment on common barometer mercury.—The mercurial thermometer used in the first experiment was plunged into this mercury, and placed in the glass of cold mixture, where, having remained about five minutes, it was transported into a second glass, and there in four minutes the thermometer
funk

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sunk down to 38, and remained stationary. There the same singular phenomenon presented itself that appeared in the second experiment, with some additions; viz. that the mercury was cooled down to $5\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below its freezing point on this thermometer without becoming solid.

“ Fifth experiment with the same mercury. — I froze a little of this mercury without inserting a thermometer, in order to try its malleability and specific gravity; it flattened under the hammer, and of course is malleable, and sunk in fluid mercury, which shews that it contracts considerably in freezing, differing in this circumstance from common ice, which expands and swims in water.

“ Sixth experiment on mercury adulterated with tin.—The spirit of wine thermometer was plunged into this mercury, and stood at 32 when the mercury was frozen round its bulb.

“ Seventh experiment on purified mercury, was on the 10th of January, 1785 (a repetition of a former one) in the presence of professors Pallas and Ferber, and other gentlemen, who attended. I plunged the spirit thermometer into a portion of Mr. Winterberger's vivified mercury, and it fell to 32 degrees

degrees below O, whilst the mercury was freezing, and remained there after it became solid so long as it stood in the frigorific mixture. I then drew the thermometer out of the tube with its bulb froze into the mercury, and hung it on a nail in the open air; the metal melted slowly in drops, and the spirit still kept at the same point until the greatest part was thawed; we finished these experiments by trying with the spirit thermometer, what degree of cold was produced by a fresh frigorific mixture, which appeared to be just 35 degrees below O.

“From the whole of these experiments, I am disposed to conclude, that the freezing point of mercury is at 32 degrees below O on Reaumur’s thermometer, or 40 of Fahrenheit’s, and that common mercury does not freeze with a less degree of cold than what has been purified.

“Eighth experiment.—February 1, 1785, a favourable cold of 15 degrees offering this evening, and being provided with some revived mercury, twice distilled with fixed alkali, by Mr. Winterberger, a preparation which has been said to resist a greater degree of cold than the others; but we found that it froze in $2\frac{1}{2}$ minutes exactly at 32 degrees of

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of Reaumur's mercurial thermometer, in the first glass of cold mixture, and differed in nothing from all the other sorts excepting the following.

“ Ninth experiment. — Mercury purified with antimony froze in two different experiments at 30 degrees with a spirit thermometer, and in one with a mercurial thermometer at 32 degrees, so that there actually appears a disposition in this preparation to freeze with a less degree of cold than the others; but it must be remarked, that it has a blackish dull colour and sluggish motion.

“ Tenth experiment.—Mr. Coxe being curious to try the malleability of the mercury distilled with alkali, which has a very bright and fluid appearance, I froze some of it in a tube, at the same time cooling the hammer in the refrigerant mixture, so as to acquire the same temperature as the frozen mercury, defending the iron from the action of the nitrous acid by means of a glass cylinder. This mercury bore several strokes of the cold hammer, flattening like a leaden bullet.

“ Eleventh experiment.—I lastly froze six drachms of common mercury, containing twelve times as much tin foil as in experiment the sixth; but even this quantity of alloy, which rendered it almost an amalgama, did not
dispose

dispose it to freeze with less than 32 degrees of Reaumur.

“ February 16, O. S.—A cold of 24 degrees offering most unexpectedly this morning, so very late in the season, and another experiment having been suggested to me by an ingenious friend, Mr. Romme, to put the point of congelation of impure mercury still in a clearer light, I tried it about mid-day, when the cold was diminished 4 degrees in the shade.

“ Mr. Romme remarked, that mercury takes up much more bismuth than tin without losing its fluidity or colour, and as bismuth is a metal much oftener used to adulterate it, and very difficult to be separated from it, he thought therefore a mixture of them was a very proper subject of experiment to decide the question. I accordingly prepared an amalgama so thick, that it silvered glass like a mirror by merely running over it, and adhering so fast as not to be removed without scraping. But still the freezing point of this very impure mercury was the same as the others; viz. 32 degrees of Reaumur, by the mercurial thermometer. The spirit thermometer being employed to try the cold of the frigorific mixture, to my surprize fell no lower than the other thermometer inserted in the mercury contained as usual in a tube.

“ Thus

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“ Thus ended my experiments this season ; and I think I may venture to draw the following inference from them :

“ That the point of congelation of mercury is at 32 degrees below O on Reaumur.

“ That there appears no difference in the point of congelation of purified and common mercury, except one preparation with antimony, which seems to congeal with a less degree of cold than all the others above-mentioned.

“ That in some circumstances mercury may be cooled below its freezing point without losing its fluidity, even as far as five and an half degrees, whilst the portion in which the bulb of the thermometer is plunged becomes solid.

“ That there appears nothing in these experiments to affect the credit of the mercurial thermometer, as an accurate instrument for measuring the degrees of heat from the point of boiling water down to that of the congelation of mercury ; but that no conclusions can be drawn from its motions below this point, as they depend on the contraction of the metal in a solid state, which ought to be carefully distinguished from what takes place whilst it preserves its fluidity ; that

therefore the ideas we have formed of the cold obtaining in the habited countries near the poles, and the astonishing power of animals to resist it, must be erroneous*, as they have been taken from the extraordinary descent of the mercury in the thermometer, which, we now know, is derived from the contraction of the mercury when frozen, and not from such an extraordinary degree of cold, as, if it had taken place, must have destroyed the whole system of organized bodies.

“ That we cannot, according to our present knowledge of the subject, assert, that there exists a much greater degree of cold than the point of the congelation of mercury, no other instrument having been employed to ascertain it than the mercurial thermometer, which is now proved of no authority below 32 degrees of Reaumur.

“ But it appears, that a thermometer filled

* Dr. Blagden ingeniously infers from a comparison of natural cold, during a series of years, at Albany Fort, measured by a spirit thermometer, and of artificial cold produced by freezing mixtures, that the extreme of artificial cold produced by snow and nitrous acid corresponds pretty exactly with the extreme of natural cold in the most rigorous climates, which can be well inhabited; and does not exceed 46° of a standard mercurial thermometer of Fahrenheit. Phil. Transac. vol. lxxiii. p. 387.

with highly rectified spirits of wine preserves its fluidity in a cold of 35 degrees of Reaumur, or 47 of Fahrenheit, and probably in a greater, so that it may be employed in northern climates with more advantage than one filled with mercury.

“ The surprising coincidence in the freezing of mercury congeled in Siberia by natural cold, with that effected by means of artificial cold, merits attention; as they both fix the freezing point of mercury at 32 of Reaumur; particularly professor Laxman, in a late paper to the Imperial Academy, declares, that he found common mercury constantly become solid at 210 of De Lisle (32 of Reaumur); and that in the year 1782, it continued solid for two months together; and Dr. Pallas, in the third volume of his Travels, mentions the same phænomenon taking place about the same part of the scale.”

• In addition to Dr. Guthrie's remarks, I shall offer the following observations.

• From a careful review of Mr. Hutchins's experiments, and a comparison of the thermometers which he employed on that occasion, Mr. Cavendish * concludes, that the

* Philof. Transactions, vol. lxxiii. p. 2. page 321.

true point at which quicksilver froze on Mr. Hutchins's thermometers, graduated according to the scale of Fahrenheit, was 40; and a thermometer adjusted in the manner recommended by the Committee of the Royal Society, freezes in $38\frac{2}{3}$, or, in whole numbers, 39 below freezing point, or $31\frac{2}{3}$ of Reaumur, which answers to the conclusion drawn by Dr. Guthrie from his experiments, estimating the point of mercurial congelation at 32 of Reaumur, or 40 below 0 of Fahrenheit.

As the degree of artificial cold requisite to congele quicksilver had been greatly misconceived and exaggerated, a similar misconception also prevailed with respect to the degree of natural cold necessary to the success of the experiment.

Professor Braun estimated, that the degree of natural cold ought not to be less than 190 of De Lisle, or 17 below 0 of Fahrenheit: and that opinion was also generally adopted by the naturalists of Russia, and when the mercury in the thermometer stood above that point, they conceived it needless to attempt the experiment.

Dr. Guthrie, however, in the course of his experiments, sufficiently proves, that the congelation

congelation succeeded in a cold not exceeding 0 of Fahrenheit, and subsequent experiments made at Oxford by Mr. Walker shew, that a very small degree of natural cold is sufficient to obtain for the frigorific mixture the degree of cold necessary to congeale quicksilver.

Mr. Walker congeled quicksilver by means of a mixture of, equal parts, of vitriolic acid and strong fuming nitrous acid with snow, the temperature of the atmosphere being only at 30, or 2 degrees below freezing point.

The same ingenious gentleman has also shewn, that it may be even frozen in summer, in the hottest climates, by a particular combination of the frigorific mixtures, without the use of ice*.

I shall close this chapter with several curious experiments made in Siberia by Dr. Pallas, for the purpose of ascertaining the difference of the heat in animals during their torpid and natural states.

* Walker's Experiments on the Production of Artificial Cold, Phil. Trans. vol. lxxviii. p. 395.—Also Walker's Experiments on the Congelation of Quicksilver in England, Philos. Transactions for 1789, vol. lxxix. part 2. p. 199.

Dr. Pallas having made an incision into the abdomen of a hedge-hog during its torpid state, and placed Fahrenheit's thermometer in its belly, the mercury rose only to $39\frac{1}{2}$; and the animal gave no more signs of feeling, than if it had been actually dead, as well whilst he was making the incision, as when he was sewing up the wound, although the animal was immediately afterwards put into a warm room, gradually ~~re-~~covered from its lethargy, and walked about the chamber with as much insensibility as if no operation had been performed.

The doctor kept this hedge-hog in his house from December to the end of March; and although the heat of the apartment in which it lay was seldom under 60 degrees, yet it eat no food, and was never out of its torpid state, except once or twice, when it was placed behind the stove, in a heat from 77 to 80. Roused by that expedient, it was awakened from its lethargy, took a few turns about the room, and eat a few morsels; but soon lay down again, and passed its torpid months as nature ordains.

It is probable, that the bodies of these animals, who sleep during winter, are gradually prepared for the torpid state by a
deficiency

deficiency of food, and a consequent diminution of natural heat; for, a thermometer plunged in the bellies of marmots and hedge-hogs in their natural states, rose to 76, 79, 81, 86, 88, 99, and $99\frac{1}{2}$, namely, from $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees to 50 higher than it rose when plunged into the belly of the hedge-hog in its torpid state.

The following fact also seems still further to illustrate the conjecture, that a certain state of body predisposes to a torpid state. A tame marmot, which had become extremely fat during summer in the professor's house, continued awake during the whole winter, although it was exposed to the same cold which threw the whole species into their torpid state in that part of Siberia; nor was the doctor able to render it torpid, even with the assistance of the ice-cellar, wherein he sometimes confined it during several days.

By comparing this experiment with the sleeping hedge-hog, which Dr. Pallas was not able to rouse from its lethargy during the whole winter, except for very short intervals, though exposed to a heat of between 77 and 80 degrees; it seems to follow, that a certain state of body is necessary to assist

nature in laying asleep some animals, to which they are gradually brought by a deficiency of nourishment about the beginning of winter, when they shut up their holes, and retire to rest from instinct; and that the impulse of the circulation and animal spirits, arising from heat or full feeding, supercedes the necessity of the torpid state, and prevents their falling asleep.

It is also a curious circumstance in the oeconomy of nature, that Dr. Pallas found the heat of birds more considerable than that of quadrupeds; namely, from 103 to 111 degrees; a wise arrangement of Providence, in proportioning the heat of the winged tribe to the superior cold obtaining in that part of the atmosphere where they range.

C H A P. VII.

Palace and gardens of Tzariskoe-Zelo.—Oranienbaum.—History of Prince Mentchikof.—Fortress.—Apartments of Peter III.—Palace and gardens of Peterhof.—Dutch house built by Peter the Great.—Schluffelburgh.—Origin, history, and description of the fortress.

AS, upon our arrival at Petersburgh, the season of the year was far advanced; we had no time or opportunity to visit many places in the neighbourhood of that capital. We contrived, however, before the approach of winter, to make excursions to Tzariskoe-Zelo, Oranienbaum, Peterhof, and Schluffelburgh.

Tzariskoe-Zelo, an imperial palace, about fifteen miles from Petersburgh, is the favourite summer residence of the empress, where she lives in a more retired manner than when she is at Peterhof. This palace, which was built by Elizabeth, is a brick edifice stuccoed white, of disproportionate length, and in a most heavy style of architecture. The capitals of the outside pillars, as also many

of the other exterior ornaments, together with the several wooden statues which support the cornice and adorn the roof, are all gilded, and exhibit a most tawdry appearance. The apartments are large and magnificent: some are fitted up in the old style of gaudy profusion; others in a less splendid, but more elegant taste, by her present majesty. One room is much admired, being richly incrusted with amber, a present from the king of Prussia.

Having viewed the palace, we walked round the gardens, which are laid out in the English taste, and are agreeably diversified with lawn, wood, and water. Among several bridges, we were particularly struck with one, built after the model of Lord Pembroke's Palladian bridge at Wilton. It is exactly of the same size, but more magnificent, the lower part being of granite, and the colonade of marble. The latter was hewn and worked in Siberia by an Italian artist, who employed nine years in completing it: from Siberia it was transported by water to Petersburgh, and from the capital to Tzarfkoe-Zelo by land. It was a pleasing satisfaction to observe our works of taste introduced into these distant and, formerly, inhospitable

hospitable regions. Several buildings were scattered about the gardens, many of which were raised in honour of those persons who distinguished themselves in the imperial service: among these I remarked a triumphal arch to Prince Orlof, for repairing to Moscow in order to check the progress of the plague, which raged with great violence in that city; a building to Count Alexèy Orlof, in memory of the naval victory at Tchefme; and an obelisk to Marshal Romantzof, for his successes against the Turks.

Our next excursion was to Peterhof, Oranienbaum and Cronstadt*.

The road lay at a small distance from the Gulf of Finland, at first through a flat country, chiefly marshy, producing pasture and little corn. On our left extended a ridge of low hills, which once formed the boundary of the Gulf, when it spread over a larger space than it covers at present. We ascended this ridge; observed on our left the convent of St. Sergius, and on our right the palace of Strelna, begun by Elizabeth, but never finished. About four miles further we passed by Peter-

* Cronstadt will be described in the chapter which treats of the Russian navy. See Book VI. in the next volume,

hof; and proceeded to Oranienbaum, through a country covered with forest.

The palace of Oranienbaum, which stands near the shore of the Gulf of Finland, about the distance of 27 miles from Peterburgh, was erected by Prince Mentchikof, while he was in the meridian of a power, to which scarcely any subject but himself has ever arrived. The rise of this extraordinary man is variously related by different authors. Some assert that he was apprentice to a pastry-cook, and sold pies in the streets of Moscow; that Peter once stopping to converse with him, was so struck with his ready wit and quick repartees, that he took him into his service, and advanced him, by rapid promotions, to the height of favour which he afterwards enjoyed: others declare, that he was the son of a groom belonging to the court, and was casually placed about the person of the emperor*. Both these accounts, however contradictory to each other, sufficiently show the lowness and uncertainty of his origin: and indeed it is no wonder that the genealogy of

* The former opinion, that he was a pastry-cook's boy, seems to be the most probable, as it is preferred by Weber, Manstein, Bruce.

an upstart favourite should not be exactly traced. The earliest account upon record concerning him is, that, in the year 1687, he was one of the youths * whom Peter I. formed into a corps, and disciplined after the European manner. The young tzar was only fifteen years old; and Mentchikof, then known by the name of *Alexasca*, or Little Alexander, about the same age; and as the latter was remarkably active in his exercise, he was observed by Le Fort, and by him recommended to Peter. Several persons of this company were afterwards promoted very high in the Russian service; and many circumstances concurred to forward the advancement of Mentchikof. He rendered himself remarkably useful to the tzar in his plans of reformation; he paid a particular attention to foreigners, whom Peter was continually drawing into his service; he studied his master's character and temper; and knew how to submit to the grossest insults. "The tzar," says Gordon, who was himself an eye-witness, "often kicked him publicly, and beat him like a

* Muller's Nachricht von der Ursprunge des Preobaschenskischen, &c. in Journal of St. Peterburgh for March, 1778, p. 173. Furst Menzikow war einer den ersten Poteshnii. See also Manstein, p. 11.

“ dog ; so that the by-standers concluded
 “ him undone ; but always next morning the
 “ peace was made up, which people believed
 “ could not proceed but from some preter-
 “ natural cause *.”

One instance of his implicit obedience to the commands of the tzar, and his dexterity in performing them, is recorded by Korb, secretary to the Austrian embassy. It is a well-known fact that Peter was accustomed to assist at the examination of the prisoners who were accused of high treason ; that he would be present at the tortures inflicted upon them in order to force confession ; that he would frequently attend at their execution ; that he would sometimes himself perform the office of executioner † ; and would occasionally
 “ confign

* Gordon's Life of Peter, vol. II. p. 278. | Korb also says, “ Alexascam verò favoritam suam, gladio accinctum inter tripudia deprehendens, deponendi gladii morem inflicto colapho docuit ; cujus impetum sanguis ex naribus abundè defluus satis testatus est.” p. 84.

† “ Quinque rebellium capita à nobilissima Moscoviæ manu securi esse amputata.” Korb Diarium, p. 170.

L'Évesque makes the following judicious remarks upon this remarkable circumstance.

“ Peut être ces sortes d'executions, dont les grands
 “ étaient les ministres, et auxquelles le prince lui-même
 “ prenait part, étaient-elles fondées sur quelque usage ou
 “ sur

consign that task to his favourites and principal nobles *. Korb relates, that, soon after
the

“ sur quelque loi dont on a perdu le souvenir. Elles
 “ étoient réservées, sans doute, pour ces grandes rebellions
 “ qui menaçaient l'état et le souverain. La noblesse, en
 “ frappant elle même les coupables, prouvait qu'elle avoit
 “ horreur de leur complot; et le prince grièvement of-
 “ fensé, se réservait quelque part à la vengeance. Ce
 “ qui semble confirmer ce sentiment, c'est que Pierre punit
 “ les Strelits de la même manière, que le tsar Ivan s'était
 “ vengé des nobles qui lui étaient suspects. Ce rapport
 “ entre le crime et la punition prouve qu'elle ne dépendait
 “ seulement du caprice du souverain. Pierre, dirait-on,
 “ devait abolir cet usage. Mais pouvait-il changer si
 “ promptement les coutumes, les loix, sa nation & lui-
 “ même.” Vol. IV. p. 147.

* Gordon mentions the same circumstance, but he only says “ that several of the great men, whom the tsar sus-
 “ pected to have been engaged in this conspiracy, he
 “ caused to take the axe into their hands, and obliged
 “ them to cut off the heads of some others of the conspi-
 “ rators.” Vol. I. p. 130. Korb mentions, among
 others, the names of Blumberg and Le Fort, whom the
 tsar desired to become executioners, but who excused
 themselves.

“ Quotquot Bojarinorum & magnatum concilio inte-
 “ rerant, quo contra rebelles Strelizios certamen decretum
 “ est, hodiernus dies ad novum vocavit tribunal: singulis
 “ singuli rei propositi: quemvis oportebat sententiam, quam
 “ dictaverat, securi exequi. Princeps Romadonowski, an-
 “ tequam tumultuarentur, quatuor regiminum dux quatuor
 “ Strelizios, urgente majestate, eodem ferro ad terram pro-
 “ stravit;

the insurrection of the Strelitz in 1698, Peter scornfully reproached many of the nobles who trembled at being compelled to behead some rebels; adding, in a strain of sanguinary justice, "that there was no victim more acceptable to the Deity than a wicked man." Mentchikof, however, does not seem to have laboured under such delicate feelings; for, as a prelude to the execution of 150 Strelitz, he drove about the street of Moscow in a sledge brandishing a naked

"stravit; crudelior Alexasca de viginti decussis capitibus glorabatur; infelix Gallizin, quod malè feriendo dolores damnati multùm adauxerit, 330. Unà simul educti ad feralem securis ictum latè patentem planitiem civili quidem, sed impio sanguine purpurârunt. Ad idem licitoris officium cum Barone de Blumberg Generalis Lefort invitabatur; sed excusantes, id domi suæ moris non esse, auditi sunt. Ipsemet tzarus in sellâ sedens totam tragœdiam, tamque horrendam tot hominum lanienam siccis oculis inspectabat, hoc unum indignatus, quòd Bojarinorum plurimi insueto huic muneri tremulas manus admovissent; cum tamen nulla pinguior victima Deo maectari possit, quàm homo sceleratus." p. 88, 89.

And again: "Quivis incertum librabat ictum, novo et insolito muneri tremulas manus admovens. Infelicissimè omnium feriebat Bojarinorum ille, qui aberrantem à collo gladium in tergus miserat, et Strelizio sic in medium fermè dissecto, dolores ad desperationem auxisset, nisi Alexasca seçuri melius infelicis rei collum tetigisset." Ibid. p. 172.

sword*, and boasted of his adroitness in cutting off twenty heads. It was not merely by acts of buffoonery and cruelty that he acquired the esteem and confidence of Peter, but by his superior abilities, both as a statesman and a soldier †. Being chosen by the emperor for the companion of his travels into foreign parts, he was, in 1706, created prince of the German empire; and was rapidly elevated to the highest employments both in the civil and military line. On particular occasions he was even permitted to personate his sovereign, by giving public audience to foreign ambassadors; while Peter, averse to the pomp of royalty, appeared as a private person in his suite. So great indeed was the ascendancy which this favourite acquired over the emperor (an ascendancy confirmed and maintained by the influence of Catharine ‡), as to give rise to a report among

* *Ostendit adhuc eo vespere sæpe dictus Alexander, carpento per omnia urbis compitua vectus, creberrimâ nudi ensis ostentatione, quam sanguinolentam crastini diei tragœdiam expectaret.*

† At the battle of Pultawa he had three horses shot under him.

‡ Catharine more than once prevented Mentchikof's disgrace, which had been inevitable without her intercession. Bassevitz in Busc. H. M. IX. p. 294.

the

the Ruffians, that he had fascinated by witchcraft the mind of his master.

Upon the death of Peter his power was still more unbounded. Catharine, who was chiefly indebted to his intrigues and abilities for her elevation to the throne, gratefully resigned to him the sole administration of affairs; and she may be called the ostensible, while he was the real sovereign*. His authority continued undiminished to the moment of her decease; and the clause in her will †, by which she ordered her successor Pëter II. to espouse the prince's daughter, was at once a proof of his ascendancy, and her gratitude.

His intrigues and power, his ambition and arrogance, his disrespectful behaviour to Peter II. ‡ and the peculiar circumstances of his

* "Le gouvernement," says Count Muncic, "n'étoit autre chose que le vouloir despotique du Prince Mentchikow." Ebauche, &c. p. 63.

† Gordon supposes that this will was forged by prince Mentchikof: a supposition for which there is not the least proof. We must distinguish between those parts of Gordon's history, which relate to events while he was in Russia, and the others which he wrote after he quitted that country in 1711. He speaks worse of prince Mentchikof than he seems to deserve, and particularly arraigns his courage.

‡ Muncic gives, among others, the following instances of his arrogance: "Lorsqu'il venoit à un grand empereur
" il

his disgrace, are all related in the Memoirs of Manstein * ; a book which cannot be too highly commended as an authentic and impartial work. Two days before his fall the prince repaired to his palace of Oranienbaum for the dedication of a chapel, having previously invited Peter II. to be present at the ceremony : the latter however excusing himself, under pretence of indisposition, the chapel was consecrated ; and it did not escape notice, that Mentchikof seated himself on a throne which had been raised for the emperor. Being arrested, in the month of September, 1727, he was imprisoned at Berezof, a small town upon the river Oby, in a wooden hovel enclosed with palisadoes, where he ended his days. He is said to have supported his disgrace with firmness and resignation † : he received

“ il le traitoit de fils et sous-signoit la lettre : Votre Pere
 “ Menschikow. Aux eglises il se mettoit à la tribune de
 “ l'Empereur,” &c. Ebauche, &c. p. 67.

* P. 2. to p. 13.

† Manstein, p. 10. Weber, on the contrary, asserts, that he was wretched and impatient, and became so weary of his existence, as to refuse all nourishment, and could be prevailed upon to swallow nothing but water. Having continued in this state a few days without uttering a single

ceived a daily allowance of ten roubles *, from which he even saved a sufficiency to build a wooden church; and amused himself by assisting the workmen in its construction. He survived his fall about two years and five months, dying in the month of November, 1729, of an apoplexy †.

The wife of Prince Mentchikof was so affected with her husband's disgrace, that she became blind with weeping, and expired on the road to Beresof. One of his daughters died before her father in prison; and the remaining part of his family, consisting of a son and a daughter, were released on the accession of the empress Anne. The daughter was married to Gustavus Biren, brother to the duke of Courland; and the son was promoted in

word, he expired on the 2d of November, 1729. The authority of Manstein, however, is in this instance to be preferred to that of Weber; as he had frequent opportunities during his residence in Russia of making inquiries concerning the death of prince Mentchikof, after his family had been released by the empress Anne. Whereas Weber had quitted Russia before that period; and he inserts his account of the prince's death merely as a report, "und man meldete damals," &c. Ver. Russ. v. III. p. 178.

* *£. 2.*

† See Schmidt Materialien, &c. who has collected every thing relating to prince Mentchikof, p. 248, &c.

the

the army by the same empress. A grandson of prince Mentchikof is now living: he is an officer in the Russian army; and inherits only the name, but none of the riches or power of his grandfather.

Soon after the fall of Mentchikof, his palace was converted into an hospital for sailors; but was afterwards chosen by Peter III. for his favourite residence. The middle part of the edifice remains the same as it was erected by Mentchikof, and consists of two stories, containing a range of small apartments: the wings, which are long buildings of one story, were added by the emperor.

Having passed through the palace, in which there was nothing worthy of remark, we went to the fortress. In our way we did not omit observing a model in miniature of a citadel, which Peter III. when he first contracted a fondness for military studies, ordered to be made for the purpose of learning practical fortification. Advancing a little further we came to the fortress, which is surrounded with a ditch and rampart, and strengthened with bastions. It was raised by the late emperor when he was great-duke; and contains a building called by him the governor's house, which he generally inhabited himself, and

into which he admitted only his officers and favourites, while his court resided in the palace. Near it were barracks for a small garrison, a few wooden houses for the principal officers, and a small Lutheran chapel, where his Holstein soldiers assembled for divine service. The governor's house is a brick building stuccoed, with four windows in front, and containing about eight small rooms. It remains exactly in the same state as during the life-time of the emperor, neither the furniture nor the bed, in which he slept the night preceding his deposition, being removed. It had a white satin coverlet, and was on a large four-post bedstead, with curtains of pink and silver brocade, and ornamented at the top with plumes of red and white feathers. Adjoining to this apartment is a neat cabinet, hung with light brown silk, upon which were several figures worked by the empress.

From the fortress we were conducted to a large gallery of pictures, collected by the same emperor. Among several portraits of that unfortunate prince, one was pointed out to us as a striking resemblance: he is painted in his Holstein uniform; the complexion is fair, and the hair light; there is no expression in

in the features, and the countenance has a very effeminate look.

In the garden is an elegant pavilion, constructed by order of the empress when she was great-duchess; it contains eighteen apartments, each furnished in different tastes, namely, the Greek, Turkish, Chinese, &c. and is situated in the midst of a thick wood: its approaches being circular, we had not the least glimpse until we arrived at it; and as it generally causes an emotion of surprize, it has, for that reason, received the appellation of *Ha!*

In the gardens of Oranienbaum is a very extraordinary building, denominated the Mountain for Sledges, and called also by some travellers the Flying Mountain. It stands in the middle of an oblong area, enclosed by an open colonade with a flat roof, which is railed for the convenience of holding spectators. The circumference of this colonade is at least half a mile. In the middle of the area stands the flying mountain, stretching nearly from one end to the other. It is a wooden building, supported upon brick walls, representing an uneven surface of ground, or a mountain composed of three principal ascents, gradually diminishing in height, with an in-

intermediate space to resemble vallies: from top to bottom is a floored way, in which three parallel grooves are formed. It is thus used: a small carriage, containing one person, being placed in the center groove upon the highest point, goes with great rapidity down one hill; the velocity which it acquires in its descent carries it up a second; and it continues to move in a similar manner until it arrives at the bottom of the area, where it rolls for a considerable way on the level surface; and stops before it attains the boundary: it is then placed in one of the side grooves, and drawn up by means of a cord fixed to a windlass. To a person unacquainted with the mechanism, this entertainment would appear tremendous; but as the grooves always keep the carriage in its right direction, there is not the least danger of being overturned. At the top of the mountain are several handsome apartments for the accommodation of the court and principal nobility; and there is also room for many thousand spectators within the colonade and upon its roof. Near the flying mountain *

is

* Dr. King, in his Essay on the Effects of Cold, has described another kind of Flying Mountain, which was erected

at

is a spacious amphitheatre, in which tournaments are usually exhibited.

Peterhof is about seven miles from Oranienbaum, and twenty from the capital: the palace was begun by Peter I. and finished by Elizabeth. It is seated upon an eminence, and commands a superb view of Cronstadt, Petersburgh, the intervening gulf, and the opposite coast of Carelia; it is magnificently furnished, and the suite of apartments princely. The presence-chamber is ornamented with the portraits of the sovereigns of the house of Romanof, who have reigned over Russia since the year 1613. The most conspicuous amongst them was a whole length of the present empress, as she made her triumphant entry into Petersburgh the evening of the revolution which placed her upon the throne. She is represented dressed like a man in the uniform of the guards; with a branch of oak in her hat; a drawn sword in her hand; and mounted upon a white steed.

The gardens of Peterhof have been celebrated for their taste and elegance; and from the number of jet d'eaux, fountains, basons;

at Tzarskoe-Zelo; it was taken down when I saw the place, her present majesty not being so fond of these diversions as the late empress,

cascades, parterres, &c. have been compared to those of Versailles. These gardens, which, at the time of their formation, were greatly admired in this country, though not congenial to the taste of the empress, are suffered to remain in their present state; as during ~~the~~ summer her majesty principally resides at Tzariskoe-Zelo, where the grounds are disposed in a more modern and pleasing manner. I shall not detain the reader with a description of the silver dolphins and gilded statues, which are scattered in great profusion; but I cannot omit mentioning those of two gladiators placed in a basin of water; they are represented, not with the antient weapons, the sword and buckler, but with the more modern instruments of war, a brace of pistols, which as they point to each other in threatening attitudes, the water rushes impetuously from the barrels.

Part of the garden lies between the palace and the gulf; and contains, among other buildings, one situated close to the water, which is worthy of particular observation, because it was the favourite retreat of Peter I. As the house and furniture has been preserved with a kind of religious veneration exactly in their original state, we can form some idea of the

plain

plain and frugal simplicity in which that monarch was accustomed to live. This house was built soon after his return from Holland, and fitted up in the taste of that country, for which reason it was known by the appellation of the Dutch house: he used also to call it *Monplaisir*, the name by which it is now distinguished. Being subject to fevers, he was prepossessed that the sea-air * was the most salutary for his constitution; and for that reason caused this small house to be placed close to the Gulf of Finland. It is of brick, of one story, and roofed with iron: the windows reach from the ground to the top;

* “ Le czar prit à Riga une forte attaque de fièvre
 “ chaude. Pour s’en remettre, il se logea une huitaine
 “ de jours dans un vaisseau. A son avis, l’air des eaux
 “ restaurait la santé. Peu de journées passées sans le res-
 “ pirer. Se levant au point du jour, et dinant à onze
 “ heures du matin, il avait coutûme de faire un sommeil
 “ après le repas. Un lit de repos pour cet usage était
 “ dressé dans la frégate, et il y allait en toute saison.
 “ Même lorsqu’il sejourna en été à Peterhoff, l’air des
 “ vastes jardins de ce palais lui semblait étouffé, et il cou-
 “ chait à *Monplaisir*, maison, dont les flots des la mer
 “ lavent un coté, et dont l’autre confine au grand parc
 “ de Peterhoff. C’était sa retraite favorite. Il l’avait
 “ meublée de tableaux flamans, représentant des scènes
 “ champêtres et maritimes, plaisantes pour la plûpart.”
 Bassevitz, in B. H. M. IX. p. 339.

which,

which, added to the length and lowness of the building, give it the appearance of a greenhouse. The habitable part consists of an hall and six small rooms, which are all furnished in the neatest and plainest manner. The mantle-pieces are ornamented with curious old porcelaine, which he greatly prized as being brought into Russia when the communication was first opened with China. The bed-room is small, white-washed, and the floor covered with a coloured sail-cloth. It contains a barrack-bedstead without curtains; and I observed that the sheets were remarkably fine. The galleries on each side, and two small rooms, are hung with pictures of the Dutch and Flemish schools; among these were several portraits of himself under the character of master Peter when he worked at Sardam; and one of his favourite mistress the beautiful Dutch girl.

Being anxious to visit every remarkable place in the neighbourhood of this city; I did not fail repairing to Schlusselfburgh; a fortress often mentioned in the Russian history, and celebrated for the number and rank of the state prisoners who have been there confined.

Schlusselfburgh lies at the distance of 40 miles from Petersburg: the road runs the whole

whole way by the side of the Neva, which flows with a full stream in a broad and winding channel; its banks, which are steep and high, are studded with many villages, and several country houses prettily dispersed and hanging over the edge of the water. The village of Schlüsselburgh, which is situated on each side of the Neva, contains about 300 wooden houses, and about 2800 inhabitants.

The fortress is built upon a small island of the Neva, at the point where that river issues from the lake Ladoga. The breadth of the stream in that part is about three quarters of a mile, and the current is remarkably rapid.

The origin of this fortress is thus traced by the Russian historians. In 1324 George Danilovitch, great-duke of Moscow, being upon an expedition against Wiburgh, built a small fortress in the middle of this island, which was then called, from its oblong shape, Orehoffki Ostrof, or Nut Island; from this appellation the fortress took its name of Orekovetch, which was corrupted into Oreshek. Being besieged and taken by Magnus king of Sweden, the Swedes translated the name into their own language, and called it Noteborg. It again came into the possession of the Russians,

fians, who retained it until 1614, when Gustavus Adolphus forced the garrison to capitulate. It was probably since this last period, that the Swedes encircled the whole island with a wall and battlements, the same which subsist at present.

In 1702 Peter advanced to the frontiers of Sweden with a considerable army; and, having made several ineffectual attempts against Noteborg, he sent prince Galitzin, colonel of the guards, at the head of a select corps, to take it by storm. That officer having, by means of rafts, landed his soldiers close to the fortifications, which advance almost to the edge of the water, they were received with such cool intrepidity by the garrison, and exposed to so dreadful a carnage; that Peter, conceiving the assault to be impracticable, sent immediate orders for the Russians to retire: Prince Galitzin, however, refused to obey. "Tell my sovereign," added he, "that I am no longer his subject; having thrown myself under the protection of a power far superior to him." Then, turning to his troops, he animated them by his voice and example, and, leading them to the attack, scaled the walls and took the fortress. Peter was so much struck with this exploit, that, upon his

his next interview with Galitzin, he said to him, "Ask what you chuse, except Moscow and Catharine." The prince, with a magnanimity which reflects the highest honour upon his character, instantly requested the pardon of his antient rival prince Repnin, who had been degraded by Peter from the rank of marshal to that of a common soldier: he obtained his request; and with it the confidence of his sovereign; the esteem of Repnin; and the applause of the publick*.

Peter changed the name of the fortress into Schluffelburgh, its present appellation, because, from the importance of its situation, he considered it as the *key* † of his conquests. From this period it has continued in the possession of the Russians: but, since the boundaries of the empire have been considerably extended, it is no longer of that importance as it was when situated upon the frontiers of the Swedish territory; and for its great strength and insulated situation, it has been chiefly used for a state-prison.

* I received this anecdote from one of the descendants of Prince Galitzin, and its truth was confirmed by many Russian noblemen.

† Schluffel in German signifies a key; and Peter affected to give many places a German appellation.

The island, which lies just midway between the opposite banks, is, as I have before observed, of an oblong shape, scarcely more than 600 yards in length, and 260 in its greatest breadth. The walls, which skirt almost its whole circumference, are built with stone and brick, about fifty feet in height, and from eleven to twenty thick; and are strengthened, according to the antient mode of fortification, with battlements and eight round towers. We passed over a draw-bridge into the fortress, which we examined, but without being permitted to enter any of the wards wherein the prisoners are confined. A range of corridors, open on the inner side, encloses a large area, and contains several dungeons for the prisoners. We observed the windows of these dungeons closed with brick, leaving towards their top only a vacant space of a few inches square, which admits so little light, that the unfortunate inhabitants have only a kind of twilight gloom. In the middle of the area is the governor's house, and a small wooden cottage, wherein a state-prisoner was confined. Further on we entered through a portcullis-gate into the interior fortress, which was built by George Danilovitch in the year 1324: it is about 140 feet square, open at top, with

with stone walls remarkably high. Within we observed a brick house of one story, which reaches from one side to the other, and contains eleven rooms, each about seventeen feet by twelve. It is still unfinished, the floors not being laid, and has never been inhabited. This house was built by order of the late emperor Peter III. with such expedition, that it was begun and brought to its present state in less than six weeks; but his deposition put an immediate stop to its progress. The construction of so large a building in so secure a place, and in such a small space of time, has always been deemed a mystery; but there is every reason to suppose that he intended it for his consort the present empress, whom it is now well known he had determined to divorce and imprison. That misguided and unfortunate prince came a few weeks before his deposition to Schlusfelburgh, to see prince Ivan; when he examined this house with great attention, and seemed satisfied with the expedition of the workmen*.

Several

* Busching supposes that Peter constructed a house for prince Ivan in the fortress of Schlusfelburgh. This can mean no other house than that described in the text, which I am convinced was designed for the empress; but Busching probably probably

Several state prisoners of high rank have been confined in this fortress; among the most remarkable are the following: Maria *, sister of Peter the Great; Eudocia †, first wife of

probably did not know that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June. Busching, vol. VI. p. 531.

See the account of prince Ivan in Book V. Chap. II. in the next volume.

* Maria was imprisoned upon suspicion of being concerned with Alexèy; was again released, and died at Petersburgh in 1723.

† Eudocia was married, in 1689 to Peter the Great, then only in the 18th year of his age; and was delivered of Alexèy in 1690. Her opposition to Peter's plans of reformation, and her repeated remonstrances against his incontinence, occasioned her divorce, which took place in 1696; when she was compelled to assume the veil, and was confined in a convent at Sufdal. During her residence in that convent, she is reported to have contracted a connection with a general Glebof, and even to have entered into a contract of marriage by exchanging rings with him. Encouraged by the predictions of the archbishop of Rostof, who, from a dream, announced to her the death of Peter, and her immediate return to court under the reign of her son Alexèy, she re-assumed her secular dress, and was publicly prayed for in the church of the convent under the name of the empress Eudocia. Being brought to Moscow in 1718, and examined, she was, by order of her inhuman husband, scourged by two nuns, and imprisoned in the convent of New Ladoga, without being suffered to see any one but the persons who brought her

of the same monarch, who was *here* imprisoned in one of the most gloomy cells. Count Piper, minister to Charles XII. who was taken at the battle of Pultava, died *here* after a lingering captivity. Biren duke of Courland, favourite of the empress Anne, and regent of Russia, *here* exchanged the pomp of palaces for a loathsome dungeon; and the

her food, which she dressed herself, for she had no servant to do the most slavish offices, nor more than one cell for her person. See Letters from a Lady in Russia, p. 46. From thence she was removed to the fortress of Schlussemburgh. Being released upon the accession of her grandson Peter III. she repaired to Moscow, was present at his coronation, as well as that of the empress Anne, and expired in the Devitchéi nunnery, where she held her court, in 1731, in the 59th year of her age*.

This princess, though certainly a weak woman, perhaps was not so guilty as she was represented by Peter. Mrs. Vigor, who saw and conversed with her at Moscow in the year 1731, assures us, that Glebof “underwent such repeated tortures, as it was thought no creature could have borne, with great constancy, persisting in his own and her innocence during his torments. At last the czar himself came to him, and offered him pardon if he would confess. He spit in the czar’s face, and told him, he should disdain to speak to him; but he thought himself obliged to clear his mistress, who was as virtuous a woman as any in the world,” &c. See Ibid. p. 44. See Voltaire, Schmidt, &c.

* Schmidt, Gen. Tab. in his Russ. Ges.

ill-fated Ivan, after an imprisonment of three and twenty years, *here* suffered an untimely death.

These melancholy ideas, heightened by the dreadful gloom, the dead-silence, and the awful appearance of a few solitary centinels, communicated such an impression as will not easily be obliterated; and even at this distance of time and place, I shudder at the recollection of a Russian state-prison,

C H A P. VIII.

Journey from Petersburgh to Riga.—History of Livonia.—Narva.—Dorpt.—Riga.—Anecdotes of General Brown.

AN excursion through Livonia, Courland, and part of Prussia, will form the subject of this and the following chapter.

May 8, 1785. On quitting St. Peterburgh, we pursued our journey through part of Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia, provinces conquered from the Swedes by Peter the Great. As the ground was in many parts covered with snow, and as we travelled night and day, we could not sufficiently observe the productions of the country; and as the incidents of the journey were in no wise remarkable, I shall chiefly confine my account to the history of Esthonia and Livonia, and to a short description of Narva, Dorpt, and Riga, the only places through which we passed, in any degree worthy of notice.

As Esthonia and Livonia, bordering upon Russia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally claimed and possessed by those three powers, were, during a period of more than two centuries, a constant source and a perpetual scene of the most bloody wars, it may not be unnecessary to state briefly their history, and to trace the causes which rendered them objects of such contention to those three powers.

In 1158, some merchants of Bremen, bound to Wisby, in the isle of Gothland*, being drove by stress of weather, landed at the mouth of the Duna, and trafficked with the natives. Drawing considerable advantage from this trade, the merchants returned in great numbers, and gradually established a settlement. A German monk of the Augustine order, who accompanied the new colonists, acquired the language of the country, converted several of the natives to Christianity, and persuaded them to be baptized.

According to the custom of that barbarous era, an order of knighthood, first called the Knights of Christ, and afterwards

* Nachrichten von Liefland, S. R. G. v. 9. p. 263.

with more propriety the Knights of the Sword, was instituted for the propagation of Christianity by fire and sword. Those military missionaries, equally fanatic and sanguinary, gradually overran the country, and reducing the antient inhabitants, rendered them at the same time Christians and slaves.

In 1231, these knights, being incorporated in the Teutonic order, stiled themselves Knights and Lords of the Cross, and purchased Esthonia, in 1521, from the king of Denmark. Walter Plettenberg their chief, or general of the order, having obtained from the grand master of the Teutonic order the chief jurisdiction of Livonia, was considered as independent, and admitted soon afterwards by Charles the Fifth among the princes of the empire.

The knights continued in possession of Esthonia and Livonia, until the weakness and impolitic conduct of their masters, and civil dissensions, incited the ambition of the neighbouring powers, and involved the country in a series of bloody wars.

In 1556, the archbishop of Riga being imprisoned by Walter Furstenberg, the general of the order, implored the assistance of his uncle Sigismund Augustus king of Poland.

Poland. Sigismund immediately armed in favour of his nephew, invaded Livonia, and compelled Walter Furstenberg not only to restore the archbishop to liberty, but to conclude a treaty, by which he acknowledged himself and the province of Livonia dependent on the crown of Poland.

But Ivan Vassilievitch, whose ancestors had formerly possessed Dorpt, and other towns in Livonia and Esthonia, laid claim to these provinces, and entering Livonia with a formidable army, resolved to annex them to the Russian empire.

In this imminent danger, the city of Revel, and the inhabitants of Esthonia, threw themselves under the protection of the king of Sweden, who, in taking possession of that province, claimed Livonia as an annexed dependency. At the same time the Russians, entering Livonia, met with little resistance, took Furstenberg, the grand master, prisoner, and over-ran the greatest part of the country.

Gothard Ketler, who was appointed grand master in the place of Furstenberg, finding it impossible to resist the Russian arms, hastily concluded a treaty with Sigismund Augustus, ceded Livonia to the crown of Poland,

Poland, on condition of reserving to himself and heirs male the duchies of Courland and Semigallia as fiefs of Poland. At the conclusion of this treaty, Livonia, the object of contention, thus ceded to Poland, was partly possessed by the Poles, partly by the Swedes, and partly over-run by the Russian arms.

In this situation of affairs, Ivan Vassilievitch conferred on Magnus prince of Denmark, who, in the capacity of bishop of Pilten in Courland, had some pretensions to Livonia, the nominal sovereignty of that province. Having already related * the account of that transaction, together with the erection and extinction of the short-lived kingdom of Livonia, I shall only add, that Ivan Vassilievitch, being worsted by Stephen Bathori, king of Poland, in several engagements, was glad to purchase a peace, by ceding, in 1582, to the crown of Poland, all that part of Livonia which he had occupied: but the king of Sweden continued in possession of Esthonia; and, by the fourth article of the peace of Oliva, obtained possession of all Livonia. These important pro-

* Book III. Ch. vi.

vinces of Livonia and Esthonia, containing all the north district between the gulf of Finland, the Narova, the Peipus lake, and the Duna, and stretching to the boundaries of the present government of Polotsk, were wrested from the Swedes by Peter the Great, and confirmed to the Russians by the peace of Rystadt, in 1721.

The reformation was first introduced into Livonia and Esthonia in 1522, and was soon embraced by all ranks of people. The Lutheran religion is the most prevalent; but all other sects are tolerated.

Narva and its suburbs, according to a geographical division, are situated partly in Ingria, and partly in Esthonia, as the river Narova divides those two provinces; but in the division of governments established by the present empress, it is comprised in Ingria, or the government of St. Petersburg,

Narva is near 100 miles from Petersburg, and stands on the Narova, 24 miles from the point where that river issues from the lake Peipus, and eight miles from its mouth, where it falls into the gulf of Finland. The houses are built of brick stuccoed white, and it has more the appearance of a German than of a Russian town.

In the suburbs, called Ivangorod, or John's Town, the colossal remains of an antient fortress, built by Ivan Vassilievitch the Great, impend in a picturesque manner over the steep banks of the Narova.

The principal exports from Narva are hemp, flax, timber, and corn; the imports, salt, tobacco, wine, salted herrings, spices, tea, sugar, and other grocery wares.

I did not omit visiting the two falls of the river Narova, which have been too pompously described by several travellers, and which must appear trifling and uninteresting to any one who has seen the fall of the Rhine at Schaffhausen; of the Dahl, near Gefle, in Sweden; and the stupendous cataracts of Trollhætta.

The breadth of the river is about 200 feet, and the perpendicular height of the falls scarcely exceeds twenty feet. The steep and chalky banks of the river, its rapid and turbid stream, and a rocky island which separates the two falls, form a rugged and picturesque scenery, which is heightened by the foam and roaring of the cataract.

Near Narva is the spot celebrated for the victory which Charles the Twelfth, in the nineteenth year of his age, gained over the
Russian

Russian army in 1700. Authors prone to exaggeration, and willing to render more marvellous the exploits of the Swedish hero, have diminished the Swedish army to 3000, and increased the Russians to 100,000. The fact seems to be, that Charles headed, on that memorable day, at least 9000 men, and that the Russians did not exceed 32,000*. And it is no wonder that the veteran troops of Sweden, led on by their undaunted monarch, should triumph over a raw undisciplined army, commanded by generals at variance with each other. Six thousand Russians, including those who were drowned in attempting to pass the Narova, fell in this engagement; but the consequences were still more fatal to the Russian arms, as the whole artillery was lost, and the greatest part of the infantry surrendered to the conqueror. The number of prisoners was so great, that the officers were only detained; the rest, being disarmed and dismissed, were driven along like a flock of sheep to the distance of a league from Narva.

Peter the Great, instead of being dispirited with this loss, exclaimed, "I expected

* See L'Evesque's Hist. de Russie, vol. iv. p. 169.

“ that the Swedes would beat my troops ; but
“ in time they will teach us to conquer them.”
Nor was this prediction long before it was
verified. In less than five years from the
defeat at Narva, he revenged the dishonour of
his arms on that unfortunate day, by taking
that town by assault ; and gave the following
singular proof of his humanity.

The Russian soldiers were beginning to
pillage, and to commit all the disorders
usual when a town is taken by storm.
Peter traversed the streets on horseback,
with his drawn sword in his hand, restrained
his troops from pillage, killed two who re-
fused to desist, placed guards at the doors of
the principal houses and before the churches,
and repaired to the Hotel de Ville, where
the magistrates and principal citizens had
taken refuge, and throwing his sword upon
the table, exclaimed, “ It is not stained with
“ the blood of the natives, but with that of
“ my own soldiers, whom I killed in order to
“ save your lives *.”

Dorpt, 174 versts, or 116 miles, from
Narva, still bears evident marks of the
dreadful devastation which it suffered in the

wars between the Swedes and Russians in the beginning of this century; and particularly in the ruins of its cathedral, which form a picturesque object on an adjacent hill. In addition to these devastations, the town suffered a few years ago from a violent conflagration; but it is now rebuilding, and will rise more beautiful from its ruins, as the empress has contributed with her usual munificence. A wooden bridge over the Empack was likewise burnt down, but has been supplied by a magnificent stone bridge, on which I remarked, and noted down, the following arrogant inscription:

* Siste impetus hic flumen,
Catharina II. jubet;
Cujus munificentia hæc moles
In publicum commodum
Exstructa, Livoniaque primo
Lapideo ponte adornata.
" 1783.

In pursuing our route from Narva to Dorpt, we coasted the lake Peipus, a large

* Here, O river, stop your impetuous course, Catharine the Second commands; by whose munificence this mound was raised, and Livonia adorned with this first stone bridge.

but

but uninteresting piece of water, the banks flat, and the environs mostly sandy.

Dorpt stands in the midst of the most fertile part of Livonia, which has been called, from the abundance of grain it produces, the Granary of the North; and this fertile district continued till we came within a few miles of Riga, which is invested, as Mr. Wraxall justly observes, “on every side with deep barren sands. Its situation in so barren a spot was chosen by commerce, the genius of which still protects and enriches it*.”

Riga, the capital of Livonia, contains within the fortifications 9000 inhabitants, and in the suburbs 15,000, exclusive of a garrison of 1000 soldiers. It derives its consequence from its situation on the Duna, a river which, being navigable from the frontiers of the government of Polotsk, brings the productions of the north-eastern parts of Poland, and the western provinces of Russia, and is sufficiently deep to receive, close to its walls, ships of burthen, which sail to and from the Baltic.

Next to St. Petersburg it is the most commercial town in the whole Russian empire. The trade is chiefly carried on by foreign

* Wraxall's Northern Tour, p. 281.

merchants,

merchants, who are resident in the town. The merchants of an English factory established there enjoy the greatest share of the commerce, and live in a very hospitable and splendid manner. The principal exports are corn, hemp, flax, iron, timber, masts, leather, tallow, &c.; its principal imports are salt, cloth, silks, wine, grocery wares, and salted herrings.

The mast trade, so beneficial to this town, is carried on in the following manner: The burghers of Riga send persons, who are called mast-brokers, into the Russian provinces, in order to mark the trees which are fit for the purpose. The proprietors of the lands sell them standing. They grow mostly on the districts which border on the Dnieper, and are sent up that river to a landing-place, and transported about thirty versts to the Duffa. They are then formed into floats of from 50 to 200 pieces, and descend the stream to Riga. The tree which produces the largest masts is the Scotch fir. Those pieces which are from 18 to 25 inches in diameter are called masts; under those dimensions, spars, or, in England, Norway masts; because Norway exports no trees more than 18 inches in diameter.

The

The English merchants, who contract with government, buy these masts from the burghers of Riga; and great skill is required in distinguishing those that are found throughout from those which are in the least internally decayed. They are usually from 70 to 80 feet in length.

The hemp is brought from the Ukraine and Poland, and employs two years in its passage to Riga. The barks in which it is conveyed, are from 250 to 300 tons burthen; are covered with matting, sloping like a penthouse roof, and have a false bottom. They ascend the Dnieper and the Duna; but can only pass the last-mentioned river in the spring, or about three weeks after the snow begins to melt, on account of the numerous shoals; so that if they miss that time, they are delayed till autumn.

The hemp exported from Riga is generally more esteemed, and 30 per cent. dearer than that which is exported from Petersburg*; the former comes from the Ukraine, the provinces of Mohilef and Polotsk, and the neighbouring parts of Poland; the other from the governments of Tver and Novogorod.

* Lately the Ukraine hemp has found its way to Petersburg.

The Riga hemp is chiefly used for shrouds and stays of men of war; and procured by contract for the English admiralty and East India company.

In case of necessity, the *Urtica Cannabina*, or the hemp-nettle, might be substituted in the place of hemp. It is a native of south-eastern Siberia, on the other side of the Oby, and is chiefly found in the vallies, between rocky mountains, and on the banks of rivers. It comes out early in the spring, and affords good shoots, which are eaten by the natives as vegetables. It flowers in June or July; and in good soils shoots from ten to fifteen feet high. In Siberia the seeds ripen in September, about the time of the first frost. It is perennial, and multiplies by running. The cords made from this species are stronger even than those twisted from hemp. The Mongol Tartars use them for the cords to their bows, and for nets to catch animals in the woods. In some parts of Germany the natives employ them for ropes. This plant is described in Amman's *Stirpium Rariorum in Imperio Rutheno Icones et Descriptiones*, p. 173. N° 249. plate 25, *Urtica foliis profunde laciniatis*; also in Gmelin's *Flora Siberica*. It will be described in the third volume of Pallas' *Flora Russica*.

The

The common nettle, the *urtica urens* of Linnæus, supplies the natives of Kamtschatka*, and of the Kuril Isles, with cords for their fishing-nets.

The inhabitants of Riga carry on also a considerable commerce in salt. They import it from Spain, and send it up the Duna to supply the districts bordering on that river; and by land into Courland, and the neighbouring provinces of Poland.

We paid our respects to General Brown, the governor of Riga, and had the honour of dining with that gallant veteran, who, with a pleasing garrulity natural to old age, related a variety of interesting adventures that had befallen him in the course of a long and active life. He is a native of Ireland, and was born in the beginning of this century. Being a Roman catholic, he was compelled to seek his fortune in foreign courts, which he would willingly have dedicated to his own. He first entered the Austrian, and finally into the Russian service. He served under Count Munich against the Turks, in the campaigns of 1737, and 1738, and distinguished himself at the siege of Otchakof.

* See Cook's last voyage, vol. iii. p. 339.—Pallas Nord. Beytr. vol. iv. p. 117.

Being sent with a corps of troops into Hungary, he was taken prisoner by the Turks, sold as a slave, and transferred to four different masters. At one time he was bound back to back with another prisoner for eight-and-forty hours, and exposed almost naked at the various places where slaves are brought for sale. He had then borne the rank of colonel in the Russian service, but gave out, that he was only a captain, in order to lessen the price of his ransom. Having been accidentally met by a gentleman, to whom he was personally known, he sent information of his situation to the French ambassador, who found means to purchase him for 300 ducats. But his Turkish master discovering that he was of higher rank than he had pretended, reclaimed his prisoner, and threatened to use force in order to recover him. The French ambassador, however, applied to the Grand Vizir, who decided in his favour: Count Brown recovered his liberty, and returned to Russia, in which service he was gradually promoted, and has been lately appointed governor of Riga, a place of the greatest trust.

The bridge over the Duna, at Riga, is a floating wooden bridge, 40 feet in breadth, and

and 2,600 in length, and is formed in the following manner: A row of piles is driven in, extending from one shore to the other; each pile is from 25 to 40 feet long, according to the depth of the river, and appears about four feet above the level of the water. To these piles the several parts of the bridge are loosely fastened, by means of iron chains fixed to the transverse beams. The bridge rises and falls with the river; and, when heavy-laden carriages pass over it, plays under the wheels as if actuated by a spring. This bridge is the fashionable walk, and is an agreeable busy scene, when crowded with people, and lined on each side with ships taking in or unloading their cargoes. In the beginning of winter, when the frost sets in, the bridge is taken to pieces, and removed; the piles remaining in the water, are forced up by the ice, and conveyed to land: the whole is again laid down, on the melting of the ice, in the spring.

The importance of the trade of Riga will appear from the following tables:

LIST of the Number of Vessels arrived
at RIGA, 1782 and 1783.

| | 1782. | 1783. |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Danish | 125 | 145 |
| French | — | 8 |
| From St. Petersburg | 43 | 38 |
| English | 94 | 200 |
| Dutch | 6 | 122 |
| Swedish | 298 | 422 |
| Prussian | 153 | 123 |
| From Ostend | 123 | 66 |
| Portuguese | 7 | 7 |
| American | — | 1 |
| From Bremen | 16 | 34 |
| Dantzic | 5 | 10 |
| Lubec | 29 | 26 |
| Rostoc | 23 | 3 |
| Hamburgh | 5 | 5 |
| Pernau | 4 | 6 |
| From Riga | 30 | 38 |
| Total | 961 | 1,254 |

LIST

LIST of the Number of Vessels which arrived and sailed from RIGA, in 1784; specifying those which wintered there.

| | Wintered. | Arrived. | Departed. |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| Danish - - | — | 160 | 160 |
| French - - | — | 10 | 10 |
| From St. Peterburgh | 14 | 32 | 36 |
| English - - | 3 | 175 | 174 |
| Portuguese - - | — | 4 | 4 |
| Prussian - - | 2 | 77 | 77 |
| Swedish - - | 4 | 311 | 311 |
| Dutch - - | — | 170 | 170 |
| From Ostend - | — | 33 | 33 |
| Genoa - - | — | 1 | 1 |
| Hamburgh - | — | 12 | 12 |
| Lubec - - | 4 | 27 | 27 |
| Bremen - - | 1 | 25 | 24 |
| Dantzic - - | — | 3 | 3 |
| Rostoc - - | — | 11 | 11 |
| Pernau & Revel | — | 4 | 4 |
| Riga - - | 15 | 30 | 20 |
| Total - | 43 | 1,085 | 1,077 |

VALUE of the Cargoes of the Vessels
which sailed from RIGA, in 1784.

| | Roubles, | Copecs, |
|----------------------|-------------|---------|
| For Denmark | 735,335 | 78 — |
| France | 270,886 | 68 — |
| the Dominions of the | | |
| Emperor | 51,209 | 45 — |
| England | 1,288,284 | 58 — |
| Spain | 388,843 | 1 — |
| Portugal | 302,213 | 93 — |
| Prussia | 64,775 | 75 — |
| Sweden | 1,182,907 | 79 — |
| Holland | 1,470,320 | 93 — |
| Italy | 135,097 | 8 — |
| Hamburgh & Bremen | 209,840 | 7 — |
| the Baltic | 292,707 | 39 — |
| Total of Exports | * 6,392,422 | 44 — |
| Value of the Imports | † 1,422,717 | 87 12 |
| Excess of Exports | ‡ 4,969,704 | 56 12 |

* In English money, if we estimate a pound sterling at six roubles, £. 1,065,403, omitting the fractions.

† £. 237,119. ‡ £. 828,284.

COIN IMPORTED.

| | Value in Roubles. |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Ducats 448,739 - - | 1,207,741 10 |
| New rix-dollars 1,780,744 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 2,368,389 85 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Old rix-dollars 138,976 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 1,182,058 84 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Sum total of Coin imported - - * | <u>4,758,189 79$\frac{1}{2}$</u> |

£.793,031.

C H A P. IX.

Mittau.—*Dutchy of Courland.*—*History.*—*Succession.*—*Anecdotes of Ernest John Birron.*—*Constitution.*—*Feodal Dependance on Poland.*—*Rights of the King of Poland.*—*Prerogatives of the Duke.*—*Diet.*—*Nobles.*—*Religion.*—*Language.*—*Memmel.*—*Journey to Königsberg.*—*Sketch of the History of Prussia.*

ON quitting Riga we crossed the Duna, passed through a flat sandy country, thinly inhabited, to the Russian frontiers, about sixteen English miles distant from Riga, and entered the dutchy of Courland. Our baggage was most strictly examined by a Russian custom-house officer, who even opened our portfolios, and examined the smallest pieces of paper. This strict search is made for the purpose of preventing foreigners from carrying out of Russia the current coin; an useless precaution, it should seem, considering the debased state of the coinage.

Mittau,

Mittau, sixteen miles from the frontiers of Livonia, stands in the midst of a very fertile and agreeable country; is a long town, containing a mixture of brick houses, stuccoed white, and wooden buildings. It contains little remarkable but the palace and the academy.

The palace, built by the late duke, is a great pile of buildings, containing a large and a handsome suite of apartments, but almost totally without furniture. It is so magnificent, and upon so large a scale, for so little a sovereignty, as almost to justify the witticism of a traveller, who affirmed that the palace was larger than the dukedom, estimating the country not from its size, but from its trivial consequence in the scale of the north.

The academy, instituted by the present duke at a considerable expence, contained, in May 1785, almost as many professors as students, there being eight professors, and only twenty students.

The dutchy of Courland and Semigallia is bounded on the north by the Baltic, on the east by Livonia, and by Poland on the south and west. It stretches in length 250

English

English miles, and its average breadth may be estimated at about 40 miles.

In the last chapter I have already observed, that Gothard Ketler, grand-master of the Livonian knights, in consideration of ceding Livonia to Poland, was to be invested with the dutchy of Courland and Semigallia. At Wilna, where this treaty was concluded, in 1561, Gothard Ketler, and the principal knights, quitting the habit and ensigns of the order, he received the investiture of his new dukedom as an hereditary fief to be held of the crown of Poland, and did homage for the same.

Gothard dying in 1587, was succeeded by his son Frederic; and, in 1589, it was enacted by the diet of Poland, that if this fief should be vacated by the extinction of the heirs male of the line of Ketler, Courland and Semigallia should be united to Poland. But the republic of Poland was not sufficiently powerful to enforce this edict when that event took place,

Frederick William, duke of Courland, dying, in 1711, without issue, the right of succession devolved on his great uncle Ferdinand, the only surviving branch of the Ketler line; but Peter the Great, who had over-

ran Courland with his army, took possession of Mittau and great part of Courland, under the pretence of securing the dowry for his niece Anne, widow of Frederic William, Ferdinand, who was absent from Courland, and at variance with his nobility, was unable to enforce his right; and Courland was, during the space of several years, governed by the Russian court, under the name of the Dutchess Anne. The country was in a state of civil confusion, and several ineffectual attempts were made to raise, first, a prince of the house of Saxony, and afterwards, Frederic William, Margrave of Schvedt, to the ducal throne.

At length, in 1726, the infirmities and absence of Ferdinand giving a pretext, the opposite party of nobles determined to appoint a successor; and Augustus the Second, king of Poland, secretly influenced the diet of Courland to nominate his own natural son Maurice, afterwards so well known under the title of Marshal Saxe. This appointment was contested by the republic of Poland, and by Catharine empress of Russia.

The Polish diet, which assembled at Grodno, denied the right of the nobles of Courland to appoint a duke, declared that dutchy
a vacant

a vacant fief belonging to the republic of Poland, annulled the election of the Count of Saxe, and proposed, on the death of Ferdinand, to incorporate the dutchies of Courland and Semigallia to the crown of Poland, according to the edict of the Polish diet passed in 1589.

Catharine, who considered Courland almost as a province of the Russian empire, and anxious to appoint a duke of her own nomination, equally opposed the election of Maurice, and the incorporation of Courland to the crown of Poland; and prince Mentchikof, who, on the death of Catharine, aspired to the ducal throne, dispatched a corps of Russian troops to Mittau, and drove Maurice from Courland. The fall of Mentchikof prevented his nomination; but the Russians, first under Peter the Second, and afterwards under Anne, maintained their troops and influence in Courland, and promised to support the states in their right to elect a sovereign on the decease of Ferdinand the reigning duke.

The death of Augustus the Second, in 1733, annihilated the hopes of Maurice; and, on the death of Ferdinand, in 1737, the empress Anne forced the states of Courland to elect

elect her favourite, Ernest John Biron, and supported his election in opposition to the claims and remonstrances of Poland.

At length, deputies from the empress and the new duke of Courland on one side, and from the king and republic of Poland on the other, regulated the convention between the kingdom of Poland and the duke of Courland. This convention, called *Pacta Subjectionis*, or Acts of Vassalage, settled the feudal rights of the king and republic of Poland, regulated the constitution of Courland according to the former conventions or acts of vassalage agreed to by the preceding dukes, and established the succession to the duchy of Courland in the male line of Ernest John Biron.

In 1739, the chancellor of Courland did homage in the name of the duke to Augustus the Third, king of Poland. But, in 1740, Biron being arrested and imprisoned by order of the princess Anne, regent of Russia, under her infant son Ivan, the states of Courland declared the ducal throne vacant, and elected, at the recommendation of the regent Anne, Louis Ernest, prince of Brunswick, and brother of her husband Anthony Ulric; the same person who was afterwards

wards governor to the stadtholder of the United Provinces, and generalissimo of the Dutch forces, until he was driven from Holland by the French, or, as they stiled themselves; the patriot party.

The revolution of 1741, which dethroned Ivan, and placed Elizabeth on the throne of Russia, prevented the ratification of this election; and from that period, till 1759, the administration was nominally vested in the council of state; but the whole power centered in the court of Russia.

In 1758, the nobles of Courland, disgusted with their rulers, declared the ducal throne vacant, and elected Charles Christian, third son of Augustus the Third. Charles received, in 1759, the investiture of the two dutchies from the king of Poland, made his entry into Mittau the same year, and repairing to Petersburg, obtained from the empress Elizabeth the restitution of the ducal estates and revenues which had been sequestered by Russia, and her renunciation of all right and title to those two dutchies.

But the death of Elizabeth, in 1761, rendered this restitution ineffectual. Peter the Third recalled Biron from exile; and Catherine the Second had scarcely ascended the throne,

throne, by the deposition of Peter, before the restored Biron to his former dignity.

I shall close this hasty sketch of the succession to the duchy of Courland with some biographical anecdotes of that celebrated personage.

~~Ernest~~ John Biron * was descended from a family of mean extraction. His grandfather, whose name was Buren, or Bieren, was head groom to James the Third, duke of Courland, and obtained from his master the present of a small estate in land. His son accompanied prince Alexander, youngest son of the duke of Courland, in a campaign into Hungary against the Turks, in quality of groom of his horse, and with the rank of lieutenant. Prince Alexander being killed before Buda, in 1686, Biron returned into Courland, and was appointed master-huntsman to the duke.

* For this account of Biron I have consulted Manstein's Memoirs, p. 42, 47, 62, 190, 263, 265, 268, 280; Letters from a Lady in Russia, Let. xxviii. xxix; Schmidt's Materialien fuer den Russl. Gesch. p. 38, 44, 281, 321; Motifs de la Disgrace d'Ernest Jean de Biron, Duc de Courland, written by himself, in Busching's Hist. Magazin. vol. ix. p. 383, 398; Antwort auf die Vergehende Schrift. von einem naechsten Verwandten des Grafen von Munich, ibid. p. 401, 414; Gouvernement de l'Empire de Russie, by Marshal Munich, passim.

Ernest John, his second son, was born in 1687, received the early part of his education in Courland, and was sent to the university of Konigsbergh in Prussia, where he continued until some youthful imprudences compelled him to retire.

In 1714, he made his appearance ~~at St.~~ Peterburgh, and solicited the place of page to the princess Charlotte, wife of the tzarovitch Alexey; but being contemptuously rejected as a person of mean extraction, retired to Mittau, and chanced to ingratiate himself with count Bestuchef, master of the household to Anne, widow of Frederic William duke of Courland, who resided at Mittau. Having through his means obtained the office of gentleman of the chamber, and being of a handsome figure and polite address, he soon gained the good-will of the dutchess, and became her chief favourite. The first use which he made of his favour, was to obtain the disgrace and removal of his benefactor Bestuchef. He soon gained such an entire ascendancy over the affections of his mistress, that his will became her's; and the upstart favourite offended by his arrogance the whole body of the nobility of Courland.

Having espoused Mademoiselle de Trenden, a lady of noble family, and maid of honour to the dutchess, he endeavoured, by means of that alliance, and the favour of his mistress, to be admitted into the body of nobles; but his solicitations were rejected with great contempt.

His ascendancy over the dutchess, his spirit of intrigue, and his extreme arrogance, were so notorious, that when Anne was declared sovereign of Russia, one of the articles proposed to her by the council of state at Moscow, expressly stipulated, that she should not bring Biron into Russia. She consented, but instantly broke her word; for she had scarcely arrived at Moscow, before he made his appearance at her court.

By his secret advice, the empress formed a strong party among the Russian nobility, gained the guards, and brought about the revolution, which restored to the crown despotic authority.

But when the whole plan was ripe for execution, Anne hesitated, and was alarmed, till Biron took her by the hand, and led her to the door of the apartment in which the council of state, senate, and principal nobility

lity were assembled; and she was declared absolute sovereign.

Within the space of a few months, Biron was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber, knight of the order of St. Andrew, and lord high chamberlain, and, as Manstein says, was omnipotent in the government; for, during the whole reign of Anne, and some weeks after her death, he ruled with despotic sway the vast empire of Russia.

On the death of Ferdinand Ketler, in 1737, the empress dispatched general Bismarck, governor of Riga, to Mittau, at the head of a considerable army. The nobles having assembled in the cathedral, Bismarck surrounded the church with troops, and compelled them to elect for their sovereign the same Biron whom they had refused to admit into their corps. But his new dignity did not prevent him from keeping his post of high chamberlain, and his wife that of first lady of the bed-chamber.

Biron governed Courland with the same despotic spirit with which he governed Russia; and the nobles, who had been accustomed to great freedom of debate in their diets, were suddenly restrained. Those who

ventured to oppose his will, or to speak with their usual freedom, were privately seized by persons in masks, forced into *kibitkas*, and conveyed to Siberia*.

Of a violent and sanguinary temper, Biron ruled Russia with the knout in his hand, and compelled his imperial mistress, who was naturally of a mild and merciful disposition, to order acts of the most atrocious cruelty, though she oftentimes interceded, but in vain, with tears in her eyes, for the unhappy victims of his suspicion and vengeance.

The cruelties exercised upon the most illustrious persons of the country almost exceed belief; and Manstein conjectures, that “during the ten years in which Biron’s power continued, above 20,000 persons were sent to Siberia, of whom scarcely 5,000 were ever more heard of.”

The violence of his temper would break forth in a manner most disrespectful to the empress. Once in particular, while the duke of Bevern had an audience, Biron burst into the apartment without ceremony, threatening, with the most horrid imprecations, that

* Manstein, p. 196.

he would no longer be vexed and tormented by her servants, but would retire into Courland. Having uttered these words, he quitted the room, and shut the door with great violence. The empress, in the highest consternation, lifted up her hands to heaven, then clasped them together, and being almost ready to faint, she opened the window for fresh air. While she continued in this agitation, the dutchess of Courland, accompanied with her children, entered the room, kneeled down, and entreated the empress to forget and forgive the passionate behaviour of her husband. Anne in this, as in every other instance, relented, and bore with his insolence*.

His influence over his imperial mistress was such, that during the sitting of the cabinet council, she used frequently to repair to an adjoining room, in which her favourite remained, to receive his advice, or rather his orders. She had no table of her own, but used to dine with his family.

He knew only two languages, the German, and his native jargon spoken in Courland; so that he governed the extensive em-

* Busching's Wochentliche Nachrichten, 1774, p. 316.
pire

pire of Russia without even understanding its language. He even piqued himself on his ignorance of that tongue, having once said in the presence of the empress Anne, that he would not learn the Russian, because he could not bear to read before her majesty all the reports and memorials which were daily transmitted to him.

Biron was undoubtedly a man of very great capacity; during his whole administration, the external splendour of the Russian empire, and its internal tranquillity, announced the wisdom of his measures; and he shewed his judgment in employing such a statesman as Osterman, and such a general as Munich.

He was a sincere friend and an implacable enemy; and it was justly said of him, that he seldom forgot a benefit, and always remembered an injury.

He amassed an enormous fortune in money and jewels; and on public occasions his magnificence * far exceeded the magnificence of the empress.

He

* In his visit of ceremony to the Marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambassador, he was preceded by the following procession:

1. An officer of his court on horseback.

He had so long directed the affairs of a great empire, that he could not brook retiring into Courland. He accordingly prevailed upon the empress, on her death-bed, to appoint her great nephew, prince Ivan, her successor, and himself regent, until the prince had attained the age of seventeen, and he managed this whole transaction with so much art, that he seemed only to accept the regency at the earnest request and commendation of Marshal Munich, the Chancellor Osterman, and the principal Russian nobility, as it were for the good of the empire, and not to satisfy his own ambition.

Having thus secured the regency, to the exclusion of Anne, the mother of the young emperor, the first act of his power in that

2. Two servants on horseback.
3. Three carriages drawn by six horses, containing six cavaliers.
4. Twenty-four servants on horseback.
5. Six running footmen.
6. Two blacks.
7. Thirty lacquies on foot.
8. Twelve pages.
9. Nine heyducs.
10. His master of the horse.

Lastly, The duke himself in a splendid carriage drawn by six horses; behind, two servants in Turkish dresses.

capacity,

capacity, was to obtain for himself a clear revenue of 500,000 * roubles per annum, and the title of Imperial Highness.

But the power which he had thus acquired by intrigue, he attempted to secure by repeated acts of arrogance, persecution, and cruelty. Piquets were placed in the streets to prevent commotions. The numerous spies which he entertained brought him vague accounts of contemptuous expressions and ill-formed plots. Such numbers were arrested, that scarcely a day passed in which persons suspected were not imprisoned and tortured in order to force confession. But instead of disarming the envy and jealousy of the natives, who were disaffected at being governed by a foreigner, he increased his own unpopularity by the haughtiness of his demeanour, and treated even the parents of his sovereign with the most extreme brutality.

It was natural that prince Anthony Ulrich and the princess Anne, the father and mother of the infant emperor, should be disaffected at being set aside, and a foreigner

* £. 100,000, according to the value of a rouble of that period.

preferred to the regency; and Anthony Ulrich, who was a prince of great spirit, even expressed his disapprobation in the strongest terms to the regent himself.

The duke of Courland, suspecting that the prince was forming cabals against his government, called on him early one morning unexpectedly, and without being announced; "Your highness," he said, "does not deal fairly with me; for you promised to inform me if any disaffected persons caballed against me, and you now know what intrigues are carrying on against me." "I know not," replied the prince, "that any thing is now in agitation which will be detrimental to the emperor and the country." "I will take care," returned Biron, "to place this empire in such a situation, as no other person is capable of doing; for I am neither deficient in knowledge or in power." "The nobles must assist you," said the prince, "and you must all be accountable to the emperor." "Am I not regent," replied Biron, "with absolute authority? Such assertions, sir, may occasion great commotions; and your highness must know, that whenever factions arise, the emperor and the country are in danger; and
 " what

“ what must be the inevitable consequence, if
 “ you and I should be at variance?” “ A
 “ massacre !” returned the prince with great
 warmth, and putting at the same time his
 hand upon his sword.

After much altercation, the prince ac-
 cused Biron of having forged the testament
 and signature of the empress; and the duke
 quitted the apartment with these words:
 “ This affair, sir, is of such importance,
 “ that it must be laid before the principal no-
 “ bility of the realm.” Repairing instantly to
 his palace, he summoned the cabinet coun-
 cil, the senate, and the principal nobility,
 and acquainted them with the conversation
 which had passed between him and the
 prince. But when the imperial minister,
 Count Keyserling, who was present, endea-
 voured to justify the prince, he called the
 prince a liar, who had misrepresented the
 conversation; and turning to Keyserling,
 said, “ We want here no advocates, and no
 “ lawyer’s quirks;” and walking up and down
 the apartment in great agitation, exclaimed,
 “ Am I a poisoner! or do I contend for the
 “ throne and the scepter!”

The princess Anne, who had been in-
 formed of the misunderstanding, now ar-
 riving,

iving, he turned to her, and explained with great bitterness what had already passed. Anne was exceedingly affected, and appeared to blame her husband's conduct. At length, the prince himself being summoned, was prevailed upon to attend, and soon afterwards made his appearance. Being reprimanded by Biron, and by several who were present, in the grossest terms, his highness at length submitted to demand pardon, the tears starting from his eyes from this necessary but degrading concession; and the affair was hushed up.

Soon afterwards, the regent sent a message by Marshal Munich, ordering the prince to resign his military employments, and not to stir out of his chamber. But this state of things could not last long. The regent, at variance with the parents of the emperor, suspicious of plots forming against him, and detested by the nation in general, became agitated and uneasy, felt the precariousness of his present situation, paid his court with great assiduity to the princess Elizabeth, and seems even to have formed the design of marrying her to the prince, his eldest son, and of raising her, or her nephew the duke of Holstein, to the throne of Russia. He
was

was imprudent enough to declare publicly, that if the princess Anne was refractory, he would send her and her husband into Germany, and place the duke of Holstein on the throne.

While he was fluctuating concerning his future conduct, and laying plans to remove those who gave him umbrage, his own ruin came from a powerful quarter which he did not expect, and was not prepared to resist. Marshal Munich, secretly displeas'd with the regent at not being appointed generalissimo of the Russian forces, fomented the discontents, awakened the suspicions of the princess Anne, and prevailed upon her to permit him to arrest the duke of Courland. His offer being accepted, he succeeded in securing the person of the regent, and arrested him on the 18th of December, only twenty days after he had been appointed to the regency. Lieutenant-colonel Manstein, who was employed by Munich on that memorable occasion, and who has related the transaction in his Authentic Memoirs, penetrated, at the head of only twenty men, into the palace inhabited by the duke of Courland, though guarded by forty soldiers, who were placed under the windows
of

of the regent's bed-chamber, and by numerous centinels posted in the several apartments through which he was to pass. Being personally known to the centinels, they permitted him to pass, thinking that he had an affair of consequence to communicate to the regent. Having burst open the door of his bed-chamber, he approached the bed, in which the duke and dutchess were so fast asleep, that the noise did not awaken them. On drawing the curtains, both started up in surprize, and the duke instantly got out of bed with an intention to escape, but was prevented by Manstein, who threw himself upon him, and held him fast till the soldiers came to his assistance. In this interval the duke had disengaged himself from Manstein, and endeavouring to burst from the soldiers who had laid hold of his arm, received several blows from the but-ends of their muskets. Being at length thrown down on the floor, his mouth gagged with a handkerchief, and his hands tied behind him with an officer's sash, he was led to the guard-room, where being covered with a soldier's cloak, he was conveyed in a carriage to the winter palace, in which the princess Anne resided. While he was leading away, the dutchess sprang out of bed,

bed, and though only in her shift, ran after him, screaming, in an agony of despair, into the street, till being forced away by the soldiers, she dropped down upon the snow, and would have perished with cold, if the captain of the guard had not sent for some clothes to cover her, and re-conducted her to her apartment.

The next day the duke and his family were conveyed to the fortress of Schlusselfburgh; and in June were removed to Pefim, a small town in Siberia, where he was imprisoned in a wooden house under the strictest confinement. Fortunately he did not long occupy this dreary prison. The empress Elizabeth had no sooner ascended the throne, by the deposition of Ivan, than she recalled Biron from his imprisonment; and if his misfortunes had not softened his vindictive spirit, he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing his enemy, Marshal Munich, occupy that prison which he had just quitted.

Biron was transferred to Yaroslaf, where he had a comfortable mansion assigned to him and his family, five roubles a day, and the permission of hunting within twenty or thirty miles of Yaroslaf. In this situation, wretched when contrasted with his former dignified

dignified station as the omnipotent favourite of Anne, or as regent of Russia, but a paradise when compared with his prison at Pelim, he passed his days during the whole reign of Elizabeth.

On the demise of Elizabeth, Peter the Third recalled Biron to Peterburgh, but did not reinstate him in the dutchy of Courland. Biron had refused, during his confinement, to resign his right to that dutchy, although he was offered his liberty, and a pension of 100,000 roubles per annum; nor could he be prevailed upon by Peter the Third to abdicate in favour of the duke of Holstein; nobly adding, that nothing should induce him to do such an injury to his family: but that he would prefer even a second imprisonment.

Catharine, soon after the revolution which placed her on the throne of Peter the Great, took compassion on his misfortunes, and restored him to his former dignity.

Biron repaired to Mittau in 1763, twenty-eight years after he had been elected duke of Courland, and for the first time since he had been raised to that dignity. Prince Charles of Saxony, although supported by a large party in Courland, yet receiving no assistance

ance from his father Augustus the Third, was compelled to retire before the Russian forces; and Biron received the oaths of allegiance and fidelity from the whole nation.

In 1764, he obtained from the king and republic of Poland the investiture of Courland for his eldest son Peter, the present duke; in 1769, abdicated in his favour; and, in 1772, closed at Mittau, in the eighty-third year of his age, a life of almost unparelled vicissitude.

The constitution * of Courland is of so complicated a nature, and the rights of Poland, of the duke, and of the diet, so interwoven, that in order to form a distinct and accurate relation, it will be necessary to separate and explain them with some degree of minuteness.

From the historical sketch of the succession to the ducal throne of Courland, it will appear that Courland is a male-fief, dependent on and conferred by the crown of Poland.

The territorial superiority of Poland is settled by the *Pacta Subjectionis*, or acts of vassalage, ratified by the king of Poland and

* For the history and constitution of Courland, see Lænnigich, Jus. Publ. Reg. Poloni. lib. I. c. x. sec. v. to vii. and Ziegenhorn's Staats Recht der Hertzogthueiner Courland and Semegallen.

duke of Courland, when the duke receives his investiture.

This territorial right consists principally in the following articles: The king invests each duke with the dutchies of Courland and Semigallia as fiefs of Poland; and receives his homage as from a vassal to his liege lord.

If Poland is engaged in war, the duke is bound to furnish 200 horse, or 500 infantry; and the nobles are likewise bound to supply, as their quota, 200 horse, or 30,000 dollars in the first year of the war, provided no Polish or enemy's troops are quartered in Courland, and 10,000 dollars in each of the succeeding years.

The money of Courland is to bear on one side, the head of the king, or the arms of Poland and Lithuania; it must also be struck upon the same standard as the coin of Poland. The Polish money must pass current in Courland, and the Courlandish in Poland.

The king settles all disputes between the duke and his subjects, receives remonstrances against any infringement of privileges from the diet of Courland against the duke, and can order the redress of grievances.

The diet of Poland must finally ratify all laws which tend to alter or new-model the constitution of Courland, and which have been passed

passed by the duke and diet of Courland, to be referred to the king and republic of Poland. The Polish diet also confirms the creation of nobles, and the *indigenat recht*, or right of naturalization, recommended by the duke and diet of Courland. It is also the supreme court of judicature, to which any noble may appeal from the decision of the courts of justice in Courland. In all civil causes above the value of 500 Polish florins, and in all criminal cases specified in the statutes of Courland, the final decision is left to the king and republic of Poland. The king in return binds himself to support the constitution of Courland, the duke in all his prerogatives, and the nobles and burghers in all their privileges.

The duke and diet of Courland enjoy the supreme authority in all other circumstances, not contradictory to their feudal dependance on Poland, or which are not mentioned in the acts of subjection.

The duke is invested with the executive power, and the general administration of affairs. He has a negative in all the proceedings of the diet, confers the principal charges, both civil and military, enjoys the right of pardoning criminals, judges in particular cases

without appeal, in all civil causes below 500 Polish florins ; and in delinquencies and crimes not specified in the statute law of Courland.

The duke, strictly speaking, has the right to declare war, make peace, or contract alliances ; but although some instances of his exercising these prerogatives have occurred in the history of Courland, yet he usually consults his diet on these occasions. His ~~revenues~~ revenues are very ample, and are derived from the ducal demesnes, which are supposed to contain one-third of the dutchy, from tolls and customs, manerial and feudal rights, fines, and confiscations of goods, amounting to not less than £. 160,000 per annum, which almost entirely belongs to his own privy purse, as the expences of his court are trifling, and he is not permitted, by the laws of his country, to keep on foot more than 500 troops.

The prerogatives of the duke are circumscribed by his vassalage to Poland already mentioned, by the diet of Courland, and the privileges of the nobles.

Diets are ordinary or extraordinary ; and both are convoked by the duke, either at his own suggestion, or at the request of the nobles.

Extraordinary diets are summoned as occasion requires. Ordinary diets are convoked every

two years, about six weeks previous to the meeting of the Polish diet. With the circular letters expedited to the different parishes for the election of the deputies, the duke also sends the propositions called Deliberations, which are to be laid before the diet, and must, at the same time, transmit any grievances, which ~~are~~ complained of by the body of nobles, for the consideration of that assembly.

The deputies must be noble, and are elected by the nobles in their respective parishes. The number of deputies returned is uncertain, because sometimes one parish chooses one or two deputies, and not unusually three parishes join in appointing only one, but may be estimated at not more than twenty-seven, the number of parishes.

The diet assembles generally at Mittau, and immediately chooses, by a majority of votes, a marshal or president. The deputies then, with the marshal at their head, repair to the palace, are received by the duke in state, kiss his hand, and are entertained at dinner.

The diet, conjointly with the duke, imposes taxes, and passes all laws and regulations which do not infringe on the feudal rights of Poland, or alter the constitution of the country; as all such propositions, after having been approved

by the duke and diet, must be transmitted to the Polish diet for its approbation or rejection.

In all grievances, the diet first submits them to the duke; and if he considers them as nugatory, and refuses to redress them, the deputies enjoy the privilege of laying their remonstrances before the diet of Poland, as the supreme court of legislature.

All questions are carried or rejected by the majority; and each deputy must vote according to the instructions he has received from his constituents: but in all instances wherein the constituents have not fully instructed their deputy, his vote is null, and the sentiments of the majority prevail.

From this absurd method of giving previous instructions, and the attempts of the deputies to elude them, many instances occur in the history of Courland, in which the minority have prevailed over the majority: this custom has also given rise to several attempts which, not without success, have been made for a single deputy to assume to himself the right of the *liberum veto* * in Poland, though under another name, and to be the means of dissolving the diet from his sole opposition.

* See Book I. ch. v.

At the dissolution of the diet, the deputies are bound to acquaint their constituents in person with the transactions of that assembly, a circumstance which necessarily gives rise to factions, and has not unfrequently occasioned civil commotions.

Many of the privileges of the nobles are enormous, and inconsistent with every principle of sound policy. A noble cannot be arrested, by order of the duke, for the most flagrant act, except within twenty-four hours after the commission of the crime; if he escapes during that time, he cannot be arrested without an order from the king and republic of Poland; he cannot be imprisoned till he is found guilty; and cannot be executed, but by the permission of the king and republic of Poland.

The highest and most important officers of state must be drawn from their body.

Nobles are exempted from the payment of all taxes and imposts whatsoever, being only bound, according to the feudal tenure, in time of war to furnish their quota of cavalry; and all goods and merchandise imported or exported for their use pay no duty.

Their power over their peasants is, if possible, more unbounded than that which the

Polish gentry possess over their's. They enjoy the criminal jurisdiction without appeal; and though certain forms and limits are prescribed by the laws, yet, in effect, no such limitation takes place. In judging delinquencies and crimes, a noble can form a summary court of justice, composed of himself, three or four friends, and an attorney; and, after such a mock-trial, may order the delinquent to immediate execution, or to corporal punishment.

By the constitution of Courland, the duke is assisted in the administration of affairs by a privy council, called the Supreme Council, composed of four high counsellors, and two civilians or doctors, all appointed by the duke, but holding their places for life, unless proved to be guilty of malversation, and removed by the king of Poland. The four high counsellors are; the high steward, the chancellor, the burgrave, and the marshal.

The province of this council is to advise the duke in all concerns of state, to take care that the rights and privileges of the subject are not infringed, and to make remonstrances against any grievances.

The four high counsellors form also, in conjunction with the duke, the criminal court of judicature for the nobles, to which
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an appeal lies from the inferior courts of justice; and which judges, without farther appeal, all crimes excepting premeditated murder, wilful burning of houses, robbery, rapes, or open violence, which, as being capital, are referred to the king of Poland.

The same four high counsellors are invested with ~~the~~ regency, whether in the minority, absence, or sickness of the duke, or on a vacancy of the ducal throne. In these cases, the two civilians, who are considered as the duke's counsellors, are excluded, to the great detriment of the country, as they are usually the most enlightened counsellors, and not being nobles, are more inclined to encourage the arts and sciences, manufactures and commerce, and are particularly attentive, that the privileges of the lower orders should be preserved.

The enormous privileges of the nobles have been the occasion of fomenting the troubles, and exciting the civil commotions, which have overwhelmed Courland for this last century. Its internal history is little else than a continued series of disputes between the duke and the nobles; the boasted freedom of the country is a spirit of faction under the name of liberty, which, as in Poland, means an aristo-

cratical licentiousness, oppressing others, but free itself to commit all kinds of enormities.

In all countries, wherever the spirit of feudal anarchy and feudal despotism (the worst species of tyranny) prevails, the peasants are oppressed, and agriculture is in a declining state; the merchants are despised, and commerce languishes; men of learning are neglected, and letters are uncultivated; the nobles and gentry alone enjoy the right of being land-holders, and center in themselves the whole powers and emoluments of government. Daily, however, this odious slavery loses ground; the age becomes more enlightened; the citizen, the merchant, the manufacturer, and the peasant, gain esteem and consequence; and the time perhaps is not distant, when they will burst the shackles, which prevent them from enjoying the common rights of man.

If the present duke should die without issue, the right of appointing the duke, according to the rules of succession lately established, would be vested in the diet of Courland, to be approved of by the king and republic of Poland. But as Courland is too small a state to act independently of the great neighbouring kingdoms, the nomination

mination of the new duke would entirely depend on the will of that power which has most preponderance in the north, and consequently most influence in Poland.

When Poland was the great, preponderating power, Courland was subservient to that republic; when Sweden, under Gustavus Adolphus and his immediate successors, rose superior to Poland, Courland was over-ran by the Swedes, and its sovereign led into captivity*. When the fortune of the house of Vasa declined, and Russia gained the ascendancy, Courland became almost a province of Russia; its dukes were elected and deposed, its councils directed by the influence of the court of Petersburg, and its dependence on Poland was a mere formality. But as Russia has lately lost her influence in Poland, the duke of Courland has emancipated himself from his absolute dependence on the court of Petersburg. But whether this emancipation is temporary or permanent must depend on the fate of the present war, and the issue of the pending negotiations.

The prevailing religion of Courland is the

* James duke of Courland, taken prisoner in 1458, by Charles X. king of Sweden.

Lutheran, but all other religions are tolerated; and by the acts of subjection, the Roman catholics particularly are capable of holding all military and civil offices, that of the chancellor and a few others excepted.

The language of the natives in Courland is a dialect of the Livonian or Lettish, the same language which is spoken, with a little variation, by the natives in Livonia and Esthonia, and is probably derived from the Finnish. The nobles, and gentry, being descended from German settlers, speak German; and that tongue is always used in the debates of the diet.

From Mittau we traversed the dutchy of Courland, a country swelling into gentle hills, and fertile in corn, hemp, and flax. The inhabitants export those commodities from the port of Libau on the Baltic, the only commercial town of Courland; and import in return, coffee, tea, wines, cloth, salt, and other foreign merchandize, which supply the interior consumption. The country is mostly open; but in some parts clothed with forests of pine and fir, dotted with occasional groves of fine oak, and sprinkled with much underwood. The villages are neat, the scattered cottages and gentlemen's seats prettily situated

situated amid clumps of trees, and the inns provided with beds, a great luxury to travellers just come from Russia. The roads are extremely indifferent, and in this season of the year scarcely passable.

We quitted Courland, near Polangen, a small town of Poland, and, crossing over a narrow slip of Poland, entered Prussia, and soon reached Memmel, an ill-built town with narrow dirty streets, but remarkable for its extensive commerce.

Memmel is provided with the finest harbour in the Baltic. In 1784, 996 ships, amongst which were 500 English, arrived here. The imports are chiefly salt, iron, and salted herrings; the exports, which greatly exceed the imports, are amber, corn, hemp, flax, and particularly timber. An English consul resides here. The trade is daily increasing, on account of the high duties which the court of Russia has laid on the imports of Riga.

Memmel is situated on the northern extremity of the *Curische Haf*, an inlet of the sea about seventy miles in length, which is here joined to the Baltic by a narrow strait. Having ferried over the Haf, we pursued our route along a spit of land, or a narrow peninsula

peninsula enclosed between the Curische Haf and the Baltic. This spit of land is a sandy beach, about eighty miles long, and scarcely three broad, and almost solely inhabited by fishermen, who build their huts on the other side of the sandy eminence which forms the beach; and we scarcely saw a single house from the time we quitted Memmel, till we came to a small village encircled with a few corn-fields and stubbed pines, about forty-four miles from Memmel, where we breakfasted the next morning.

During our route, one wheel of our carriage ran close to the edge of the water; and as the weather was mild and the sea calm the waves did not pass their bounds, and force us to drive along the deep and sloping sand-hills which bound the shore.

As the rate at which we travelled scarcely exceeded two miles and an half in the hour, we amused ourselves during the greatest part of the day with walking on the beach, and picking up the pieces of amber, which are thrown ashore by the waves of the sea in such large quantities as in some parts to seem like heaps of small shells.

After creeping near forty hours, we at length reached the southern termination of the spit of
of

of sand, and passed through a country agreeably diversified with hill and dale, and appearing still more agreeable from the contrast of the barren and desolate sand which we had just quitted. We reached Konigsberg at midnight, after having employed fifty hours in traversing 20 German or 90 English miles.

~~Prussia~~, of which Konigsberg is the capital, is formed into two great divisions, Eastern and Western Prussia, both of which were united in the fourteenth century, subject to the Teutonic knights, and governed by a grand master of that order. During that and the following century, many disputes arose between the Teutonic knights and Poland concerning the boundaries of Poland and Prussia: and the grand master was constrained to do homage to the King of Poland for the possession of Prussia.

'At length Albert, a prince of the electoral house of Brandenburgh, being chosen grand master of Prussia in 1512, compromised the matter in dispute with Poland, by ceding to that crown Western Prussia, and reserving to himself Eastern Prussia, to be held as a ducal fief, descendible to his heirs male, and in failure of issue male, to revert to the crown of Poland. In consequence of this agreement,

Albert

Albert received, in 1525, the investiture of Eastern Prussia from Sigismund, king of Poland; and at his death transmitted it quietly to his son Albert Frederic.

Albert Frederic being insane, his Prussian dominions were governed by his cousin George Frederic, and afterwards by John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, who had espoused Anne, eldest daughter of the duke of Prussia.

In 1611, John Sigismund obtained from Sigismund the Third, king of Poland, the investiture of ducal Prussia, as a vassal to the crown of Poland; and, on the death of his father-in-law, in 1618, succeeded, without opposition, to that dutchy; thus annexing to his electoral dominions this valuable country.

In 1658, Frederic William, deservedly surnamed the Great Elector, obtained from John Casimir, and the republic of Poland, the abolition of his vassalage for Eastern Prussia, and the erection of that dutchy into an independent sovereignty.

His son Frederic raised that dutchy into a kingdom, and, in 1701, was crowned king of Prussia at Konigsberg; and the late king, Frederic the Second, wrested from Poland, by the treaty of partition, Polish or Western Prussia,

Prussia, and re-united the whole country under one sovereignty.

Konigsberg, the capital of the kingdom of Prussia, is about five miles in circumference: and, including the garrison of 7,000 men, contains 60,000 inhabitants. It stands on the *Pregel*, a navigable river which flows from the north-western provinces of Poland, and here falls into the eastern extremity of the *Frische Haf*, an inlet of the Baltic. No ships drawing more than seven feet water can pass the bar, and come up to the town; so that the large vessels anchor at Pillau, a small town on the Baltic, which is the port of Konigsberg; and the merchandize is sent in smaller vessels to this place.

The trade of Konigsberg is not inconsiderable, as will appear from the table of the exports and imports for 1784, inserted in the Appendix.

Konigsberg contains an university, founded by Albert of Brandenburgh. According to the original endowment there were forty professors; but their number is now reduced to sixteen. Each professor receives a salary of about £. 50 per annum, which may be increased by private lectures. In 1775, the university contained 800 students, of whom 200

are lodged and boarded at the expence of the crown. There are three public libraries in the town, the Royal or University Library, the Town Library, and the Wallenrodt Library, so called, because it was given by Martien von Wallenrodt, in 1650.

In the last-mentioned collection I was shewn the original safe-conduct granted to Luther by Charles the Fifth, and signed by that emperor's own hand. Trusting to this safe-conduct, Luther appeared at the diet of Worms, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, who reminded him of the fate of John Huss on a similar occasion. But Luther, with that undaunted spirit which accompanied all his actions, silenced his friends by declaring, that he was lawfully called to appear in that city; and "thither will I go," he added, though as "many devils as there are tiles on the houses" were combined against me."

As he could not be prevailed upon, either by threats or intreaties, to retract his opinions, some of the Romish clergy, with that scandalous sophistry which deemed that faith ought not to be kept with heretics, proposed to imitate the example of the Council of Constance, and to condemn Luther to the flames. But as the members of the diet startled with hor-

ror at another violation of the public faith, and as Charles peremptorily refused to stain his administration by such an ignominious action, Luther was permitted to retire in safety *, and completed the reformation, which was introduced into these parts by Albert of Brandenburg, the first duke of Prussia.

Robertson's Charles V. vol. ii. p. 123.

C H A P. X.

Of Catharine I.—Her origin and early adventures.—Married to a Swedish dragoon.—Captured by the Ruffians. — Becomes the mistress, consort, and successor of Peter, the Great.—Death of that monarch without appointing his successor.—History of Catharine's elevation to the throne.—Her death and character.

MANY authors have expressed great surprize at the contradictory reports relative to the origin of so extraordinary a personage as Catharine I. But when we consider the lowness of her extraction, the variety of uncommon adventures which beset her during the early period of her life, her equivocal situation with general Bauer and prince Mentchikof, before her connection with Peter the Great; and that she did not excite the public curiosity until she became the favourite of that emperor, when she and her friends could prevent, as much as possible, all inquiries into her former situation; I am so far from being surprized we know so little, that

that I rather wonder we are acquainted with so many particulars concerning her birth and early adventures. To expect that the history of a person of low extraction, who gradually rose to the most exalted station, should contain no uncertain and discordant accounts, is to expect impossibilities. All that remains, therefore, is, without prejudice or partiality, to examine and compare the various histories of Catharine I. and to collect from the whole the most rational and probable narrative.

Catharine was the natural daughter * of a
country

* I shall here say a few words concerning the authors from whom I have principally extracted this account of Catharine I. The first and most authentic of these is Weber.

1. Weber was the Hanoverian resident at Petersburg during part of the reign of Peter I. and took extraordinary pains to obtain the best information relative to the origin of Catharine. He learnt the Russian language of Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time when Catharine was in that minister's house at Marienburgh, and who was at Petersburg in 1714: from him, therefore, he was able to obtain the most authentic intelligence. Can we wish for more accurate information? Weber may possibly have been mistaken in a few trifling incidents, but his narrative upon the whole is to be depended upon. See *Verandertes Rusland*, Vol. III. p. 7—10.

2. La Motraye, in his *Travels*, has given a short account of Catharine's family, &c. Among other intelli-

country girl; and was born at Ringen, a small
village

gence, he collected much information from a Livonian girl, who had been sold by the Russians to the Turks, and whom he bought in Turkey of the Janizaries: this girl knew Catharine at Marienburg, and told him several particulars relating to her, which were afterwards confirmed to him in Livonia. The account of *La Motraye* corresponds with that of *Weber* in the principal events, differing only in a few trifling points.

3. Bruce has also given an account of the origin of Catharine in his *Memoirs* lately published, which he relates as he heard it told by those who knew her from her infancy. His narrative corresponds, upon the whole, with that of *Weber* in all essential circumstances. In the course of this inquiry I shall point out one or two immaterial instances wherein they differ.

These three persons are the principal authors who were in Russia towards the beginning of this century, and who collected information upon the spot: we may therefore rely upon them with more safety than upon later authors; and they all agree in confirming the lowness of her birth and her marriage with the Swedish dragoon.

Voltaire, in his *Life of Peter I.* has slightly passed over the early adventures of Catharine: he mentions nothing of her birth, her marriage with the Swedish soldier; as circumstances derogatory from the honour of the mother of the empress Elizabeth, by whose desire he wrote the *Life of Peter the Great*. But, willing to ennoble the family of Catharine I. he records a strange story, which has all the air of a romance, concerning a brother of Catharine, named Scavronski, who was found to be the son of a gentleman of Lithuania. Voltaire cites for his authority "le manu-
"scrit

village upon the Lake Virtchervé, near Dorpt,
in

“ écrit curieux d’un homme qui était alors au service du czar, & qui parle comme témoin ;” but without mentioning his name.

- From Voltaire many succeeding authors have advanced that Catharine was of the family of Scavronski ; and it is certain that the empress Elizabeth acknowledged that family as her relations, and conferred several honours upon its members.

This anecdote concerning Scavronski is positively contradicted by a passage in Bassevitz, who assisted Mentchikof in raising Catharine to the throne, and who must have known if any brother of Catharine had been at Petersburgh during the life of Peter. He asserts, that Catharine did not produce any of her relations during Peter’s life : that after his death a person made his appearance at Petersburgh as her brother, under the name of count Hendrikof ; that he lived in obscurity during the reigns of Peter II. and Anne ; and that Elizabeth made his son a chamberlain. Busching, IX. p. 295.

Weber also upon this head relates, “ that a near relation of Catharine came to Petersburgh with his family, consisting of three sons and two daughters. He was called count Ikavoronski [certainly the same as Scavronski] ; the eldest daughter, Sophia, was taken by the empress to be her maid of honour ; the other children were educated by their father. The arrival of *these strangers* gave rise to many reports concerning the origin of Catharine ; that her father, whose name was said to be John Rabe, was a quarter-master in a Swedish regiment ; that her mother was the daughter of a town-secretary of Riga, and was delivered in 1682 of Catharine. The

in Livonia, The year of her birth is uncertain ;

“ widow, after her husband’s death, went to her relations
 “ at Riga; but dying soon afterwards, Gluck took the
 “ foundling into his family. These reports, which began
 “ to circulate, occasioned a public decree, forbidding all
 “ persons, upon pain of death, from uttering disrespectful
 “ expressions against the late emperor, or the reigning em-
 “ press and her family.” Ver. Russ. Vol. III. p. 76.

We may indeed take it for granted, that if Catharine’s family had been nobly descended, the secret would have been discovered during the life of Peter, and have been favourably received by that emperor, who was prevented by the *obscurity of her birth* from carrying her with him to Paris, not willing to expose her to any insult: “ Il ne vouloit pas l’exposer, dit-on, aux rebuts qu’il craignait pour elle, *và l’obscurité de sa naissance, de la délicatesse Francaise.*” Bassevitz in Buf. Mag. IX. p. 316.

An Austrian envoy, who was at Petersburg in 1725, and wrote an account to his court of her accession to the throne, says, “ that she was a natural daughter of a Livonian nobleman, whose name was Alvendhel; that her mother afterwards married a rich peasant, by whom she had a son and a daughter; that the former was put to death by Peter, for openly declaring himself to be the brother of Catharine; and that the sister received for some time a pension of 300 roubles from the empress, but was afterwards confined in a house of correction during the reign of Peter I. by Catharine’s desire.” He adds, “ that Catharine was brought up in Gluck’s house; that she became the mistress of Tiesenhausen, a captain of a Swedish troop, by whom she had a son; that he afterwards gave her in marriage to a dragoon of his troop, with whom she lived three years, until she was taken
 “ prisoner

certain; but, according to her own account,

“prisoner at Narva by the Russians.” But this minister, who is well informed in what relates to the latter part of Catharine’s life, and the means by which she ascended the throne, seems to have retailed many idle reports about her family and early history. Busch. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 48.

Before I close this note I must necessarily mention the opinion of Busching, who, during his residence at Peterburgh, collected much authentic information in respect to the various parts of the Russian history: amongst other articles, he has given anecdotes of Catharine I. which he opens by saying, “All the accounts which writers have hitherto given, or rather conjectured, of the birth and family of Catharine I. are false.” Ibid. III. p. 190. He says that her family was from Lithuania, and her father’s name Samuel; that her brother was count Charles Scavronski; that her sister Christina was married to count Simon Hendrikof, and the other, whose name was Anne, to Michael Yesimoski. He confirms her marriage with the Swedish dragoon, but places the scene at Fraustadt in Poland, and not at Marienburgh. He informs us, that he obtained this *information* from an old lady whose name he conceals, who died lately at Petersburgh, and who knew Catharine from her first appearance in Russia, and was greatly in that empress’s favour. He adds also an account of an officer who brought Catharine’s sister Anne from Lithuania to Petersburgh. With great deference, however, to so respectable an authority, we cannot, merely upon this hearsay evidence, set aside the testimonies of Weber, La Motraye, and Bruce: this story seems, in effect, the same flying report as that in Voltaire; and the lady who gave the intelligence to Busching might have been willing to ratify the current report in Elizabeth’s time, in honour

count *, she came into the world on the 5th of April, 1689. Her original name was Martha, which she changed for Catharine when she embraced the Greek religion. Count Rosen, a lieutenant-colonel in the Swedish service, who owned the village of Ringen, supported, according to the custom of the country, both the mother and the child; and was, for that reason, supposed by many persons to have been her father. She lost her mother when she was but three years old; and, as count Rosen died about the same time, she was left in so destitute a situation, that the parish clerk of the village received her into his house. Soon afterwards Gluck, Lutheran

of her friend and patroness Catharine I. It appears, however, as well from this intelligence as from the information of Weber and Bassevitz, that some real or pretended relations of Catharine I. made their appearance at Peterburgh during her reign; that they were acknowledged and promoted by her, and afterwards by Elizabeth, not unwilling, perhaps, to believe, without inquiry, her mother's family to have been nobly descended.

Schmidt, in his *Materialien*, &c. has collected in one point of view great part of the intelligence which relates to Catharine I.; and to him I am greatly obliged for abridging the trouble necessary in such a complicated inquiry.

* Bassevitz in *Busching*, IX. p. 375. Some say she was born so early as 1683. *Busching*, IX. p. 481.

minister

minister of Marienburgh, happening; in a journey through those parts, to see the founding, took her under his protection; brought her up in his family; and employed her in attending his children. In 1701, and about the fourteenth year of her age *, she espoused a dragoon of the Swedish garrison of Marienburgh †. Many different accounts are given of this transaction: one author ‡ of great credit affirms that the bride and bridegroom remained together eight days after their marriage; another §, of no less authority, asserts, on the contrary, that, the morning of the nuptials her husband being sent with a detachment for Riga, the marriage was never consummated. Thus much is certain, that the dragoon was absent when Marienburgh surrendered to the Russians; and Catharine,

* Weber says in her 18th year; but if, according to her own account, she was born in 1689, she was only thirteen.

† Wurmb assured Weber, that during her residence at Marienburgh she was a pattern of virtue and good behaviour; which contradicts the report, that she had been a common woman in Livonia.

‡ Weber.

§ Bruce, p. 74.

who

who was reserved for a higher fortune, never saw him more*.

General Bauer †, upon the taking of Marienburgh, saw Catharine among the prisoners;

* What became of her husband is unknown.

Weber says that Catharine, for some time after she lived with prince Mentchikof, used to inquire about her husband, and that she sent him occasionally, though privately, small presents; and that, in 1705, he was killed in a skirmish.

Gordon says, that on the day of his marriage he was killed in an encounter; for from that time he was never heard of. Vol. II. p. 255.

Motraye, who made many inquiries about him, concludes by saying, he could be assured of nothing from the common report of the country concerning the fate of this new-married man, it being so variously related.

† Weber relates, that marshal Sheremetof was the general who first brought Catharine into Russia, I should certainly have submitted to his authority, if Bruce had not asserted that general Bauer was the person.

Bruce begins his narrative by saying, "As general Bauer was the person by whose means the empress Catharine arrived afterwards to so great an height:" and Bruce's authority must be preferred in this instance, because he probably obtained his information from his uncle general Bruce; who was intimately acquainted with general Bauer, and could not be mistaken in this fact.

Perhaps this contradiction may be reconciled by considering, that although marshal Sheremetof commanded the Russian army in Livonia, yet, as general Bauer was the
next

ers; and, being smitten with her youth and beauty, took her to his house, where she superintended his domestic affairs, and was supposed to be his mistress. Soon afterwards she was removed into the family of prince Mentchikof, who was no less struck with the attractions of the fair captive: with him she lived until 1704, when, in the seventeenth year of her age, she became the mistress * of Peter the Great, and won so much upon his

next in command, he might either have headed the party which entered Marienburgh, or have taken the fair prisoner under his protection. Persons have doubted whether she were really the mistress of general Bauer: but when Bruce says general Bauer "gave immediate orders for her safety and reception into his house, of which he gave her the whole charge, with authority over all his servants, by whom she was very much beloved from her manner of using them; the general afterwards often said, his house was never so well managed as when she was with him," p. 75—we can have no doubt of the fact, as otherwise a general would hardly place a girl under sixteen at the head of his household.

* Weber writes, that the emperor first saw her as she was carrying some dishes through the hall: the Austrian minister says she was laundress to prince Mentchikof; that at the close of an entertainment at the prince's, when the emperor and company were intoxicated, she was recommended to Peter, &c. Busching, XI. p. 482.

affections, that he espoused * her on the 29th of May, 1711. The ceremony was secretly performed at Jawerof in Poland, in the presence of general Bruce; and on the 20th of February, 1712, it was publicly solemnized with great pomp at Petersburgh.

Catharine, by the most unwearied assiduity and unremitting attention, by the softness and complacency of her disposition, but above all by an extraordinary liveliness and gaiety of temper, acquired a wonderful ascendancy over the mind of Peter. The latter was subject to occasional horrors, which at times rendered him gloomy and suspicious; and raised

* Gordon says that she had several children by the czar before he espoused her, particularly the princess Anne. The czar, he adds, was married to her in 1710. *Life of Peter*, Vol. II. p. 258.

Weber only relates, that the marriage, which was before kept secret, was made public in 1711. Voltaire places the secret marriage in 1707.

The following passage, however, in Bruce's *Memoirs*, is absolutely decisive:

“ On the 17th (May, 1711) we arrived at Warsaw, and
 “ at Jawerof on the 29th, where we found the czar
 “ and czarina, and they were privately married, *at which*
 “ *ceremony the general was present*; and upon this occasion
 “ he was made master-general of the ordnance, in the room
 “ of the prince of Melita, who died a prisoner in Sweden.”
 P. 36.

his passions to such an height, as to produce a temporary madness. In these dreadful moments Catharine was the only person who could venture to approach him : such was the kind of fascination * she had acquired over his senses, that her presence had an instantaneous effect ; and the first sound of her voice composed his mind and calmed his agonies. From these circumstances she seemed necessary, not only to his comfort, but even to his very existence : she became his inseparable companion on his journeys into foreign countries, and even in all his military expeditions.

The peace of Pruth, by which the Russian army was rescued from certain destruction, has been wholly attributed to Catharine, though she was little more than an instrument in procuring the consent of Peter. The latter, in his campaign of 1711 against the Turks, having imprudently led his troops into a disadvantageous situation, formed the desperate resolution of cutting his way through the Turkish army in the night. With this resolution he retired to his tent in an agony of despair ; and gave positive orders that no one

* " Elle avait un ascendant sur ses sens, qui tenait presque du prodige." Bassevitz in Busch. IX. p. 294. See also note, Vol. II. p. 157 of this work.

should be admitted, under pain of death. In this important juncture, the principal officers, and the vice-chancellor Shaffirof*, assembled in the presence of Catharine; and drew up certain preliminaries in order to obtain a truce from the grand vizier. In consequence of this determination plenipotentiaries were immediately dispatched, without the knowledge of Peter, to the grand vizier; and a peace obtained upon more reasonable conditions than could have been expected. With these conditions Catharine, notwithstanding the orders issued by Peter, entered his tent, and prevailed upon him to sign them. Although the honour of this peace, says Gordon, was wholly attributed to Catharine; yet, as he

* Motraye attributes the principal success of the negotiation with the grand vizier to the vice-chancellor Shaffirof: "It was solely to his ability, and not to any pretended presents of the czarina, that the czar owed his deliverance at Pruth. I was well informed by the Paçha, with whom I was then, and by other Turks, even enemies to the vizier, of what passed there, and of the presents which were there made. All that the czarina did was to carry to the czar, when he was retired to his tent, and would see none but her, the counsels and methods which that great minister suggested, in order to a treaty, and to induce him to agree to them, and to give him a full power of acting." Motraye's Travels, Vol. III. p. 151, note. See also p. 103.

justly

justly remarks, the generals, together with the vice-chancellor Shaffirof, were the main springs that directed this machine. Catharine, however, by her conduct on this occasion, acquired great popularity; and the emperor particularly specifies her behaviour at Pruth, as one of the reasons which induced him to crown her publicly at Moscow with his own hand. This ceremony* was performed in 1724; and, although designed by Peter only as a proof of his affection, was the principal cause of her subsequent elevation.

Some authors have affirmed that Peter placed the crown upon her head as a prelude to his future intention in her favour, and even absolutely appointed her his successor: but their assertions are without the least foundation; for no traces were ever discovered that he had made such a disposition, either by will or otherwise. Nothing indeed affords a stronger proof of the contrary, than the very manifesto of Catharine's accession, in which she rests her right solely upon her coronation at Moscow, and upon the resolutions of the

* The reader will find a very circumstantial account of the coronation, with all the ceremonies and entertainments, in Bruce, who was himself present. Bruce's Memoirs, p. 351 to 363.

senate, the clergy, and the body of the generals *. From these considerations, let us inquire by what extraordinary means a woman

* “ Be it known to all and every one by these presents, that it hath pleased Almighty God to take, after a violent sickness of twelve days, from this world, the most serene and most powerful prince Peter the Great, emperor, and absolute sovereign of all the Russias, father of his country, and our most gracious lord, in order to raise him to eternal glory.

“ *The order of succession to the throne of Russia being regulated by his imperial majesty of most glorious memory; in his decree, dated the 5th of February, 1722, which was published to the whole nation, and confirmed by the oaths of all the states assembled together; namely, that he or she, whom it should please his imperial majesty to appoint, should succeed to the throne: and accordingly he was pleased that, in the year 1724, his dear consort, our most gracious empress, Catharine Alexiefna, should receive, as she did effectually receive, the crown and the sacred inauguration, by reason of the numberless great and important services which she performed for the advantage of the Russian empire; as was sufficiently and amply declared in the manifesto, dated the 15th of November, 1723.*

“ *For which reasons* the senate or council of regency, and the sacred synod, in conjunction with the body of generals, have unanimously ordained, and do notify by the present printed edict, that all, as well ecclesiastical as military and civil, of all ranks and conditions, be subject and faithful to the most serene and most powerful empress Catharine Alexiefna, absolute sovereign of all the Russias.” See Dumont, Corps Diplom. Vol. VIII. P. II. p. 104.

of her low birth could succeed in setting aside the grandson of Peter the Great, who was the lineal heir of the Russian empire; and ascend the throne, to which she could have no pretensions but by the express appointment of Peter. Her influence continued undiminished until a short time before the death of that emperor; when some circumstances happened which occasioned such a coolness between them, as would probably have ended in a total rupture, if his death had not fortunately intervened. The original cause of this misunderstanding arose from the discovery of a secret connection between Catharine and her first chamberlain, whose name was Mons. The emperor, who was suspicious of this connection, quitted Petersburg under pretence of removing to a villa for a few days; but privately returned to his winter palace in the capital. From thence he occasionally sent one of his confidential pages with a complimentary message to the empress, as if he had been in the country, and with secret orders to observe her motions. From the page's information, the emperor, on the third night, surpris'd Catharine in an arbour of the garden with her favourite Mons; while his sister, Madame Balke, who was first lady of the

bed-chamber to the empress, was in company with a page, upon the watch without the arbour.

Peter *, whose violent temper was inflamed by this discovery, struck Catharine with his cane, as well as the page who endeavoured to prevent him from entering the arbour; and then retired without uttering a single word either to Mons or his sister. A few days after this transaction these persons were taken into custody; and Mons was carried to the winter palace, where no one had admision to him but Peter, who himself brought him his provisions. A report was at the same time circulated, that they were imprisoned for having received bribes, and making their influence over the empress subservient to their own mercenary views. Mons being examined

* Bassewitz and Voltaire relate this transaction in a different manner, but neither of them would represent any circumstance tending in the least to criminate Catharine. The Austrian envoy, from whom the above relation is chiefly extracted, says that he received information of the whole affair from the page sent by Peter, whose name was Drevenich. Busch. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 49.

Bassewitz himself mentions the anecdote of his driving her under the gallows: which seems to imply, that Peter certainly thought Catharine guilty of an intrigue with Mons.

by

by Peter, in the presence of major-general Ufchakof, and threatened with the torture, confessed the corruption which was laid to his charge. He was beheaded; his sister received five strokes of the knoot, and was banished into Siberia; two of her sons, who were chamberlains, were also degraded, and sent as common soldiers among the Russian troops in Persia. On the day subsequent to the execution of the sentence, Peter conveyed Catharine in an open carriage under the gallows, to which was nailed the head of Mons: the empress, without changing colour at this dreadful sight, exclaimed, "What a pity it is, that there is so much corruption among courtiers *!"

This event happened in the latter end of the year 1724: and as it was soon followed by Peter's death; and as Catharine, upon her accession, recalled Madame Balke; she was suspected of shortening the days of her husband by poison. But notwithstanding the very critical situation of Catharine at the time of his decease, and her subsequent elevation, this charge is totally destitute of the least shadow of proof; for the nature of the

* Bassevitz in Busch. Hist. Mag. IX. p. 372.

disorder with which Peter had been long afflicted, and the peculiar symptoms * of his last illness, sufficiently account for his death, without the necessity of recurring to poison.

Peter having, in the year 1724, decreed that the reigning sovereign should have the power of appointing his successor, ought, in com-

* "Peter," says the Austrian envoy, "had formerly contracted from one of his mistresses a complaint, which on account of his excesses was never completely eradicated; and upon his drinking, at the ridiculous election of the mock patriarch †, an enormous quantity of wine, beer, mead, and brandy, it increased to such a degree as to become incurable; but as there appeared no external symptoms of the complaint, the physicians conceived the disorder to be the stone, and treated it accordingly. By these means the virus at length gradually gained such an height as to form an abscess in the bladder, which, in his last illness, brought on a strangury, that soon ended in his death. Upon his death-bed he grievously repented of his sins, confessed that he had shed much innocent blood, expressed the greatest concern for his behaviour to his unfortunate son; adding, however, that he hoped God would forgive his sins, in consideration of the good he had conferred on his country." Busch. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 496.

Gordon says, "he caught cold, which, with a violent strangury and retention of urine, occasioned by an imposthume in his bladder, put an end to his life on the 28th of January, 1725."

† See an account of this in Bruce's Memoirs.

mon prudence, to have provided one in case of his sudden death ; but he was seized with his last illness before he had performed that necessary duty. The disorder with which he was attacked was a strangury, which at first did not carry with it any alarming symptoms of immediate danger ; but suddenly increasing to a violent degree, occasioned such excruciating tortures, as, in a short time, totally deprived him of his senses. In a lucid interval he demanded pen and paper, and endeavoured to write ; but could only trace characters that were not legible. He then called for his daughter Anne ; but before she arrived his speech and his understanding entirely forsook him ; and in this state he remained for six and thirty hours before he expired*.

It is evident from this account, drawn from the most unquestionable authorities, that he did not appoint his heir : and though some persons have concluded that he purposed entailing the crown upon his grandson Peter II. ; yet it is most probable that he had destined his eldest daughter Anne to be his successor ;

* Bassevitz in Busching IX. p. 373. also Weber Ver. Ruff. vol. II. p. 199.

but was prevented by the suddenness of his death from carrying that design into execution *. But, without dwelling upon questions which

* I have already given my reasons for adopting this opinion. See p. 331 in the note.

Monsieur Le Clerc, in his *Histoire, Physique, Morale, Civile, et Politique de la Russie Moderne*, asserts, that Peter I. absolutely appointed Peter II, his successor. As the whole passage relative to this *hitherto unknown* anecdote is extremely curious, I shall here insert it, and accompany it, with a few observations.

“ Lorsque ce prince (Pierre I.) vit arriver l’instant de sa mort, il fit un dernier effort pour se lever de son lit, et pour écrire l’ordre qui excluait du Trône Catharine I. et qui y plaçoit Pierre II. fils de l’infortuné Alexis. On verra dans la suite de cet ouvrage, les raisons qui déterminèrent Pierre I. à exclure Catharine qui lui avoit été si chère. Nous nous bornons ici à dire que l’ordre étoit écrit lorsqu’il tomba en foiblesse, et qu’il mourut quelques heures après,

“ Pierre I. mourut entre les bras du prince Menzikof, des comtes de Roumentzof et Tolstoé, et de deux majors de gardes—à-Pied nommés Mammonof. Avant d’annoncer la mort de l’empereur, leur premier soin fut de lire ses dernières volontés, et d’opiner sur l’usage qu’ils en devoient faire,

Le prince Tolstoé porta la parole aux autres, et dit : Les intentions de Pierre nous sont connues ; mais prenons garde à ce que nous allons faire, Pierre II. nous doit haïr, il nous hait ; si nous le plaçons sur le Trône, nous serons les premières victimes qu’il immolera à la vengeance de son père,

which are foreign to the present history, let us hasten to the election of Catharine.

While

“ Tolstoé étoit naturellement eloquent et persuasif; et
 “ dans cette conjuncture, l’eloquence étoit jointe a la ve-
 “ rité. On fut d’avis de déroger aux intentions de l’empe-
 “ reur défunt, et de supprimer l’ordre d’exclusion. Alors
 “ les majors de gardes annoncerent la mort de Pierre I. le
 “ regne de Catharine, et les gardes la proclamèrent en
 “ criant Ours, selon l’usage du pays. Cette anecdote
 “ secrète est exacte dans tous ses points.” Hist. Mod. de
 Russie, p. 443.

I will frankly own that I must suspend my judgment with respect to the truth of this secret anecdote, exact in all its circumstances, until the ingenious author shall condescend to cite his authority. For as it positively contradicts the relation of Bassévitz, who had so great a share in raising Catharine to the throne; of count Munic, who was so well versed in the political intrigues of the Russian court; and of the Austrian envoy, who was present at Petersburg during the accession of Catharine; it would require stronger evidence in favour of its authenticity than the mere affirmation of an historian, however ingenious, even if it did not contain many circumstances which seem to be false.

Can Peter be said to have *excluded* Catharine from the throne by the appointment of Peter II. even supposing that appointment to have formally taken place? Exclusion implies right; and what right had Catharine but from the nomination of Peter? and it does not appear that he had ever formed the most distant views of making that nomination.

The speech of Tolstoé is improbable in itself, and contradicted by the most positive testimony. It is improbable;

While Peter was yet lying in the agonies of death, several opposite parties were caballing to

because though we imagine that Tolstoé, who was a creature of Mentchikof, might have hinted to that prince a suggestion to destroy any written appointment of the successor, yet we cannot suppose that he would openly make that proposal before count Romantzof and the two majors, without having first sounded them, and endeavoured to gain them over to his purpose.

It is contradicted by the most positive testimony, because it appears from Bassevitz, that, during the several hours in which Peter lay in a state of insensibility, and before he expired, Mentchikof had taken all the necessary precautions for the accession of Catharine.

With respect to the *order of the exclusion and the appointment of Peter II.* supposed to be written by Peter himself in the midst of his last illness, it is most probable that such an order was never written; for the *dernier effort pour se lever son lit*, &c. is the same circumstance alluded to by Bassevitz, from whom it appears that Peter only traced illegible characters: and this state of the case is confirmed by the Hanoverian envoy, Weber, who had no connection either with Mentchikof or Bassevitz: *Schrieb auch etliche worte, aber so unleserlich, &c. he wrote a few words, but so illegibly, that no one could make out their meaning.* Veran, Russ. vol. II. p. 199.

The Austrian envoy also says, that, “da er dann etwas aufschreiben wollen, aber vor Schwachheit nicht gekonnt; he was desirous of writing something, but could not through weakness.” Bus. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 496.

Bassevitz asserts, that Peter expired in the arms of Catharine.

“L’Empereur

to dispose of the crown. At a considerable meeting of many among the principal nobility, it was secretly determined to arrest Catharine, at the moment of his dissolution, and to place Peter Alexievitch upon the throne*. Bassevitz, apprized of this resolution, repaired in person to the empress, although it was already night. "My grief and consternation," replied Catharine, "render me incapable of acting for myself: do you and prince Mentchikof consult together, and I will embrace the measures which you shall approve in my name." Bassevitz, finding Mentchikof asleep, awakened and informed him of the pressing danger which threatened the empress and her party. As no time remained for

"L'Empereur expira entre les bras de son épouse,"
 Bus. Hist. IX. p. 375.

This is also confirmed by Weber, "Endlich in der Nacht," &c. "At last this great monarch expired without making any will, while the empress threw herself upon her knees, and cried out, "God open thy paradise, and take this great soul unto thyself." Ver. Russ. vol. II. p. 199.

These are the reasons which induce me to doubt whether this secret anecdote of Mons. le Clerc is as exact in all its circumstances as he affirms it to be.

* Tant qu'on lui savoit un soufle de vie, personne n'osoit l'entreprendre. Telle étoit la force du respect et de la terreur, qu'imprima ce héros, Bassevitz, p. 374.

much

much deliberation, the prince instantly seized the treasure; secured the fortrefs; gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promises, also a few of the nobility, and the principal clergy. These partizans being convened in the palace, Catharine made her appearance: she claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moscow; exposed the ill effects of a minority; and promised, that, “so far from
 “depriving the great-duke of the crown, she
 “would receive it only as a sacred deposit,
 “to be restored to him when she should be
 “united, in another world, to an adored
 “husband, whom she was now upon the
 “point of losing:”

The pathetic manner with which she uttered this address, and the tears which accompanied it, added to the previous distribution of large sums of money and jewels, produced the desired effect: at the close of this meeting, the remainder of the night was employed in making the necessary preparations to ensure her accession in case of the emperor's death.

Peter at length expired in the morning of the 28th of January, O. S. Feb. 8. N. S. This event being made known, the senate, the generals, the principal nobility and clergy, hastened

hastened to the palace to proclaim the new sovereign. The adherents of the great-duke seemed secure of success; and the friends of Catharine were avoided as persons doomed to destruction. At this juncture Bassevitz whispered one of the opposite party, "The empress is mistress of the treasure and the fortress; she has gained over the guards and the synod, and many of the chief nobility; even here she has more followers than you imagine: advise therefore your friends to make no opposition as they value their heads." This information being rapidly circulated, Bassevitz gave the appointed signal; and the two regiments of guards, who had been gained by a largess * to declare for Catharine, and had already surrounded the palace, beat to arms. "Who has dared," exclaimed prince Repnin, the commander in chief, "to order out the troops without my knowledge!"—"I," returned general Butturlin, "without pretending to dispute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my most gracious mistress." This short reply was fol-

* The Austrian envoy says, that the guards received each £.6.

lowed by a dead silence. In this moment of suspense and anxiety, Mentchikof entered preceding Catharine, supported by the duke of Holstein. She attempted to speak, but was prevented by sighs * and tears from giving utterance to her words: at length, recovering herself, "I come," she said, "notwithstanding the grief which now overwhelms me, to assure you, that, submissive to the will of my departed husband, whose memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready to devote my days to the painful occupations of government, until Provi-

* "The same person asserts, that Catharine, although she secretly rejoiced at Peter's death, played the farce admirably; she ceased not her lamentations and groans; she repeatedly kissed the body; screamed and swooned without ceasing; so that the by-standers, who were not acquainted with the real state of the circumstance, were moved with compassion, while the others could hardly refrain from laughing." *Bus. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 497.*

Bassevitz also relates the grief of the empress, which he, on the contrary, like a true courtier, affirms to have been real. "Insensible à tout autre sentiment, qu'à celui de l'affliction, l'imperatrice n'avait pas quitté son chevêt de trois nuits." And again,

"Catharine, au lieu de hâter ses pas vers eux et le sceptre, embrassoit vainement son Epoux agonisant, qui ne la connoissoit plus, et ne pouvoit s'en détacher." *Ibid. IX. p. 373. et seq.*

"dence

“ dence shall summon me to follow him.”

Then, after a short pause, she artfully added,

“ If the great-duke will profit by my in-

“ structions; perhaps I shall have the con-

“ solation, during my wretched widowhood,

“ of forming for you an emperor worthy of

“ the blood and the name of him whom you

“ have now irretrievably lost.”—“ As this

“ crisis,” replied Mentchikof, “ is a moment

“ of such importance to the good of the

“ empire, and requires the most mature de-

“ liberation, your majesty will permit us to

“ confer without restraint; that this whole

“ affair may be transacted without reproach,

“ not only in the opinion of the present age,

“ but also of posterity.”—“ Acting as I do,”

answered Catharine, “ more for the public

“ good than for my own advantage, I am not

“ afraid to submit all my concerns to the

“ judgment of such an enlightened assembly;

“ you have not only my permission to confer

“ with freedom, but I lay my commands

“ upon you all, to deliberate maturely on this

“ important subject; and promise to adopt

“ whatever may be the result of your de-

“ cisions.” At the conclusion of these words

the assembly retired into another apartment,

and the doors were locked.

It was previously settled by Mentchikof and his party that Catharine should be empress; and the guards, who surrounded the palace with drums beating and colours flying, effectually vanquished all opposition. The only circumstance, therefore, which remained, was to give a just colour to her title, by persuading the assembly that Peter intended to have named her his successor. For this purpose Mentchikof demanded of that emperor's secretary, whether his late master had left any written declaration of his intentions. The secretary replied, "That a little
 " before his last journey to Moscow he had
 " destroyed a will; and that he had frequently
 " expressed his design of making another, but
 " had always been prevented by the reflection,
 " that if he thought his people, whom he
 " had raised from a state of barbarism to a
 " high degree of power and glory, could be
 " ungrateful, he would not expose his final
 " inclinations to the insult of a refusal; and
 " that if they recollected what they owed to
 " his labours, they would regulate their con-
 " duct by his intentions, which he had dis-
 " closed with more solemnity than could be
 " manifested by any writing." An alterca-
 tion now began in the assembly, and some
 of

of the nobles having the courage to oppose the accession of Catharine, Theophanes, archbishop of Plescof, called to their recollection the oath which they had all taken in 1722, to acknowledge the successor appointed by Peter; and added, that the sentiments of that emperor delivered by the secretary were in effect an appointment of Catharine. The opposite party, however, denied these sentiments to be so clear as the secretary chose to insinuate; and insisted, that as their late monarch had failed to nominate his heir, the election of the new sovereign should revert to the state. Upon this the archbishop further testified; that, the evening before the coronation of the empress at Moscow, Peter had declared in the house of an English merchant, that he should place the crown upon her head with no other view than to leave her mistress of the empire after his decease. This attestation being confirmed by many persons present, Mentchikof cried out, "What need have we of any testament! A
" refusal to conform to the inclination of our
" great sovereign, thus authenticated, would
" be both unjust and criminal. Long live
" the empress Catharine!" These words being instantly repeated by the greatest part of those
who

who were present; Mentchikof, saluting Catharine by the title of empress, paid his first obeisance by kissing her hand; and his example was followed by the whole assembly. She next presented herself at the window to the guards, and to the people, who shouted acclamations of "Long live Catharine," while Mentchikof scattered among them handfuls of money*. Thus, says a contemporary, the

* This account of the election of Catharine is chiefly extracted from Bassevitz, who assisted prince Mentchikof in this revolution, and certainly must deserve credit as far as he chose to discover the secret cabals. Some authors relate this event somewhat differently; but this difference is easily reconciled, and the main facts continue the same. Busching asserts, as he was informed by count Munich, that Peter was no sooner dead, than the senate and nobles assembled in the palace unknown to prince Mentchikof. The latter, being informed of the meeting, repaired to the palace, and was refused admittance; upon which he sent for general Butturlin, with a company of guards; and, bursting open the door of the apartment in which the meeting was held, declared Catharine empress. Busching, vol. I. p. 15; also Ebauche, &c. p. 50.

The Austrian envoy says, that general Butturlin threatened to massacre the senate if the members did not acknowledge Catharine.

But we have already seen, from the authority of Bassevitz, that many of the nobles, &c. repaired to the palace in opposition to prince Mentchikof; that general Butturlin had high words with prince Repnin and the opposite party; that

the empress was raised to the throne by the guards, in the same manner as the Roman emperors by the prætorian cohorts, without either the appointment of the people or of the legions *.

The reign of Catharine may be considered as the reign of Mentchikof; that empress having neither inclination nor abilities to direct the helm of government; and she placed the most implicit confidence in a man who had been the original author of her good fortune, and the sole instrument of her elevation to the throne.

During her short reign her life was very irregular: she was extremely averse to business; would frequently, when the weather was fine, pass whole nights in the open air;

that Mentchikof's presence utterly disconcerted them; and it is probable that both he and Butturlin might have threatened the nobles, which Bassevitz might not chuse to record, as he was willing to make the nomination of Catharine as unanimous as possible: although he says, "C'est ainsi que Catharine saisit le sceptre, qu'elle méritoit à si juste titre."

In a word, these three accounts are easily reconcileable to each other; they all prove one fact, that Mentchikof, either by himself or his agents, by bribes, promises and threats, forced the nobility to proclaim Catharine.

* Austrian envoy in Busching XI. p. 502.

and was particularly intemperate in the use of tokay-wine, in which she often indulged herself to excess *. These irregularities, joined to a cancer and a dropfy, hastened her end; and she expired on the 17th of May, 1727, a little more than two years after her accession to the throne, and about the 39th year of her age.

As the deaths of sovereigns in despotic countries are seldom imputed to natural causes, that of Catharine has also been attributed to poison; as if the disorders which preyed upon her frame were not sufficient to bring her to the grave. Some assert, that she was poisoned in a glass of spirituous liquor; others by a pear given to her by general Diever. Suspicions also fell upon prince Mentchikof; who, a short time before her decease, had a trifling misunderstanding with her; and who was accused of hastening her death, that he might reign with still more absolute power during the minority of Peter II. But these reports deserve not the least credit; and were merely dictated by the spirit of party, or by popular rumour.

Catharine was in her person under the

* Bus. Hist. Mag. III. p. 192.

middle size, and in her youth delicate and well-formed, but inclined to corpulency as she advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which she was always accustomed to die with a black colour *. She could neither read nor write †; her daughter Elizabeth usually signed her name for her, and particularly to her last will and testament; and count Osterman generally put her signature to the public decrees and dispatches. Her abilities have been greatly exaggerated by her panegyrists. Gordon, who had frequently seen her, seems, of all writers, to have represented her character with the greatest justness, when he says,

* Busching says, "*Ihr schwarzes haar war nicht natuerlich, sondern gefaerbt,*" &c. Hist. Mag. vol. III. p. 190.

" Her black hair was not natural, but coloured. On her first rise the coarseness of her hands proved that she had been used to hard labour, but they gradually grew whiter and whiter." These circumstances we may readily believe, because the lady from whom Busching received the information could easily know whether Catharine's hair was black, or her hands coarse, although she might be deceived in what relates to her family.

† Bassevitz says, "*Elle n'apprit jamais à écrire. La princesse Elizabeth signa tout pour elle, quand elle fut sur le trône, même son testament.*" P. 295.

The Austrian minister says, count Osterman used to sign her name to all the dispatches. Buf. XI. p. 481.

“ She was a very pretty well-lookt woman,
 “ of good sense, but not of that sublimity of
 “ wit, or rather that quickness of imagina-
 “ tion, which some people have believed.
 “ The great reason why the tzar was so fond
 “ of her, was her exceeding good temper;
 “ she never was seen peevish or out of hu-
 “ mour; obliging and civil to all, and never
 “ forgetful of her former condition; withal,
 “ mighty grateful.” Catharine maintained
 the pomp of majesty united with an air of
 ease and grandeur; and Peter used frequently
 to express his admiration at the propriety with
 which she supported her high station, without
 forgetting that she was not born to that
 dignity*.

The following anecdotes will prove that
 she bore her elevation meekly; and was never,
 as Gordon asserts, forgetful of her former
 condition.† When Wurmb †, who had been
 tutor to Gluck’s children at the time that

* “ Son épouse était avec lui étalant, conformément à
 “ la volonté du monarque, la pompe impériale, qui le genait,
 “ et la soutenant avec un air surprenant de grandeur et
 “ d’aisance. . . Le czar ne pouvait se lasser, d’admirer les
 “ talens qu’elle possédait, selon son expression, de se créer
 “ impératrice, sans oublier qu’elle ne le nâquit point.” Bas-
 sevitz in Bus. p. 358.

† Life of Peter, vol. III. p. 258.

Catharine was a domestic in that clergyman's family, presented himself before her after her marriage with Peter had been publicly solemnized, she recollected and addressed him with great complacency, "What thou good man, art thou still alive! I will provide for thee." And she accordingly settled upon him a pension. She also was no less attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a prisoner at Moscow: she pensioned his widow; made his son a page; portioned the two eldest daughters; and advanced the youngest to be one of her maids of honour. If we may believe Weber, she frequently inquired after her first husband, and, when she lived with prince Mentchikof, used secretly to send him small sums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a skirmish with the enemy. In a conference with general Schlippenback, who, in 1702, commanded the Swedish army, when she was taken captive by the Russians, she asked him "whether her spouse John was not a brave soldier?" Schlippenback returning, "am not I one also?" her majesty answered in the affirmative: but, repeating the question, he replied, "yes, please your majesty; and I may boast to have had the

“honour of having him under my com-
mand*.”

But the most noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compassion for the unfortunate. Motraye has paid an handsome tribute to this excellence. “She had in some sort the government of all his (Peter’s) passions; and even saved the lives of a great many more persons than Le Fort was able to do: she inspired him with that humanity, which, in the opinion of his subjects, nature seemed to have denied him. A word from her mouth in favour of a wretch, just going to be sacrificed to his anger, would disarm him; but if he was fully resolved to satisfy that passion, he would give orders for the execution when she was absent, for fear she should plead for the victim †.” In a word, to use the expression of the celebrated Muncic, “*Elle étoit proprement la mediatrice entre le monarque et ses sujets ‡.*”

* Busching had the above anecdote from a lady who was present at this conference. Hist. Mag. Vol. III. p. 190.

† Motraye’s Travels, Vol. III. p. 131.

‡ Ebauche, &c. p. 54. “She was the mediatrix between the monarch and his subjects.”

C H A P. XI.

Account of Alexèy Petrovitch.—Principles by which Peter justified his exclusion from the throne.—Effects of his bad education.—Dread of his father.—His escape from Petersburgh.—His trial and condemnation.—Inquiry into the cause of his death.—History of his wife Charlotte Christina Sophia Princess of Brunswick.—Circumstances of her death.—False rumours of her escape and subsequent adventures.

ALEXEY, the sole fruit of the inauspicious marriage between Peter the Great and Eudocia Lapukin, was born in the year 1690; and never was the birth of any prince more unfortunate to himself, to his parents, and to his country.

I shall introduce the account of this personage by a translation of a curious letter, written in 1715, from an Austrian envoy at Petersburgh to the prime minister at Vienna; as it will serve to developè the principles upon which Peter attempted to justify the exclusion of his son from the throne.

“ * In my last I informed your excellency
 “ that I had an opportunity of penetrating
 “ the sentiments of the tzar ; and I shall now
 “ acquaint you with the particulars, which
 “ will surprize you. Being at dinner last
 “ Sunday at the vice-chancellor Shaffirof’s,
 “ in company with the tzar ; his majesty did
 “ me the honour to converse with me upon
 “ different topics ; when, the discourse turn-
 “ ing upon the late king of France, his
 “ majesty said, ‘ Certainly France was never
 “ governed by a greater man than Louis XIV.
 “ nevertheless,’ added he, ‘ when I consider
 “ the little care which he took to perpetuate
 “ the glory of his kingdom after his demise ;
 “ I have no longer the same esteem for his
 “ memory which I have hitherto held for his
 “ great and heroic actions. Louis XIV. at
 “ his advanced age, could not reasonably have
 “ indulged the hope of a much longer life :
 “ if, therefore, he discovered in the in-
 “ fant (Louis XV.) his successor any evident
 “ marks of a future incapacity to reign ;
 “ why did he entrust him to the care of a
 “ man who will not fail to adopt any means,
 “ however desperate, that may tend to secure

* Busch. Hist. Mag. III. p. 185, &c.

“ the throne to himself? Why did he not ex-
 “ clude the duke of Orleans from any share
 “ in the regency? Or, if he knew the duke to
 “ be a man of a superior genius, as he un-
 “ doubtedly is; and his great grandson, ei-
 “ ther on account of his tender age or some
 “ corporal infirmity, incapable of governing,
 “ why did he not declare a person of such
 “ abilities as the duke of Orleans his suc-
 “ cessor? By these means his grand system
 “ would have stood unshaken even by his
 “ death; whereas we have now every reason
 “ to conclude that France will decline.’ I
 “ made answer, ‘ that as, according to the
 “ fundamental laws of the kingdom, the
 “ first prince of the blood is necessarily regent
 “ during the king’s minority; Louis XIV.
 “ could not exclude the duke of Orleans
 “ from the regency without breaking the law
 “ of succession, which no king of France
 “ could venture to infringe,’ &c. ‘ There-
 “ fore,’ replied the czar, ‘ a prince, who, by
 “ sacrificing his health, and even frequently
 “ exposing his life, had at length rendered
 “ his country respectable and formidable,
 “ would, according to your hypothesis, be
 “ constrained to suffer the fruits of his labours
 “ to be destroyed in the hands of a madman,
 “ provided

“ provided he was his nearest relation. I own
 “ I am not of your opinion. It is by no
 “ means, as it appears to me, sufficient, that
 “ a monarch should exert himself to aggran-
 “ dize his state, and to render it flourishing
 “ during his life; but he ought also by wise
 “ precautions to perpetuate its glory after his
 “ demise; which can in no other manner
 “ be effectuated than by appointing an heir
 “ who shall be capable, not only to maintain
 “ his acquisitions and preserve his establish-
 “ ments; but also to execute the rest of his
 “ designs, were he even to select him from the
 “ crowd of his subjects.’ ‘ You,’ added he,
 “ would tax a prince with cruelty, who, in
 “ order to save his state, which ought to be
 “ dearer to him than the blood in his veins,
 “ should...attempt to alter the succession of
 “ his blood; and I, on the contrary, conceive
 “ it to be the greatest of all cruelties, to sa-
 “ crifice the safety...of the state to the mere
 “ right of an established succession. Let us
 “ suppose that the successor has not the qua-
 “ lities requisite for a sovereign; a convent,
 “ and not a throne, is a proper asylum for
 “ weak princes. David, for example, had
 “ many sons; but, as he found not in the eldest
 “ the qualities which a king of Israel ought to
 “ have

“ have possessed, he chose the youngest for his
 “ successor: God himself approved the choice,
 “ instead of blaming him for not paying any
 “ regard to pretensions of primogeniture,
 “ which was nevertheless highly respected by
 “ the Jews. If the gangrene (making me
 “ touch at the same time the end of his
 “ thumb) attacks my finger, am I not obli-
 “ ged, notwithstanding it is part of my body,
 “ to cut it off, or should I not be guilty of
 “ suicide?’

“ In short, I now comprehend the cause
 “ of the law lately introduced by the tzar,
 “ which adjudges all real estates of a family
 “ to one of the male children, but which leaves
 “ to the father the absolute power of appoint-
 “ ing his heir without considering the right of
 “ primogeniture; and I am now convinced
 “ that the tzar has in his own mind decreed
 “ the exclusion of his eldest son; and that
 “ we shall one day see Alexèy, with his head
 “ shaven, thrust into a monastery, and obliged
 “ to pass the remainder of his life in praying
 “ and chanting hymns. Nov. 15, 1715.”

The prophecy of this writer was afterwards
 fulfilled, though, instead of being shut up in
 a convent, the wretched prince expired in a
 prison. The circumstances which occasioned
 his

his exclusion and death are well known; but as we have received them through the medium of his accusers, we ought to be very careful in giving credit to all the charges with which his memory has been stigmatized. One fact * is incontrovertible, that his education was most shamefully neglected, and that he was a stranger to the restraints necessary at his age, until the time of introducing proper habitudes had almost elapsed. He was committed to the care of women, and to the instruction of the Russian priests, the lowest and most ignorant of men; who instilled into him all the prejudices of their religion, and were continually inveighing against his father for the abolition of many barbarous customs, which they had long considered with a reverential awe. Nor was he released from this wretched species of tuition before the eleventh year of his age; when Baron Huysen, a man of great merit and ability, was appointed his governor. Under this judicious instructor he seems to have made no inconsiderable progress, and his early prejudices might have gradually worn away; if prince Mentchikof had not contrived

* See Memoire abrégé sur la vie du tzarevitch Alexei Petrovitch, in Bus. Hist. Mag. p. 195.

to remove from him the only person who was likely to instil into him proper principles of action, and taken upon himself the superintendence of his education. But as that prince * scarcely ever saw him, and placed about him the most improper persons; he seems to have intentionally given him a full scope to his vicious inclinations, and to have abandoned him to the company of the lowest wretches, by whom he was encouraged to continual ebriety, and to every kind of the lowest excess: yet this designing minister artfully extorted from the tzarovitch, in prison, a confession that he was the only person who had taken any care of his education †.

* Bus. H. M. p. 196.

† L'Evesque makes the following just reflections upon this unaccountable circumstance. “*Croira-t-on qu'il ait fait sincèrement & de lui-même l'éloge des soins que Menchikof avait pris de son éducation; lorsqu'on sait d'ailleurs que Menchikof approchait de lui tout au plus trois ou quatre fois par an, & ne lui parlait qu'avec le ton du mépris le plus dur & le plus outrageant? Si on le contraint à louer le favori de Pierre, l'ami de Catharine, ne peut-on pas lui avoir dicté de même tout ce qu'on voulait lui faire dire?*” Hist. de Russie, Tom. IV. p. 442.

This conjecture is greatly strengthened by considering that the eulogium of prince Mentchikof was obtained from Alexèy in prison by Tolstoè, the creature of Mentchikof.

It

It appears from several facts, that Peter had conceived a very early prejudice against his son; and inspired him with such terror, that, in order to avoid drawing before his father, the young prince once discharged a pistol against his own right hand. All persons, however, join in condemning the imprudence and obstinacy of Alexèy, which seem to have warped his judgment, and, at times, to have transported him to a degree of insanity. Bruce, who knew him well, gives the following account of his person and manners; and, as he was not prejudiced against him, his testimony must be esteemed more valid than all the laboured accusations of his enemies.

“ The czarowitz arrived in Moscow this winter (1714)
 “ where I saw him for the first time. He kept a mean
 “ Finlandish girl for his mistress. I went often with the
 “ general to wait on him; and he came frequently to the
 “ general’s house, attended by very mean and low persons.
 “ He was very slovenly in his dress; his person was tall,
 “ well made, of a brown complexion, black hair and eyes,
 “ of a stern countenance, and strong voice. He frequently
 “ did me the honour to talk with me in German, being
 “ fully master of that language; he was adored by the
 “ populace, but little respected by the superior ranks, for
 “ whom he never shewed the least regard; he was always
 “ surrounded by a number of debauched ignorant priests,
 “ and other mean persons of bad character, in whose com-
 “ pany he always reflected on his father’s conduct for
 “ abolishing

“abolishing the antient customs of the country, declaring,
 “that as soon as he came to succeed, he should soon re-
 “store Russia to its former state; and threatening to de-
 “stroy, without reserve, all his father’s favourites. This
 “he did so often, and with so little reserve, that it could
 “not miss reaching the emperor’s ears; and it was gene-
 “rally thought he now laid the foundation of that ruin he
 “afterwards met with.”

And again, “It was very remarkable, that the prince
 “never appeared at any of the public meetings, when his
 “majesty was attended by all persons of quality and rank,
 “such as birth-days, celebrating of victories, launching of
 “ships, &c. General Bruce, who lived next door to
 “the prince, had orders always to give the prince notice
 “the day before of such public days or meetings, and I
 “had the honour to carry and deliver the message; but his
 “highness, to avoid appearing in public, either took physic
 “or let blood, always making his excuse, that he could
 “not attend for want of health; when, at the same time,
 “it was notoriously known that he got drunk in very bad
 “company, when he used constantly to condemn all his
 “father’s actions *.”

Being inflamed by continual drunkenness, and worn out by a series of persecutions, he was driven to a state of desperation; and at length, in the year 1716, suddenly renouncing his right of succession in favour of Peter’s son by Catharine, he demanded permission to retire into a convent. But soon afterwards adopting the advice of his principal adherents,

* Bruce’s Memoirs, p. 100 and 127.

he made his escape to Vienna; where he put himself under the protection of Charles VI. That emperor, in order to shelter him from the resentment of his father, sent him first to Inspruck in the Tyrol; and afterwards removed him, for still greater security, to the castle of St. Elmo at Naples. Being secretly betrayed by his Finlandish mistress, whom he is reported to have married, and influenced by the most solemn promises of perfect forgiveness, he was prevailed upon, by the emissaries of his father, to return to Moscow. Having there solemnly renounced all right of succession to the crown, he was conveyed to Petersburg, thrown into the fortress, tried by a select committee, and condemned to suffer death. The acts of his process and condemnation are well known, being published by order of the emperor, and are to be found in several authors*.

Whatever prejudices we may have entertained against Alexèy, we cannot peruse the trial without being shocked at the cruel and unjust mode with which it was conducted: when his merciless persecutors eagerly laid

* Mottley, Vol. II. And more circumstantially in Perry, Vol. II.

hold of every advantage which was afforded by his youth and simplicity; when his Finlandish mistress, who was afterwards pensioned for her attestations, deposed every angry expression against his father which she ever recollected to have fallen from him in the most unguarded moments; when not only his words and actions were brought to witness against him; but his very thoughts were scrutinized; and his own confession * extorted from him
in

* “ On remarque, que dans ce procès on suivait les formes insidieuses de l'inquisition. C'était à l'accusé à chercher laborieusement ses fautes, à faire des efforts de mémoire pour les aggraver. Son innocence dépendait de se déclarer, de se prouver criminel. Un oubli, une réticence innocente ou même louable devenait un crime. Ou plutôt, épié, pressé, surpris de tous cotés, il ne pouvait éviter sa condamnation. S'il taisait ses fautes, son silence le rendait coupable: S'il les dévoilait, il était vaincu par son aveu.” L'Evêque, Vol. IV. p. 427.

The reader, I flatter myself, will not be displeas'd at my introducing to his acquaintance such spirited passages as the one just quoted, and the following, upon the deposition of the tzarévitch.

“ La simplicité enfantine de toute cette dernière déclaration est précieuse: Elle prouve que le tzarévitch pouvait avoir les vices et la grossièreté d'une mauvaise éducation, mais qu'il ne pouvait être criminel.”

And again: “ Mais que serait-ce, si ces aveux les plus forts lui avaient été dictés, arrachés, extorqués? si l'on

in prison employed to convict him. Indeed many of his own depositions, which tended most to criminate him, by discovering intentions of rebellion, were not openly acknowledged, but only signed by him in prison; and a signal difference is remarkable between his confessions during his first examination at Moscow, which was more public, and those made at Petersburgh, when his trial was chiefly carried on in private before Peter and his immediate confidants: circumstances which seem to prove the infliction of torture.

With respect to Alexèy's death, there are two prevailing opinions; one advanced in the manifesto of Peter, that he was seized with an apoplectic fit, and died of convulsions

“ avait mis à profit sa timidité, sa faiblesse, pour le forcer, à
 “ se montrer plus coupable qu'il ne l'était en effet? Si,
 “ chaque jour des mauvais traitements nouveaux fatiguai-
 “ ent, domtaient sa patience, & l'obligeaient à faire les
 “ aveux qu'on exigeait de lui? si l'on employait même les
 “ tortures pour vaincre sa résistance? si ses cris & le bruit
 “ des coups qu'il recevait étaient entendus par un prison-
 “ nier qui était en même temps dans la forteresse, & qui a
 “ dévoilé depuis cet odieux secret? si le tzar lui même
 “ était le spectateur & peut-être le ministre des tourments
 “ de son fils? On ne peut s'empêcher de rapporter cette
 “ tradition: mais elle afflige l'humanité qui se plaît à la
 “ revoquer en doute; elle semble en même temps choquer
 “ la vraisemblance.” Ibid. p. 440, 441.

occasioned

occasioned by the violent passions of his mind and the terrors of death; and the other, that he was secretly executed in prison. The latter seems most entitled to belief, notwithstanding the assertions of Peter, and the apology of his panegyrists, particularly of Voltaire, who has supported his innocence with the most plausible arguments.

Of all the accounts of the prince's death, that given by Busching seems to be the most probable and authentic. This author * positively affirms, that he was beheaded by order of his father; and that marshal Weyde performed the office of executioner. He received the intelligence from a lady at Peterburgh, named Cramer, who was in high confidence both with Peter and Catharine; and who was employed in sewing the prince's head to his body previous to its lying in state. During my stay at Peterburgh I was at some pains to authenticate this fact; but I found it extremely difficult to obtain any positive information concerning so secret a transaction. The most material circumstances I could collect were commu-

* Bus. Hist. Mag. Vol. III. p. 224. Also Introduction to Vol. IX.

nicated to me by an intimate acquaintance of the above-mentioned lady : he assured me that he had frequently attempted to converse with her upon the death of Alexèy, but had always found her extremely averse to hold any discourse upon the subject ; that she seemed exceedingly shocked whenever this topic was introduced ; and that nothing could be further extorted from her, than that she was the person who prepared the body for the ceremony of its lying in state. This unwillingness of the lady to enter upon the subject, together with her declaration that she prepared the body, seems to add a great degree of confirmation to the account of Busching.

An additional proof, in favour of the authenticity of this fact, I lately received from an English gentleman of undoubted veracity. That gentleman assured me, that he had been informed by prince Cantemir's secretary, with whom he was intimately acquainted abroad, that Alexèy was beheaded in prison. As prince Cantemir was in high favour with Peter, the intelligence of his confidential secretary must carry with it great weight. This fact appears so well attested, that many of the German historians, who have written upon Russia, have
 adopted

adopted it without reserve: and, in several genealogical tables of the imperial family, Alexèy is inserted as beheaded. A passage, however, in Bruce's Memoirs, seems at first sight to invalidate this concurrent evidence, and to prove that he was poisoned. This passage is too curious not to be introduced to the reader.

“ The trial * was begun the 25th of June, and continued
 “ to the 6th of July, when this supreme court, with un-
 “ animous consent, passed sentence of death upon the
 “ prince, but left the manner of it to his majesty's deter-
 “ mination: the prince was brought before the court, his
 “ sentence was read to him, and he was re-conveyed to the
 “ fortress. On the next day, his majesty, attended by all
 “ the senators and bishops, with several others of high rank,
 “ went to the fort, and entered the apartments where the
 “ tzarovitch was kept prisoner. Some little time there-
 “ after, marshal Weyde came out, and ordered me to go
 “ to Mr. Bear's the druggist, whose shop was hard-by,
 “ and tell him to make the potion strong which he had
 “ bespoke, as the prince was then very ill: when I deli-
 “ vered this message to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale,
 “ and fell a shaking and trembling, and appeared in the
 “ utmost confusion; which surprized me so much, that I
 “ asked him what was the matter with him, but he was
 “ unable to return me any answer: in the mean time the
 “ marshal himself came in, much in the same condition
 “ with the druggist, saying, he ought to have been more
 “ expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectic

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 185—187.

“ fit; upon this the druggist delivered him a silver cup
 “ with a cover, which the marshal himself carried into the
 “ prince’s apartment, staggering all the way as he went
 “ like one drunk. About half an hour after, the t̄zar, with
 “ all his attendants, withdrew, with very dismal counte-
 “ nances; and when they went, the marshal ordered me
 “ to attend at the prince’s apartment, and, in case of
 “ any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof.
 “ There were at that time two physicians and two surgeons
 “ in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined
 “ on what had been dressed for the prince’s dinner. The
 “ physicians were called in immediately after to attend the
 “ prince, who was struggling out of one convulsion into
 “ another, and, after great agonies, expired at five o’clock
 “ in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marshal,
 “ and he went that moment to acquaint his majesty, who
 “ ordered the corpse to be embowelled, after which it was
 “ laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and a pall of
 “ rich gold tissue spread over it; it was then carried out
 “ of the fort to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the
 “ corpse lay in state till the 11th in the evening, when it
 “ was carried back to the fort, and deposited in the royal
 “ burying vault, next the coffin of the princess his late
 “ consort; on which occasion the t̄zar and t̄zarina, and the
 “ chief of the nobility, followed in procession. Various
 “ were the reports that were spread concerning his death;
 “ it was given out publicly, that on hearing his sentence
 “ of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into
 “ an apoplectic fit, of which he died; *very few believed he*
 “ *died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to*
 “ *speak as they thought.* The ministers of the emperor, and
 “ the states of Holland, were forbid the court for speaking
 “ their minds too freely on this occasion, and, upon com-
 “ plaint against them, were both recalled.”

From this account it appears that the prince was still alive when Péter, with the nobles and bishops, remained in the fortrefs; and that he died in the interval between their departure and the afternoon: but it by no means follows, even from this state of the case, that the tzarovitch was poisoned. For, can we suppose that Peter would order a dose of poison to be prepared for his son at a chymist's shop; and that marshal Weyde would openly send for it without the least mystery? May we not rather infer that the potion was most probably a medicine similar to those which had been already prescribed for the prince, who had for some time been extremely indisposed? The fright of the chymist might proceed from his delivering a medicine for the tzarovitch, who was said to be in the agonies of death; as, in a despotic country, and under such a sovereign as Peter, his own safety might be involved in the catastrophe. The agitation of marshal Weyde will be still more easily and satisfactorily accounted for; if, according to Busching, he was preparing to perform, or had already performed, the execution.

The principal circumstance which seems to contradict the opinion that he was behead-

ed, is, that if Bruce's narrative is to be depended upon, the prince, when he fell afterwards into repeated convulsions, was visited by the physicians; and yet, if Busching's account can be relied on, he must have been already beheaded; as marshal Weyde, according to Bruce, had finally quitted the fortress. But it is possible that the physicians, although ordered to attend upon the prince, might be prevented from seeing him; it is possible that marshal Weyde might have secretly returned to the fortress without the knowledge of colonel Bruce; it is possible that Bruce himself, as being an intimate friend of marshal Weyde, might have been entrusted with the secret, but was unwilling to record, in his Memoirs, so horrid a catastrophe, which was totally repugnant to the manifesto of the emperor: and indeed it plainly appears from his narrative, that he knew more than he chose to discover. When the secret execution of the heir apparent of a despotic empire becomes the subject of inquiry, it must always be difficult to ascertain the truth; and it would be unreasonable to expect that no contradictory circumstances should occur in the different relations of such a mysterious transaction; when, even in the most common occurrences,

no two persons would relate the same event precisely in the same manner.

Catharine is not free from suspicion of being concerned in this horrid affair, as well because her son by Peter was declared successor, as because Tolstoi, to whom the management of the process and the private examination of Alexey were chiefly entrusted, was well known to be a creature of Mentchikof, whose interests were closely connected with those of the empress. But this accusation of Catharine could be only a mere surmise; and her interference, if she really interfered, must have been conducted in so secret a manner, as not to have been discovered. Peter himself exculpated her; openly testifying* that she interceded for his son's life; and requested that, instead of being put to death, he might be confined in a convent. Not to mention that such proceedings militate strongly against the well-known humanity of Catharine; there was no occasion to irritate the savage temper of Peter, too much inclined to inflict the severest punishment upon his son, who had threatened to overturn all his plans of reformation, and to destroy, in a moment, that vast fabric of glory and power which he had

* Bassevitz.

employed many years in erecting. The monarch who could himself attend the infliction of torture; who had occasionally performed the office of executioner; and who had even ordered the first partner of his bed to be scourged; would not require any incitement to command the execution of that son, whom he had publicly treated with the most inhuman ferocity.

The following note, written with Peter's own hand to count Romanzof, who, in conjunction with count Tolstoi, brought the unfortunate Alexèy from Naples, will serve to display the inflexible spirit of that monarch, who forgot the feelings of a father in his anxiety for the public good. "I grant you the
 " ranks of major-general and lieutenant-general,
 " and the estates of Alexander Kikin and
 " Kuril Matushkin *, in consideration of the
 " signal service which you have just conferred,
 " not only upon me, but, what is more, upon
 " your country, in bringing back him, who by
 " his birth is my son, and by his actions, the
 " enemy of his father and of his country †."

* Two of Alexèy's unfortunate adherents, who with many others were executed upon this occasion.

† This note, which has not yet appeared in print, was communicated to me by a Russian nobleman, who favoured me with a translation from the original.

The wife of Alexèy, Charlotte Christina Sophia, whose fate has already been briefly related, was daughter of Louis Rhodolph of Brunswick-Blankenburgh, and sister of Elizabeth Christina, consort of the emperor Charles VI. She was born on the 29th of August, 1694; espoused, on the 25th of October, 1711, at Torgau, the tzarovitch Alexèy; and in July of the ensuing year made her entrance into Petersburgh*.

Although this amiable princess seems to have been the choice of Alexèy, who saw her at her father's court, yet he always treated her with the utmost neglect; and gave up his whole time and attention to his favourite mistress Euphrosyne, a Finlandish girl of the lowest extraction. It does not, indeed, appear, that the prince, as is reported by some writers, treated her in so inhuman a manner, that he frequently struck her; for even if he had been sufficiently brutal to have been inclined to such a conduct, he would have been restrained by his apprehensions of his father; who, as well as Catharine, always expressed the

* This account of the princess is chiefly taken from Muller's "Von der Princessin von Wolfenbuettel als vermahlten Russischen Kronprincessin." In Bus. Hist. Mag. XV. p. 234.

strongest compassion for her wretched situation, and showed her constant proofs of his affection and regard. Her husband's unconquerable antipathy seems to have been chiefly derived from his suspicions that she lodged complaints against him to the emperor, who frequently and roughly expostulated with him on this instance of his ill-conduct. Unfortunately her domestic uneasiness was increased by Juliana princess of East-Friesland, who accompanied her into Russia; to whom she used to unbosom her grief and anxiety; and who imprudently fanned the flame instead of endeavouring to quench it.

The fruits of this ill-assorted union were Natalia, who was born at Petersburg in 1714, and died at Moscow in 1728; and a prince, afterwards the emperor Peter II. who was brought into the world on the 23d of October, 1715.

A few days after the prince's birth, the consequences of her delivery, and the melancholy which had long preyed upon her frame, hurried her prematurely to the grave; and she expired on the 2d of November, in the 21st year of her age. The approach of her death was affecting to all but her husband and herself; and her spirit had been so subdued

duced by affliction, that she considered her dissolution as a welcome release from all her sufferings. Impressed with this sentiment, she said to her physicians, "Do not torment me any more, for I will live no longer *."

On the day which preceded her decease, she dictated the following petition to Peter the Great, which may be considered as her will.

"The most humble and last entreaties from the under-written to his imperial majesty.

1. "His Imperial majesty will order my funeral as he shall think proper. I could wish nevertheless, that my body may be buried in a place where it may remain undisturbed until the second coming of our Saviour. 2. Both my beloved children I recommend to the care and affection of his imperial majesty, my gracious father-in-law, that they may be educated according to their birth and station. 3. I leave my jewels and other valuable things in gold and silver to my children; and a reasonable part of my clothes and linen to my cousin the princess of East-Friesland. 4. I be-

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 148.

“ seech his imperial majesty graciously to per-
 “ mit those persons who accompanied me
 “ hither to return, and to defray the expence
 “ of their journey. 5. On account of the
 “ dearness of this place, and because my
 “ servants were strangers, I have contracted
 “ some debts, which I intreat his imperial
 “ majesty to discharge, that I may be re-
 “ membered with honour, and that no un-
 “ worthy reports may be circulated after my
 “ death. The sums, which the crown will
 “ save by my decease, may be employed in
 “ discharging these debts, since it is God’s
 “ will that I depart from this world so pre-
 “ maturely and unexpectedly. 6. My un-
 “ foreseen and untimely death is also the
 “ cause of my being unable to recompense
 “ my domestics, who had the care of regu-
 “ lating my expences; and as I am perfectly
 “ satisfied that my secretaries Cluser and John
 “ Clement, who had charge of my disburse-
 “ ments, have served me with fidelity and
 “ honour; I humbly entreat that their ac-
 “ counts, which have receipts, may be passed,
 “ and that the other expenditures may be ad-
 “ mitted upon their oath. I repose such con-
 “ fidence in his imperial majesty, that I trust
 “ he will not reject this my last request;

“ more

“ more particularly when I reflect on the
 “ repeated instances which I have experienced
 “ of his paternal tenderness and affection. I
 “ have this also to add, that I am only con-
 “ cerned to leave this world at a time when
 “ his imperial majesty is indisposed; a cir-
 “ cumstance which has prevented me from
 “ thanking him in person for the frequent
 “ proofs I have received of his kindness and
 “ regard. May the Almighty be his aid
 “ and protector; and may he add those years
 “ to his life which are taken from mine;
 “ which I likewise faithfully, and with my
 “ whole heart, implore for her majesty the
 “ empress; and, after returning my acknow-
 “ ledgments due to them for the repeated in-
 “ stances of their love and goodness, I expire,
 “ the most humble and most obedient daugh-
 “ ter of both their majesties,

“ CHARLOTTE CHRISTINA SOPHIA *.”

“ St. Petersburg, Oct. 21, Nov. 1, N. S. 1715.”

It is a sufficient proof of the bad terms on
 which the princess lived with her husband,
 that she did not once mention his name in
 this petition; unwilling, perhaps, to disturb
 her last moments with any distressing re-

* Muller in Bus. XV. p. 237.

flections. Her ardent desire to see the emperor before she expired, was gratified. Peter, who was at Schluffelburgh at the time of her delivery, had set off upon the first news of that intelligence for Petersburgh; but, upon his arrival in the capital, was seized with a sudden illness, which confined him to his chamber. Upon perusing, however, the affectionate expressions of her attachment, he was placed upon a machine rolling upon wheels, and thus conveyed to her apartment: Their interview was awful: she took leave of him in the most moving language and affecting manner, recommending her children to his care, and her servants to his protection; and received from him every consolation which her situation would admit, and the strongest assurances that all her wishes should be fulfilled. She then embraced her children; and, having bedewed them with tears, delivered them into the hands of her husband, whom decency obliged to be present at this tender scene. After having suffered the most acute pains, and struggled with succeeding agonies, she expired at midnight*.

She died a member of the Lutheran religion, which she had in vain been solicited to

* Muller and Bruce.

renounce; and nothing conveys a stronger proof of the high esteem in which she was held by the emperor; than that, although she had not embraced the Greek persuasion, her remains were interred in a Russian church: they were deposited on the 8th of November in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, with all the funeral honours due to her exalted station.

I have been thus particular in relating the principal circumstances which attended her death; not only because her fate is interesting to every feeling mind, but also because a few years ago there appeared in France the following extraordinary account of this princess. Soon after her delivery, as the emperor happened to be absent from Petersburgh, she persuaded some of her attendants to circulate a report of her death; and her husband, who paid no attention to her during her illness, ordered her to be buried without delay: a piece of wood was substituted in the place of the body, and interred in the cathedral; and the princess made her escape into France. Apprehensive of being there discovered, she embarked for Louisiana; where she married a French serjeant, who had formerly been at Petersburgh, to whom she bore a daughter. In 1752 she came with her husband to Paris;

was discovered as she was walking in the Thuilleries by marshal Saxe, who promised secrecy, and procured a commission for her husband in the Isle of Bourbon. Having lost her husband and child, she, in 1754, returned to Paris with a negro woman. The bills upon the East India Company, which she brought in her husband's name, being refused because she could not prove herself to be his wife; a gentleman, whom she had known in the Isle of Bourbon, offered his assistance, which she declined. She confessed, it is said, to this gentleman her real character; and from him the author of the account pretends to have received these anecdotes; adding, that she soon afterwards disappeared, and was supposed to have retired to the court of her nephew...the duke of Brunswick. In this wonderful narrative, the king of France is also said to have privately acknowledged her, and even to have enjoined the governor of the Isle of Bourbon to pay her those honours which were due to her rank. It is added, that the same monarch, in a letter written with his own hand, communicated this discovery to the empress of Germany (then queen of Hungary), who thanked the king for his intelligence; and immediately wrote to the supposed princess, as to her aunt; advised her

to quit her husband and child, whom the king of France had promised to provide for, and invited her to Vienna.

Although I had little reason to give credit to an anonymous author; and the whole story carries with it the air of fiction, I yet made it the subject of my researches. I found, upon inquiry, that the circumstances of her death were such as could not be doubted, and accorded with the accounts which I have before related; and I was, moreover, informed by a Russian nobleman of high distinction, that his mother attended the princess in her illness; that she was a witness to her last moments; and saw herself the corpse laid in state, when persons of all ranks were admitted to kiss the hand of the deceased*.

It

* In L'Évêque's History of Russia there is an ample detail of the rise and progress of this anecdote of the princess's escape and adventures. It first made its appearance in Richer's Continuation of the Abbé Marcy's *Histoire Moderne*; afterwards in Bossu's *Nouveaux Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*; and lately was revived in "Pièces intéressantes et peu connues, pour servir à l'Histoire;" in which, as an additional authority, it is qualified as an extract found among the papers of the late Duclos, secretary of the Royal Academy, and Historiographer of France. The anecdote, like all other stories which are improved in their progress, is dressed in somewhat different shapes: in one the name of the husband is d'Auban, in the other Moldack; in one she marries a third

It is certain, from the following passage in a letter from the king of Prussia to Mr. d'Alembert, that a woman appeared at Brunswic, pretending to be the deceased wife of the tzarowitch : and it is no less certain that she was an impostor.

“ Je puis vous répondre avec plus de précision sur le sujet de cette dame qui prétendoit passer pour l'épouse du czarowitz ; son imposture a été découverte à Brunswic, où elle a passé peu de mois après la mort de celle dont elle emprunta le nom ; elle y reçut quelques charités, avec ordre de quitter le pays, et de ne jamais prendre un nom dont sa naissance l'écartoit si fort.” Corresp. du Roi de Prusse à d'Alembert, ii. p. 138.

time, and again becomes a widow ; the circumstances of her escape are also variously related, and in all with the most evident marks of falsehood, and absolute contradiction to the most undoubted facts ; such as that she was assisted in her escape by the countess of Koningmark, although there was no lady of that name about her person, or at Peterburgh ; that the body of the princess was interred almost at the instant of her decease, and without any funeral honours ; that Peter I. was not at Petersburgh when she died ; that she was brought to bed before her time of a princess, with many other similar assertions, which scarcely deserve any serious refutation. The reader, who is desirous of further information upon the subject, is referred to L'Évesque Histoire de Russie, Tom. IV. p. 384—389 ; and to the latter part of Muller's account, Von der Prinzessen von Wolfenbittel, in Bus. Hist. Mag. XV. p. 239 to 241.—An extract also of the principal circumstances of this story is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, and from thence is inserted in the Annual Register for 1776.

A P P E N D I X.

TABLE of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS
at Königsberg, in the Year 1784.

GOODS exported from KONIGSBERG, in 1784.

| | To Holland. | To Britain and Ireland. | To France, Spain, and Portugal. | To Denmark and Norway. | To Sweden. | To Bremen, Lubec, & Hamburg. | To Pomerania and Embden. | To Dantzig and Elbing. | Totals. |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| Wheat | 1,930 | 1,422 | 1,121 | 444 | 573 | 936 | 125 | — | 6,551-8 |
| Rye | 6,624 | 990 | 34-21 | 7,353 | 8,303 | 2,992 | 2,728 | — | 29,024-21 |
| Barley | 402 | 2,553 | 153 | 2,335 | 2,522 | 135-14 | — | — | 8,100-14 |
| Malt | — | — | — | 154 | — | — | — | — | 154 |
| Oats | — | 1,462 | 219-12 | 218 | 255 | 129 | 5 | — | 2,290-2 |
| Pease | 370 | 1,420 | 16 | 117 | 308 | 151 | 53-15 | 12-19 | 2,447-34 |
| Sowing Linseed | — | 301 | — | 118 | 420 | 350 | 119 | 201 | 1,519 |
| Crushing | 2,946 | 1,290-47 | — | 42 | — | — | — | — | 4,278-47 |
| Hempseed | 527 | — | — | 21 | — | — | 46 | 1-33 | 550-22 |
| Hempseed-oil | — | — | — | 11 | — | — | — | 289 | 300 |
| Hemp | 1,207 | 26 | 931-40 | 16 | 14 | 56 | 726 | 404-57 | 3,390-37 |
| Flax | 1 | 132 | 43 | 20-11 | 6 | 16 | 33 | 34-18 | 230-29 |
| Tow | 69 | — | — | 2-34 | 1 | 4 | 251 | 276-11 | 603-45 |
| Pot-ashes | 2,712 | 3,484 | 562-7 | 840 | 12 | 138 | 1,138 | 8-7 | 8,395-4 |
| Weed-ashes | 88-10 | 1-11 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 92-11 |
| Wax | 1,776 | 101 | 160 | — | — | 3,432 | — | — | 5,469 |
| Bristles | 2,845 | 2,124 | — | — | 37 | 259 | — | 99 | 5,964 |
| Tallow | 42 | 1,266 | — | 118 | 198 | — | 755 | 509 | 3,008 |
| Yarn | — | 4703 | — | — | — | — | 20 | 121 | 4,247 |
| Leather | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | 27 | 312 | 339 |
| Planks | 48-28 | 115-9 | 115-52 | 83-47 | — | 11-42 | 4-25 | — | 379-33 |
| Logs | 626 | 621 | 72 | 305 | — | — | — | — | 1,624 |

Ships cleared 1,986.

GOODS imported at KÖNIGSBERG
in PRUSSIA, in 1784.

Goods by the Pound.

| | | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|---|-----------|
| Lead | - | - | - | 517,933 |
| White lead | - | - | - | 12,908 |
| Lead shot | - | - | - | 209,078 |
| Steel | - | - | - | 79,300 |
| Tin | - | - | - | 108,370 |
| Copper | . | - | - | 141,982 |
| Sugar | - | - | - | 2,412,306 |
| Treacle | - | - | - | 543,914 |
| Almonds | - | - | - | 75,856 |
| Coffee | - | - | - | 57,114 |
| Currants | - | - | - | 51,715 |
| Clôves | - | - | - | 1,472 |
| Pepper | - | - | - | 64,867 |
| Ginger | - | - | - | 36,303 |
| Raisins | - | - | - | 95,744 |
| Prunes | - | - | - | 9,130 |
| Cinnamon | - | - | - | 1,272 |
| Cordamon | - | - | - | 267 |
| Rice | - | - | - | 166,503 |
| Tea | - | - | - | 6,604 |
| Tobacco | - | - | - | - |
| Brazil wood | - | - | - | 224,756 |
| Indigo | - | - | - | 32,192 |
| Copperas. | - | - | - | 63,162 |
| Saffron | - | - | - | 183 |
| Smalts | - | - | - | 17,957 |
| Allum | - | - | - | 134,979 |
| Iron wire | - | - | - | 110,178 |
| Brass wire | - | - | - | 7,983 |
| Iron plate | - | - | - | - |
| English sole leather | - | - | - | 3,988 |

Goods by the Schip.

| | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|--------|
| Iron | - | - | - | 12,183 |
| Dry fish | - | - | - | 445 |
| | | | | Goods |

Goods by the Last.

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-------|----|---|
| French salt | - - - | 5,166 | — | — |
| Spanish ditto | - - - | 2,345 | 16 | — |
| Pomeranian, ditto | - - - | 4,163 | — | — |
| Coals | - - - | 158 | — | 5 |
| Lime | - - - | — | — | — |

Goods by the Cask.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|
| Dutch herrings | - - - | 1,081 |
| Swedish ditto | - - - | 32,980 |
| Tar | - - - | 1,054 |
| Train oil | - - - | 559 |
| French wine | - - - | 12,214 |
| Frontinac ditto | - - - | 112 |
| Rhenish and Mosel ditto | - - - | 116 |
| Spanish ditto | - - - | 57 |
| Canary ditto | - - - | — |
| French brandy | - - - | 734 |
| Vinegar | - - - | 546 |
| Sweet oil | - - - | 147 |

Goods by the Value.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|--------|-------------|
| Broad cloth | - - - | 60,778 | ex-dollars. |
| Medicines and drugs | - - - | 1,161 | |
| Burgundy and Champaign wine | - - - | 22,430 | |

Goods by the Chest.

| | | |
|--------------|-------|-----|
| Tin plate | - - - | 182 |
| Window glass | - - - | 873 |

Goods by the Piece.

| | | |
|---------------------|-------|---------|
| Oysters | - - - | 14,375 |
| Lemons and oranges | - - - | 278,838 |
| Chalder grindstones | - - - | 365 |

Ships entered 1,964.



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