189

Walter Adams.

SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE

OF

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

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SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE

OF

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE;

OF

THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONARCHY TO THE ACCESSION

OF THE

HOUSE OF ROMANOF,

(THE PRESENT REIGNING FAMILY;)

AND PARTICULARLY UNDER THE SOVEREIGNS OF

THAT HOUSE;

CONNECTED WITH POLITICAL AND PERSONAL MEMOIRS

OF

THE IMPERIAL COURT.

BY THE

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The empire of Russia had for many years attracted the attention of philosophers; but in consequence of recent events it has excited universal curiosity. The history of its present race of princes is interesting from their talents, virtues, exploits, misfortunes, vices, and follies. To combine, in a moderate compass, the particulars respecting them, which are scattered in several bulky volumes, with a general view of the country, which they have for two centuries governed with various fortune, is the object of the present work. If it has been executed in a manner at all suitable to its importance, it will meet with the public approbation.

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HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

HOUSE OF ROMANOF.

CHAP. I.

Extent and boundaries of the Russian empire—Climate—Stepps—Mountains—Rivers—Lakes—Mineral waters—Soil—Productions—Minerals—Metals—Vegetables—and Animals.

THE empire of Russia, the largest upon the earth, is bounded on the north and east by the Frozen and Pacific oceans, on the west by Sweden and the Baltic, and on the south by Prussia, Austria, Turkey, the Euxine and Caspian seas, Persia, China, and various barbarous nations. Extending from the extremities of Asia to the mountains of Olonetz, and from the mouths of the Don, the Volga, and the Kuban to the Frozen ocean, independently of islands and promontories, it comprises a hundred and sixty-five degrees of longitude, and thirty-two degrees of latitude, being 9,684 miles in length and 2,400 in breadth. It contains perhaps 4,100,000 square miles, a space nearly three times the extent of the Roman empire.

The climate of Russia is extremely various. In the northern regions, from the 60th degree of latitude to the boundaries of the empire, the weather is intensely cold and severe. Corn seldom ripens beyond the 60th degree of latitude. Even at Petersburgh there are only two months in the year in which snow may not be expected, and the thermometer sometimes sinks 65 degrees below the freezing point. Usually two-thirds of the year are rain or snow, and in that capital the shortest day is not above five hours and a half long. In the eastern provinces the same degrees of latitude are found much colder than the western, a circumstance that must be ascribed to the influence of the mountains, covered with perpetual snow, which separate Siberia from the southern parts of Asia. In these northern regions the atmosphere is dry even in snow, and while the severe weather is not prejudicial to human life, it affords the means of a vast internal commerce; as the frost no sooner sets in, than sledge-ways covered with carriages, are opened from the gulph of Archangel to the mouth of the Don, and from the banks of the Irtish to those of the Neva. In the central regions of Russia, from the 55th to the 60th degrees of latitude, though the winter is severe, the fruits of the orchard ripen. From the latitude of 50° to 55° the temperature is mild

and agreeable; while in the southern districts the plants of China flourish in the open air.

The appearance of Russia is not so diversified as many other countries of less extent, it being remarkable for uniform plains of great magnitude, often sandy, barren, without even wood or water. These plains are called stepps, and are very numerous. All the northern and eastern parts of Siberia, including the vast spaces between the rivers Kovyma, Lena, Yenisei, Ob, and Irtish, appear, indeed, to form but one immense plain, although distinguished by different names. The stepps of the Lena between the Lena and Kovyma, of the Yenisei, between the Yenisei and Lena, and of the Ob between the rivers Ob and Yenisei, are covered with forests of pine, birch, and fir toward the south, but toward the north there is little but brushwood. The stepp of the Irtish lying between the Tobol, the Irtish, the Ob, and the Alay, is overstrewn with salt lakes, among numerous forests of pine, and generally adapted for pasture and agriculture. It comprises what is called the Barabinian stepp, a fine well-watered plain, between the Irtish and the Ob, 400 miles in length, and 300 in breadth, with scarcely a single elevation. Another stepp connected with that of the Irtish, seems to extend under various names, over the Volga, and the Don, to the banks of the Bog, and the Dnieper,

occupying the southern provinces of the Russian empire in Europe, and the tracts lying between the mouths of the Don and the Volga, and between the Volga, the Caspian sea, and the lake Aral. This prodigious plain presents numerous salt lakes, and salt plats, districts of sand void of wood and water, and many spaces fit for the purposes of agriculture. It has been maintained, that this vast level formed the bed of a great mass of water, which by the bursting of the Thracian Bosphorus, flowed into the Mediterranean. Its surface covered with salt and salt lakes, its strata of recent formation, and abounding with marine substances, and the peculiar structure of the Greek islands, seem all favourable to this supposition. The stepp of Petshora, which lies chiefly between the Petshora aud the Dvina, and extends perhaps westward into the government of Petersburg and Novgorod, is very marshy, has few inhabitants, and bears pines, firs, birch, and beautiful larch.

Of the mountains of the Russian empire, the most extensive, as well as important, are the Uralian and Altaian. In the centre of Asia, an elevated plain, supported on all sides by lofty mountains, extends no less than thirty degrees of longitude. Forming the northern abutment of this unparalleled plain, the Altaian mountains stretch from the sources of the Irtish to

those of the Ob, and the Yenisei, and from hence, under the name of the mountains of Sayansk, to the lake Baikal. These mountains, here called the mountains of Daouria, now take a north easterly direction, and under the name of the Yablonnoy, or apple mountains, pursue their course to the Pacific ocean, throwing out great branches to the north. This chain of mountains, of the greatest magnitude of any in Asia, and among the most extensive on the earth, is 5,000 miles in length, and from the Irtish to the Amoor, forms the boundary between the Russian dominions, and the empire of China. The western part of the Altaian chain, between the Irtish and the Ob, which from the lake Kolhyvan, is called the mountains of Kolhyvan, consists chiefly of argillaceous and granite rocks, being precipitous, and covered with snow. The Blue mountain is about 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, and sends ridges of granite to the north and west, which furnish abundance of silver, copper, and zinc ores. Of the mines in this chain the Shlangenberg is the most productive. One of the mountains, in the range, which extends from the sources of the Ouba and Uba on both sides of these rivers in a north west direction, rises 5,691 feet above the water of the Ouba. The portion of the Altaian mountains, between the Ob and the Yenisei, is but little known;

but it furnishes granite, porphyry, jasper, and marble, with breccia, slate, serpentine, cornelian, and chalcedony. On the Kondoma there are also iron mines. About the sources of the Abakan lie the highest mountains, among which is the famous mount Sabin. The mountains of Sayansk are composed of rugged granite and porphyry summits, interchanged with various kinds of schistus, and, between the Yenisei and the Angra, under-run with chalk, clay and sand. Both sides of the sea of Baikal, are formed of mountains, which consist likewise of granite, present promontories 300 feet high of milk-white quartz, and towards the Lena afford coal. The mountains of Daouria, which have their highest elevations about the sources of the Ingoda and the Amoor, consisting of rugged granite tops, and extend to the Yablonnoy Krebet, send out a ridge between the rivers Onon and Argoon, the richest in minerals of any in Asiatic Russia. Here are found all kinds of granite, porphyry, and jasper, with beryl, jacinth, agate, onyx, genuine topaz, large smoaky topazes, chalcedony, and cornelian. In the same district are salt lakes, warm springs, with vitriolic pyrites, alum ore, and native sulphur, as well as mines of zink iron, copper and lead ore containing gold and silver. The Stanovoi Krebet, a continuation of the mountains of Daouria, which extends to the

Pacific ocean, and throws out branches northward over the Lena, and between the principal rivers in the eastern extremities of Asia, though little explored, seem to afford the same substances as the former, with inconceivable quantities of beautiful red and green jasper.

The Ural mountains are the natural boundary between Europe and Asia, and extend in a direct line, from north to south, above 1500 miles. Rising between the Aral lake and the Caspian sea they attain their greatest height about the sources of the Tobol and the Ural, and passing between those of the Petshora and Sosva, form the two promontories of the Karean haven, and the mountains of Nova Zemlia, sinking at last into the Arctic ocean. The greatest height of these mountains is not more than 4512 feet above the level of the sea. Of this chain, the northern and southern districts are almost entirely unknown; but the central, from the sources of the Salva and Kolva, to those of the Tobol and Yemda, abound in valuable ores. The summits are composed of granite, the sides of schistus and wackes, and the projections, particularly on the western side, of sand stone, chalk, and gypsum. In European Russia are likewise the mountains of Olonetz, which rise in the northern extremities of Lapland, run about 15 degrees from north to south, and probably send off branches that form the hills of Valday. The

northern part of this ridge, covered with snow, is reported to consist of granite: more to the south is found a variety of ores, particularly iron. The mountains of Valday, between Petersburgh and Moscow, rise not more than 1200 feet above the level of the sea, and are formed of clay and sand, with blocks of granite. On the Masta are beds affording great quantities of iron ore; coal, sulphur-pyrites, vitriolic earth, and petrifactions. The Caucasian mountains extend between the Black and Caspian seas 350 miles, being at their greatest height five miles in breadth, covered with snow. The ridges are granite, and the sides slate and lime-stone, which runs out into a promontory that contains iron-stone, sulphur-pyrites, vitriol, and petroleum. By the Terek is found silver and iron ore. The mountains of Taurida are not so remarkable on account of their height or magnitude, as of the beautiful and romantic scenery which they present. They form the southern extremity of the peninsula, and consist of calcareous matter, supported as it were by pillars of marble, trap, clay, common lime-stone, and schistus, in parallel and almost vertical veins, alternating with each other. This singular ridge has the appearance of an amphitheatre along the Euxine. The vales produce the laurel, the olive, the fig, the lotus, and the pomegranate; the cliffs are adorned with the red bark, and perpetual foliage

of the strawberry-tree; while the sheep and goats, clinging to the declivities, combine with the simple manners of the Tartars to form an enchanting picture.

Nothing tends to relieve the uniformity which the prodigious plains give to the appearance of this great empire so much as the numerous majestic rivers by which it is intersected and enriched. Of these rivers the greatest, though not the most important, is the Ob, rising in Chinese Soongoria, in 52° north latitude, and 103° 30′ longitude: it falls into the lake Altyn, and flowing hence, it receives on the left the Katunya, the Tsharysh, the Alei, the Irtish, the Konda, and the Sosva, on the right the Tshumysh, the Tom, the Tshulym, the Ket, and the Voch, many of them mighty streams, falling into the Frozen Ocean, latitude 73° 50′, and longitude 90° after a course of 2000 miles. This river, which is navigable to the Altyn lake, and uncommonly prolific in fish, flows over a rocky bed to the Ket, and then over marl, clay, and sand, its banks being covered with birch and pine. The Irtish, which might be considered as the main stream of the Ob, rises likewise in Chinese Soongoria, north latitude 46° 50′, and passing through the lake Norsaisan, while it is augmented on the right by the Buchtorma, the Ulba, the Uba, and the Om, on the left by the Ablaket, the Dsargurban, the Ishin, the Tobol, a

large river, the Vagai, and the Konda, flows in a variable course till it unites with the Ob, latitude 60°, and longitude 86°. The river next in magnitude is the Yenisei, formed of several large streams, the Kamsara, and Veikem, rising in Bukharia and the Angra. This, which is the main stream, and a continuation of the Selenga, a fine river falling into the sea of Baikal, issues from that sea a mile broad, and so clear, that the bottom may be seen in two fathoms water, after joining the Ilim is called the Tunguska, unites with the Kamsara and Veikem, and under the name of the Yenisei, flows over a stony bed edged with rocks, till near its mouth the current is almost imperceptible. In eastern Siberia is the Lena, which having its source in a marsh north west of the sea of Baikal, flows gently over a sandy bottom, first west, then east, and lastly north, and encreased by the Uitim, Olekma and Aldan, falls by five mouths into the Arctic ocean. The Amoor is a Chinese rather than a Russian river. The Yaik, now the Ural, a large rapid stream originates in the western side of the Ural mountains, and receiving on the left the Or, and the Ilek, and on the right the Kiril and Sakmara flows at first among lofty rocks, and lastly over a dry saline stepp into the Caspian sea. The Volga, the greatest of European rivers, has its source in the mountains of Valday. Navigable almost to its source, and

affording abundance of excellent fish, this most important river flows through the finest provinces of the Russian empire, and receiving the Kamma from the Ural mountains, and the Okka, after a course of 700 miles passes by 70 arms into the Caspian sea. This river, which unites the Caspian and the Baltic seas, and is so essential to the inland navigation of the empire, grows continually shallower. Not far from the Volga is the Don, which has its source in the lake of Ivanofskoy, in the government of Rezan, and flows on a bed of sand, marl, and clay, over a flat country covered with oak and pine, lying on the governments of Rezan, Tambof, Voronetz, and Ekatarinoslaf. It takes up the Voronetz, the Donetz, and Mantish, and falls into the sea of Azof after a course of 800 miles. In the north of European Russia are the Dvina and the Petshora; the former, navigable to Ustiug, flows through swampy woody regions into the White sea at Archangel, and the latter, rising in the Uralian mountains, runs 450 miles in a north west direction into the Frozen ocean. The Duna, an important stream, rises not far from the sources of the Volga, passing through the government of Pscove, and between Courland and Poland falls into the Baltic near Riga. It has several dangerous cataracts, and Riga often suffers from its inundations. Near the sources of the Duna, and the Volga, the Dneiper

takes its rise; but although connected with the Nimen, which falls into the Baltic, by means of the canal between the Nimen and the Pripaz, flowing through Smolensk, Mohilof, Thernigof, Kief, and Ekatarinoslaf, the most fertile provinces of Russia, the Dneiper contributes little to the inland navigation of the empire, it being obstructed by thirteen cataracts about forty miles from its entrance into the Black sea. The Terek and the Kuban both originate in the Caucasian mountains, the former first runs in a westerly and southerly, then in an easterly direction, into the Caspian sea, and the latter, a rapid clear stream, flows westward and forms several islands between the Palus Mæotis, and the Euxine. The Neva, though a small, is an important stream. It issues from the lake Ladoga, and pursuing a course of 40 miles through the government of Petersburgh, falls into the gulph of Cronstadt.

Besides lakes in common with other countries, the Russian empire contains several detached bodies of water that are remarkable, as they receive the waters of many mighty rivers, without any sensible augmentation, or obvious means of expending such a continual accession. Of these inland seas the Caspian is the most important and extensive, it being 700 miles in length, and about 150 in breadth, with a surface of 36,000 square miles. It has no tide, the bottom is shell sand; toward the north the shore is low,

and the water stagnates; but in other parts the shores are bold, and the water so deep, that a line of 2700 feet does not reach the bottom. This sea communicates with the Baltic by the Volga, the Masta, and the Neva, produces salmon and herrings, and supports myriads of wild fowl: the best harbour is Baku, Derbent scarce deserves the name, while Tukaragon and Manghishlak are good. Into the Caspian flow the Emda, the Ural, the Volga, the Kumma, the Terek, the Sulak, the Agrakhan, the Kur, and the Aras, an accumulation of water, of which philosophers have not yet been able to dispose. The lake Aral, lying about 100 miles east of the Caspian sea, has not long been known to geographers, and has not yet been explored. It is said to be 200 miles long, and 70 broad, is very salt, and receives the Sirr and the Gihon, both formerly supposed to fall into the Caspian sea. Next to the Caspian, the largest body of water in the Russian empire, is the lake of Baikal in the government of Irkutsk: this lake is about 350 miles long, but its greatest breadth is not above 50. It is subject to violent storms, its water is fresh and clear, and produces quantities of fish, particularly a species of herring called omuli. The Baikal has several islands, one named Olkhan with sulphur springs, and is frozen from December to May. The lake Ladoga, one of the largest in Europe, lies in the

government of Vyborg; its breadth is about 70 miles, and its length 130; it receives many small streams, whose waters escape by the Neva; its shores are flat and sandy. On the north side is found the beautiful Finnish marble, brought to Petersburgh. This lake is remarkable for the canal cut by Peter the Great along its banks from the Volkhof to the Neva. Between the Ladoga and the White sea is the lake Onega, about 150 miles long and 40 broad. Like the Ladoga it contains some islands consisting of marble; it is connected with the Ladoga by the Svir, and with the Volga by the Mariensky canal, uniting the Vitegra and the Kofsha. The Peipus lake, about 60 miles by 40, lies between the governments of Pscove, Reval, Riga, and Petersburgh: it is joined to the lake of Pscove by a broad strait, and receives several small streams, whose waters are conveyed by the Neva into the gulph of Finland. This lake is prolific in fish, which afford a lucrative occupation to the boors in its vicinity. To the east lies the Ilmen lake, on which stands the city of Novgorod. The Bielo-ozero, or White lake, is in the same government. Though its water is clear, the bottom being clay, a white foam appears in stormy weather on the surface; whence its name. In the government of Tobolsk and Kolhyvan is the large lake of Tshany, communicating with those of Moloki and Abish-

kan. The Altyn-noor, called by the Russians Teletzkoe-ozero, lying on a considerable elevation of the Altaian mountains, is supposed to be about 100 miles in length and 60 in breadth.

Considering its extent, it is remarkable that so few mineral springs should have been discovered in Russia. The most celebrated are those of Sarepta in the government of Saratof. The springs are numerous and abundant, strongly tinctured with iron. Here is likewise a fetid sulphureous spring, of which kind springs have been found in the Baikal mountains, on the Barqusin, in the province of Nertschinsk, in the government of Irkutsk, and on the Terek, in the government of Caucasus. Some of those in the mountains of Baikal are highly sulphureous, and very hot. Those on the Terek are numerous, and of moderate temperature. Springs of naphtha are found in the district of Perekop, and on the isle of Taman, on the shores of the Volga near Tetguschy and Samarskoy, and on the Terek about the warm springs at Baragun, and near Deulet Gueray, and the sources of Tschetschengisk. A lake on the Sagris is covered, a finger thick, with naphtha.

The soil of Russia presents every variety, from tracts that are perfectly barren and incapable of culture to regions yielding thirty fold. Throughout the Russian dominions, agriculture indeed has made little or no progress. The Russians

do not think of forcing the soil; nor have they acquired the art of collecting, without prodigious waste, the profusion which the earth spontaneously yields. The northern and eastern parts of Siberia, from the 60th degree of latitude, is nothing but morass covered with moss, and passable only, because the ice never thaws deeper than seven inches. Of Russia in Europe, the northern districts are also very woody and marshy, little capable of cultivation. The south, along the banks of the Volga to the deserts, is rich and fertile, particularly towards Voronetz, about Tambof, Penza, and Sinbrisk, where there is an admirable soil of black mould, strongly impregnated with saltpetre. Between the Palus Mæotis, and the Caspian sea, along the shores of the latter as far as the Emda, and between the Ural and the Volga, is a desert, arid, sterile, full of saline lakes. The middle and southern latitudes of Siberia are extremely fertile, and fit for every kind of produce. Immense tracts which might be plowed and sown, lie totally useless. Those which are in cultivation, yield various returns; in Livonia and Esthonia they reap eight fold, about the Don, ten, and, in the whole region between the Tom and the Ob, from twenty-five to thirty. At Krasnoyarsk the crop never fails, and in many parts manure would injure it. To drain meadow land is not in use, and where great

crops of hay might be raised, the cattle are obliged, during winter, to seek a scanty sustenance on the pasture grounds, sometimes under the snow. On some fat stepps the grass grows to the height of a man, and covers the cattle which feed among it. Dry meadows afford a short nutritious hay, while the greatest crops are raised on those of a black rather moist soil. Meadows have often the appearance of a desert.

The productions of this extensive empire are as various as the soil and climate. Here the gifts of Providence are scattered with a profusion, which, while it corresponds with the prodigality of the inhabitants, forms a singular contrast with their indolence, poverty, and unskilfulness in the arts of wealth and comfort. The Russians at once suffer from want, and allow abundance to corrupt. Though they might supply the world, they depend on others.

Most of the valuable minerals have been found in Russia. The primitive mountains furnish granite and porphyry in the greatest abundance of every kind. There is alabaster in extraordinary quantities, with every variety of colour; marble, yellow, grey, and cloudy abounds; and, in the Uralian quarries, white equal to the finest Parian. In Siberia has been discovered a great variety of gems, which have been already enumerated. Coal has been found

in but few places; sulphur, alum, sal ammoniac, vitriol, saltpetre, and natron, in great quantities in various districts.

The mines of Russia furnish gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead. In 1739, the Voytzer gold mine in the mountains of Olonetz was opened; but yielding only a few pounds of gold, has been since abandoned. The chief gold mines are those of Beresof, near Ekatarinenburg, in the Ural mountains, which were opened 1754. These mines furnish annually 400,000 pood * of ore, every 1000 pood yielding about 50 solotniks † of fine gold. The quantity of gold obtained annually seems to increase. At first it amounted to three pood, now it amounts to eight. Of the silver mines, the richest is that of Shlangenberg in the mountains of Kolhyvan, next that of Semeonofskoy. A new shaft at Filipofskoy on the Ulba, is expected to equal the Shlangenberg. From these mines are obtained annually 2,000,000 pood of ore. At first each pood yielded about five solotniks of auriferous silver, now not more than two and a half. The lead mines of Nertschinsk, which have been wrought since 1704, afford also 2,000,000 pood of ore; but very poor in gold and silver. All these mines employ 70,000 men. Since the first of them were

* A pood is 36 pounds.

† A solotnik is the 3,840th part of a pood.

opened in 1704 to 1788, they had produced 1000 pood of gold, and 36,000 pood of silver, worth together upwards of forty-five millions of rubles *, at an expense of not more than fifteen millions.

Mines of copper are wrought in the mountains of Olonetz, Ural, and Altay. The most productive lie in the Ural about Perme, Ufa, Viætka, and Kazan. The produce of all these mines is about 200,000 pood annually, worth about 2,000,000 rubles.

Prodigious quantities of iron ore of all kinds are found in all the mountains, and in many of the plains of Russia. The ore in general yields about fifty per cent. 100 forges and 800 hammers are employed, and about five million pood of iron are annually obtained, which amount in value to at least four million and a half of rubles. Though many mines of lead have been found, little attention has been paid to the working of them.

All the gold and silver mines belong to the crown, a sixth of the copper, and an eighth of the iron.

Among the productions of Russia, salt is a remarkable article. Rock salt is found about

* The value of the ruble is very fluctuating. During the greater part of the reign of Catherine II. it was equal to 4s, in 1797, to 2s. 6d.

the Ilek, in the district of Ufa, sixty miles from Orenburg. In twenty-two years ending 1787, 9,770,794 pood were dug. Salt lakes abound. Among the largest and most productive of these lakes, are the Elton in the government of Saratof, those of Astrakhan, Taurida, Caucasus, Irkutsk, Indorsk, and Kolhyvan. From the salt-springs, salt is produced in the greatest quantities in the governments of Perme and Novgorod. No less than 12,000,000 pood of this article are annually produced in the empire, which however do not answer the demand. But the annual produce of this commodity might be indefinitely increased by opening fresh salt-works, and introducing into the manufacture of it economical expedients.

Immense forests every where abound in the Russian dominions. The fir, the pine, and the black pine, are the prevailing trees in northern Russia, the latter being used for fuel and charring, and the pine for pitch. The Siberian cedar, a fine strong aspiring tree in the Ural mountains, is cut down by the inhabitants, that they may the more easily gather its cones, which yield an excellent oil. The larch which grows on most of the Siberian mountains, and in the north of European Russia, is employed in ship-building on the sea coasts. It supplies all the charcoal for the mines of Nertschinsk, while in the mountains of Olonetz and the Ural, it

affords turpentine, and a fungus for exportation. With these trees, the Russian forests combine the oak, indigenous only in European Russia, the birch, the alder, and the linden; and in the southern regions, the beech, the elm, the maple, and the poplar. The birch is of various use: its bark is employed in tanning, and the preparation of tar; its leaves afford a yellow dye, its sap a liquor called birch wine, and its wood is converted into fuel and cylindrical vessels for domestic purposes. Nor does the linden seem less profitable. The inner bark is manufactured into mats, and the outer into carriages, baskets, trunks, and covering for cottages, while the rind of the young shoots is platted into shoes for the boors. The wood is wrought into canoes, or burnt into potash, and the blossoms yield nourishment to the bees Though the country produces such a quantity of wood, yet so much is consumed with the utmost extravagance in fuel, in mines, in the baths, on the roads, in building, for light, and agriculture, and so little attention is paid to repair the wastes by planting, that a scarcity already begins to be felt, which will soon extend through entire provinces, and affect the whole empire.

Of wild berries, and fruit-bearing shrubs, there is great abundance in Russia. The cranberry is wild and cultivated, as well as the black, white, and red currant, the latter of which grows

to the size of an ordinary cherry upon the Altaian mountains. The hazel bush, though found all over European Russia, does not appear in Siberia. Forests of cherry trees may be seen in the south of Russia. Apples and pears generally flourish, while apricots, peaches, walnuts, almonds, and chesnuts, are confined to the southern provinces. Figs and pomegranates are seen only at Kitzliar and Taurida; the quince tree grows wild on the forests of the Terek, as well as the vine about the Don and in Taurida, which is likewise cultivated to a considerable extent, though with not much success, in the governments of Caucasus, Taurida, Ekatarinoslaf, Vosnesensk, as well as among the Don Cossacks.

In the kitchen garden, which is wretchedly managed, are produced, in the central and southern regions of Russia, cabbage, used to make sour krout; turnips, often substituted for bread; Turkish, French, and common beans, peas, with onions, cucumbers, and garlic, which form the sallad of the common people. In the southern provinces, sugar and water melons are raised in great quantities, with little care. Of these plants there are large fields, surrounded with only a slight fence, and sometimes uninclosed. The water melons often weigh thirty pounds, and are of an excellent flavour. The potatoe is not cultivated. That the above men-

tioned productions are raised in such abundance, and in many cases of so fine a quality, is owing to the benignity of the soil and climate, not to the art or industry of the Russians. It is certain that a little of the care and skill of other European nations, would soon improve the value, and increase the quantity of all those fruits, as well as add to their number by introducing new kinds of plants, or superior varieties of the old.

The objects of Russian agriculture are nearly the same as those of England and Germany. Oats, rye, wheat, and barley, are raised in such quantities as to allow of exportation. Millet is generally cultivated, and maize about the Terek and in Taurida, buck-wheat abounds particularly in Siberia, and manna grows every where, though not in great quantities. Rice succeeds in the vicinity of Kitzliar. Among the first objects of culture in Russia, is hemp, which is raised in prodigious quantities in the ordinary way, and even grows wild on the Uralian mountains. Flax, which likewise grows wild in Siberia, is produced in great abundance, of various kinds, and excellent qualities. To these may be added hops and tobacco. To furnish an idea of the state of agriculture in Russia, it may be proper here to mention a few facts.

The harrow consists of short wooden pegs, driven into thin laths, woven together with

willows. The use of the roller is hardly known. A crooked stick often serves as a flail. To drain moist lands, or swamps, is not at all the practice, though they are so numerous and prejudicial to man and beast, and might be converted into the finest corn fields. The stepp lands are employed a short time without manure, and then forsaken. When a boor has fixed on a piece of forest land for the purpose of making it arable, together with the bushes and young wood, he cuts down and consigns to the flames, trees which have stood for two centuries, and are fit to "be the mast of some great admiral." If he cannot fell such large trees, stripping them of their bark, he leaves them to wither, and kindles the brush wood under them. In burning the dry weeds and grass for the purpose of manure, the forests are sometimes set on fire, and consumed for miles. The boor has no conception of artificial manure, marl, chalk, or pond-mud. The land is seldom clean harrowed.

Russia affords other vegetable productions, which, though not so valuable as the above, might be converted to many useful purposes. From the common and Siberian nettle some of the Nomadic tribes weave linen. Madder and wood with saffron and safflower, which grow wild, and are already used in dyeing, might be cultivated to any extent. The sesamum, which

yields a very excellent oil, may be raised in great plenty in the southern provinces. The caper is found wild about Kitzliar; and the Rhapontic rhubarb in many parts of Siberia. Salt herbs are produced in the greatest profusion and variety on the stepps in the south of Russia.

The multitude of fish, of various kinds, that swarm on the coasts in the lakes and rivers of the Russian empire is really surprising, and deserves to be noticed as affording a considerable commerce, as well as occupation and subsistance to many tribes and nations. The Frozen ocean, among other animals, produces whales of various species, dolphins, hay fish, the morse, the sea cow, hog, bear, lion, and otter. The morse, which is found from the Kurilly islands, along the coast to Greenland, is the great object of chace in the Arctic ocean between Spitzbergen and Nova Zemlia. This fishery is attended with great perils. Those engaged in it usually take a year's provision, as they are often obliged to pass the winter in their ships, which are furnished with an oven for baking and cooking, and a requisite stock of wood. If they are so happy as to make their way through the fields of ice, when they arrive on the coast, they seek a safe anchorage for their vessels, and in their boats proceed to engage their prey. If, on the beach or the ice, to which these animals repair

in flocks to procreate, or cast their young, or escape from the sea lice which torment them in summer, the captors discover a herd of morses, they approach them against the wind, and leaving their boats, endeavour to cut off their retreat from the sea. They pierce the first with their pikes, and as the morses scramble over each other to effect their escape, so many are often killed, that the vessels can only contain their heads and teeth. When they escape into the water the captors endeavour to thrust a harpoon into their breast. A cord fastened to the harpoon is wound round a stake driven into a piece of ice, which the animal drags about, until quite exhausted, it is easily killed. If the animals leap into the water before they can be attacked, the harpoon, when it is fixed in one of them, is lashed to the head of the boat, and the beast, the size of a large ox, armed with sharp teeth and two long tusks, having struggled in vain to disengage himself, rises erect upon the water, and furiously attacking his persecutors, often shatters the boat, or springs into it, leaving them no other resource than to leap into the waves, or hang by the gunnel till others come to their assistance. The fat, the skin, and the teeth of the morse are brought to Archangel. The fat, with the fat of the sea dog, is boiled into oil, useful in the manufacture of leather; the skin is made into horse-harness and carriage-braces; the teeth,

whiter and firmer than ivory and not liable to become yellow, are transported into the interior and manufactured into fan-sticks, knife-handles, chessmen, little boxes, and caskets.

The whale, though found in the Arctic ocean, is so common about the shores of Kamtshatka as to be seen, on the reflux of the tide, asleep on the beach. They pursue their prey into the harbour, and are often thrown up dead on the land, an event of great joy to the Kamtshadales, who derive great advantages from these huge animals. They eat the flesh, work the skin into cords and shoe soles, make oil of the blubber, and lard of the fat, employ the intestines as casks, manufacture the whalebone into fishing-nets, fox-traps, and water-barrels, and the bones of the lower jaw into sledge-bottoms, knife-handles, and rings for the harness of their dogs; while the vertebræ serve as mortars, and the sinews as packthread. In the south, the Kamtshadales going to sea in their little canoes, if they find the whale sleeping on the waves, wound him with poisoned darts: although the wounds be slight, they occasion great pain, and moving furiously, the huge beast soon expires. In the north they sink large nets of morse hide in the bays, and the whales in search of food are entangled, and generally perish. The return of the fishing season, and the capture of a whale, are celebrated by these miserable tribes with

many circumstances of superstitious and extravagant joy.

The seal is found in great numbers on the shores of the Arctic and Pacific ocean, as well as on the Caspian sea, and the lake Baikal. The Samoyedes, when these animals repair in the spring to mouths of rivers, and pass through the ice by the holes which their breath makes in it, lay a board with a rope fastened to it near one of these apertures: as soon as the seal is fairly out of the water, the board is drawn over the opening, and the animal is killed with ease. Sea bears, lions, and cows, are even more numerous in the eastern ocean than in the Arctic. The capture of these animals exercises the ingenuity and courage of the Kamtshadales, who obtain from them various articles of food and dress. The influx of fish into the rivers of Kamtshatka is so great that the water overflows the banks, and if it falls, the shores are covered with the dead, diffusing a pestilential stench. Of these shoals, the salmon is the principal fish, of which more varieties are found here than in the rest of the world. This fish is likewise caught in almost all the rivers of the empire. On all the coasts of Russia herring swarm, and sturgeon, in most of the lakes and rivers; but especially in the Caspian sea, where they form the great object of the most extensive and lucrative fishery in the Russian dominions. At

the fisheries between the Don and Porekop a draught, which lasts about six hours, will yield not less than 60,000 fish: a single haul, at Chumburskoia will fill two or three waggons.

Of animals inhabiting the land, Russia presents an uncommon variety. The horse appears of different species: the genuine Russian horse has a ram-like head, long meagre neck, and a broad compact breast, runs well, is indefatigable and shy. Famous nags are found in Livonia, and Lithuania supplies the cavalry. The Tartarian horses of known excellence, have been greatly improved in Taurida by a mixture with those of Turkey and Arabia. Caucasian horses, in spirit and docility, nearly equal the Arabian; and those of Bukharia, some being spotted, and others ribbed, rival them in beauty. Great numbers of horses are kept by the Nomadic tribes, who feed on their flesh, and make an intoxicating liquor of the mare's milk. Some of the Baschkirs have studs of 4000 horses. This noble animal runs wild in the south of Siberia in companies from twenty to fifty: all attempts to tame them being vain, they are hunted for their flesh. Large droves of neat cattle are kept in most parts of Russia, and form the chief wealth of many of the Nomadic tribes. In the Ukraine, about Archangel and among the Cossacks of the Don, the breed of this species of cattle is very superior; but in general they are managed with

extreme carelessness: dry straw and cold water form their nourishment in winter. As soon as the snow melts, they are driven to poor and distant pastures, and receive no provender at home. It is not the practice in the most woody districts to fodder them in warm hovels. Sheep are bred in much greater numbers than the large cattle. In Taurida, a common Tartar possesses 1000, the rich 50,000 sheep: the wool in general is of a coarse quality: the best kind of sheep are found in the south, about the Kama, and the region of Kazan. The goat is a common domestic animal, and herds of them are kept by the Kirghises and Calmuks. Hogs never grow to any size. The ass is little used; but the camel is raised in Taurida, and among the wandering nations.

No animal, tame or domestic, in Russia, is of such various use as the rein-deer: they inhabit eastern and northern Siberia, and the north of European Russia, but not in such numbers. Wild rein-deer form an object of chace, and to breed them tame is the main employment of the Laplanders, Ostiaks, Koriaks, Tunguses, Yakutes, and Samoyedes. These animals feed on the moss scratched from beneath the snow, with which they allay their thirst. Those barbarous tribes employ them as beasts of draught and burden, drink their milk, or prepare it into cheese, feed on their flesh, and manufacture their

down into warm cloaths and mattresses, their sinews into twine, their bones into household utensils, and their skins into coverings for themselves and yourts. Dogs are employed as post horses by the Russians in the government of Irkutsk, and among the Kamtshadales, who have no other species of domestic animal, they are as necessary as horses among other nations. Four of these animals, which resemble in shape and size the Russian boar-dog, draw three full grown persons in a sledge, with fifty pound weight of baggage. On good roads they perform a journey of a hundred miles in a day. They have such spirit, as often to dislocate their joints in drawing; and, by the lightness of their tread, and the certainty of their scent, pass safely over slightly frozen rivers, or trackless deserts of snow.

The bear inhabits the forests of Siberia, and the north of European Russia. Black bears are so numerous in Kamtshatka, as to appear in troops, and so gentle and inoffensive as to receive food from the hand. The white bear lives on the shores and Islands of the Arctic ocean. The bear, whose skin is an article of commerce, and whose flesh and fat are articles of food, and even luxury among the rude tribes of the north, is caught by various ingenious stratagems. The Laplanders knock them down with clubs: the mountaineers of Siberia fasten a heavy block to

a rope, which having a noose at the other end, they lay in the bear's path; being entangled, the animal in a rage seizing the block, throws it down the precipice, and being dragged along with it, is usually killed. Four distinct species of foxes are found in Russia; black foxes are confined to eastern Siberia; and the ice fox, a sly animal, full of tricks, mostly of a white, but sometimes of a bluish colour, chiefly inhabits the islands about that country. Among other animals hunted for their skin may be mentioned the wolf, the lynx, the marten, the squirrel, the ermine, the marmott, the rabbit, and the glutton. This last animal, which has a beautiful skin, and when tame, performs a variety of amusing tricks, is remarkable for killing the rein-deer. The glutton having strewn moss beneath a tree, watches till the bait allures the rein-deer, and leaping upon his neck, tears out his eyes, and so torments him, that the poor sufferer beats himself to death against the tree. In the districts of the Lena, the glutton subdues even the horse. But of all the animals in Russia, the sable affords the most valuable skin: the finest come from Yakutsk and Nertschinsk, and the largest from Kamtshatka. Some of these skins fetch fifty rubles on the spot. The beaver, besides his skin, is taken for the castoreum, a valuable commodity of which the best is procured in Russia. The musk animal

inhabits the mountains of Altay. The elk roams over all Siberia, within the 65th degree of latitude, and in Livonia, and about the lake Ladoga. Herds of the stag and roebuck appear about the Irtish and the Yenisei, the regions of Daouria, Caucasus, the Samara, and the Sok. The evek is a native of the Siberian mountains, while those of Caucasus produce the shamois, and the bezoar goat. Droves of antelopes traverse the Don and the Irtish; and the craw goat inhabits Daouria. The wild sheep, and the rock ram are found on the Altaian mountains, and the wild boar on the stepps of the Samara and the Volga. Wild fowl is produced in abundance, and the culture of bees is the business of tribes and provinces.

CHAPTER II.

Population of Russia—Form of Government—Imperial Colleges—Viceroyalties—Laws—Army—Navy—Revenue—Variety of Nations—Character of the inhabitants—Nobles—Peasants—Middle Class—Commerce—Religion—Literature—Cossacks—Tartars—Samoyedes.

THE population of the Russian empire is very disproportionate to the extent of its territories, and the variety and abundance of its productions. To ascertain the exact number of its inhabitants is indeed difficult, and it has been variously stated by different authors. In 1783 the number of males registered amounted to 12,838,529. The number of females being equal, this will give 25,677,058. The unnumbered classes, including the nobility and clergy, with the civil and military servants of government, and other privileged persons, could not be fewer than 1,500,000. It is not too much to allow an annual increase of 100,000. The territories acquired since 1783 contained 5,755,000 souls. In the year 1804 the Cossacks amounted to 1,000,000. Hence the whole population of the Russian empire may be about 37,000,000, of which, not more than 2,215,000 belong to Si-

beria. The most populous parts of Russia lie between the 49th and 58th degrees of latitude and the 40th and 65th degrees of longitude. The relative proportion of the population in different governments is very remarkable; that of the government of Irkutsk, being to that of Moscow, as 1 to 801. As Russia has little more than nine persons on the square mile, it is nineteen times less populous than France.

The Russian government is an unlimited monarchy. The sovereign unites in himself, the legislative, executive, and judicial authority, all inferior powers being derived from him, and entirely under his controul. Though the succession seems to be hereditary, yet it evidently depends on the will of the prince, the nobles, the military, and his own capacity, whether the nearest relative of the deceased monarch ascend the throne. As in all cases where the will of the sovereign is the only limit of his power, revolutions are frequent in Russia. Sometimes in the course of a night, one prince is deposed, and another assumes the authority without exciting any commotion.

In administering the affairs of the empire the sovereign is assisted by different councils, called imperial colleges, which hold their sittings at Petersburgh, some of them having chambers at Moscow. In each of these colleges is a secretary and a procureur without any voice, though

it is the business of the latter to see that nothing is done contrary to the laws, and no sentence is valid without his signature. Though these colleges have a great number of servants, secretaries, archivists, and clerks, there is a great want of regularity and diligence among them. The cabinet, which is not reckoned among the imperial colleges, consists usually of ten persons, the high steward of the household, privy and state counsellors, and major-generals, manages the prince's private affairs, examines petitions, dispatches, accounts, and the produces of the mines, and receives appeals from the senate. A special high court of justice is sometimes appointed.

Of the imperial colleges the first is *the Directing Senate*, instituted by Peter the Great, and consisting of six departments, four at Petersburgh, and two at Moscow, having each its own business. A senator is the highest rank in the kingdom. The senate, as the sanctuary of the laws, watches over their execution, issues the laws and edicts of the prince, and its own orders to inferior colleges, solves doubtful questions, appoints to civil offices, and forms the highest tribunal, from which there is no appeal but by petition to the cabinet. *The Holy Directing Synod*, co-ordinate with the senate, is the supreme spiritual court of the national church. To *the College of Foreign Affairs*, it belongs to

pay the salaries of ministers at foreign courts, the pensions and expenses of agents in foreign parts. It is the business of *the Admiralty College* to over-see the ship-yards, general war-commissariate, and store office, while *the College of War* superintends military affairs of a subordinate description, such as regulations and orders for camps, ammunition, and provisions. *The College of Commerce*, and *the Medical College*, sufficiently indicate their objects.

In order to secure a more steady execution of the laws, and a more impartial and easy administration of justice, and to faciliate the collection of the revenue, and the circulation of money, as well as to lessen the expence of government, introduce improvements, and promote industry, the whole empire was in 1776, divided by Catherine II. into twenty-two viceroyalties. These governments by accessions of territory, and other changes, were in 1803 raised to fifty-one, of which the following is an enumeration: Moscow, St. Petersburgh, Novgorod, Olonetz, Archangel, Pscove, Smolensk, Tula, Twer, Kaluga, Jaroslaf, Kostroma, Vladimir, Vologda, Nisneygorod, Wiulka, Kasan, Perm, Tobolsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Orenburgh, Simbrisk, Penza, Saratof, Artrakhan, Caucasus, Varonish, Tambof, Razan, Kursh, Orel, the Slobodish Ukraine, Ekatarinoslof, Tauria, Cherson, Poltowa, Tschernigof, Kief, Podolia, Volbynia, Grodno,

Vilna, Vitebsk, Mogilef, Minsk, Courland, Livonia, Esthonia, Finland, and Grusia.

Each of these governments, which contain about 700,000 souls, has its general-governor, governor, and vice-governor, with several courts. The general governor, usually a high military officer, presides in the deliberations of the magistrates, commands the troops in his government, and executes the decrees of justice. The governor, who acts as general-governor in his absence, is a person of great importance, as he takes an account of all the officers of the viceroyalty, appoints to several posts, can insist on the execution of his orders, presides in the college of general provision, and inspects the schools. The vice-governor is substitute of the two former in case of absence, and president of the finance chamber. *The viceroyalty government*, consisting of the general-governor, governor, and two counsellors, is the highest court of the viceroyalty. Its business is to promulge laws and ordinances, to provide for security and order, and to issue writs. *The court of justice*, the second of the viceroyalty-courts, is divided into a civil and criminal department, each consisting of a president, two counsellors, and two assessors. This court receives orders only from the emperor, its decision in criminal cases is final, and it admits appeals from the inferior courts. Appeals are very expensive. *The*

finance chamber has the care of the revenues of the crown, whether from taxes, monopolies, or mines; of the accounts of the population, of the public buildings, and the payment of salaries, while *the college of general provision* directs its attention to schools, infirmaries, and like beneficial institutions. Between the circle courts, and the court of justice, is the statute law court, consisting of two presidents and ten assessors from the nobility. This court tries all causes, both civil and criminal, in the first instance.

The court of conscience, an institution peculiar to Russia, has for its object to procure for prisoners a speedy trial, to accommodate differences, and determine the causes of minors, idiots, and lunatics. To these may be added the superior court of wards, which tries the causes of the odnodvortzi and the boors of the crown or empire.

The governments are divided into circles, which have likewise their respective courts, as well as accountant, who oversees the taxes, solicitor, physician, surgeon, with two assistants, and as many pupils, and a land-surveyor. It is the office of the solicitor to watch over the interests of the crown. Torture and confiscation are entirely abolished, and capital punishments are extremely rare.

It must be gratifying to benevolent minds to learn that these institutions have in a degree

effected their object, that many abuses have been corrected, much evil prevented, and considerable melioration effected in the condition of millions. But that an impartial administration of justice has been introduced, will not be believed by those who consider that the peasantry are slaves; that complaints of injustice and oppression are so easily obstructed by those who can make friends of the courtiers; and that the power of the military is perpetually employed to ensure the performances of civil duties. The mildness of the Russian criminal code is more in appearance than reality. Nobles still whip their vassals to extort confession. A skilful executioner can dispatch a man by three strokes of the knoot, a species of torture which, together with the slitting of the nostrils, branding the face, and banishment to the mines of Nertschinsk, forms the punishment of felony. What from the effects of the knoot, the fatigue of a journey of nearly 5000 miles, performed in fetters, and the unwholesomeness of the mines, perhaps as many criminals suffer death in Russia, as where the laws require at once the forfeiture of their lives.

The forces of the Russian empire are naval and military. Even before the late Russian campaigns it was confessed that the Russian armies consisted of the best soldiers in the world; brave, obedient, active, and patient of fatigue, of cold,

and hunger, in the very highest degrees. When it is said that they have made their way from Moscow to Paris, through the armies of France, grown old amidst victories, and commanded by the greatest captains of the age, to complete their panegyric, it can only be added, that their advance and retreat have not left the ordinary traces of victory. During peace, the force of the empire amounts nominally to 600,000 men. But of these, one-sixth is ineffective, and another is confined to the duty of the garrisons and the provinces. The greatest exertions could not bring more than 200,000 effective men into the field at the beginning of the campaign in 1812. The Russian officers are in general not equal to the men, as they are often ignorant favourites promoted without merit. The cavalry, the best mounted perhaps of any on the continent, is superior to the infantry. The pay of a Russian soldier is about seven rubles annually, a sum that can scarcely be credited. The armies are recruited by draughts from the peasantry, in somewhat the same way as the militia is raised in England. A recruit sometimes costs 300 rubles, a proof that the Russians are not partial to a military life.

The navy of Russia is not equal to the army. This circumstance however, is easily explained: though Peter the Great, finding Russia without a ship of war, left it with a fleet of fifty sail of

the line, the navy was very much neglected till the accession of Catherine II. Russia has few ports, her coasts are for the most part covered with ice, and her foreign commerce is inadequate to furnish a supply of experienced seamen. With these disadvantages, however, her navy appears sufficient for defence against Swedes or Turks. It consists of three fleets distinct from each other. In 1807 the great fleet of the Baltic consisted of 59 ships, carrying 2260 guns, namely, 20 new ships of the line, with 1588 guns; 14 frigates, with 426 guns; 6 cutters, with 130 guns, and 19 smaller vessels with 116 guns. There were likewise in the ports of the Baltic 12 old ships of the line. The fleet of the Black sea consisted of 37 ships, carrying 1288 guns, namely, 12 ships of the line, with 981 guns; 4 frigates, with 162 guns; 7 brigantines, with 54 guns, and 14 smaller vessels, with 91 guns. There were likewise 40 gun-boats, with 54 pieces of cannon. The fleet of gallies amounted to 189 sail, of gallies, gun-boasts, floating-batteries, and other vessels, carrying 705 guns. Whatever is necessary to support a numerous navy, Russia herself furnishes in abundance, except seamen. The expense of building ships, in consequence of negligence, waste, and imposition, is so enormous, that admiral Knowles told the empress Catherine, that he would engage to fetch all the materials for ship

building from Russia, pay the duties upon them, and deliver to her from England ships completely equipped at much less than they cost her in her own dock-yards.

The amount of the revenues of Russia is not to be ascertained with exactness; because large sums flow into the treasury which are never brought to account, some provinces pay services in lieu of taxes, and much of the income is subject to great fluctuation. By these means it is likely both the crown and the subject suffer; the former by fraud, and the latter by extortion. The sources of the revenue are as follows. A poll tax first imposed by Peter the Great. It is paid by males only in various proportions according to the condition and vocation of individuals. A census is taken every twenty years, and whatever deficiency may be occasioned by death, migration, or other accidents, must be supplied by the district in which it occurs, as the number remains unaltered till the next revision. The average paid by each may be a ruble. The tax on capital is one per cent paid by merchants on their capital, by which they are exempted from the poll-tax. Duties on exports and imports, on law proceedings, on stamped paper, on the sale of immoveable property, and the profits from the salt trade, the farm of spirituous liquors, the working of the mines, the mint and the posts, with some other articles,

form the other branches of the revenue. The following statement will show the product of each of these branches of revenue in 1800.

	Rubles.
Poll-tax, tax on capital with the obrok on the crown boors and odnodvortzi and the additional kopeeks	18,197,000
Customs	8,800,000
Farm of spirituous liquors . .	8,500,000
Salt	2,000,000
Mines and Mint	3,000,000
Duties on stamps, sale of land and various other articles . . .	2,300,000
Rubles	42,797,000

In the collection and expenditure of this revenue, there is the most shameful frauds and corruption. It is yet found adequate to the ordinary purposes of government, which is owing to the abundance of provision and the low price of labour.

It is a very curious and instructive spectacle which Russia presents, in the strange diversity of its inhabitants. It is said here are eighty distinct nations, different in character, language, religion, government, manners, degrees of civilization, and modes of life. The hunter and fisher, without property, cloathed in skins, who live in pits and feed on raw flesh and unripe fruit, and the shepherds living in move-

able tents, supported by the produce of their flocks, ignorant of the use of money and the art of writing, are fellow subjects with the industrious husbandman and ingenious mechanic, with the owner of a thousand acres, and the wealthy merchant. Here are tribes loose and unconnected, some bowing to paternal authority, others preserving a pure democracy; the adherents of monarchy in all its gradations and of aristocracy in every form. Here is found religion in every shape, from the grossest impurities and absurdities of polytheism to the sanctity of the christian faith and practice. In short, Russia presents man in every variety of his physical condition, and under every modification of the social state and religious principle. Here may be seen at once what a succession of ages elsewhere exhibits, and the simultaneous view may correct the errors and prejudices into which detached portions of human history have betrayed philosophers.

Of the nations included in the Russian empire, the Slavonians are the most numerous, powerful, and distinguished. Forming a separate branch of the human stock, distinct from the Goths and Tartars, they are the Sarmatæ of the ancients, and are found from the shores of the Adriatic to the Frozen Ocean, and from the coasts of the Baltic to the utmost limits of Asia. Their ancient seats were probably Prussia, Poland, and

the south of Russia. In the fourth century, they formed a kingdom with the Ostrogoths which was subdued by the Huns. They appeared on the northern shore of the Danube, plundering the Roman empire, until pressed by the Bulgarians they retreated, in the seventh century, some into Poland, others into Russia, a part only remaining on the Danube. They founded Kief and Novgorod. A branch of the Varages called Russians, established in Finland and Carelia, being solicited to assist them by the Slaves of Novgorod, incorporated with them, and imparted their name to the nation, while the Slavonian language and manners were retained. The Slavonians of Kief being harassed by the Kazares, applied to their brethren of Novgorod for assistance, who sent them Oskold. This chief founded a principality, which was united with the kingdom of Novgorod and became the seat of empire. Having suffered great calamities from intestine divisions and the oppression of the Tartars, this kingdom was at last united under Ivan I. after two centuries of subjection to the Tartars, and under Ivan's successors has grown to its present magnitude. To the other nations we shall by and by advert.

The genuine Russians are strong men, of a middle size, with thin lips, small mouth and eyes, white teeth, low forehead, and a bushy beard, varying from dark brown to red. Their

countenance is dull but expressive of good nature. Though they are quick of hearing their other senses are obtuse. Capable of enduring the greatest fatigue and privations, they are inactive, subject to few diseases, and long lived. With the same general character, the women have a delicate skin and rosy cheeks, large breasts and feet, are mature by the use of the bath at thirteen, and by the same means with an immoderate use of paint loose their beauty, while the men are in their prime. The temper of the Russians is warm, and their disposition light, careless, and sensual. They excel in nothing more than in the power of imitation. As among most nations imperfectly civilized, hospitality is common. The intercourse between the sexes is extremely free, drunkenness is not a disgrace, and obscene, ambiguous, and abusive expressions are in very frequent use.

The inhabitants are divided into nobles, peasants, and a middle class, comprehending the clergy and other free subjects. In conformity with the genius of the government, which is very much of a military despotism, honours depend much more upon service than birth or descent. A prince conveys to his son nothing but his title and a chance of preferment before others of equal merit. Birth merely facilitates the way to honour. If the rank of their husbands is equal, the most ancient princess of the

realm, and the burgher's daughter appear at court on a perfect equality. The nobility is numerous. Their estates are valued by the number of peasants they contain, and are divided among all the children of both sexes. Some of the nobility are richer than the wealthiest English peer, having 100,000 peasants. In privileges and mode of life they seem an exact copy of the feudal barons of the middle ages. To them the right of holding landed property exclusively belongs. They are not obliged to pay taxes, erect barracks, or furnish recruits. They may forfeit their honours, estates or lives, but cannot be made vassals. They may impose what taxes they please upon their vassals, and inflict any punishment short of death. The noblemen who reside in Petersburgh or Moscow, or who have travelled into foreign countries, are often cultivated in their minds and refined in manners. But in general, the Russian nobility have but little knowledge or refinement. Without taste, they are extravagantly fond of glare and pomp in their dress, equipage and furniture. It is their ambition to be thought hospitable; but instead of that equality that reigns in the entertainments of civilized men, in Russia the guests take their seats according to their different ranks, which determine the quality of their food and drink.

The great mass of the Russian population

consists of the peasants who are all slaves of the nobles or of the crown. They pass from one person to another like any other species of property, though they cannot be sold out of Russia, or to any other than a nobleman. All the boors pay an obrok, a sum of money, for every male; and, as the obrok of those that belong to the crown is fixed at five rubles annually, which they are sure will not be raised, their condition is much more comfortable than that of private boors, whose obrok is not only much higher, but liable to be raised with their means of gain. It is most common to pay an obrok, but some perform task services, while others labour in manufactories, or are employed as servants. The master furnishes a house and a plot of ground, and is obliged to provide entirely for the aged and infirm. The misery which the condition of this class of men involves, consists in being at the mercy of their proprietors. Many of them are rich and comfortable. But the uncertainty of reaping the fruits of their labour and ingenuity checks their exertion. A severe master may divert into his own coffers the accumulation of a whole life of profitable and successful industry. The boors pay the taxes, and supply the armies. They cannot travel without a passport. Their food consists of black rye bread, eggs, salt-

fish, bacon, and mushrooms, but a hodge-podge of salt or fresh meat, groats, and rye-flour, highly seasoned with garlic and onions, is their favourite dish. They are extremely fond of whisky, and their common drink is made by pouring warm water on rye or barley meal. A red cap with a high crown, a sheep-skin jacket, the wool turned inwards, reaching to the knee, and linen drawers with rags of woollen wrapped round the legs for stockings, and sandals woven of the linden bark, form the winter dress of the male peasant, while the female wears a shift with full sleeves, a short petticoat, coloured stockings, and a lamb's wool pelisse, white as snow, and lined with cloth. The character of the boors is such as may be expected in a country where such a degree of slavery prevails, and the hatchet is the principal instrument in mechanical arts.

Of the middle class of the Russian population, the clergy is the first and most distinguished order. They are exempt from taxes, and corporeal punishment, though guilty of capital crimes. They are not brought before secular judges, and in 1801 they were permitted to hold land. The clergy are divided into regular and secular. The regular clergy are all monks, lead rigid lives, and enjoy the whole power and honour of the church, being the bishops

and the heads of religious houses. The secular clergy are parish priests and consist of protoires, priests and deacons, with readers and sacristans. In 1805, the protoires, priests, and deacons amounted to 44,487. They must be married before they are ordained. They cannot marry a second time, but may continue to officiate or become monks. The sacristans and deacons were 54,239 in number. None but the sons of the clergy are admitted to the office of priesthood, and when to this it is added that many of them possess not a complete copy of the scriptures, it will be easy to judge of their qualifications as religious teachers. Some of them read written homilies; but others deliver sermons in which the doctrines of the gospel are clearly explained and ably supported. All the Russian clergy are very tolerant. It is to be regretted that they are not in habits of intercourse with their fellow subjects.

To the middle class of the Russian population belong also merchants, burghers, and all who have inherited or acquired liberty. The number and importance of this order of men increase with the progress of civilization. For this century, it has been an object with government to amplify their privileges. Many of them are rich; but few educated.

Nothing serves to give a more correct and exalted idea of the consequence that Russia

seems destined to attain among nations, than the history and nature of its commerce. Though considerable commerce had been carried on by the nations now incorporated into the Russian empire, before the reign of Peter the Great, Russia had no ports, and but trifling intercourse with foreign nations, while the vast means of internal traffic remained unimproved. That enterprizing and indefatigable monarch entered into commercial treaties with the Chinese and Persians, opened a communication between the Baltic and Caspian seas, and by the building of Petersburgh and the acquisition of other ports on the former, established a most profitable connexion between his own dominions and the maritime nations. During the reign of Catherine II. the commerce of the Euxine was acquired, inland navigation improved, and a spirit of active and industrious enterprize excited from Riga to the eastern ocean.

As the population of Russia is by no means equal to the cultivation of the soil, its exports consist chiefly of raw materials, or commodities, so far manufactured, as to fit them for transportation. Among the articles may be mentioned iron, saltpetre, hemp, flax, napkins, linen, sail-cloth, cordage, hemp, and linseed oil, linseed, tobacco, rhubarb, wheat, rye, barley, oats, masts, planks, boards, rosin, tar, pitch, train oil, wax, tallow, candles, potashes, isinglass, caviar, horse-hair

and tails, hog's bristles, Russia mats, hides, ox tongues, and bones. In return for these articles the Russians receive stuffs of silk, woollen and cotton, cloth, stockings, trinkets, watches, hardware, looking-glasses, English stone ware, English horses, coffee, sugar, tobacco, oranges, lemons, fresh fruit, herrings, wines, brandy, English beer, mineral water, paper, books, engravings. alum, indigo, scythes, glass, and glassware. The chief seats of Russian commerce are on the Baltic. At Petersburgh alone is made the one half nearly of all the exports and imports of the empire. Riga is also a place of great trade; Archangel on the White sea has lost much of its former consequence, and now is little superior to Astrakhan. Nicholaef on the Black sea, the third town in the empire, is advantageously situated, and in a very flourishing condition. The commerce on the Chinese frontier, though liable to interruptions, amounts generally to 2,000,000 of rubles. In 1758, the whole exports of the Russian empire, amounted in value to 8,150,683 rubles; in 1768, to 12,971,542; and in 1790, to 27,500,000. For the first of these periods the imports were valued at 5,826,126 rubles; for the second at 10,856,161; and the last at 22,500,000. In 1799, the exports from Petersburgh alone amounted to 38,169,925 rubles, and the imports to 19,290,779. This statement shows a

prodigious increase, and a great balance in favour of Russia. One half of the Russian trade is with Great Britain. The ratios of the profit on the trade with the English compared with that on the trade with all other nations is very remarkable. In 1784, the whole exports amounted to 12,941,513 rubles, and the whole imports to 12,172,345. The British share in the exports were 8,390,755 of rubles, and in the imports 3,000,935, leaving a profit to the Russians of 5,389,820 rubles; whereas with all other nations they lost 4,620,652 rubles. About a third of the whole trade is carried on by Russian subjects. The business of Petersburgh is conducted by factors, chiefly foreigners. The Russian merchants from the interior repair to Petersburgh at a stated time, and enter into contracts with the factors to deliver goods of particular descriptions, the following spring or summer, receiving meanwhile the half or whole of the purchase money. On imported goods, which are sold by the resident factors, or delivered by them for sale at foreign markets, the Russian merchant who orders them, receives, six, twelve, or eighteen months credit.

The internal trade of Russia is very extensive and flourishing. Manufactories of great importance have been established in various parts of the empire. None is more extensive, more profitable to the revenue, or injurious to

the nation, than that of spirits. The leather manufactories amounted in 1803 to 843, the linen to 283, the silk to 321, the glass to 107, and the paper to 55. In many parts, particularly at Astrakhan, isinglass and caviar are produced in prodigious quantities, the one from the sounds and the other from the roe, of large fish. Manufactories of dyeing drugs, soap, candles, potash, alum, and saltpetre, are likewise numerous. Powder mills, iron, brass, and copper works, and cannon foundries, are carried on with spirit and advantage. Stones are cut and polished in the governments of Finland, Petersburg, and Ekaterinenburgh. Porcelain is manufactured of a good quality. In Russia there is only one manufactory for clocks and watches. Shoemaking, carpentery, and bricklaying, are exercised by Russians, but the more ingenious arts are in the hands of foreigners.

The circulation of commodities raw and manufactured, native and foreign, is effected chiefly by the large navigable rivers. From the frontiers of China, heavy articles are transported down the Selinga, across the lake Baikal, down the Angra and the Yenisei, from thence into the Ob, and the Tobol, and by a land carriage of 300 miles into the rivers falling into the Volga, on which they reach Petersburgh. Some of these articles, after being manufactured in England, make their way by the same

rout to the extremities of Siberia. The communication between the Caspian sea and the Baltic, which has been already described, supports an immense traffic. This navigation has latterly been greatly improved; but it is complained that only 4,000 vessels can pass it in a season. The Euxine is likewise connected with the Baltic by the Dnieper and the Niemen, but the navigation is difficult. Other rivers support a great trade among the Russian provinces; but Russia will never improve or even discover her advantages for internal and foreign trade, till the genius of commerce shall have burst the fetters of the peasants.

The religion of the Greek church is established in Russia: it resembles the Roman catholic religion in superstitious rites and opinions, affects like pomp of worship, and is even more frequent, laborious, and prolix in its services. But the clergy of the Russian church have less power, and are more tolerant. The supremacy of the pope, and the worship of images are rejected, while pictures are every where adored, and the practice defended by the most enlightened of the Russian clergy.

Russia is divided into 36 eparchies or bishoprics, containing 483 cathedrals, and 26,598 churches. The concerns of the church are managed by *the holy synod*, in which a layman presides. The nomination of the bishops is in the

emperor. Russia contains 387 monasteries, and 91 nunneries; but, as the rage for a monastic life has entirely subsided, the number of monks, though they furnish the superior clergy, is only 4,901, and of nuns 1696. In every cottage is the picture of a saint, to which on entering, the members of the family offer adoration, and pay worship punctually morning and evening. This fact shows the state of religion.

Independent of foreigners who retain their respective forms of religion, Russia contains about 2,000,000 of separatists. The first of these dissenters appeared about three centuries and a half ago, and consisted of persons who attempted to blend into one the religion of Moses and Christ. This schism however was small compared with that which was occasioned by the correction of church service books in the middle of the seventeenth century. A great clamour was excited, and multitudes were induced to oppose the amendments, as if they had been corruptions. The separatists it seems, are better versed in the scriptures than their neighbours, some of the peasants being able to quote them; they are likewise exemplary in their lives. They never go to law with each other. It is not permitted them to publish in their own defence. They are found chiefly in commercial towns, and the southern provinces. Their separation from the church arises from a preference to the old

books and pictures used in worship, and not from any article of doctrine. On the death of their first leaders they split into parties, some maintaining and others denying the propriety of admitting priests from the church. The majority of Russian sectaries belong to the first class; but they are again divided on the subject of chrism. So late as 1764, 20,000 of them were banished to Siberia. Those who have no priests, or refuse to admit the priests of the church, likewise branch out into minuter divisions. Some oppose the worship of images and pictures, others hold principles like those of Jacob Behmen, and a third class who are very zealous in opposing the corrections in the service books of the church, rebaptize those who join them, and recommend a life of celibacy and solitude. Of all the Russian sects, the most singular is the Duhoborsti, who after various persecutions, were allowed by the present emperor to settle in Moloshnia Vodi, in the government of Tauria. They have no priests, never enter a church, or use pictures, and reject even baptism and the Lord's supper. They are sober, industrious, and mild, distinguished by mutual affection, hospitality, and beneficence, and take uncommon pains to bring up their children in the principles and practice of religion. Their worship, which is not confined to time or place, consists of singing, praying, and explaining the

scripture. They have all things in common, and their only punishment is expulsion from their community. They are fond of fanciful and allegorical interpretations of scripture; but there is little exceptionable in the articles of their faith.

The Russians may boast of an unbroken series of annals from Nestor, the earliest historian of the northern nations; but their literature is still in its infancy. The Russ, which is a dialect of the Slavonic, has not yet taken a very precise form, and notwithstanding the efforts of Catherine II. who was ambitious of every species of fame, works of genius have not been produced to invite to the acquisition of the language. Works of poetry and history have appeared in the greatest numbers, but translation is the department in which the Russians principally seem to labour. Some of the ancient classics, and works in different walks of learning, French, English, and German, have been done into the dialect of Russia. No works are so popular as romances of the very worst class. Institutions for the advancement of learning are not numerous. The Academy of Sciences of Petersburgh, which originated with Peter the Great, has, by the labours of its members, chiefly foreigners, materially contributed to the increase of general knowledge, and to the progress of learning in Russia. Two seminaries

for the education of the nobles, are found at Petersburgh, one for males, and another for females. Besides schools for general education, in all the provinces of the empire, there are, for the instruction of the clergy, four academies, thirty-six seminaries, and eighteen schools, with 26,000 scholars.

It would detain us too long to describe even briefly, the different tribes that are found in various proportions in Russia. All that can be done is to notice the more numerous or singular. The Poles who, after the principal nation, are the most numerous, are also of Slavonic origin. Larger and fleshier than the Russians, they are well-proportioned, of an open countenance, and have very thick necks. They wear whiskers, and shave their heads, leaving a lock of hair on the crown. Polish women are famed for their beauty. The Poles are subject to a host of diseases, which the Russians escape, perhaps by the perpetual use of the vapour bath. In towns they are infected with the venereal distemper in the ratio of six to ten. The loathsome disease, the plica polonica, is peculiar to them. The peasantry are poor, dirty, feed on grits, pulse, potatoes, sour cabbage, and turnips, and are meanly lodged and cloathed. The dress of the higher orders is extremely elegant and costly.

The most singular branch of the Russian

population of Slavonic origin, is the Cossacks, whose principal seat is now about the shores of the Don. On the expulsion of the Tartars, the Russians found remains of them in these parts, and incorporating with them, formed a colony, which by various accessions of Circassians, Malo-Russians, boors escaped from slavery, Poles, Turks, Calmucks, and Arminians, grew to a considerable state. They formed a bulwark against the Turks, appeared in the Russian armies in 1579, and sent, at different times, colonies towards the Volga, the Terek, the Ural, Orenburgh, and into Siberia. The Cossacks are free from all taxes, they subsist usually by pasture, or the produce of their fields, and an allowance of corn. They are obliged to serve in any part of the world as light horse, mounted, armed, and clothed at their own expense. It is not usual to call upon them to serve abroad after three years service; but they form a cordon along the Caucasus, and perform the duties of the post and police. Their territories are divided into stanitzas, having each their own ataman, whose office is civil rather than military. The chief ataman is now appointed by the crown, and his power greatly diminished. The Cossacks of the Don are superior to the Russians in person, dress, culture, and mode of life. They are tall and handsome. The dress of the men is a blue

jacket, with white dimity waistcoat and trowsers. While they are remarkably clean in their persons and habitations, they are instructed in their minds, sociable, open, and generous. The Cossacks of the Black sea originally occupied the banks of the Dnieper, but in consequence of rebellion, they were transported by the empress Catherine II., to the region between the sea of Azof and the Kuban, where they serve to repel the incursions of the Circassians and Tartars. Unlike their brethren of the Don, they are uncultivated; but warlike and hospitable. They dress as they please, and deal largely in cattle.

The Tartars, whose history is interwoven with the desolations of the world, form after the Slavonians, the most numerous part of the Russian population, being the principal inhabitants of Asiatic Russia. Relics of mighty kingdoms, they dwell on the northern coasts of the Caspian and Black seas, the southern branch of the Ural mountains, the stepps and mountains on the frontier of Siberia, between the Tobol and the Yenisei, and in colonies among the Russians in the government of Kazan and Tauria. In Siberia, they have very much assimilated to the Russians and neighbouring tribes; but in Kazan, about Astrakhan, and in the Krimea, they have preserved their national peculiarities. The genuine Tartar is well made, of an ordinary

height, lean, with an oval head, dark brown hair, white firm teeth, small mouth, little black expressive eyes, and a fresh and lively complexion; all recommended by a modest and discreet behaviour. An open friendly countenance, the bloom of health, and harmonious proportion of the limbs, impart an uncommon charm to the females. This fine form is lost among some of the tribes; the Bashkirs are more fleshy, have flatter faces, larger ears, and stronger limbs: among the Kirghises the Tartarian eye is even less than usual. Temperance and cleanliness are imperative duties with the Tartars, being strictly inculcated in the Koran: they are commanded to wash several times a-day, and reckon not less than two hundred and five fast-days in a year. Polygamy is allowed; but the poor have rarely more than one wife, and the rich not more than two. The Tartars are for the most part shepherds, who move their habitations according as they find suitable pasture for their flocks and herds. Some of them pay the capitation tax, and furnish recruits, but have permanent property in their lands; others have their own constitution and princes.

The Samoyedes, who are found from the White sea to the regions beyond the Yenisei, and in European Russia, from the 65th, and in Siberia from the 75th degrees of north latitude, to the shores of the Arctic ocean, deserve to be

mentioned as forming the extreme point of human degradation: they are about four feet in height, squat built, having a thick smooth head, flat nose, thin lips, large mouth and ears, with little, black, long, slit eyes; their skin shines with grease. The women are more slender, but equally hideous, and bear children in the eleventh year of their age, though not beyond the the thirtieth; they live in holes dug in the ground. A single herdsman among the Laplanders possesses a thousand rein-deer, while among the Samoyedes a hundred is a large fortune. They subsist on fish. Paganism prevails among them.*

* The materials of the foregoing chapters have been drawn principally from Mr. Tooke's *View of the Russian Empire*. Mr. Tooke is a laborious and accurate writer; and though partial to the Russians, usually adduces such facts, as may enable his reader to form his own judgment without danger of mistake.

CHAP. III.

HOUSE OF ROMANOF.

Abridgment of Russian History from the Foundation of the Monarchy to the Accession of the House of Romanof—Rurick—Oleg—Igor—Olga—Sviatoslof—Vladimir—Introduction of Christianity—Consequences of partitioning the Kingdom—Ivan the Great—Ivan the Tyrant—Intercourse with England—Conquest of Siberia—Revolutions—Election of Michael Romanof—His Ancestors—and Life.

THE origin of the Russians, like that of other European nations, is involved in obscurity; and history has recorded little of them that can be interesting to civilized men, till the beginning of the seventeenth century. Barbarous nations present great uniformity in their transactions.

In the fifth century, it is thought, a horde of Slavonians from the Danube, settled on the shores of the Dnieper, Neva, and Volkhof. They established two principalities, Kief and Novgorod. The Slavonians of Novgorod formed a considerable republic; but in consequence of internal dissentions, were harassed by the incursions of their neighbours, as well as of the Varages, piratical tribes, who inhabited the western coasts of the Baltic. As these Varages were mercenaries as well as pirates, the Novgo-

rodians had recourse to them for assistance. It soon appeared that the auxiliaries were resolved to retain a part of the country as the reward of their services. Attempts to expel them being ineffectual, the Novgorodians submitted to the yoke; and Rurick, who survived his companions in arms, formed the Varages, and Slavonians into one nation, which retained the Slavonic language and manners, and from a Varagean tribe, assumed the name of Russians. The present provinces of Archangel, Olonetz, Vyborg, Petersburgh, Novgorod, Vologda, Jaroslof, Kostroma, Vladimir, Smolensk, Pscove, Polotsk, Riga, and Reval, were comprehended in the dominions of this prince, who made Novgorod his capital, and dying in 878, transmitted his power to a succession of his descendants for seven centuries.

Oleg, immediate successor of Rurick, reigning as guardian of his nephew Igor, added Kief to his dominions. From hence he meditated the conquest of the eastern empire; but after committing dreadful ravages, laying siege to Constantinople, and imposing a heavy tribute on the emperor Leo the philosopher, he returned to Kief laden with spoil: some years after this, he reduced the emperor to a more humiliating treaty. His nephew Igor, who now received his inheritance, amplified and confirmed, was at first employed in quelling the conquered nations who shewed dispositions to revolt, and then in

repelling the incursions of the Petschenegrans, a powerful nation from the banks of the Ural and the Volga. As these wars, though successful, did little to satisfy the lust of plunder that actuated the Russians, they again turned their arms against the Greeks; and Igor, notwithstanding the treaties of his uncle, sailed in 941 with an immense army toward Constantinople: he ravaged Paphlagonia, Pontus, and Bithynia, perpetrating every species of outrage. Meanwhile the Greeks, rousing themselves, took vengeance on the invaders. With great slaughter, the Russians were driven to their ships, a great part of which were destroyed: they were again defeated both at sea and land by the patrician Phocas; and Igor returned to Kief with not more than a third of his army. Not discouraged, this prince prepared for a second expedition; but the emperor Romanus sent messengers offering tribute, which, after some hesitation, was accepted. In attacking the Drevlians, whom he had rendered tributary, and exasperated by repeated outrages, Igor lost his life.

Olga, his widow, revenged his death in the most barbarous manner on the whole nation; though being afterwards baptized, she was honoured as a saint. This princess seemed to understand the duties of a sovereign; but her endeavours to instruct her son, and convert her

subjects, were equally ineffectual. The priests attended her only in private. In the reign of Olga, a taste for luxury arose in the Russian court.

Sviatoslof, the son of Olga, held in contempt the arts of peace and commerce, and thought of nothing but war: he was a perfect Scythian in his manners, he dressed his own victuals, generally horse flesh, and made a pillow of his saddle. The arms of this barbarian were first turned against the powerful nation of the Kazares, who inhabited the northern shores of the Euxine. By the entreaties of the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, he came to the assistance of the empire against the Ungrians and Bulgarians. He seized on the country of the latter along the Danube, and resolved to establish the seat of his empire in those regions. While engaged in this enterprize, he nearly lost his capital, and his family. The Petschenegrans having wasted the country, had laid siege to Kief; and its defenders, though brave and resolute, foresaw a deficiency of provisions and water. Though Priticth, one of his generals, had relieved the capital, the report of the danger recalled Sviatoslof: he subdued the invaders, and made preparations for the prosecution of his conquests by dividing his dominions among his children, a most pernicious practice. Contrary to the treaty with Nicephorus, he determined to retain Bulgaria; but he was reduced to terms by John Zemisces.

On returning home he was encountered by his inveterate enemies, the Petschenegrans, who slew him, and converted his skull into a goblet with this inscription: "In seizing the property of others, thou hast lost thine own."

Vladimir, one of Sviatoslof's sons, and a prince of great capacity, succeeded in stripping his brother of his portion of the inheritance, and his life. Blude, a villain to whose crimes he was indebted for his triumphs, he treated for three days with every mark of respect; but on the fourth, he said to him: "I have now fulfilled my promises, thy honours exceed thy utmost wishes; to day as judge I condemn the traitor and assassin of his prince."

Vladimir was a great idolator, and indulged in all the licence which polytheism allows, having five wives and eight hundred concubines. Importuned by messengers from various princes to embrace their forms of religion, he sent ten persons into different countries to examine the nature of the religion that was professed in each of them. The pomp and splendor which religion wore in Constantinople made a favourable impression on the minds of the deputies, and the prince resolved to embrace the religion that seemed the most magnificent. Agreeable to this ground of preference, was the mode in which he introduced the religion of his choice. He laid siege to one of the Greek cities, putting up

this prayer: "O God help me to take this town, that I may carry from it Christians and priests to instruct me and my people, and convey the true religion into my dominions." He was baptised by the name of Basil, and married the princess Anna, daughter of the Greek emperor. By his orders the God *Perùn* was dragged into the Dnieper, beaten by twelve soldiers. The chiefs followed the example of their leader; and to induce the people to embrace the new religion, Vladimir employed the following argument: "If it were not for your good to be baptized, the prince and the boyars would never have submitted to it." This argument prevailed, and the religion of the Greek church was firmly established in Russia.*

This prince, while he enlarged his territories, and inspired neighbouring powers with the terror of his arms, neglected not the arts of peace; he was liberal to the poor; established colonies in different parts, in order to bring the soil into a state of cultivation; and endeavoured to transplant into his dominions the arts and the science of Greece.

On the death of Vladimir his possessions were divided among his children, and Sviatopolk succeeded him in the government of Kief. This prince, a monster of wickedness, after having put

* Tooke's Hist. of Russia, Vol. I. p. 193—202.

to death almost all his father's children, was defeated by Jaroslof, and perished in flight. Garoslof enjoyed the affection of his subjects, and promoted commerce and religion.

The practice of dividing the kingdom among the children of the prince, was now productive of the most destructive consequences. Russia was exposed to a perpetual series of bloody contentions; the conquered provinces revolted, while contiguous princes seized the opportunity of recovering their possessions, or amplifying their territories. If a duke of understanding and patriotism, endeavoured to reconcile the rival chiefs, and unite the separate principalities in the common defence, his efforts were defeated. The wars thus originating in the division of the kingdom, continued with little interruption until 1238, when the Tartars, who had before made incursions into some of the provinces, effected the entire conquest of Russia. The dominion of the Tartars endured above two centuries.

While the Russians were exasperated by oppression, and internal dissentions enfeebled the Tartarian power, Ivan Vassillievitch ascended the throne of Moscow, now the capital of the most powerful of the Russian principalities, and united with those of Susdal and Nishney; Novgorod, Pscove, and Twer likewise acknowledging its authority. Ivan in 1476 shook off the yoke of the Tartars, and wrested from them the

kingdom of Cazan; he reduced the principality of Novgorod, and added Servia, great part of Lapland, and the province of Permia to his dominions; and thus became the second founder of the Russian empire. Having thus rescued his country from servitude, European princes began to court his alliance. Ambassadors from Germany, Rome, Poland, Denmark, Venice, and Constantinople, now for the first time appeared in Moscow. Ivan's talents were not entirely military. His second wife Sophia, niece of Constantine the last emperor of the Greeks, who had stimulated him to shake off the Tartarian yoke, also infused into his fierce mind a taste for the arts of peace. He drew artists from Italy, who introduced the art of making gunpowder and founding cannon, recoined the currency, built several churches, and enclosed the Kremlins of Moscow and Novgorod with brick walls. He facilitated intercourse with foreign nations, and improved the Russian commerce. The title tzar was first assumed by this prince, whose exploits, civil and military, procured him the appellation great.*

During the reign of Ivan's successor, the Tartars twice penetrated to Moscow, but they did not establish any permanent authority. In 1533, Ivan Vassillievitch II. a minor of three years,

* Coxe's Travels in Poland, Russia, &c. Vol. I. p. 329.

ascended the throne of Russia. This prince, who on account of his barbarities was called the tyrant, contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of his country. Applying himself to such studies as might qualify him for government, he solicited the emperor Charles V. to send him statesmen and artists in order to civilize his subjects. Above two hundred artists of all professions, engaged by his ambassador, had proceeded to Lubec; but were persuaded to return by the intrigues of the inhabitants of that place, and some natives of Livonia. This insult, which provoked the tzar, was afterwards sufficiently punished. A standing army was formed by this politic prince, fire-arms substituted in the room of the bow, and regular discipline introduced. By these means he finally subdued the kingdom of Cazan, incorporating it with Russia; he acquired likewise the principality of Astrakhan, and repelled the incursions of the Poles. His subjects received from him the first code of written laws. The intercourse accidentally opened with England, and the acquisition of Siberia, were the most important events perhaps of his reign.

In the summer of 1553, three ships under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby sailed from Deptford, to explore the North seas. Having reached the 72d degree of North latitude, the ships were dispersed in a storm, one sunk, an-

other running into a harbour of Russian Lapland, the crew were frozen to death; but the third, commanded by Richard Chancellor, anchored at the mouth of the Dvina, where the port of Archangel was afterwards built. The tzar, informed of this circumstance, summoned Chancellor to Moscow, where he was treated with respect and kindness, and dismissed with a letter to his sovereign, assuring the English of every encouragement in establishing a trade with Russia. A Russian company was formed by Mary; and Ivan, who expected to reap great commercial and political advantages from this intercourse, granted them liberty to trade in any part of his dominions, without any duty or imposition. These privileges he afterwards confirmed, and carried on a correspondence with queen Elizabeth, stipulated for an asylum in England, should insurrections oblige him to leave his country, and even entered into negotiations to procure an English lady for his wife. English merchants now settled in different parts of Russia, and by the conquest of Cazan and Astrakhan, a communication having been opened with Persia and Buckharia, carried on, through Moscow, a commerce with the nations beyond the Caspian sea.

A swarm of the Don Cossacks had migrated toward the east, and by their piratical expeditions on the Caspian sea, and the circumjacent

country, spread terror among the neighbouring nations, and annoyed the newly acquired possessions of Russia. Ivan having made preparations (1577), to chastise these depredators, they were struck with dismay, and fled in different directions. Between six and seven thousand, under the command of their ataman Yermark, penetrated into Permia, and ascending the Ural mountains, discovered the vast plains of Siberia, inhabited by ferocious tribes of men. Yermark, animated with the idea of founding in these unknown regions a new empire, raised the spirits of his companions, who were somewhat intimidated, marched down the Ural, drove before him the Tartars with their Khan, pressed forwards to the Tobol and the Irtish and subdued all the tribes of Tartars, Vogules, and Ostiaks, dwelling between the Ob, and the Ural, and Altaian mountains. As his army, wasted by fatigue, was inadequate to retain such an immense tract of country, and keep the conquered nations in obedience, he laid the fruit of his victories at the feet of Ivan, who not only forgave his rebellion, but nobly rewarded his talents and courage. Thus an empire, more extensive and important than Mexico or Peru, was added to the Russian dominions, by a man inferior to the conquerors of the new world, only because his exploits have not been recorded.

On the death of Ivan in 1584, Russia was ex-

posed to fresh calamities. Feodore his eldest son who succeeded him, was a prince of notorious incapacity. Bielski, the guardian of his youngest son Demetrius, endeavoured to usurp the sovereignty by excluding Feodore and placing his pupil on the throne. Feodore's brother-in-law, Boris Godunof, then seized on the supreme authority by the assassination of Demetrius, or of a boy substituted in his stead. He was a prince of capacity, munificence, and diligence in discharging the duties of a sovereign; but during his short reign of eight years, the Tartars penetrated to Moscow, and famine desolated the country, while to the crimes by which he obtained the crown must be ascribed the revolutions and miseries that followed in succession for eight years.

Demetrius, or at least a person pretending to be Demetrius, appeared in Poland; and notwithstanding the efforts of Boris to make it believed that he was dead, gained numerous partizans, and, entering Russia at the head of 4000 Poles, was joined by the Russians from all quarters. Boris driven to despair, poisoned himself and his son, declared his successor was strangled by Demetrius, who having defeated his troops, had been received in Moscow with every demonstration of joy. Demetrius was precipitated from his elevation in less than twelve months, and was succeeded by Vossili

Suiski. It was published that Demetrius was still alive, and an army was raised in his favour. No sooner were the adherents of this phantom defeated, than another pretender arose, and aided by the Poles, whose interests lay in keeping alive the animosities and distractions of the Russians, was acknowledged by almost all Russia. Though the Poles, having attained their object, assisted Suiski in expelling the impostor, the Russians, who attributed their misfortunes to this prince, confined him in a convent, where he died.

The Poles had acquired such an ascendancy during these convulsions, that the vacant throne of Russia was offered to Ladislaus, son of Sigismund, king of Poland. Instead of appearing himself, that prince sent an army of Poles into Russia, who by their insolence and oppressions excited fresh tumults. Another Demetrius made his appearance. This state of anarchy and confusion continued for three years, when the Russians considering the election of Ladislaus as void, thought upon choosing a new sovereign. Michael Romanof was proposed, a youth of sixteen. His inexperience being objected, it is probable that though supported by many of the nobles he would have been rejected, had not one of the clergy, who were zealous in his favour, confounded opposition by declaring that it had been revealed to him, that young Romanof

would prove the most fortunate and prosperous of the tzars that had ever sat upon the throne.* Thus the general concurrence was secured. This event, which happened June 11th, 1613, put a period to the civil contentions of Russia, which in the space of sixteen years had seen five princes perish by violence, and experienced as many revolutions.

The house of Romanof derived its origin from Andrew, a Prussian prince, who came into Russia in the middle of the fourteenth century. His grandson Zachariah attained the highest honours in the court of Vassili Vassillievitch, and left several children. His second son, Yury, was boyar in the reignof Ivan Vassillievitch, to whom his daughter, Anastasia, was the first wife. The third son enjoyed the rank of voivode. Nicetas the youngest, likewise a boyar, was the father of Feodore Romanof, whose only son was Michael, now chosen tzar.

Feodore Romanof,† in consequence of his talents, popularity, and great connexions, was obnoxious to the usurper Boris Godunof, who obliged him to enter the priesthood, and confined him in a monastery. On this event he changed his name

* Tooke's Hist. of Russia, Vol. II. p. 4.

† It is customary with the Russians to adopt the appellation of the grandfather as a family name. Feodore's grandfather was called Roman.

to Philaretes. The tzar Demetrius released him from confinement, and gave him the archbishopric of Rostof. When the nobles had agreed to seat Ladislaus upon the throne of Russia, Philaretes was sent ambassador to Sigismund to settle the conditions of his son's elevation. The Polish monarch was at that time engaged in the siege of Smolensk. The reply of the ambassador, when the king demanded the immediate surrender of that town, discovers his spirit. "When your son," said Philaretes, "ascends our throne, he will not only possess Smolensk, but all Russia, and it does not become you to dismember his territories." This courageous reply, with other remonstrances respecting his treatment of Russia, so exasperated Sigismund, that he arrested the ambassador, and threw him into prison. Philaretes suffered a rigorous confinement of nine years in the castle of Marienburg in Prussia. So little were the rights of nations known among all these people, and so feeble at that time was the Russian power.

The truce of Develina, concluded in 1619, released Philaretes, who on his return to Moscow, received the patriarchate from the hands of his son; and, in reality, though not ostensibly, assumed the administration of affairs. In many public acts his name was associated with his son's; he gave audiences to ambassadors; and on public occasions he often took the precedence

of the tzar. Experience, moderation, and sagacity which entitled him to this power and dignity, were displayed in the prosperity of Michael's reign. Philaretes having attained an advanced age and reached the highest honour in the church and the greatest power in the state, died in 1633, the regret of the whole kingdom.*

When Michael was chosen to govern the Russians, he resided, with his mother, in a convent at Kostroma, entirely ignorant of what had taken place. Informed of his good fortune, by deputies sent for that purpose, he recollected the calamities of all the tzars, since the death of Rurick's last successor, Feodore Ivanovitch; and bursting into tears, declined a dignity which seemed to involve the ruin of those who enjoyed it. The importunities of the deputies, however, inforced by the splendors of royalty, overcame the youth's reluctance. He repaired to Moscow, and was crowned with the usual solemnities.

The marriage of the young tzar must appear very singular. The most beautiful young women were drawn from the provinces to the court. They were received by the chief lady of the court, eat together, and lodged separately. The tzar observed them privately, and even visited them at night to see whether they slept quietly. On the day fixed for the marriage, she on whom the choice fell, was presented with

* Coxe's Travels, Vol. I. p. 344—346.

a ring and handkerchief, and the others were dismissed with presents. This custom, of which several examples are found in the Russian annals, was derived from the Tartars. Thus Michael Romanof married Eudocia, the daughter of a poor man found at plough, when the messengers sent with presents, informed him of the honour conferred on his family. *

The first care of Michael, after his accession, was to reconcile contending factions, and thereby unite the nation, which, having been so long torn by convulsions, seemed an easy prey to the Swedes and Poles, both in a state of hostility. It was announced that the tzar Demetrius had left a son, whom he had intrusted to the guardianship of a certain Zaruski; but the conspirators being seized, the plot came to nothing. Another pretender that arose in Pscove was taken and hung. Thus the attempts to overthrow served to establish the new family on the throne.

As the kingdom was too much exhausted to encounter the kings of Sweden and Poland at once, the tzar endeavoured an accommodation with the Swedes. They had come at the request of the usurper Suiski, as auxiliaries against Poland; but not having received the stipulated wages, they had seized Kexholm and Novgorod, the one by famine, the other by stratagem.

* Tooke, vol. ii. p. 31.

Yielding to necessity, the tzar ceded to them Ingria and Carelia, and evacuated Esthonia and Livonia. If he thus allowed the communication with the Baltic to be interrupted, he entertained a hope that more prosperous times would enable Russia to recover her possessions.

The king of Poland now found that all hopes were vain, of seeing his son upon the throne of the tzars. The army sent into Russia, for that purpose, was reduced to great difficulties. Sigismund therefore concluded a treaty for fourteen years and a half, by which he acquired Smolensk and other towns. By this treaty the tzar recovered his father, whom he created patriarch. To the wisdom and experience of this old man, the moderation and gentleness of his son's reign ought to be ascribed.

Michael sent ambassadors to England, Denmark, and Holland, and thus made Russia known to European nations.

As the Poles might renew the war at the expiration of the treaty, the tzar did not neglect to put his dominions in a state of defence. Foreign officers were appointed to command the troops. Under pretence of having made peace merely with Sigismund, on the death of that monarch, Michael endeavoured to recover the ceded territories. But the attempt was as unsuccessful as it was unjust. The Russians were yet undisciplined. The same officer who had

defended Smolensk against the Poles, now lay two years before it with 50,000 men and at last retreated on capitulation. The failure of the campaign excited murmurs against the war, and, as the king of Sweden who had been solicited to assist against the Poles, shewed no disposition to comply, the tzar was obliged to make peace.

During his reign, Michael Feodorovitch laboured to invigorate a relaxed administration, infuse energy into the laws and revive commerce. Respected by neighbouring princes and beloved by his subjects, he died in the twenty-third year of his reign, leaving his son Alexèy Michaelovitch * in quiet possession of the throne.

* Vitch signifies son.

CHAP. IV.

Tyranny of Morosof—Submission of the Malo-Russian Cossacks—War with Poland—Rebellion of Stenko Razin—Labours and Death of Alexèy—Feodore—Peter's Election—Revolution—Sophia's Government and Fall—Birth and early Life of Peter I.—His Attention to Naval and Military Affairs—Campaigns toward Azof—Travels—Sedition of the Strelitzes—Innovations.

ALEXEY was but fifteen on the death of his father, who had entrusted his education to Morosof. This man, whose ambition was not inferior to his capacity, persuaded Alexèy to marry one of the daughters of the boyar, Milolafski, and by marrying the other himself, seizing on the principal offices of state, advancing his creatures, removing his enemies, improving the armies, and strengthening the frontiers, rendered himself despotic. While eager to attain power, he was ignorant of the proper means of securing it. He scrupled not the most flagrant crimes; justice was scandalously administered; judges were bribed; witnesses bought; profligates employed to accuse the rich; excessive monopolies multiplied; and the nobles carried their oppressions

to extremes. Hence arose discontents, which men, who thought themselves neglected, did not fail to foment. Petitions were presented to the tzar in vain. At last the fury of oppression broke forth. The populace proceeded to plunder the most obnoxious; nor were they pacified till they had killed the chief magistrate of Moscow, and forced another from the tzar, to whose intreaties they reluctantly yielded the life of Morosof. Thus tranquillity was restored in Moscow, Novgorod, and Pscove. Morosof was taught moderation, while Alexèy learnt to distrust his ministers.

Disturbances were excited by a person who now pretended to be the son of Demetrius, and then of Suiski. Falling into the hands of the Russians, he expiated his impostures on the gallows.

In the fourteenth century, when Kief was reduced by the Lithuanians, a multitude of fugitives collected in the lower regions of the Dnieper, and formed a military government and colony, which by fresh accessions spread to the Bog and the Dniester. These were the Malo-Russian Cossacks The winter they passed in villages with their families, and in summer, roamed about the stepps, engaged in perpetual warfare with the Turks and Tartars. As a barrier against these formidable enemies, they were encouraged by the Polish princes, who

gave them the tracts about the cataracts of the Dnieper, and contiguous districts, and put them under military discipline. Departing from this useful policy, however, the Poles began to oppress the Cossacks, to usurp the principal offices among them, and compel them to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. These oppressions induced the Cossacks to throw off the dominion of Poland, and offer submission to the Russians.

Alexèy was desirous of recovering the possessions which the Poles had wrested from his father, and embraced this opportunity to demand restitution. War being now begun, the tzar was so successful as to provoke the jealousy of the Swedes, who resolved to protect the Lithuanians. As the Russians were not yet a match for the Swedes, Alexèy concluded a truce with them in 1658, which he afterwards confirmed into a peace, things returning to their former channel. The war with Poland terminated in 1686, highly to his advantage, as the Poles relinquished Smolensk, Servia, Kief, and Tchernigof, as well as the sovereignty of the Cossacks.

A Cossack chief, whose brother had been hung, now excited a terrible sedition, which would have produced the most disastrous consequences, if the capacity of the leader had been equal to his daring. This man, whose name was Stenko Razin, taking advantage of

the clamours raised against Alexèy's government, pretending to have with him the patriarch Nicon, who had abdicated his dignity, and indulging his followers in all the licence of plunder, collected an army of 200,000 men, and thought to make himself king at Astrakhan. Little capable of conducting such an enterprize, he was so weak as to believe an ataman, who pretended that the tzar had forgiven him, and was desirous of seeing him; and he was convinced of his mistake only when near Moscow, he met with a gallows. His followers dispersed, and round Astrakhan 10,000 of them were hung.

The Turks were now Alexèy's most formidable enemies. The sultan, Mahomet IV. had imposed a tribute on Poland, and haughtily demanded from the tzar the evacuation of the Ukraine, styling the sovereign of the Russias *Christian Hospodar*, and himself *king of the whole world.* But Alexèy replied, that *he would not submit to a Mahometan dog, and that his sword was equal to the cimetar of the Grand Signior:* * a truth which succeeding ages have abundantly verified.

Alexèy sent ambassadors to almost all the great princes of Europe, in order to unite them against the Turks; but like other projects of that nature, his proposal met only with approba-

* Histoire de Russie, par M. De Voltaire, p. 51.

tion. He amended the code of laws compiled by Ivan Vassillievitch; he peopled the deserts of the Volga and Kama with prisoners of war; he procured ship-builders, whom he employed in building ships on the Caspian sea; he introduced discipline into the army, having a great number of foreign officers in his service; in short he began those improvements which his successors have acquired such fame in labouring to perfect. A premature death interrupted his wise and benificent plans, in the 47th year of his life, and thirty-second of his reign.

Alexèy had been twice married. By his first wife, Maria Ilinitchna, he had two sons, Feodore and Ivan, and six princesses; and by his second, Natalia, a daughter of the boyar Nariskin, he had Peter and Natalia. The influence which the family of Maria had enjoyed during her life, was engrossed, on the tzar's second marriage, by the Nariskins; and thus two hostile parties arose in the court. Feodore being enfeebled by disease, and Ivan being equally weak in body and in mind, the Nariskins proposed to set both aside, and raise Peter to the throne. Their schemes were defeated, and on the accession of Feodore, they were excluded from all share in the public administration.

Feodore was but fifteen on coming to the throne, and, though of a sickly constitution, yet by the advice of his sister Sophia, intrusting the

management of affairs to Prince Galitzin, he accomplished several important objects. The war with the Turks, which he inherited from his father, he brought to an honourable conclusion by a truce of twenty years, his authority over the Cossacks being acknowledged. He improved the police of Moscow, and the general administration of justice; he assisted those who were in low circumstances with money, and procured a regular supply of provisions at a moderate price. He put down several destructive prejudices, as that ancestors constitute merit; that every thing is best as it is; and that the tzarina must be a Russian; telling the patriarch, that if he were not allowed to marry whom he pleased, he would not marry at all. He even attempted innovations in the Russian dress. The death of this prince, without issue, in 1682, gave rise to sanguinary contests.

The Nariskins, who had already been disappointed in their aims, and during the late reign excluded from power, now seemed to attain the summit of their wishes. At an assembly of the principal persons of the kingdom, nobles, clergy, and merchants, held on the death of Feodore, the artifice and influence of the Nariskins, procured a vote, by which Ivan was excluded, in consequence of imbecility, Peter, a youth of ten years, declared tzar, and his mother, Natalia, intrusted with the government. This nomina-

tion, however, was far from giving general satisfaction. The Milolafskis, enemies of the Nariskins, formed a powerful party; Peter's election had not been confirmed by the Strelitzes, who commanded fourteen thousand armed votes; and events occurred which produced a revolution.*

Just before Feodore's death, nine regiments of the Strelitzes, quartered in Moscow, tumultuously demanded redress of grievances, and discharge of their arrears. One of the ringleaders, whom Dolgorucky their commander, ordered to be punished, they rescued, and insulted the executioners. On the day after Feodore's interment, proceeding in a large body to the Kremlin, the palace of the tzars, they presented a petition against their colonels. The ministry were obliged not only to break the officers, but deliver them to the soldiers, who flogged them, and extorted from them thanks and money. These discontents were inflamed by Ivan Milolafski, who, during the night, held several interviews with the ringleaders. In the morning, it being reported that Peter was not unanimously elected, the soldiers assembled, and two of Milolafski's emissaries entered their quarters exclaiming, "Ivan Alexievitch is murdered; the Nariskins are masters of Russia; the

* Coxe, Vol. II. p. 28.

hour of vengeance is come." Inflamed to madness, the Strelitzes marched to the palace, demanding Ivan's assassins. The tzarina presented both Ivan and Peter; but far from being appeased, they loudly demanded the lives of the Nariskins. A report that Ivan Nariskin had seized the diadem, heightened their fury. While an officer, who ventured to address them amidst the tumult, seemed, by assuring them that Prince Ivan was in perfect safety, and that their grievances should be redressed, to appease their minds, prince Dolgorucky had the imprudence to threaten them with severe punishment. Again enraged, they threw the prince in the air, and receiving him on the point of their pikes, tore his body in pieces. A general massacre and pillage now commenced, which raged for three days. So blind was the fury of the insurgents, that they murdered not only the two Nariskins, brothers of the tzarina, and others who were obnoxious to them, but persons whom they esteemed, and lamented on discovering their error.

At the close of this scene of ferocity, the principal nobles assembled, and agreed that Ivan and Peter should reign jointly. As Ivan was little better than an idiot, and Peter in his minority, it was expedient to create a regency; and as the partizans of the Milolafskis, who had been very active in stimulating the fury of the

military, were now triumphant, the Princess Sophia, the third of Alexèy's daughters, was associated with her brothers in the quality of co-regent.

This princes thus, (1682), without being declared tzarina, obtained the supreme power. In the bloom of youth, and of an agreeable figure, she had a superior mind enriched by literature; and while her manners were engaging, her ambition was equal to her talents. Sophia reposed her confidence in Vassili Galitzin, who had distinguished himself under the reign of her father and brother; and who, according to the testimony of his enemies, was in every respect superior to his rivals; refined, full of great designs, active, laborious, and capable of effecting the greatest improvements in Russia, had power and events concurred with his inclination. In order to exclude Peter, and thus retain the authority which she had acquired, Sophia resolved on the marriage of the tzar Ivan. Accordingly he married in 1684 a young lady of the family of Soltikof, whose father commanded a garrison in the midst of Siberia, and who having, according to the custom on such occasions, been drawn, with many others, to the court of Moscow, had vanquished her rivals by her superior beauty. Amidst the feasting on this event, a new sedition broke out among the Strelitzes.

Prince Kovanskoi had contribnted to Sophia's

elevation. Thinking himself entitled to a great share of the authority which Galitzin enjoyed, he beheld the elevation of that minister with envy. He attempted to ally himself to the royal family by soliciting one of the princesses for his son; and had been mortified with a refusal. Impelled by ambition and revenge, he excited to revolt the Strelitzes, who had been a little heated by disputes respecting some trivial religious opinions, and determined to exterminate the family of the tzars, and all their adherents, and seat himself on the throne. Ivan, Peter, Sophia, and the other princesses, were obliged to flee to the monastery of the trinity, a convent and a fortress, about forty miles from Moscow. As the news of the danger spread, the nobility, with their vassals, collected in great numbers. Sophia opened a negociation with the rebel, contrived to get him into her power, and beheaded him, with his sons, and thirty-seven of the Strelitzes, who attended him. This act of justice exasperated the body of the Strelitzes. They marched to the convent of the trinity, breathing destruction. But finding that a stout resistance would be made, their courage forsook them, they gave up their leaders, and every tenth man was beheaded.*

* Tooke, Vol. II. p. 60. Voltaire, p. 61—62.

Tranquillity succeeded to these convulsions, and Sophia retained her authority. The most mutinous regiments of the Strelitzes were distributed in distant provinces. Poland abandoned, in 1686, all pretensions to the provinces of Smolensk and the Ukraine. In the following year an embassy was sent, for the first time, into France, which was celebrated by the Academy of Inscriptions, as if it had come from China; so little was Russia known to the nations of Europe. Sophia governed with prudence and vigour; but several circumstances conspired to terminate her authority.

The coins had impressed on one side the heads of the two princes, while the other exhibited the image of Sophia, arrayed with the crown, sceptre, and imperial robes; that princess in public processions appeared in all the ensigns of royalty; and, in the public acts, her name was added to that of Ivan and Peter. These circumstances were adduced by the Nariskins as proofs of an ambition that ought to be checked. The Tartars of the Crimea wished to impose an annual tribute of 60,000 rubles upon the Russians, and in order to wipe off this disgrace, his enemies contrived to send Galitzin at the head of a numerous army into Crim Tartary, a field from which the minister returned without any accession to his fame. Peter now

aspired to empire. By commerce with the sons of the nobles, he had gained their affection; and stimulated by his relatives, he took his seat in the privy council, where a violent altercation passed between him and his sister Sophia. Variance and jealousy grew to such a height, that Peter resolved to arrest his sister, and assume the direction of affairs. When his intentions were known, it is pretended that Sophia and prince Galitzin determined to anticipate him, and employed a body of the Strelitzes to put him to death. The tzar was obliged to take refuge again in the convent of the trinity, where troops flocked to him in such numbers, that in three days he had 60,000 men under his command. Sophia expressed the utmost horror at the attempt, and even left Moscow to assert her innocence. But she was ordered to return, and Peter, who soon followed, gave the first example of that severity which distinguished his reign. Some of the conspirators were beheaded, after having received the knoot; others, who were only suspected, were deprived of their tongues. Prince Galitzin, stript of his property, was banished to Siberia, and Sophia was confined for life in a nunnery. Peter from this time reigned alone; for though the name of Ivan was inserted in the public acts, he led a private life till his death in 1696.

In the solitude of her convent, Sophia is said

to have been concerned in all the conspiracies and insurrections that disturbed the reign of Peter, during her life. But though tortures and rewards were alternately employed to procure evidence, proof of her guilt could never be found. It must be mentioned, to the honour of this princess, that while Russia was sunk in extreme ignorance, she encouraged learning, as well by the patronage of men of genius, as by examples of composition. She translated Moliere's *Medicin malgrè lui*, and wrote a tragedy, the first perhaps in the Russian tongue. Her death happened July 3, 1704, in the forty-seventh year of her age.*

Peter, surnamed the great, was born in the palace of the tzars in the Kremlin, May the 30th, old style, 1672. He lost his father while in his fifth year; and the care of bringing him up devolving upon his mother, his education was not only neglected, but he was abandoned to all the excess of intemperance and debauchery. From his infancy he was subject to epileptic fits, a disease hereditary to his family, which though less violent as he grew stronger, tormented him all his life, and often raised to madness the natural ferocity of his mind. At an early age he married one of his subjects, daughter of colonel Lapukin; but he suffered not the ties of marriage

* Coxe, Vol. II. p. 42—49.

to restrain his lusts. Amidst his riotous pleasures, however, the attention of Peter was turned to military affairs, and his genius awakened to those vast schemes that employed his life.

Among the persons with whom the young tzar shared his pleasures and his confidence, was the famous Le Fort, of an old and respectable family of Piedmont, settled for some ages at Geneva. Averse to business, and inclined to adventures, Le Fort left his father's house at the age of fourteen, served as a cadet in the citadel of Marseilles, and afterwards as a volunteer in Holland, where he was wounded at the siege of Grave. In hope of promotion, he sailed in 1675 with a German colonel, who had been commissioned by the tzar Alexèy to raise soldiers in the Low Countries, and conduct them to Archangel. When these adventurers arrived, they had the mortification to learn that Alexèy was dead, and the government changed. After being roughly used by the governor of Archangel, and threatened with Siberia, Le Fort went to Moscow, where he became secretary to the Danish resident, learnt the Russian tongue, and was presented to the tzar Peter. Though Le Fort had not read or studied, he had a good understanding; with the faculty of observing, he had seen much, and withal was a hard drinker. By participating in his pleasures, he gained the favour of the tzar, who profited by his informa-

tion, and imparted to him his designs. During the regency of Sophia, a company, consisting chiefly of the sons of nobles, was formed in the palace Preobaginsky, under the direction of Le Fort. To teach the nobles subordination, Peter made them pass through all ranks, and gave himself the example, serving, in the company, at first as a drummer, then as a soldier, serjeant, and lieutenant. Thus passed the first years of this extraordinary man.

As soon as Peter was absolute master, he directed his thoughts to the improvement of the army. The war with the Tartars was concluded in 1689, but they were not expected to remain long quiet. The Strelitzes had already provoked the displeasure of the tzar by their turbulent and seditious humour, and as they were entirely without discipline, he resolved to put himself in a condition to disband them with safety. Le Fort, to whom he communicated this dangerous design, undertook to raise a regiment of 12,000 men, and another of 5,000 was under the command of general Gordon, a Scotchman. In order to exercise these soldiers, consisting principally of foreigners, Peter engaged them in a mock fight, which may serve to display the character of the prince and his officers. A fort was constructed, which one party was to defend, and the other attack; but instead of the image of war, a real combat ensued, in which some

were killed, and Le Fort himself, with many others, was wounded.* It was immaterial to Peter how many lives he sacrificed, if he accomplished his designs.

While Peter was forming an army against the foreign and domestic enemies of his government, his attention was accidentally turned to the creation of a fleet, and though it is not true that he had a natural aversion to water, his efforts to construct a navy are not the less wonderful.

Peter's father, Alexèy, had procured, at a great expense, a master ship-builder, carpenters, and sailors, in order to construct vessels, and carry on trade, on the Caspian sea. The rebellion of Stenko Razin, who destroyed a frigate and a yacht, which had been built on the Volga, frustrated this design. But a boat, which had been built by one of the carpenters, was observed by Peter one day as he was walking near Moscow. His curiosity was excited; he inquired of Timmerman, who taught him fortification, why it was not constructed as the boats on the Moskwa. Timmerman replied, that it was designed to sail against the wind. The young prince wished to try it. Brandt the builder, who still remained in Russia, was instantly summoned, and having put the vessel in repair, launched it on the river Yausa, where he sailed in it, to the astonishment of

* Voltaire, p. 71.

the delighted tzar. He embarked, and under Brandt's direction, soon learnt to manage the vessel. After several experiments upon the Yausa, a yacht was built on the Moskwa, in which Peter sailed (1691), as far as Columna. Animated with his success, he ordered Brandt to build vessels with guns, on the lake Perislaf, and in the following year several were launched. The death of Brandt seemed to check the increase of his fleet, but did not interrupt his expeditions on the lake, which he pursued with the utmost eagerness.*

The tzar's ambition, which began to find the lake too narrow, hurried him in the middle of the subsequent summer to Archangel. He embarked on the White sea, where, in this, and the following year, he made frequent voyages, in which he improved in the art of navigation. These adventures may seem the amusement of youth, but the time arrived when they led to victory and conquest.

The first war in which Peter engaged, was with the Turks. They had been worsted by the Venetians; and by the Austrians; and their allies the Crim Tartars, were checked by the Poles. These circumstances seemed to favour the designs of the tzar upon the Euxine. A great army, in which he served as a volunteer, marched toward

* Coxe, Vol. II. p. 173.

the mouth of the Don, and began the siege of Azof. As it was impossible to take the town without blocking up the harbour, and as the tzar had no ships, after great loss, the siege was raised.

Peter was excited rather than discouraged by difficulties. He ordered vessels to be built at Veronetz, applied to the emperor Leopold, the states general, and the elector of Brandenburgh, for engineers, artillery-men, and sailors, and engaged the Calmucks as auxiliaries against the Tartars.

Next year (1696), his fleet, two ships of war with twenty-three gallies, two galliots, and four fire ships, appeared in the Black sea, blocked up the harbour of Azof, and defeated the Turkish squadron, while his army compelled the besieged to surrender the place July 28th, without any of the honours of war. In order to secure his conquests, and to make himself master of the straits of Coffa, he fortified Azof, and prepared to build a fleet of nine ships of sixty guns, and forty one, carrying from thirty to fifty pieces of artillery. To this armament, he obliged not only nobles and wealthy merchants, but also the clergy to contribute. His plan was to expel the Turks and Tartars from the Crimea, and establish a commerce with Persia through Circassia. His victories were celebrated by the triumphal entry of his army into Moscow. In the procession, the marshal, generals, admiral, and general

officers, preceded the sovereign, who said, he had not yet any rank in the army, and wished, by this example, to teach the nobles that military honours must be deserved before they are enjoyed. A medal was struck, having on one side this legend; *Peter I., Emperor of Muscovey, always august;* and on the other Azof, with these words; *Victor by thunder and the waves.**

It was mortifying to Peter, amidst his triumphs, to be under such obligation to foreigners. He sent therefore sixty young Russians into Italy, Germany, and Holland, to learn shipbuilding, naval tactics, and military discipline; and adopted himself the strange resolution of visiting foreign countries, in order to enrich his own with their arts and science. The object of his ambition was to aggrandize Russia; and as the power of European nations arose from their progress in knowledge and the arts, he must begin, he found, by instructing his subjects. The death of his brother Ivan, the imprisonment of the princess Sophia, and the respect which he had procured by his victories, it seemed, had established his authority upon a firm basis. He entrusted the regency to Prince Romodanofski and the boyar Strechnef; the troops under general Gordon remained at Mos-

* Voltaire, p. 76—81.

cow to secure the peace of the capital, while the Strelitzes, who might disturb it, were distributed on the frontiers of the Crimea to retain Azof, and repel the incursions of the Tartars. Having thus provided for the tranquillity of his dominions, Peter, twenty-five years of age, departed April, 1697, in the suite of his ambassadors, to visit, unknown, Denmark, Brandenburgh, Holland, Venice, Vienna, and Rome.*

In passing through Livonia, the fertility of that province, and the situation of Riga, its capital, inflamed the cupidity of the tzar, desirous of ports on the Baltic, as well as the Euxine. On its arrival in Brandenburgh, the embassy was received by the elector with great pomp. Peter, though he despised the magnificence which the court of Konigsberg affected, was very much gratified with the intemperance in which the Germans of that age gloried. In one of those Bacchanalian feasts, in which this reformer indulged, he drew his sword to stab his favourite Le Fort. When the tempest of drink and rage had subsided, he begged Le Fort's pardon, and said, he wished to correct his subjects, but had not yet been able to correct himself. †

Leaving Brandenburgh, he took his rout through the north of Germany, and arrived at Amsterdam five days before his embassy. In

* Voltaire, p. 81. † Id. p. 86.

the dress of a pilot, he went to the town of Sardam, where leading the life of a mechanic, he wrought in the forges, rope-walks, and saw-mills, and enrolled himself under the name of Peter Michaelof, among the carpenters, who familiarly called him Peterbas (Master Peter). His time was divided between Sardam and Amsterdam. At the former he learnt the whole process of ship-building, and the kindred arts. He dispatched a sixty-gun ship, in the construction of which he had assisted, to Archangel; and engaged in his service French refugees, Germans, Dutchmen, artisans of every species, who were sent to Moscow. At Amsterdam, he studied geography, anatomy, engineering, and natural philosophy. While handling the saw and the compass at Sardam, he gave orders to his army assembled in the Ukraine against the Turks, and successive victories, gained by his generals over the Turks and Tartars, imposed silence on those who might blame his unexampled conduct. Visits to King William, at Utrecht and the Hague, were almost the only interruptions to the labours and studies of the tzar, till the middle of January 1698, when he sailed for England.

In Holland, Peter had seen only the process of ship-building; but in England he acquired the science. He lodged near a dock-yard in Deptford, and lived as he had done in Sardam. The art of clock and watch-making drew his

attention; and he acquired the knowledge of astronomy. Besides mechanics, he engaged in his service Perry the engineer, and Ferguson the mathematician. Nothing gratified the tzar so much as a naval fight, which King William exhibited for his amusement, and a present made him of a vessel, called the *Royal Transport*, in which that monarch was accustomed to pass into Holland. In this vessel, Peter returned to Holland, having with him three naval captains, twenty-five ship-masters forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, and as many surgeons, two hundred and fifty cannoneers, and three hundred mechanics. This colony of skilful men was conveyed in the Royal Transport to Archangel; while those engaged in Holland, passed through the Swedish territories on the Baltic.

General Sheremetof, chief of his embassy in Italy, went from Rome to Naples, Venice, and Malta; but Peter, with the other ambassadors, passed to Vienna, as well to see the military discipline of the Germans, as to converse with the emperor, his ally against the Turks.*

Meanwhile the Strelitzes, who deemed themselves the proper defence of the nation, beheld with disapprobation the number of foreign troops in the service. The preference shewn to

* Voltaire, p. 82—93.

strangers mortified the nobles, and the projected innovations excited general alarm. As the absence of the tzar seemed a favourable opportunity for recovering their consequence, 8000 of the Strelitzes marched from the frontiers of Lithuania towards Moscow; but were met by the troops under General Gordon, who being better disciplined, gained a complete victory.

The news of this mutiny and defeat reaching Peter, as he was on the point of leaving Vienna for Venice, he hastened to his capital, and gave an example of what those who opposed his will had reason to apprehend from his power. Desirous of ascertaining the authors of the rebellion, and, above all, of convicting the Princess Sophia, whom he accused of fomenting discontents, and corresponding with the rebels, he held in his palace a court of enquiry. The most exquisite tortures were employed, in his presence, to extort evidence against those whom he suspected. Some of the criminals were repeatedly whipped; the shoulders of others being dislocated by a cord and pulley, in that posture they received the knoot; many after suffering this punishment were roasted over a slow fire, the raw parts being exposed to the flame.* These unhappy beings were hung in numbers about the walls of the city, and the public roads.

* Coxe, Vol. II. p. 11.

Two hundred and thirty were suspended about the nunnery, in which the Princess Sophia was confined. Two thousand of the Strelitzes suffered capital punishment, the whole body was broken, and their name abolished. These cruelties seemed to announce a man who had studied, not the arts and policy of the polished nations of Europe, but the savage customs of American Indians. This ferocious barbarity, however, was the prelude to reform in every department.

As soon as the Strelitzes were abolished, Peter formed regular regiments on the German model. Having passed himself through the lowest ranks in the army, he wished the sons of the nobles to be soldiers before they were officers. Some of them were sent to serve an apprenticeship as sailors, in the fleet on the Don. This fleet was improved by the Dutch and English; dockyards were built, and the plan for the junction of the Don and Volga, was begun. Burghers were appointed to receive the taxes instead of the nobles who had hitherto paid the sums levied on their slaves. The office of patriarch was abolished, and his revenues turned into the public treasury. Absolute master in the church, as well as state, the tzar enacted that no person, employed in the public service, or under the age of fifty, should enter into the monastic

life; he relaxed the rigor of fasting, which superstition had carried to a pernicious height; and, as the clergy were little better instructed than other Russians, he founded at Moscow three colleges for their education. The year which had hitherto commenced among the Muscovites the first of September, was ordered to begin in January. The change was introduced in 1700, with great solemnities. In the mode of writing, the ceremony of marriage, the article of dress, Peter made innovations, as well as in the forms of intercourse among his subjects. It was his object to conform the Russians in these respects to the nations among whom he had travelled; but, though the terror of his power enforced obedience, the changes were far from agreeable to the nation at large.

While he entered upon his career of reformation, Peter brought to a close the war with the Turks, by a treaty which left him in possession of Azof, and some forts in its vicinity. This advantage was little in his eyes; he wished to create a military and naval force, to open a commercial intercourse with the states of Europe, and to make Russia respectable among civilized nations. To these designs, ports on the Baltic seemed indispensible. He resolved to be a conqueror, and, without neglecting his establishments on the Don and the Volga, turned

his attention to the frontiers of Sweden. He engaged in a war of twenty years, in which he experienced surprising vicissitudes, displayed all the resources of his genius, triumphed over the greatest conqueror of his age, and added to his dominions a large kingdom. It is expedient to develope the origin of this war, and the prospects of the tzar.

CHAP. V.

War with Sweden—Success of Charles XII.—Progress of the tzar—Building of Petersburgh—Advance of Charles XII. into Russia—Battle of Pultava—Its consequences—Conquests of Peter I.—Affair of Pruth.

CHARLES XI., of Sweden, expired in 1697, leaving his son Charles XII., fifteen years of age, in quiet possession, not only of Sweden and Finland, but of Livonia, Carelia, Ingria, Vyborg, the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden, and the best part of Pomerania. These territories, the fruits of victories gained by the Swedish arms, under the house of Vasa, were secured by long possession, and the solemn treaties of Munster and Oliva. Charles XII., notwithstanding the testament of his father, which fixed his majority at eighteen, three years later than the usual period, and the intrigues of his grandmother Hedwige Eleonora, succeeded in a few months to the administration of affairs. His conduct, however, afforded not any favourable idea of his character; he was supposed to be of ordinary talents; impatient of restraint rather than able to govern. As the opportunity seemed

propitious, the king of Denmark, the elector of Saxony, and the tzar of Russia, conspired the ruin of the young king.

The eldest sister of Charles XII. was married to the Duke of Holstein, who, being oppressed by the King of Denmark, fled to the Swedish court for assistance. Acts of hostility were committed by the Danes upon Holstein, and they entered into a secret treaty with Augustus, elector of Saxony, to overwhelm the king of Sweden himself. Augustus, who had raised himself to the throne of Poland, by buying one-half of the nobility, and over-awing the other, wanted a pretext for retaining troops in his Polish dominions, in order to secure his authority, and being incited by Reginold Patkul, resolved to fall upon Livonia. This Patkul had, in 1692, gone at the head of a deputation to lay the complaints of his countrymen, the Livonians, before Charles XI., and in reward of his fidelity and courage, had been sentenced to lose *his honour and his life*. He escaped, and when he learnt that Augustus had promised, on his elevation to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces torne from the republic, he represented the ease with which he might seize Livonia, and revenge upon a prince of seventeen the conquests of his ancestors. As the views of the tzar upon Ingria and Carelia were not unknown to Au-

gustus, Patkul went to Moscow, and thus cemented a union between the monarchs, which he expected would fully gratify his own revenge. It was concluded, to strip the king of Sweden of all the countries lying between Poland, Moscovy, the Baltic sea, and the gulph of Finland. Patkul, as major-general, had the satisfaction to besiege the Swedes in Riga, and the tzar marched a large army into Ingria, confident of making easy conquests.

Meanwhile the Swedes were thrown into the utmost consternation; some of the counsellors proposed to evade the tempest by negotiations; when the young king, all at once, said, with an air of confidence and gravity: "Gentlemen, I am resolved; I will go and attack the first who declares himself, when I have conquered him, I expect to excite some alarm in the others." Actions constantly followed those words. In less than six months the young prince compelled the Danes to make peace, relieved Riga, and landing himself in the gulph of Riga, marched, amidst the snows of November, against the tzar, whose injustice particularly provoked him, as being inconsistent with the character of legislator and reformer, which that prince affected. With 8,000 soldiers, fatigued by a long march and several affairs with the advanced posts, Charles attacked the Russian camp before Narva, containing 80,000 men, defended by a

150 pieces of artillery, and gained a complete victory; officers, men, arms, stores, and provisions, all falling into his hands. The victor retained only the general officers; the subalterns and soldiers, half armed and half disarmed, were all dismissed.

The tzar, who had imprudently left his camp, where his presence was necessary to preserve order, was advancing with 40,000 to act in the rear of the Swedes, when he received the news of the defeat and entire dispersion of his army. Terror spread among his subjects, who believed that the Swedes were magicians, and in their public prayers to St. Nicholas, implored assistance against their enchantments, while he, far from discouraged, proceeded to repair his losses. "I know well," said he, "the Swedes will long be superior; but at length they will teach us to vanquish them." He collected the remains of his scattered army, ordered additional levies, and repaired to Moscow, to found cannon, of which he had been stript. As metal was wanting, he took the bells, to the number of 500, from the churches and monasteries, and justified the sacrilege, by saying, "Holy metal only can serve against Swedish magicians."

From Moscow the tzar hurried into Courland, to meet his ally Augustus. These princes spent five days together, at Birzen, a small town, in Lithuania; Augustus engaged to furnish 50,000

Germans to be hired of different princes, and paid by the tzar, who, on the other side, undertook to send 50,000 Russians into Poland to learn the art of war, and pay Augustus 3,000,000 of rix-dollars in two years. Instead of ceremony, the usual attendant upon the interviews of kings, these confederates had recourse to debauchery.*

This treaty was rendered ineffectual by the advance of Charles XII., who, though he had, by the victory of Narva, opened the road to Moscow, resolved first to chastise the king of Poland. He passed the Duna in the face of the Saxons, advantageously posted on the opposite bank, and totally defeating them, without the smallest delay made himself master of all Courland and Lithuania. He felt a secret satisfaction, he acknowledged, on entering victorious into Birzen, where a little before his enemies had consulted his ruin. In this place he conceived the design of dethroning the king of Poland. One day at table, observing extreme sobriety, and appearing absorbed in profound thought, a German colonel said, loud enough to be heard, "The repasts of the tzar and the king of Poland, in this place, were somewhat different from those of his majesty." "Yes," said the king, raising himself, "and I

* Histoire de Charles XII., par M. de Voltaire, p. 40.

have more easily disturbed the digestion of them." Nor did he linger in uniting policy with arms to effect his purpose.

If the success of the king of Sweden prevented the tzar from reaping advantage from his allies, the absence of that monarch was most favourable to his plans of conquest and reform. Patkul, who had entered into his service, and succeeded Le Fort, lately deceased, was employed to discipline the troops, and great encouragement was afforded to German, Polish, or Lithuanian officers, and even soldiers, disposed to serve in the Russian armies. The progress of the tzar, though little obvious, was steady and certain. Discipline was introduced among the troops, good officers and engineers were formed, and vessels were built on the lakes Peipus and Ladoga, to annoy the Swedes. The soldiers, though at first they fought as Tartars, pillaging, fleeing, and re-appearing to flee again, were inured to war, and taught to conquer by defeat. In 1701, the general Sheremetof, gained an advantage over the Swedish general Slipenback. The following year saw the Russians victorious on the Peipus and the Ladoga, and, after a regular siege, make themselves masters of Noteburgh, now Shlusselburgh, a strong place, situate upon an island in the Ladoga, commanding that lake and the Neva, and thus opening a communication with the

Baltic. Having reduced Nya, which made him master of the bottom of the gulph of Finland, the tzar pursued his conquests in Ingria and Livonia. Dorpt surrendered, and Narva was taken by storm. The soldiers, masters of this place, abandoned themselves to enormous cruelties. Peter, on this occasion, afforded an instance of humanity, which it is to be lamented, was so infrequent. He ran every where to prevent pillage and massacre; having, with his own hand, killed two of his soldiers who had disobeyed his orders, he repaired to the inn, where the citizens had taken refuge, and laid his sword upon the table, saying to them; "It is not with the blood of the inhabitants that this sword is stained; but with that of the Russians, which I have shed to save your lives."

While enlarging his territories on the shores of the Baltic, the tzar interrupted not his efforts to meliorate his subjects, nor neglected his establishments on the Don. He opened the mines of Siberia, established manufactories of linen and paper, procured armourers, brass and iron-founders, shepherds and sheep from Poland and Saxony, set up a printing press, and founded an hospital at Moscow. Ships were built at Archangel, Olonetz, and Veronetz. As the works at Veronetz, Azof, and Taganrok, excited alarm at the Porte, an ambassador was sent to complain. Peter replied, that he was as

much master in his own states as the Grand Signior in his, and that to make Russia respectable, on the Euxine, was no infraction of the peace.

In the winter of 1703, he was at Moscow, employed in carrying his new regulations into effect. For the purpose of exposing those who complained of the innovations, he invited the nobility to the marriage of one of his buffoons, celebrated in the ancient form. It was an old superstition that no fire should be kindled on a wedding day, and the Russians formerly drank nothing but mead and brandy. A repast was provided in the style of the sixteenth century, there was no fire, no wine. If any ventured to repine, the tzar said sarcastically: "This was the custom among your fathers; old customs are always best."

Of the works and improvements advancing in his dominions, Peter was superintendant as well as contriver. If an eighty gun-ship was to be laid on the stocks or launched at Veronetz, it was done under his eye. If the Swedes threatened Archangel, he appeared on the shores of the White Sea, prevented a descent, traced the plan of a citadel, and laid the foundation. He piloted the vessels from the dock yards of Olonetz to the Baltic; and running from one to the other, he pressed at once the siege of Dorpt and Narva.

To form armies, construct a navy at once on the Euxine, the Baltic, and the Arctic Ocean, to take cities, and to enrich his subjects with the useful arts, was not enough for the enterprize of Peter. He resolved to be the founder of a city, the defence of his conquests, the emporium of the north, and the capital of his empire. The spot chosen for this purpose was a marshy isle in the mouth of the Neva, a heap of dust in summer, and a sheet of ice in winter, hitherto the retreat of bears and wolves. Vast difficulties obstructed the undertaking. The Swedes every moment threatened a descent, a peace might assign the site of the rising capital to its former owner, before the foundations could be laid, it was necessary to pierce forests, to drain marshes, and raise dikes, the materials were at a distance, and contagions exhaled from the swamps.

All these difficulties, however, yielded to the perseverance, industry, and power of the tzar. Three hundred thousand peasants were assembled from the most distant provinces of the empire, the frontiers of China, and the regions of Astrakhan. Peter himself traced the plan of the city, of the fortress, of the buildings, and of the quays, and repelled the attacks of the Swedes. The labourers were destitute of the necessary implements, spades, shovels, wheelbarrows, and pick-axes, and two hundred thou-

sand of them perished in the beginning of the work.* But the undertaking proceeded. The foundation was laid May 16th, 1703, in five months the fortress was raised, and in a few years Petersburgh was a city, the abode of the arts, inaccessible to enemies, and frequented by strangers. Thus, amidst the greatest discouragements, Peter founded a city, destined to preserve the arts, commerce, and power of the empire, when Moscow should be in flames; and, to form the rallying point for the independence of nations, when the foot of a conquering despot had trampled upon all the ancient capitals of continental Christendom.

Meantime the king of Sweden pursued the course of victory. His generals expelled from Lithuania 20,000 Russians, sent to the assistance of Augustus, and, as the Poles divided into factions, made no resistance, he entered Warsaw in triumph, declaring that he would not make peace till another king were elected. Victory succeeded victory, the crown of Poland was declared vacant, Stanislaus Leczinky was raised to the precarious dignity, and Poland was entirely subdued.

While his rival gained victories, and gave away kingdoms, the tzar made conquests. All Ingria submitted to his arms. The Swedes who

* Hist. de Charles XII., p. 82.

threatened Petersburgh were twice repulsed, and he advanced toward Courland, with the intention of reducing Livonia. His marshal Sheremetof approached Mittau, and fell in with the Swedish general Levenhaupt. The experience and discipline of the Swedes gave them the advantage though inferior in numbers; the Russians suffered a total defeat, with the loss of all their artillery. Peter, having repaired the disaster, marched into Courland, and Mittau received him as conqueror. But the news of Sheremetof's defeat had spread among his subjects, the remains of the Strelitzes in garrison at Astrakhan revolted, the people complained of the innovations, the nobles were offended by the restraints of discipline, the finances were exhausted, Charles XII. was victorious, and the king of Poland unfortunate. Though all these circumstances conspired against Peter, he was not discouraged, he suppressed the revolt of the Strelitzes, secured Ingria, traversed Lithuania, and penetrated into Poland at the head of 70,000 men. Here he had a second interview with Augustus, consoled this unfortunate prince, and promised him vengeance.

All this, however, little availed Augustus. Charles quickly dispersed this great body of Russians, his general Renschild defeated the army, under the famous Schullemberg, consisting of Saxons and Russians disciplined in

Saxony, and he, marching himself into that electorate, laid the whole under contribution. King Augustus was now reduced to the most humiliating condition. Stript of his kingdom and electorate, he was obliged to sue for peace upon any terms, and, being in Poland, attended by a Russian army, he durst not avow his designs. In this critical juncture a Swedish army approached, and the Russian general, as he was greatly superior in number, pressed the king to give battle. He endeavoured, in vain, to prevent an engagement; the Russians were victorious for the first time in a regular fight. But the victory of Augustus, as it still left him at the mercy of the Swedish prince, only aggravated his calamities. He submitted to the conditions prescribed by his enemy. Among other things he was required to deliver up the deserters who had entered into his service, particularly the Livonian Patkul, who was now general in the Russian armies, and ambassador of the tzar, and, for the faithful discharge of his duty in the latter office, confined in the castle of Konigstein in Saxony. The conduct of Augustus, shows the necessity to which he was reduced. He sent guards to deliver the unfortunate man to the Swedish troops; but dispatched, before hand, orders to the governor of the castle to let him escape. The governor, as he knew Patkul was rich, wished him to pur-

chase his liberty, while he, relying on the rights of nations, refused to buy what he could claim of right, fell into the hands of the Swedes, and suffered, as a traitor, the most horrible of punishments.

When the tzar was apprised of the humiliating treaty concluded by his ally, and of the indignities he had suffered in the person of his ambassador, he made loud complaints to all the courts of Europe, and conjured them to interpose their mediation to procure the release of his ambassador. But these letters only showed the power of Charles XII. Patkul was sacrificed, and none interfered. It was proposed in the council of the tzar to retaliate upon the Swedish prisoners in Russia; but there was a greater number of Russian prisoners in Sweden.

Peter took another mode of revenge. As Levenhaupt was left to the defence of Poland, with about 20,000 men, he marched into that miserable country with 60,000 Russians. No resistance was offered, he advanced to Leopol in the south of Poland, and even convoked a diet in order to elect a third king. This triumph was but momentary.

Charles XII., having humbled the emperor of Germany, and been honoured with ambassadors from almost all the states of Christendom, advanced at the head of 45,000 warriors, en-

riched with the spoils of Poland and Saxony, in order to make peace with the tzar at Moscow. Seven years of victory heightened the terror which the valour and discipline of his troops inspired. The tzar, it was believed, could not make any effectual resistance, and must now atone for his injustice, by resigning to his enemy the fruit of all his toils. The Russians retired in haste before the king of Sweden, who conducted his army amidst snows, through deserts, swamps, and forests. A great part of the Russian forces were entrenched by the tzar, on the Berezina, opposite Borislow; but retired breaking up the roads. Another corps of 20,000 men posted behind the Bisbitsch made a stout resistance, and, though they were routed at last, showed that Peter had succeeded in forming soldiers.

It was now universally expected that the king of Sweden would march to Moscow, when he suddenly directed his course to the Ukraine, and thus became accessary to his own ruin. Mezeppa, an ataman of the Cossacks, had been insulted by the tzar, and, supposing that the Swedes would enable him to revenge and aggrandize himself, entered into a treaty with the king, promising to meet him with 30,000 men, provisions, and stores. Confident of being able, with these auxiliaries, next summer to vanquish the tzar, Charles advanced southward,

between the Dnieper and the Desna, by a rout naturally difficult, and rendered dangerous by the attacks of the Russians. The army under Levenhaupt which he had ordered to advance with supplies, was met by the Russians conducted by the tzar in person. The Swedish general, whom successive victories inspired with confidence, did not hesitate to give battle. At the first shock the Russians recoiled; but Peter, who knew that his safety depended on this affair, commanded the rear guard to fire on those who fled, and even on himself if he retreated. For three successive days he attacked the Swedes, and though by his greatest efforts he could never break the line nor prevent Levenhaupt from at last joining his master, all the supplies fell into his hands, and the Swedish army originally 18,000 strong, was diminished by one half. This affair, which took place near the village of Lesnau, between the Dneiper and the Sotz, was the first regular battle in which Peter himself defeated the Swedes.

Charles XII. was apprized of this disaster just when Mezeppa appeared, with not more than two regiments, as a fugitive, rather than a powerful ally. Notwithstanding these disappointments, the king persevered in his purpose. The Ukraine, he hoped would declare in his favour. He passed the Desna, indeed, in the teeth of his enemies; but only to expose his

troops to fatigue and hunger and perishing cold. The tzar hung on his rear and flanks, and by setting fire to the villages, and removing provisions, engaged famine and desolation against the invaders. Before the spring of 1709, hunger, intense cold, long marches amidst the frost and snow, of an extraordinarily severe winter, and numerous skirmishes, had reduced the Swedes to 18,000 men; but not deprived the king of the hope of penetrating to Moscow. Toward the end of May, he laid siege to Pultava, a town situated in the south of Russia, on the banks of the Worskla, affording provisions and serving as a place of strength.

In the meantime, Peter, who had been most active during the winter, in harassing his enemy. and had thrown a strong garrison into Pultava, collected his troops from all quarters, and advanced to the decisive battle. He passed the Worskla with 60,000 men, a little above the town. Sensible of the importance of the contest and the power of his adversary, though so enfeebled, he entrenched his army, and omitted no precaution which experience or reflection suggested, as conducive to success. Charles, though he had received a dangerous wound in the foot, as he returned from reconnoitring the enemy, resolved to anticipate the tzar, and on the evening of July 7th, with the greatest composure, ordered the marshal Renschild to prepare next

morning for an attack. The first shock of the Swedes was irresistible, they made themselves masters of two redoubts; but, as a vigorous fire was kept up from the Russian batteries, and the tzar preserved order and steadiness among his troops, he threw his enemies into confusion, and in two hours put them to the rout. Charles XII., tortured by the pain of his wound, after many perils, passed the Dnieper, and found a refuge among the Turks in Bender. The victory of the tzar was complete, 9,224 lay dead upon the field, 18,000 were made prisoners, among whom were the principal civil and military officers of the Swedish king, while the loss of the Russians amounted to about 50 officers and 1,200 men.

The principal Swedish officers were invited to the table of the tzar. Among other things, he asked general Renschild, how many men his master could muster before the battle. He replied, that the king alone had the list of them; but he believed, about 30,000, 18,000 Swedes, and the rest Cossacks. With some surprize, the tzar enquired, how they could venture into so remote a country and undertake the siege of Pultava, with so small a number. "We were never consulted," returned the general; "but, as faithful servants obeyed, without contradiction, the orders of our master." At this reply, the tzar turning to some of his courtiers, whom he had formerly suspected of

conspiracy, "Ah!" said he, "this is how a sovereign should be served;" and taking a glass of wine, added, *To the health of my masters in the art of war.* Renschild enquired whom he honoured with that title. "You, gentlemen, generals of Sweden," replied Peter. "Your majesty then is very ungrateful," rejoined the officer, "in using your masters so ill." Almost all the Swedish officers and soldiers were sent into Siberia, and the tzar broke on the wheel such of the Cossacks as fell into his hands.

A great revolution now followed. The elector of Saxony, protesting against his abdication, and reconciled to the tzar, hastened to reascend the throne of Poland. Sweden was in the utmost consternation, Peter soon passed through the Polish provinces, and while he received the thanks of Augustus, to whom he had restored his dominions, entered into treaties with Poland, Denmark, and Prussia, in order to wrest from the Swedes all the conquests of Gustavus the great. Having finished these negotiations, he joined his army before Riga, the capital of Livonia, which he began to bombard, proceeded to Petersburgh, where he laid, with his own hands, the keel of a fifty-four gun ship, and then repaired to Moscow to celebrate the victory of Pultava.

The tzar entered his capital January 1st, 1710, in all the pomp of victory, under seven triumphal

arches. A regiment of guards led the procession; the artillery taken from the Swedes followed, every piece drawn by eight horses; next appeared the standards borne by the officers and soldiers who had taken them; the finest of the Russian troops; the broken sedan of Charles XII. found on the field of Pultava. Behind the sedan, marched two and two the Swedish prisoners, count Piper, prime minister of Sweden, the famous marshal Renschild, the generals Levenhaupt, Slipenback, Stackelberg, Hamilton, all the officers and soldiers, so often victorious over the Russians. After them was seen the tzar, on the same horse that he rode at the battle of Pultava, the general officers who contributed to the victory, and a regiment of guards, with the ammunition waggons of the Swedes, which closed the train. At each of the arches appeared deputies from different orders of the state, and at the last a troop of noblemen's sons, in Roman habits, who presented the victorious chief with laurel. With the sound of bells, drums, trumpets, and the salutes of two hundred cannon, were mingled the acclamations of hundreds of thousands shouting, *Long live the Emperor, our father.*

While the victories of the tzar procured, at home, reverence for his person and institutions, an incident occurred which shewed that they had raised his consequence among foreign

nations. His ambassador in London had been arrested for debt, and even taken out of his coach. The ambassador complained; and the tzar highly provoked, demanded that all concerned in the arrest should be put to death. But, though this could not be done, the English laws not having left the life of the subject at the will of the prince; an act was passed in parliament to prevent like outrages in future, and an ambassador extraordinary was appointed to present the tzar with a splendid copy of the act, and make a formal apology.

To these advantages the tzar added others of a more solid nature. Elbing containing a great quantity of military stores belonging to the Swedes, was taken by the Russians. Peter, directing himself his forces, reduced Vyborg, the capital of Carelia, Kexholm, a strong place upon an island in the Ladoga, Pernau, and Reval. In assisting Augustus to recover his authority, he neglected not his own interests, since he bargained for the accession of Livonia, as the reward of his services.

Amidst glory and conquest, however, the tzar was nearly precipitated into destruction. The intrigues of Charles XII. in his retreat at Bender, assisted by alarm at the growing power of Russia, induced the Sultan, Achmet III., to declare war against Peter, by throwing his ambassador and his domestics into the castle of

the seven towers. The tzar made preparations to chastise this new enemy. Troops moved toward Moldavia, the king of Poland promised assistance; and a secret treaty was made with Cantemir, hospador of Moldavia. This prince, who expected to be able, by the aid of the Russians, to make himself independent, promised the tzar troops and provisions, as Mizeppa had done the king of Sweden. Having left the care of Petersburgh to Mentchikof, and established a regency at Moscow, Peter took his rout through Poland for the seat of war, accompanied by his mistress, Catherine, whom he secretly espoused at Jawerof, May 29, 1711. Here Augustus met him; but though this prince concurred with the tzar in declaring war against the Turks, as the Polish senate were averse to hostilities, he could not fulfil his promises to his benefactor. Peter was equally disappointed in his hopes from Cantemir. General Sheremetof, who had penetrated to Jazy, the capital of Moldavia, found that the hospador was in a state requiring support, rather than capable of affording assistance.

Meanwhile the Turkish army had passed the Danube, and as Sheremetof was in danger of being surrounded, the tzar hastened to his relief. He scarce had formed a junction with Sheremetof when provisions began to fail. The Turks cut off his supplies, interrupted his

communication with a corps of his army under general Renne, passed the Pruth, and formed an entrenched camp in front of the Russians, while a strong body was posted on the opposite bank, to prevent all approach to the river. In this desperate situation, without provisions, the Pruth in his rear, 150,000 Turks before him, and 40,000 Tartars hovering upon his flanks, he ordered general Sheremetof to prepare to attack the Turks with fixed bayonets next morning, and to burn all the baggage, that the enemies, if victorious, might be disappointed of spoil. Repairing into his tent, he forbade any person to enter during the night, though he was oppressed with grief and agitated with convulsions. While the tzar was in this state, the general officers held a council in the presence of Catherine, and it was resolved to solicit a truce from the grand vizier. The vice-chancellor, Shaffirof, went to the Turkish camp. The vizier first demanded the surrender of the tzar, and all his army. But Shaffirof represented that the Russians would perish to a man, rather than submit to such conditions. As the vice-chancellor's representations were seconded by the vizier's lieutenant, who it is probable was bribed, more reasonable terms were obtained. To procure the concurrence of the tzar, was, however, still a great difficulty. Catherine, who had acquired a great ascendancy over his

mind, ventured, notwithstanding the prohibition, into his tent, and induced him to accede to the terms.

Peter and his army escaped from the most critical situation imaginable, on the easy conditions of withdrawing his troops from Poland, abolishing his forts on the Samara and the Palus Mæotis, and surrendering Azof. Part of the treaty he soon accomplished; but delivered from danger, he started difficulties on the surrender of Azof, and the demolition of Taganrok, which blasted all his prospects on the Euxine. The Porte was provoked with the delays, and a rupture ensued, which, however, produced no important consequence. The treaty of Pruth was confirmed, and the tzar renounced all his conquests on the Don and the sea of Azof.

CHAP. VI.

Victories of the Tzar—His Travels—Alexèy the Tzarovitch—Establishments of Peter—Peace with Sweden—Acquisitions on the Caspian sea—Death and Character of Peter the Great—Early Life of Catherine I.—Her Danger—Accession to the Empire—Rise and Character of Prince Mentchikof—Death of Catherine I.—Peter II.

FATIGUE had so impaired the health of the tzar, that he was obliged to repair to the waters of Carlsbad in Hungary; but while he drank the waters, he entered into a treaty with the electors of Hanover and Brandenburgh, and the king of Denmark, to strip the Swedes of all their possessions in Germany, and detailed the operations necessary to reduce Pomerania.

About the same time, he married his son, the unfortunate Alexèy, to the princess of Wolfenbuttel, and shortly after, returning to Petersburgh, solemnized with great pomp his own marriage with Catherine. Public edifices, and other works, for the convenience of the city being finished, he transferred, in April 1711, the senate from Moscow to Petersburgh.

Without much delay, he passed into Pome-

rania, where his troops and allies were pursuing the last remnant of the Swedish armies. Havseen Stralsund invested, he left the conduct of the siege to Mentchikof, and proceeded to effect a descent into Finland. Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast, yielded to his skill and valour. His fleets on the gulphs of Bothnia and Finland, kept the coasts of Sweden in alarm; while his general, prince Galitzin, advanced from Helsingfors to Tafvasteus, where he defeated the Swedes, and penetrated as far as Vasa.

The tzar was very ambitious of exercising the navy, which he had formed with such pains. He assembled a fleet of sixteen sail of the line, and a hundred and eighty gallies. In this fleet he served as rear admiral under Admiral Apraxin. He seized on the Isle of Aland, in view of the Swedish fleet, and repulsed rear admiral Ernschild, who attempted to capture eighty gallies, which the tzar transported across a neck of land. Several Swedish vessels were taken, and the rear admiral obliged to surrender.

This victory, inferior only to that of Pultava, Peter, on returning to Petersburgh, celebrated with great magnificence, and distributed medals of gold to all the officers, and of silver to the soldiers and sailors who contributed to his success. His satisfaction was extreme, as is evident from a discourse which he delivered after the procession to the following effect.

"My brethren, is there any of you who would have thought, twenty years ago, that he should fight with me on the Baltic, in vessels constructed by ourselves, and that we should be established in those countries acquired by our toils and courage. The ancient seat of the sciences was Greece, hence they passed into Italy, and spread into all parts of Europe. Now it is our turn, if uniting study with submission, you second my intentions. The arts circulate in the world, as blood in the body; and perhaps they will fix their empire among us in order to return into Greece, their ancient country. I hope by our labour, and solid glory, we may one day put more civilized nations to the blush."* How was this hope realized in the victories that have freed the kingdoms of Europe? France imposed the fetters; Russia broke them without reward.

Upon the naval victory of the tzar, the regency of Sweden, reduced to despair, had demanded a passport for an officer entrusted with proposals of peace. No sooner was the passport sent, than news arrived that Charles XII. had resolved to return and defend his dominions. He reached Stralsund toward the close of 1714, but the tzar had now acquired the ascendancy. His vessels took the first of the Swedes who ventured to sea, and his troops, with those of

* Voltaire, p. 213.

Denmark, Saxony, and Prussia, reduced Stralsund to a heap of ruins. Almost all the northern powers were his allies, and the peace with Turkey was inviolate. At liberty to prosecute his plans of improvement, he founded a naval academy at Petersburgh, built the palace of Peterhof, erected forts on the Irtish, repelled the incursions of the Buckharians and Kuban Tartars, composed a military code, and sent engineers to take surveys of his states.

He now resolved to make another tour in different parts of Europe. He went to Copenhagen, then to Lubec, Schwerin, Neustadt, Hamburgh, Bremen, and then to Amsterdam. At Bremen he was honoured with an illumination, and in many places appeared these words: "Our deliverer comes to see us." In Holland, the tzar was received with enthusiastic joy. He remained here three months on purpose to observe the negotiations, at that time in progress. His power he found excited the jealousy of his allies. Without committing himself he pursued his course to Paris. Here he was received with great magnificence; but as his object was not to be entertained, but to observe, he avoided ceremony as much as possible.

The great progress which the arts had made in France, surprised the royal traveller. Going one day into the gallery of the Louvre, where medals were struck, to observe the workmen, a medal just struck happened to fall, and hasten-

ing to pick it up, Peter wondered to see himself on one side, and on the other Fame standing on the globe, with these words of Virgil: "Vires acquirit eundo." The tzar visited the academy of sciences, corrected with his own hand faults in the maps of his states, and condescended to become a member of the academy, and to communicate to it discoveries and experiments. On seeing the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu, though insensible to the beauty of the sculpture, he embraced the statue, exclaiming: "Great man! I would give the half of my empire to learn from you to govern the other." He engaged mechanics in France, as on his former travels he had done in Holland and England. This indefatigable prince, leaving Paris, passed through Holland again, visited Berlin, all his new conquests on the Baltic, issued new regulations in Petersburgh, and went through Moscow to the Volga, in order to repress the incursions of the Kuban Tartars; form lines between the Don and the Volga, and erect forts at intervals from one river to the other.

Amidst these labours for the defence of his dominions, and the glory of his name, Peter exhibited an instance of barbarous severity, that has no example in the annals of the world. At the age of sixteen he had espoused Eudoxia Lapukin, a woman devoted to the ancient usages, and averse to Peter's innovations. Probably no affection ever

subsisted between them. But the criminal intercourse of the young prince with other women, engaged Eudoxia in intrigues with a boyar named Glebof. When this came to the knowledge of Peter, he impaled the gallant upon a spit for twenty-four hours, divorced Eudoxia, ordered her to be scourged, and immured her in a convent.

Of this infelicitous marriage, the only fruit was Alexèy Petrovitch, born in 1690. Instead of being educated as the heir of a great empire, this prince in his first years was abandoned to old women and ignorant priests, who filled his mind with prejudices against his father's enterprizes. About his eleventh year, Baron Huysen being appointed his governor, he made considerable progress in knowledge, learnt German and mathematics, and acquired a fondness for reading. His early prejudices might have worn away, if prince Mentchikof had not removed his tutor, and assuming the care of his education, left him a prey to profligate wretches, who encouraged him in riot and drunkenness. He grew up addicted to vulgar pleasures, imprudent, obstinate, with a dread of his father, and an extreme aversion to all the new institutions. In 1711, he was married to the princess of Wolfenbuttel, whom, though an amiable woman, and the object of his choice, he treated with such neglect as to occasion a deep melancholy,

which, aggravated by the pains of child-bearing, terminated her life in 1715, in the 21st year of her age. While he neglected his wife, Alexèy kept a mean girl of Finland as his mistress, associated with ignorant debauched priests, avoided to appear on public occasions, inveighed against his father's conduct, and threatened, when he should be master, to restore the ancient customs.

This behaviour so provoked the tzar, that he wrote to his son, after the death of the princess of Wolfenbuttel, assuring him that if he did not reform he would exclude him from the throne. The young prince, rendered desperate by intemperance and opposition, renounced the succession, 1716, and sought permission to retire into a monastery. The tzar having set out upon his travels, ordered Alexèy to meet him at Copenhagen; but following the advice of his adherents, he escaped to Vienna to his brother-in-law Charles VI., who sent him first to Inspruck, and then to the castle of St. Elmo in Naples, in order to shelter him from his father's vengeance. Betrayed by his mistress, and deceived by the most solemn promises of forgiveness, he returned in February 1718 to Moscow. On the following day, two regiments of guards having been ordered to arms, he was conducted a prisoner into the castle, and falling down before his father, confessed his faults with tears, and

begged for his life. The tzar having raised him up, led him into a private apartment, and after threats and interrogations brought him into the hall, where the principal persons of the state had been assembled. In the midst of this assembly, the unhappy prince, having been reproached with his imprudence, vices, and follies, was by a solemn written declaration excluded for ever from the succession. Alexèy himself signed in the most solemn manner a formal renunciation of his right to the throne.

But this was not sufficient; he was conveyed to Petersburgh, and imprisoned in the fortress. A select committee was appointed to try him. The most awful threats and flattering promises were employed to induce him to make such confessions, not of actions and fixed purposes, but of fleeting thoughts as might give a colour to his condemnation. His mistress and other witnesses were rewarded to depose against him; and after a trial of twelve days, in which a prince, without friends, without advocates, distracted by threats, uncertain of life, if evidently innocent, had to support all the authority and intelligence of the Russian empire directed against him by an enraged father. Alexèy was condemned to lose his life. It is pretended that the unfortunate prince, on hearing the sentence of condemnation, was seized with convulsions and expired. But it is more

probable that he was secretly beheaded in prison by his father's orders *.

The only circumstances alleged to justify the extreme severity with which it is confessed Peter treated his son, is, that it was a necessary sacrifice to the welfare of the Russian empire. If Alexèy had been spared, he would have destroyed all the fruits of his father's labours. This, there is no doubt, was the reason on which Peter himself relied for his justification. But if it be the first duty of a prince to improve the condition of his subjects, the second is to train up his successor to preserve his establishments, and perfect his designs. Peter neglected the education of his son, and set him an example of debauchery. When the young prince conducted himself as might have been expected from education and example, the tzar pretended he must be sacrificed to the safety of the state. Without scrupling the means, he procured his death, and to prove the expediency of the measure, left it uncertain who should be his successor, an Alexèy or a Peter. The care of Russia was, after all, abandoned to Providence, whose vigilance would have been equally effectual, had Alexèy survived.

While the tzar persecuted his son, he conti-

* Coxe, vol. II. p. 308—313.

nued his career of salutary reform. He ordered the rich to build houses in Petersburgh. Uniformity was introduced in the weights and measures, the manufacture of arms was improved, manufactories of linen, woollen, cordage, sails, bricks, and glass were encouraged; a tribunal of commerce was instituted, the canals of Ladoga and Cronstadt were undertaken; and forts were built in Kamtshatka. Commerce was opened with Persia, and, after interruptions and difficulties, was put on a better footing with China, while on the shores of the Baltic it flourished beyond expectation. The laws underwent alterations, and received additions to lessen the expense and facilitate the attainment of justice. The *Holy Synod* was instituted, and many regulations were introduced respecting monastic establishments.

The war with Sweden had been suffered to languish for some time. Baron Gortz, a turbulent intriguing spirit, had acquired the confidence of Charles XII. and uniting with Cardinal Alberoni, wished to change the face of Europe by effecting a union between the Swedish and Russian monarchs, dethroning the king of England, and raising Philip V. of Spain to the regency of France. Improving little offences given by his allies, and insinuating that Sweden was sufficiently humbled, Gortz had prevailed on the tzar to send plenipotentiaries to the isle

of Aland to treat of peace. Affairs were in train for accommodation, and an alliance was on the point of being concluded between the two rivals, when a ball from one of the bastions of Frederichshall terminated the life of the Swedish king. The war was again renewed; but nothing of consequence occurred, except a descent which the tzar made into Sweden, and some success which he gained over the fleets of that nation. At last the court of Stockholm being heartily tired of a war which had proved so ruinous, plenipotentiaries assembled at Neustadt in Finland, and peace was concluded, September 10, 1721. Livonia., Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, Vyborg, and several islands in the gulph of Finland being ceded to Russia.

The joy which a war of twenty years thus happily terminated, gave to the tzar and all his subjects, was extreme. On this occasion the titles of *great, emperor, father of his country*, were given to Peter by the gratitude and admiration of his subjects.

Peter had long been desirous of establishing his authority on the Caspian sea, and thus opening a channel for the commerce of Persia and India. Depredations committed by the Albanians upon a commercial establishment of the Russians on the western coasts of the Caspian sea, afforded him a pretext for sending an army

to those regions, and such was the miserable condition of Persia at that time, that he received three provinces to engage him to assist the lawful sovereign in preserving the remains of his dominions.

After the Persian expedition the tzar was at peace with all his neighbours. He continued his labours, and for the better direction of them instituted at Petersburgh the Academy of Sciences. In this state of peace he crowned at Moscow, his consort Catherine, in reward, as he said, of the service which she had rendered the whole nation in the unfortunate campaign of Pruth.

This legislator and conqueror now drew near the end of his days. Incontinence had entailed upon him a distemper which was never fully eradicated, and which an excessive debauch at the election of a mock patriarch, greatly exasperated. As the surgeons mistook the disorder, an abcess, formed in the bladder, occasioned a stranguary, which was attended with excruciating pains, deprived him of his senses, and at length of his life, January 28, 1725, in the 53d year of his age, and 44th of his reign.

In his last moments it is said he reflected on the irregularities of his life with extreme regret, confessed he had shed much innocent blood, and mentioned his conduct towards his unfortunate son with the utmost concern; but ex-

pressed a hope, very vain truly, that the benefits he had conferred upon his country, would induce the Great Judge to pardon his crimes.

This prince was tall, well made, with a dignified countenance, lively eyes, and a constitution capable of the greatest fatigue and labour. Of a sound judgment, incredible activity, master of most of the mechanical arts, tinctured with science, but without any of the virtues that endear civilized men to each other, he rose by the energy of his mind above all the prejudices of his country, and by the steadiness and intrepidity with which he prosecuted vast designs, maintained a fearful authority among refractory subjects. Beastly in his pleasures, ferocious in his manners, and savage in his resentments, he would have been the abhorrence of mankind, if his efforts and sacrifices to form a great naval and military power, and to establish in his dominions, arts, manufactures, commerce, and science, had not compelled their admiration. He would have been more successful had he not been so rash and violent; and he would have been more entitled to the gratitude of the Russians, had he consulted their glory less, and their happiness more. It is a melancholy reflexion, that this monarch with all his vices and enormities, has juster claims to the appellation *great*, than almost any of those

princes who have borne it. Such has been the folly or corruption of men.

Peter the Great was succeeded by his consort Catherine I. a rare instance of those vicissitudes of fortune, in which the Russian annals of this period so abound. This princess, the natural daughter of a country girl, was born at Ringen, near Dorpt, according to her own account, April 5, 1689. Her original name was Martha, which she changed into Catherine, on entering the Greek church. Losing her mother at the early age of three years, the parish clerk had the compassion to receive her into his house, whence she soon passed into the family of Gluck, Lutheran minister of Marienburgh, where she was brought up, and employed in attending upon his children. A Swedish dragoon had married, or was on the point of marrying Catherine, it is uncertain which, when he being absent, Marienburgh fell into the hands of the Russians in 1701. General Bauver, observing Catherine among the prisoners, was attracted by her beauty, and took her to his house. Prince Mentchikof no less impressed with her charms next received the young captive into his power. Peter the Great being on a visit to this prince, one of his favourites, observed Catherine, and won by her beauty made her his mistress in 1704.

Catherine secured the affection of the tzar, not by depth of judgment or sprightliness of fancy, but by the equability of her temper, the sweetness and pliancy of her disposition, assiduous and unwearied attention. Though extremely fond of women, Peter the Great had never been able to excite kind regards in any; Catherine, therefore, by endeavouring to make herself agreeable to him, gained a surprizing ascendancy over his mind. She was his perpetual companion in his wars and expeditions. When those fits of passion to which he was subject rose to madness, and banished his attendants from his presence, at her approach the demon fled, and the sound of her voice, turned the agitations of his mind into repose. So far from abusing this influence, Catherine employed it for purposes of beneficence and mercy. Many miserable wretches were indebted for their lives to her intercession. So much did she soften the ferocity of his nature and so often calm his rage, that she was, as marshal Munich said, the mediatrix between the sovereign and his subjects. When the despot was resolved to sacrifice to his wrath, he gave orders for execution in her absence. In her elevation Catherine never forget her original condition, though she supported her honours with becoming dignity. Her conduct particularly at the affair of Pruth, reconciled

the Russians to those proofs, which the tzar gave her of his affection in a public marriage and a splendid coronation.

Having received the highest distinction which Peter could bestow, Catherine narrowly escaped being an example of his vengeance. One of her chamberlains was a fine young man of the name of Mons, with whom, it was suspected, she was too intimate. To satisfy himself whether his suspicions were grounded, the emperor pretending to leave Petersburgh in order to spend a few days at one of his villas, secretly returned to his winter palace in the capital, and sent, as if from the country, complimentary messages to his consort by a confidential page, ordered to make observations. By this means he surprized Catherine in an arbour of the garden, with Mons; his sister Madame Balke, a lady of the bedchamber being on the watch without the arbour. The tzar struck the empress with his cane; and, without uttering a word, proceeded to the apartment of prince Repnin, whom he informed of the discovery, and of his determination to make an example of the empress. Repnin expostulated with him on the infamy that he would incur, if after sacrificing his son, he should imbrue his hands in the blood of his wife. This expostulation saved Catherine. Mons and his sister were taken into custody under pretence of having been corrupted by

bribery. Conducted to the winter palace, the young man was threatened with torture, till he acknowledged the truth of the accusation brought against him. Mons was sentenced to lose his head, his sister, after receiving five strokes of the knoot, was banished to Siberia, and her two sons, chamberlains, were sent as common soldiers to the army of Persia. The day after the execution of Mons, the emperor conveyed Catherine in an open carriage under the gibbet, to which his head was nailed: without changing colour, she said: "Pity so much corruption should be found among courtiers." Madame Balke was recalled on the death of the tzar.

Though the emperor had raised Catherine to the throne, and with his own hand placed the crown upon her head, it was not his intention that she should be his successor. In the fulness of his power, he had passed a law authorizing the reigning prince to appoint an heir to the throne; but the hand of death laid hold upon him before he could express his will. During a short intermission of distracting pain, he ordered to bring pen and paper; being unable to write, he then called for his daughter Anne. Before she came, he was bereft of speech and reason, in which state he lingered thirty-six hours, and then expired.

While Peter was in this state of insensibility, a considerable party of the nobles, who durst not move while he breathed, determined to arrest Catherine, the moment of his death, to confine her in a convent, banish Mentchikof, expel foreigners, restore the ancient customs, and raise Peter Alexievitch to the throne. Apprized of this resolution, Count Bassevitz immediately informed the empress, who was so overcome with sorrow as to be unable to act for herself, but ordered the count to consult with prince Mentchikof, assuring him that she would sanction the measures which they might adopt. When Mentchikof was informed of the danger which threatened the empress and her adherents, he instantly secured the treasure and the fortress, and by bribes and promises gained the officers of the guards, as well as some of the nobility and principal clergy. These partizans being assembled in the palace, Catherine appeared, claimed the throne in virtue of her coronation, exposed the consequences of a minority, and promised to restore the crown to the great duke, when she should rejoin in another world her adored husband on the eve of departure. The pathos of this address, accompanied with tears, and aided by the jewels and money that had been distributed, united the whole assembly in her favour.

The death of Peter was no sooner divulged on the morning of the 28th, than the senate, with the chiefs of the nobility and clergy, hastened to the palace. The ruin of Catherine and her partizans was deemed inevitable. At this juncture Bassevitz whispered to one of her enemies, that the treasure and the fortress were in the power of the empress; that she had secured the guards, the synod, and many of the nobles; and that if those who were hostile to her elevation, valued their lives, it would be prudent not to make any opposition. As soon as the news had sufficiently spread, the count gave the signal to two regiments of guards, who, having been gained by a largess, had surrounded the palace. They beat to arms. "Who has presumed," exclaimed prince Repnin commander in chief, "to draw out the troops without my orders." "I," returned general Butturlin, "without pretending to dispute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my most gracious mistress." Amidst the silence of fear and suspense that now ensued, Catherine entered. Sighs and tears interrupted her words, but recovering herself, she professed that in submission to the will of her husband, whose memory would ever be dear to her, she was ready to devote herself to the laborious cares of government, and added, after a short pause, "If the great duke will profit by my instruc-

tion, I may have the consolation, during my widowhood, of forming a sovereign, worthy the blood of him whom you have for ever lost."

At this moment, Mentchikof pretended that as deliberation was of the utmost importance, he hoped her majesty would allow them to consult together without any restraint. Having signified her assent, the empress retired, and the doors were locked. It having been previously determined by Catherine's friends to raise her to the throne, it only remained to adduce a plausible title. Mentchikof inquired of the emperor's secretary, whether his master had left any written declaration of his will. The secretary pretended that Peter had made a will, which he had destroyed, and had been prevented from making another by the reflexion, that if the people on whom he had conferred such obligations, could be ungrateful, he would not expose his final purpose to the insult of opposition, and that if they were mindful of his services they would follow his intentions, which had been more solemnly declared than they could have been by the formality of writing. Some of the nobles assuming courage, opposed the accession of Catherine, and insisted, that the late emperor, never having expressed his intentions on the subject, had left it to the state the election of another sovereign. Theophanes, archbishop of Plescof, affirmed that the em-

peror had declared in the house of an English merchant, the evening before Catherine's coronation, that he should place the crown on her head for the very purpose of leaving her mistress of the empire. The testimony of the archbishop being confirmed by many others, Mentchikof exclaimed; "What need have we of a testament! to refuse to comply with the intentions of our great sovereign, thus authenticated, would be unjust and criminal. Long live the empress Catherine!" As the guards surrounded the palace with drums beating and colours flying, to repeat the acclamation was an act of necessity; Mentchikof saluting Catherine by the title of empress, first paid her homage by kissing her hand, and the whole assembly followed his example. The empress then presented herself at the window to the guards, who shouted "Long live Catherine," while the author of her elevation distributed among them handfuls of money *. Peter the Great, it appeared, had substituted instead of the Strelitzes, troops as able to bestow as to defend the empire.

As Catherine was no less inadequate than indisposed to conduct the affairs of empire, she reposed implicit confidence in prince Mentchikof, who had so materially contributed

* Voltaire, p. 313. Coxe, Vol. II. 288—295.

to her greatness, and whose elevation was as remarkable as her own. This man, of so obscure an origin, that it is uncertain whether he was a groom or apprentice to a pastry-cook, was one of the youths disciplined by Le Fort. Being very active in his exercise, he drew the attention of that officer, who recommended him to Peter. Mentchikof, as he assisted him in his plans of reform, was very attentive to foreigners, and discovered a great conformity in his manners and temper to those of the tzar, enjoyed a high degree of his favour. A circumstance or two deserve to be mentioned as illustrating the character of the prince and his favourite. In their revels, Peter often beat him until the blood streamed from his nose, and when it was universally believed that he was ruined, next morning witnessed a reconciliation.

The tzar assisted himself at the examination of criminals, saw tortures inflicted on them to extort confession, and with his own hand performed the office of executioner. Upon the revolt of the Strelitzes in 1698, he had occasion to reproach many of the nobles, who being compelled to behead some of the rebels, discovered signs of trepidation, saying, "No victim is more acceptable to God than a wicked man;" but he found every reason to applaud the savage barbarity of Mentchikof. As a prelude to the execution of a hundred and fifty Strelitzes, he

rode through Moscow in a sledge, with a drawn sword in his hand, boasting of his dexterity in cutting off twenty heads. With this patience of insult and ferocity of nature, Mentchikof combined the courage of a soldier, and the sagacity of a politician. He was the companion of Peter the great, was raised by him to the highest honours and employments, and even personated him on solemn occasions, an office for which he was admirably qualified, by a striking resemblance to that prince in the qualities of his mind.

Though her minister was obnoxious, Catherine, by a mild and condescending behaviour, enjoyed the public good-will, which the first acts of her reign served to confirm. She reduced the capitation-tax, removed the gibbets from public places, and interred criminals who remained unburied; both monuments of her predecessor's severity. She recalled the exiles from Siberia, and paid arrears due to the troops. The Cossacks obtained immunities from her. Though peace continued, care was bestowed on the army and navy.

Averse to business, Catherine abandoned herself to pleasure. Sapieha and Loewenwolden equally participated her regard, without any jealousy of each other. She would often pass whole nights in the open air. Her favourite liquor was tokay-wine, of which she drank to

excess. A cancer, and a dropsy, aggravated by these irregularities, hastened her dissolution, which took place May 17, 1727, in the 39th year of her age, and third of her reign.

Catherine was somewhat less than ordinary in person, of a fair complexion, with dark eyes, and light hair, which she dyed black; in her youth of a fine and delicate form, but corpulent as she advanced in years. Unable to read or write, her daughter usually signed her name, and count Osterman affixed her signature to decrees and dispatches. She was sensible, good tempered, disposed to oblige, and mindful of benefits. When Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children while she was in his family, presented himself to her, after her marriage with the tzar; she said, "What! thou good man, art thou still alive? I will provide for thee," and gave him a pension. The pastor, Gluck, died a prisoner at Moscow; she pensioned his widow, made his son a page, portioned his two eldest daughters, and appointed the youngest to be a maid of honour.*

Exercising the power conferred upon the reigning prince, by a law of Peter the great, Catherine nominated her grandson, Peter Alexievitch to be her successor. As a clause in her will enjoined the young prince to espouse

* Coxe, Vol. II. p. 229.

Mentchikof's daughter, the minister, who imagined thereby to perpetuate his authority, which had hitherto continued unimpaired, easily seated him upon the throne. But the enemies of Mentchikof, envious of his power, and provoked by his arrogance and ambition, soon found the means of prejudicing the young emperor against him. When he wrote to Peter he treated him as his son, and shewed him such disrespect that the monarch of twelve years was offended. Mentchikof was banished to Siberia, in September 1727; though deprived of his power, he retained his firmness. He survived his disgrace two years. It is remarkable, he saved from an allowance of ten rubles a day enough to build a church, and amused himself in assisting the workmen to construct it.

It was Ivan Dolgoruky, a young nobleman, his companion, who first turned the mind of Peter against Mentchikof; and as his enemies were soon obliged to follow him into banishment, the Dolgorukys succeeded to a great degree of his power, and to the care of the emperor. He was affianced to one of them, and as they imagined they might retain their influence the longer by diverting him from study and business, they endeavoured to excite in his mind a love of sport, though he seemed not averse to learning. But he was seized with the small-pox, which, owing to the weakness of his constitution,

and the ignorance of his physicians, who treated the disorder as a malignant fever, terminated his life January 29th, 1730. He had become very popular by transferring the imperial residence to Moscow. His death was very much regretted, as well because of his being the grandson of Peter the great, and the last male descendant of the house of Romanof, as of those expectations which young princes usually raise in the minds of their subjects.

CHAP. VII.

Accession of the Empress Anne—Character of Biron—Peace with Persia—War with Turkey—Death of the Empress Anne—Fall of Biren—Regency of the Princess Anne—Revolution—Ivan's Imprisonment—Interview with Peter III. —And assassination—Insolence of the guards—War with Sweden—And with Prussia—Death and Character of the Empress Elizabeth.

On the demise of Peter II. the crown ought, according to the will of Catherine, to have devolved on her grandson, afterwards Peter III.; but that prince, being young and absent, and hereditary right having been abolished by the decree of Peter the great, a party of nobles formed a plan to limit the royal prerogatives, and looked round for one of the royal family who might be easily induced to concur in their intentions. The tzar Ivan had left three daughters; the second, the princess Anne, had been espoused by her uncle, Peter the great to Frederic William, duke of Courland; but that prince dying in 1711, she had from that period lived in a state of widowhood at Mittau. She had no claim to the succession, and not being

advanced in years, might ally herself with some of the noble families of Russia. Passing by her elder sister Catherine, obnoxious on account of her husband, the duke of Mecklenburgh, as well as the family of Peter the great, the junto of nobles therefore offered the crown, on certain conditions, to the dowager duchess of Courland. Anne readily acceded to terms, which the possession of power would enable her to break with impunity, and hastened to Moscow to assume the honours so unexpectedly obtained. She had no sooner ascended the throne, than she began to shake off the restraints. As those who imposed the conditions wished to engross the whole power to themselves, they were exposed to great opposition. A powerful party was soon formed; the guards were gained; Anne was petitioned to annul conditions so disgraceful to the sovereign; she assembled a council, at which the articles limiting the supreme power were negatived; and the imperial authority was conferred upon her without any restrictions.

If the empress Anne recovered the authority vested in her predecessors, it was only to resign it into the hands of her favourite, Biren, by whom she was entirely governed. John Ernest Biren, second son of the duke of Courland's master huntsman, having been obliged by his irregularities to quit the university of Konigs-

berg, to which he was sent, after receiving his early education in Courland, repaired to Moscow. As the meanness of his origin prevented him from attaining the office of page to the princess Charlotte, wife of Alexèy Petrovitch, to which he aspired, he retired to Mittau. Here, by the influence of count Bestuchef, master of the household to the princess Anne, he was appointed her chamberlain. His figure and address soon gave him an ascendency in the affections of his mistress. He rewarded Bestuchef by procuring his disgrace, and by his arrogance he offended the nobility. When the crown was bestowed upon Anne, one of the conditions of the gift was, that Biren should be left in Courland. She assented indeed; but soon after her arrival at Moscow, Biren appeared; he laid the plan by which despotic authority was restored to the crown; and, when the hour for its execution arrived, as the empress discovered symptoms of alarm, he conducted her by the hand to the door of the apartment, where the principal persons of the nation were assembled to declare her absolute sovereign. In a few months he was raised to the highest honours, and acquired uncontrouled authority in the state.

The condition to which this man reduced the empress is surprising. She kept no table of her own, but dined with his family. During the

sitting of the council, she often repaired to an adjoining room, where he waited to give her orders. Acquainted only with German and his native jargon, he disdained to learn the language of the empire which he governed; and had the arrogance to declare, in the presence of the empress, that he would not acquire the Russian, because he could not endure to read the reports and memorials that were daily transmitted to him. The violence and haughtiness of his temper were felt no less by Anne than by her subjects. One day, while she gave audience to the duke of Bevern, Biren burst into her presence, complained that he was tormented by her servants, and having threatened with horrid imprecations to retire into Courland, rushed out of the room, shutting the door with violence. In the highest consternation, the empress lifted up her hands to heaven, then clasped them together, and almost fainting, opened the window for air. While in this state, Biren's wife entered with her children, and on her knees implored pardon for her husband. Anne relented as usual; and the most absolute despot in Christendom endured the insolence, which the meanest person in this country, who keeps a servant, would not bear.*

During the reign of Anne, foreign transac-

* Coxe, Vol. II. p. 253.

tions, producing important consequences, did not occur. When Frederic Augustus, king of Poland died, she united with the emperor of Germany in favour of his son Augustus III., and succeeded in raising him to the throne. The possessions which Peter the Great had acquired on the west of the Caspian sea, were likely to engender wars, and in time of peace to require great sums to maintain garrisons in them. The empress therefore concluded a treaty with the Persians by which she renounced those territories, and acquired considerable commercial advantages for her subjects.

But while Anne abandoned the provinces on the Persian frontier which her uncle had added to the empire, in order to recover those which he had been obliged to relinquish on the shores of the Euxine, she entered into a war with Turkey. The aggressions of the Tartars afforded a plausible pretext. An army marched towards the Crimea; but was compelled to retreat through want of provisions. The celebrated Munich, however, being appointed to the command, retrieved affairs, and Azof was reduced by general Lascy. As it seemed to the emperor of Germany a favourable opportunity to indemnify himself on the side of Turkey, for the losses he had elsewhere sustained, he entered into an alliance with the Russians. But the haughty tone of these confederates roused

the Turks. Anne, indeed, still continued the war; and Munich reduced Otchakof, desolated the Crimea, and overran Moldavia. But the emperor was soon obliged to employ the mediation of France to procure peace; and as it was probable that Sweden, instigated by France and Turkey, would attempt to recover her territories on the Baltic, Anne concluded a peace with the Turks, September 18, 1739. This war occasioned to Russia an immense waste of blood and treasure, and was not attended with any advantage, except that of displaying the power of her arms.

While war was carried on with vigour, tranquillity was maintained in the interior of the empire, and objects of utility were not neglected. Anne received the submission of the Kerghises, and re-established the Russian authority over the Zaporogian Cossacks. She promoted discoveries in the eastern parts of Siberia, and renewed treaties of commerce with different nations. This princess died October 17, 1740, after a prosperous reign of ten years and a few months. She was active, open, and compassionate; but unhappily for her subjects, so entirely under the controul of Biren, that great cruelties were committed under the sanction of her authority. It is conjectured that 20,000 persons were banished to Siberia during her reign. Her ineffectual opposition to the san-

guinary measures of her ferocious servant, will not exempt her, in the eyes of posterity, from the guilt of his atrocities.

Catherine, the eldest sister of the empress Anne, married the duke of Mecklenburgh ; and of this marriage was born Anne, espoused to Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunswick. Not so much from an affection to her relatives, as to prolong the reign of her favourite, the empress Anne nominated Ivan, a babe, son of the duke of Brunswick and her niece, Anne, to be her successor, and Biren to be regent till the child should be seventeen. Biren had now attained the height of his wishes. In accepting the regency, he seemed only to accede to the request of the principal persons of the realm, and, as soon as the oath was taken to the young emperor, and himself as guardian, he obtained an annual revenue of 500,000 rubles, with the title of Imperial Highness. But as it has always been more difficult to preserve than obtain power, Biren was very insecure upon this slippery eminence, and his fall was as sudden as his elevation had been undeserved.

He kept numerous spies in employ, and every day threw persons whom he suspected into prison. The Russian nobles, who were extremely jealous of his power were highly provoked by his insufferable arrogance. He came to an open rupture with the emperor's

father, and threatened if they were refractory, to send him and his consort into Germany. Discontents were general, and marshal Munich, who had received some disgust, prevailed upon the princess Anne to order the arrest of the regent. Manstein with twenty men, employed to execute the order, penetrated into the apartment of the regent, and rousing him from a sound sleep, conducted him with his mouth gagged and his hands tied behind his back, into the residence of the princess Anne, December 18th, twenty days after he had assumed the regency. The man who made Russia tremble, and threatened to expel the parents of his sovereign, was with great ease stript of his vast authority, and confined in a miserable hovel in the wilds of Siberia. So few in Russia are the steps between the throne and the prison.*

On the morning after Biren's arrest, the oath was taken to the princess Anne, as regent. The court was divided. Marshal Munich was induced by the Prussian monarch to endeavour to dissolve the connexion between Russia and Austria; but the regent, following the advice of the chancellor Osterman, adhered to Austria and engaged to furnish auxiliaries. Anne however showed not any activity in the war with Prussia.

* Coxe. Vol. II. p. 262.

Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony opposed the march of her troops and the Swedes threatened on the side of Finland. Secure of success they formed the terms of peace without having consulted measures for the war. They were defeated by general Lascy near Wilmanstrand, and their attempts to excite discontents in Russia were ineffectual *.

Meanwhile events tended to another revolution. The regent Anne did not live on terms with her consort; careless, and addicted to pleasure, her inattention allowed her enemies to intrigue against her, while the distinctions enjoyed by foreigners sharpened their jealousy. The infant emperor himself seemed a foreigner, and a new candidate for the imperial power appeared in the person of the princess Elizabeth.

This princess, daughter of Peter the Great, was born in 1709, and consequently before that monarch had espoused her mother, the empress Catherine. Elizabeth, when arrived at years of maturity, was famed for beauty, which together with rank and fortune, procured her several suitors. Her father had entered into a negotiation for her marriage with Louis XV. She was betrothed to the bishop of Lubec, Charles Augustus; but the death of that prince prevented the completion of the ceremony. The most remark-

* Tooke's History of Russia, Vol. II. p. 256

able application, however, for this princess, was that of the Persian tyrant Kouli Khan, who having, in the centre of Asia, heard of her beauty, sent an embassy of 16,000 men and twenty pieces of artillery to demand her in marriage.

On the death of Peter II. Elizabeth made no claim to the crown; she lived on terms with the empress Anne; the slave of pleasure; unknown to the nobility; with few friends except among the soldiers. But an infant being on the throne and the regent Anne, while she made herself enemies without suspicion of danger, Elizabeth hearkened to her physician Lestoc, who persuaded her to aspire to the empire. This man attempted to raise partizans among the soldiers; money being furnished by his mistress and the French ambassador. The courage of Elizabeth failed, the fidelity of the soldiers was doubtful, and reports of the plot were in circulation. Such however was the blind security of the regent, that though apprized of the danger from various quarters, she neglected even to inform her consort, and disregarded advice and admonition to provide for her own safety She mentioned the matter in full court, in the presence of Elizabeth, and was so infatuated, as to allow the protestations and tears of that princess to banish all suspicion from her mind.

Lestoc now redoubled his efforts to inspire Elizabeth with courage. He showed her a card, on one side of which she was represented in a nunnery and on the other wearing the diadem. By thus displaying the punishment and the reward, he determined her. Having procured accomplices, he repaired to her apartments December 5th 1741, and found her again in a state of hesitation. When, however, she had offered her devotions before a crucifix, her courage revived, and stepping into a sledge with a chamberlain and two guards behind, followed by Lestoc, and a person named Schwartz, she proceeded to the quarters of the Preobaginsky guards. With the cross in her hand, she addressed the soldiers, said that she was the daughter of Peter the Great, and prayed them to assist her in recovering the inheritance, of which she had been deprived by foreigners. The demeanour of Elizabeth aided by liquor gained the greater part of the regiment, and the refractory were manacled. Joined by all they met in their progress, they marched to the residence of the duke of Brunswick and the regent Anne, whom they rudely awakened from sleep, and safely conducted to Elizabeth's palace. Munich and Osterman were likewise made prisoners. In the morning, Elizabeth was acknowledged as empress, and the same oaths of fide-

lity were taken to her by the same persons as had, in little more than twelve months, sworn allegiance successively to Ivan, Biren, and Anne. Elizabeth published two manifestos; one in which she claimed the throne as her birthright; and the other in which she exposed the pretensions of Ivan and his parents.

The infant emperor Ivan, whose history it is now expedient to pursue, equally unconscious of his rise and of his fall, was found slumbering at his nurse's side, by the soldiers sent to arrest him. As they were ordered not to disturb him, if asleep, they stood in silence, at least an hour, around his cradle, before he opened his eyes. Disputing which of them should carry him, the child was frightened; and to still his crying, they allowed his nurse to wrap him in a cloak, and accompany him in a sledge to the palace. Elizabeth kissed the boy; as he was in her arms, some soldiers passed by shouting, "Long live Elizabeth," and pleased with the noise, he extended his little hands and endeavoured to imitate the shouts. Touched by this spectacle, the empress exclaimed, "poor innocent! you know not that they rejoice in your ruin."

Ivan's innocence, however, did not afford him protection. He was conveyed with his parents to the fortress of Riga. Application was made to Elizabeth on behalf of the unfortunate family

by the courts of Vienna, London, and Berlin; but as she would only consent to the release of the duke, he would not accept of liberty. From Riga the royal prisoners were conducted to Dunamund, and then to Oranienburgh in the province of Voronetz, where they remained two years under the care of Baron Korf who treated them with great humanity. Ivan was separated from his parents about his seventh year. It is said a monk who had access to his prison, contrived to release him, and attempted to convey him into Germany; but being overtaken near Smolensk, Ivan was again confined in a convent upon an isle in the lake of Valday. When about sixteen he was transported to the fortress of Schlusselburgh, and in the same year 1756, he was secretly brought to Petersburgh, where Elizabeth had an interview with him. In discoursing with him she shed many tears; and remanded him back to his dungeon.

Ivan remained in the fortress of Schlusselburgh for eight years, in a dismal apartment with bare stone walls, and brick floor, little light, and no other furniture than a truckle-bed, a table, and a few chairs. He was seldom allowed to breathe the fresh air, or feel the blessed sun. Imprisoned from his infancy, he was not able to read or write; his speech was inarticulate; and if agitated, he was liable to stammer.

Though his knowledge was very confined, he was not ignorant of his descent, and indulged a strong hope of re-ascending the throne. He was accustomed perpetually to change his dress and admire himself like a child. Not intirely void of religious notions he prayed, confessed, and received the sacrament annually, and boasted of frequent revelations from Gabriel.

Peter III. soon after his accession to empire, went to Schlusselburgh, in order to have an interview with the royal prisoner. The emperor, who kept his intention secret, was accompanied by baron Korf and some others, and with an order previously signed by himself gained admission into the apartment of Ivan. He appeared very clean and neat, though his clothes were coarse. Peter had not been long in the room, before the reflections that crowded upon his mind obliged him to return into the air. "I now feel myself," said he to one of his attendants, "very much refreshed. I was so exceedingly shocked as to be near fainting." Ivan talked very incoherently, one moment he pretended to be the emperor Ivan, and the next a body into which the soul of that emperor, now dead, had migrated. When asked why he thought himself an emperor, he said, "he learnt it from his parents and guards." Being questioned whether he remembered his

parents, he replied in the affirmative, and bitterly lamented that Elizabeth had kept both them and himself in such a wretched condition. He recollected, he added, that they were all under the care of an officer, the only person who had ever shown them any tenderness. Korf immediately enquired whether he should know that officer. "I should not at present," returned Ivan, "it is so long ago, and I was then a child; but I have not forgotten his name, it is Korf." The general being very much affected, Peter, who was likewise moved, said in a broken voice: "Baron, you see, a good deed is never lost."

Peter conversed nearly an hour with the dethroned prince. As he proposed to give him liberty, he left a confidential servant in the apartment to ascertain whether the idiocy of Ivan was real or counterfeited. It soon appearing that he was actually disordered in his mind, all thought of releasing him was abandoned. He was transported to Kexholm, another fortress in the Ladoga lake. In passing from Schlusselburgh to a galliot stationed at some distance for his reception, the wind being boisterous, the boat was upset, and he narrowly escaped with his life. On the accession of Catharine II. he was removed from Kexholm, and the carriage breaking down, he was led

covered with a cloak through Schlusselburgh to his former prison, where he was confined till his death, a transaction not a little extraordinary.

Two officers were stationed in Ivan's apartment as a guard; and of the hundred men who performed duty in the fortress, eight or ten stood centinel about the door. In the regiment of Smolensk, which at this time was quartered in Schlusselburgh, and in the rotation of a hundred men a week, guarded the fortress, was a lieutenant, named Vassili Mirovitch. This man, whose grandfather had engaged in revolt with the Cossack Mezeppa, having been disappointed in his applications for the recovery of his progenitor's confiscated estates, conceived the design of restoring Ivan to the throne. In this daring enterprise, he was joined by Ushakof, lieutenant in another regiment. These conspirators took an oath of fidelity to each on the altar of the Virgin Mary's church, and having invoked the Great Ruler to aid their attempts, drew up a manifesto, which they meant to distribute as soon as Ivan was liberated. Summer was chosen to execute the enterprize, when it was expected the empress would be in Livonia. Though in this interval, his associate was accidentally drowned, Mirovitch persevered. He

endeavoured to infuse seditious principles into Tikon Casatkin, a servant of the court, and communicated his design to Tchevaridsef, a lieutenant in the artillery. During the week in which he was on duty in the fortress, he was only able to mark the door of Ivan's apartment which he showed to Tchevaridsef, who came from Petersburgh to visit him. When his week expired he contrived to be continued on guard another. On the evening of the 4th of July, he had only gained one common soldier, Jacob Piskof. About ten, he first hinted his intentions to three corporals, and two soldiers and though they were at first averse, they were at length persuaded to favour his attempt. But timid and irresolute, they proposed to wait for a more favourable opportunity, to which Mirovitch seemed to assent.

Between one and two in the morning, however, he renewed his solicitations, and by bribes and promises secured their concurrence. With these six assistants, he collected about forty of the soldiers, and, pretending an order from the empress, commanded them to load their pieces and march to Ivan's prison. In his way, meeting the governor, who had been roused by the noise, Mirovitch knocked him down, and having entrusted him to some of the party, advanced to the gate of the prince's dungeon.

Being refused admittance, he ordered his followers to fire. As the centinels returned the fire, Mirovitch's soldiers retreated, and it was only by reading an order from the empress, which he had forged, and adding threats, promises, and intreaties, that he prevailed with them again to advance. A piece of artillery was pointed against the prison door, when it was suddenly opened for their admission.

The officers Vlasief and Tchekin, who had secret orders to put their prisoner to death, in case of any attempt to rescue him, seeing the soldiers return with the gun, considered further resistance as hopeless, and drew their swords upon the unhappy Ivan. The prince, full six feet high, well formed, and of athletic strength, though almost naked and unarmed, defended himself with all the courage of despair. His hand was pierced, yet he broke one of their swords and resisted, until stabbed in several parts, and wounded in the back, he was thrown down. The officers now opened the door, and pointing to the body of the murdered prince exclaimed; "Here is your emperor!" Mirovitch on seeing the dismal spectacle, was at first confounded; but soon collected his courage, and finding his hopes blasted, surrendered himself with perfect composure.

When the body of Ivan was exposed on the

following day, great crowds collected from different quarters, and by various attitudes and expressions of grief bewailed a prince, who in unconscious infancy had sat on the throne of Russia, drawn out a wretched existence in successive dungeons, and perished by the hand of violence, a sacrifice to the state. As a tumult was apprehended from the uncommon concourse, his body was wrapped in a sheep-skin and buried without ceremony in the old chapel of the fortress.

Mirovitch and his accomplices, after being examined at Schlusselburgh, were examined at Petersburgh by a select committee. It appeared from all the enquiries that Mirovitch had been his own adviser and instigator. He solemnly professed he had no associates, except his fellow prisoners. He was sentenced to lose his head, which he suffered with great tranquillity. His followers received different punishments according to the reputed degrees of their guilt*.

It was reported that Mirovitch was encouraged by the court in the attempt that occasioned Ivan's death. But there seems little ground for this accusation, except the advantage which Catherine reaped from the removal of a prisoner whose life might afford a feeble hope to discontented spirits, and tempt them to desperate enterprises.

* Coxe, Vol. III. p. 45—68.

Elizabeth, among the first acts of her reign recalled several persons whom the justice or tyranny of her predecessors had sen into Siberia, and banished into those regions marshal Munich, because he had formerly, in obedience to orders, taken one of her favourites into custody. The empress endeavoured to restore things as they were under her father.

As the services of the Preobaginsky guards, in raising her to the throne, had procured, from the empress, many marks of favour, they became insolent. The grenadiers, who had been all honoured with the rank of nobility, were so intoxicated with their good fortune, as to grow riotous, and came to the resolution of murdering all foreigners, who might fall in their way. Elizabeth was obliged to exert her authority to check such arrogance; but, their hatred to foreigners, though suppressed when discovered, was of essential injury to the service.

The Swedes, who had, during the regency of Anne, entered into a war to recover their ancient possessions, as Elizabeth was not inclined to relinquish them, continued hostilities. But they were not successful. The empress attempted to seduce the Finns from their allegiance by offering them liberty; and though this offer was little recommended by the burning of two hundred villages, her army surrounded the Swedes at Helsingfors, and reduced

them to such necessities as obliged them to capitulate. Disappointed in their expectations, they agreed to a peace on the basis of that of Neustadt, surrendered Fredericksham and Wilmanstrand to Elizabeth, and, at her request, nominated Frederic Adolphus, as successor to the throne.

The French endeavoured to detach Elizabeth from the house of Austria, but Bestuchef frustrated their efforts, and troops were sent to the assistance of Maria Theresa, the empress queen. The attempts of the Prussian monarch to create a misunderstanding between the two powers were fruitless.

An alliance, indeed, was formed between Elizabeth and Frederic, in 1743, but she was so far from being friendly to this prince, that she would not guarantee the treaty of Dresden. She formed a close alliance with Austria, to which the electoral king of Poland was invited to accede.

Lestoc, to whom Elizabeth was indebted for her elevation, entertained a strong predilection for the Prussian monarch, and in consequence of this, he was obnoxious to Bestuchef. The physician's services were now forgotten, and he was banished to a village in the province of Archangel.

Lestoc, who favoured the Prussian interests, being removed, Bestuchef found it easy to

alienate the mind of Elizabeth from Frederic. Her ambassador not having been treated, on one occasion, with that respect to which he was entitled, she recalled him from Berlin. Some expressions of Frederic's, in ridicule of Elizabeth's mother, and of her own irregularities, were related to her, with aggravations, and while provoked by the satire of that prince, it was not difficult to persuade her that he was concerting measures against her government. The empress, therefore, entered into a treaty with the court of Vienna, in order to resist all further encrease of the Prussian power; and, in 1755, going a step further, she resolved, in conjunction with Austria, to put herself into a condition to attack Prussia, or, in case of an attack from that power, to resist with energy.

When the English and Prussian monarchs had concluded a treaty, by which they guaranteed each others dominions, Elizabeth acceded to the alliance formed by France and Austria, for the purpose of checking the power of those monarchs. In conformity with this engagement, general Fermor, aided by the Russian fleet, undertook the reduction of Memel; while an army of 80,000 men, under marshal Apraxin, invaded Prussia. Apraxin, after committing great barbarities upon the inhabitants, retired, precipitately into Livonia, without effecting any thing worthy of so great a force. This

retreat, which excited loud complaints among the empress's allies, was ordered by Bestuchef, who had formed the design of setting aside the grand duke, afterwards Peter III., and, as Elizabeth was dangerously ill, thought he might have occasion for the army to accomplish his purpose. But the empress recovering, when she learnt the cause of Apraxin's retreat, banished the chancellor, and sent the marshal prisoner to Narva, where he expired, on being informed of Bestuchef's disgrace.

The empress still persevered in her designs. A new army of 90,000 men, under marshal Brown and general Fermor, reduced Konigsberg, and ducal Prussia; but, elated with success, when they penetrated as far as Custrin, they were repulsed by Frederic; and Fermor, who attempted to reduce Colberg, was obliged to winter beyond the Vistula.

The following year, 1759, the arms of Elizabeth were crowned with greater success. Soltikof, who now took the command of the army, having established magazines on the frontiers of Poland, advanced to the banks of the Oder, with the view of forming a junction with the Austrians, and invading Silesia or Brandenburgh. He defeated the Prussian general, Wedel, who endeavoured to obstruct his march, near Zullicau, took Francfort on the Oder, and entrenched himself in a strong posi-

tion near Konersdorff. Here being attacked by the king of Prussia, who deemed the defeat of the Russians indispensible to his safety, he gained, after a long, furious and doubtful contest, a complete victory over that prince, reducing his army one half, and taking most of his artillery. But when it was expected that uniting his victorious troops with the Austrians, he would perform some grand exploit, he retired into Poland. As the great duke Peter was well known to favour the Prussian interests, it is probable that Soltikof, by this step, intended to pay court to that prince, whom he soon expected to be his sovereign. When, however, he was pressed by marshal Daun to pursue his operations with vigour, he replied; "I have done enough this year, Sir; I have gained two battles, which have cost Russia 27,000 men. I expect, as an excitement, to renew my operations, that you will, in your turn, gain two victories."*

When the empress was apprized of this victory, she was very much affected with the reflection, that it had cost so much blood. She rewarded the general officers and men, and, though she seemed to feel so much for human suffering, told the English ambassador, who

* Mayo's Compendious View of Universal History, Vol. I., p. 222.

proposed a congress in order to reconcile the contending powers, that as she intended to procure her allies satisfaction, she could enter into negotiation only in concert with them.

The armies of the empress were re-inforced; but they were little more than spectators of the contest. Intrigues, which perpetually agitated the court of Elizabeth, removed Soltikof, notwithstanding his merit, from the command of the army. Butterlin, his successor, acted in conjunction with the Austrians, while Romanzow, penetrating into Pomerania, reduced Colberg.

Meanwhile, the health of the empress began to decline. Tormented with excruciating pains, she endeavoured to procure relief by the use of intoxicating liquors, and thus hastened her dissolution, which took place December 25th, 1761. Elizabeth, it is said, resembled her mother, Catherine, whom she surpassed in beauty. The charms of her person were recommended by an air of gaiety and good humour, which she usually assumed. Equally addicted to superstition and sensuality, she would continue hours upon her knees before the picture of a saint, and frequently drink to excess; while she acknowledged she was never happy except when influenced by amorous inclinations, of which the objects were incessantly varied. On her accession to the throne, she made a vow, that no criminal should be put to

death during her reign. But, if capital punishments were not inflicted, the prisons were filled with sufferers, who perished unknown and unregretted. She instituted a political inquisition to examine persons suspected of treason, which was kept in full employ during the whole of her reign. Upon the slightest surmises, many persons were tortured, and many expired under the punishment of the knoot. The most profligate wretches were employed as spies, and rewarded for their depositions against the innocent. No less than 20,000 were taken off by private imprisonment. The countess Bestuchef and Lapookin received, each of them, fifty strokes of the knoot in the open square of Petersburgh, were deprived of their tongues, and banished to Siberia. The countess Lapookin, the handsomest woman in Russia, was, indeed, accused of holding a secret intercourse with the French ambassador; but she had only reflected on the empress's amours. Passing her days in frivolous amusements, balls, masquerades, and banquets, and neglecting all serious employment, Elizabeth yet lived in perpetual apprehensions of perishing by violence.

So great was her alarm, that, besides guards about her apartment, a person, originally a taylor, in whom she placed great confidence, usually remained at the foot of her bed, while

she slept, a post which he occupied two and twenty years.*

Though Elizabeth refused to take a husband who might share the empire with her, yet, Alexèy Razumofsky, taking advantage of her superstition, induced her to consent to a private marriage, and of this clandestine union the counts Tarrakanof and their sister were the fruit.

During the reign of Elizabeth, the army was increased, though not improved, and literature and commerce made some progress. The corruption and debauchery of her court, were gilded with pomp and magnificence.

* Coxe, Vol. III. p. 3.

CHAP. VIII.

The Princess Anne—Duke of Holstein declared successor to Elizabeth — His Marriage with the Princess of Anhalt Zerbst, afterwards Catherine II.—The grand Duke labours under the jealousy of Elizabeth—Intrigues to exclude him from the succession—Soltikof—Poniatowsky—Grand Dutchess reconciled to Elizabeth—Parties in the Court at her Death—Accession of Peter III.—Beginning of his Reign—His follies—Conspiracies against him—Their progress—And fall of Peter III.

ELIZABETH was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III., son of the princess Anne, eldest daughter of Peter the great. This princess, the most deserving of all Peter the great's children, inherited many of her father's qualities; she was endowed with an excellent understanding, recommended by great beauty, a majestic form, and an irreproachable life. When young, count Apraxin paid his addresses to her; and, though contemptuously rejected, continued his suit. Finding her alone one day, he fell at her feet, and presenting his sword, entreated her to end his miserable life. "Give me the sword," said the princess extending her hand, "you shall see that the daughter of your emperor has

strength and spirit to rid herself of a wretch who insults her." The count fearing she might execute her threat, withdrew his sword and begged pardon. As the princess told the story with great humour, he was exposed to the derison of the whole court.

In 1725, Anne espoused Charles Frederic, duke of Holstein, and heir of the Swedish throne. In expectation of two crowns, she was disappointed of both; and having been nominated by Catherine I., as one of the council of regency, during the minority of Peter II., she was excluded by the violence of Mentchikof, and driven from Russia by his orders. She retired with her consort to Kiel, where she died in 1728, in the 22d year of her age, leaving an only son, Peter III., heir of her rights and misfortunes.*

Peter lost his father the following year, and as there was no prospect of his accession to the throne of Russia, he was educated as a German prince, by his uncle, the bishop of Lubec. When the revolution of 1741, had seated Elizabeth upon the throne, as she was apprehensive of plots from her discontented subjects, she called her nephew Peter into Russia, and appointed him her successor. Two days before his nomination, as heir of the Russian empire,

* Coxe, Vol. II. p. 165.

the states of Sweden had chosen him to succeed his aunt, their queen, Ulrica Eleonora, lately deceased. On the 18th of November, 1742, Peter being fourteen years of age, was publicly admitted into the Greek church, and proclaimed grand duke with the title of imperial highness, all present swearing to maintain his succession to the throne.

The empress having nominated her nephew to be her heir, though she entirely neglected his education, resolved to provide him a spouse. Her choice fell upon the princess of Anhalt Zerbst, a relation of the grand duke's. Sophia Augusta Frederica, the daughter of Christian Augustus, prince of Anhalt Zerbst, and Elizabeth princess of Holstein, was born at Stettin, May 2d, 1729. Her father, a field-marshal in the Prussian service, and governor of Stettin, devolved her education upon her mother, a woman of parts and beauty, who bestowed great care on the culture of her daughter's mind. In her childhood, Sophia discovered not a little spirit; since at play, whatever it might be, she always acted the principal part, and taught her play-fellows theirs, with an air of authority. From Stettin, the principal place of her residence, she made frequent visits with her mother to Hamburgh, Brunswick, and Berlin. At Hamburgh, a M. von Brummer, chamberlain to the bishop of Lubec's relict, communicated to her the

most instructive works of living authors, and at Brunswick she was instructed in the principles of Lutheranism by the court preacher, Dovè. Beautiful, amiable, and accomplished, her mother proposed, in the sixteenth year of her age, to convey her into Russia, a measure to which she was so reluctant, that she burst into tears, declaring she would rather marry a count in Germany than the grand duke.*

The princess Sophia, however, accompanied her mother to Petersburgh. A reciprocal attachment was soon observed between the grand duke and the young princess. Having adopted the Greek religion, and changed her name into Catherine Alexievna, the young princess was espoused to Peter, and the nuptials were celebrated with a magnificence, becoming the heirs of a great empire.

The grand duke and his consort lived for some time in apparent harmony. But their dispositions and habits involved the principles of distrust, indifference, and opposition, which events ripening into irreconcilable aversion, brought so many calamities upon the grand duke, and occasioned, at once, the crimes and honours of Catherine.

Though Peter was not naturally void of understanding, he had received no instruction;

* Coxe, Vol. III. p. 2.

his person was uncouth, and his manners rude and vulgar; while Catherine, naturally intelligent and carefully educated, added to great personal beauty, refinement of taste, and dignity of behaviour. She was ashamed of her consort, and in her presence he was ashamed of himself. As the grand duke's pretensions to the throne were superior to Elizabeth's, she grew jealous of him. Regarding him as a rival, she thought him too well informed, and kept him at a distance from all business. Some disinterested persons ventured to remonstrate with the empress; and, among others, a woman of her bedchamber, named Johanna, had the courage to ask why she kept the duke from the council. "What will become of him?" said she, "if he is not taught what is necessary to rule the country?" "Johanna," replied the empress angrily, "do you know the way to Siberia?" At Petersburgh the grand duke was kept somewhat like a state prisoner. When the weather allowed, he retired to the palace at Oranienbaum, the gift of the empress upon his marriage, where he amused himself in training his servants to military exercises. To preserve him from political intrigues, the empress encouraged this military passion, and ordered soldiers to be draughted from different regiments, and to be quartered at Oranienbaum under his command.

While the grand duke thus laboured under

the jealousy of his aunt, he had the misfortune to entertain an extravagant admiration for the king of Prussia; in consequence of which, as well as of the injury which that minister had done him, he was exposed to the hatred of the chancellor Bestuchef. Aware that if Peter succeeded to the throne, his disgrace would follow, that crafty politician laboured to deprive the duke of the empress's favour, and render him contemptible in the eyes of the Russians.

For this purpose he associated with several courtiers, as base and malignant, though not so subtle as himself, whom he employed to convey unfavourable reports of the duke to the empress, to aggravate trivial faults, and attribute to him imaginary vices. He gained almost all the persons for whom Peter had an inclination, and made use of them as spies upon his conduct, and tempters to those vices and absurdities which he wished him to contract. Elizabeth, easily deceived, was induced to abhor her harmless nephew, and being, by a scandalous artifice, persuaded that he was intemperate, diminished his allowance. This drew from him complaints, which were reported with aggravations.

While some of the agents of Bestuchef poisoned the ear of the empress, others were no less successful in corrupting Peter. When the corps of soldiers was put under his orders, he

formed a miniature fortress in his garden, and pleased with the first essay, built a larger one near his palace, with accommodation for 1500 men. His soldiers were principally Germans, whom he dressed and exercised in the Prussian mode. To military exercises were added musical and theatrical performances. The profligate associates of Bestuchef, persuaded the duke that every Prussian officer was a smoaker, drinker, and gambler, and he acquired those vices.

The conduct of Catherine was very different from that of her husband. It was her business to gain partizans among the nobility, and to acquaint herself with the laws, institutions, and genius of the Russians. Disgusted with the duke, in whom she found nothing conformable to her taste or inclinations, though she checked, she never subdued her immoderate love of pleasure. The amours of this princess form an important part of her history.

Among the attendants upon the grand duke was a young man, his chamberlain, named Soltikof, graceful in person, of engaging manners, tinctured with French literature, and, though scarcely outgrown the boy, distinguished by his gallantries. Soltikof conceiving the design of seducing the spouse of his master, recommended himself to Catherine, by procuring her amusement in the solitude of Oranien-

baum, and his constant assiduities, aided by his wit and beauty, insensibly secured her affections. Having obtained permission from his master to repair to Moscow, on occasion of his father's death, he went to take leave of the grand dutchess, and as he was unable to conceal the emotions which separation excited, Catherine fixing her eyes upon him, very significantly conjured him to hasten his return. Conjecturing that he had gained the princess's heart, the young man dispatched his business in a few days. But on his return, as he reflected on the consequences of avowing his passion, a prison, perhaps, or death, he began to tremble; and melancholy preying on his spirits, affected his health. Catherine, alarmed, one day when they were alone together, enquired the cause of so sudden a change. Soltikof, not master of himself, pathetically declared the emotions of his mind. The princess, though she seemed to pity him, with a collected air, advised him to renounce an inclination so obviously irregular and dangerous. But, finding that she listened to him, he took courage, and threw himself at her feet. Catherine, letting fall a tear, hastily retired into her cabinet, and wrote to him the following line:

"Et méritez les pleurs que vous m'allez coûter."

Soltikof resumed his usual gaiety.

While the empress spent the summer at Peterhof, she occasionally sent for the grand duke and dutchess, to share in the pleasures of the court. But as Catherine thought she would be too much exposed to observation, she feigned indisposition, and Peter was so blind that he left his chamberlain to amuse his wife. The indiscretion of the dutchess, however, soon led the courtiers to suspect the cause of the preference shown to Soltikof, and they failed not to convey their suspicions to Elizabeth, who, at first threatened to send him to Siberia. The danger, which thus threatened the chamberlain, assurance enabled him to evade. With the air of injured innocence, repairing to the grand duke, he reminded him that he had attended on the dutchess by his orders, remarked that the slanderous reports were designed as an attack upon the heir of the empire, and requested leave to retire to Moscow, in order to remove all further pretence for jealousy. The credulous prince was induced to believe that his honour was concerned in retaining his chamberlain about the person of his wife, and having obtained an audience of the empress, defended Soltikof with such vehemence and plausibility, that she suspected the reports which she had heard might be invidious fabrications. Informed of the grand duke's success, Catherine next presented herself to the empress. She com-

plained that credit had been given to such suspicions, and pretended that public inquiry was a very uncertain mode of ascertaining her innocence, since in such cases the least doubt was a disgrace. Grief and rage so animated this address, that Elizabeth was quite overcome, invited Soltikof to continue in the duke's service, and assured him, she would herself be the first to undertake his defence.

Meanwhile, Peter lived with his wife; Soltikof imagined the danger was past, and Catherine, who had been nine years married, without issue, was now, October 1st, 1754, delivered of a son.

Bestuchef still persevered in his attempts to ruin the grand duke, and resolved to make his chamberlain instrumental in his designs. By flattery, caresses, and profusion, having gained the confidence of Soltikof, he persuaded him, that to secure his ascendancy over his master, he should remove from the prince all persons of rank, talents, and ambition. Soltikof penetrated not the perfidy of the hoary politician; but endeavoured to follow his advice. The young courtiers were provoked, and uniting with the partizans of the chancellor, conveyed their complaints to Elizabeth. Bestuchef embraced the opportunity; in a secret audience with the empress, he enlarged on the extravagance and disorders of the grand duke; he

attributed them all to Soltikof, who, to subject the prince to his will, would allow none to approach him but flatterers and debauchees; and, reviving the suspicions of a criminal intercourse between him and the grand dutchess, he determined Elizabeth to banish the chamberlain. Soltikof was sent as ambassador to Stockholm, to announce the birth of Paul, and afterwards was ordered to reside at Hamburgh, as minister from the court of Russia. His eyes were now opened; but Catherine, though she lamented the separation, and wished at first to intercede for his return, was convinced by the chancellor of the extreme danger of such a step, and satisfied herself with corresponding with her gallant, till a new object supplanted him in her capricious affections.*

Count Poniatowsky was a Polish nobleman, who, at an early age, had visited several countries of Europe, and after his return to Poland, had formed an acquaintance with Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, British envoy at the court of Augustus III. One of the parties, into which Poland was divided, was headed by his uncle, and being favourable to England, the young count acquainted with the English tongue, was the confidential agent between his relatives and the British minister. When this party had

* Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 72—117.

recommended Sir Charles Hanbury Williams to George II., as a fit person for an embassy to Petersburgh, Poniatowsky accompanied him as his confidential friend, and secret agent for the affairs of Poland.* Handsome, ambitious, and of engaging address, Poniatowsky, in a short time, gained the favour of the grand dutchess. This new intrigue was reported to Elizabeth, and the count was ordered to leave Russia without delay. His absence, however, was of short duration.

Bestuchef, though he had removed Soltikof, neglected not to pay court to the grand dutchess, and even to minister to her inclinations. At her request he employed his influence with count Bruhl, prime minister of the king of Poland, to procure the return of her gallant. Though the Poles were offended, and the French ambassador remonstrated with Bruhl, Poniatowsky re-appeared at Petersburgh, as the minister plenipotentiary of the Polish government, with 6000 ducats to advance, as occasion might serve, to the grand duke and dutchess, who, it was known, were not very liberally supplied. The young minister, secure of Catherine, gained also the confidence of her consort, with whom he talked English and German, drank,

* Coxe, Vol. I. p. 20.

smoked, abused the French and lauded the king of Prussia.

Catherine cast off restraint, affected not to conceal her intimacy with Poniatowsky, and was delivered of a daughter, February, 1758, which lived but a few months. While his consort thus violated her fidelity to him, and his enemies were incessantly employed in calumniating his character, Peter spent his time between drilling his little army and indulging in gross intemperance, ignorant of his injuries and his dangers. When, however, the intrigues and artifices, in which the chancellor Bestuchef was engaged, seemed verging toward a crisis, they met with a sudden check; and by a turn, not unusual in the conduct of Providence, wrought the fall of that hoary and profligate minister.

The enemies of the chancellor awakened the jealousy of the grand duke. Quickly convinced of his consort's infidelity, he lamented his misfortunes; he hastened to the empress, and while he implored her to revenge the affront which he had received, adducing his order for the retreat of marshal Apraxin, convinced her that the chancellor had abused her confidence. Elizabeth, enraged at Bestuchef's treachery, stripped him of his employments, and banished him to one of his estates.

Catherine meantime was in a critical situation; she had to bear the aversion of the grand

duke, the indignation of the empress, the disdain of the courtiers, and what was still more afflicting, the apprehension of losing Poniatowsky. The count, though he had been recalled, resolved not yet to return, feigning indisposition, he kept at home all day, and contrived to meet Catherine in the obscurity of the evening. As the princess was obliged in summer to accompany her husband to Oranienbaum, the difficulties of intercourse were multiplied. Poniatowsky had recourse to disguise. One day as he waited for Catherine, he was recognized by a domestic, who informed the grand duke. Resolving to humble the count, Peter called an athletic Russian officer, to whom he described the Pole, and ordered him to bring him. The officer soon meeting a man that answered the description, roughly asked him who he was and what he wanted. As Poniatowsky was taken by surprize, he stammered out that he was a German taylor, come to measure a Holstein officer for a suit of clothes. "I have orders to bring you to the grand duke," said the officer. "I must decline the honour," replied the count, "I have not a moment of time." "As to time, whether you have time or not, you must follow me," returned the officer; and seeing symptoms of reluctance, he made a slip-knot of his handkerchief, which he threw about his neck, and conducted him into the

presence of the prince. When he saw Poniatowsky in this plight, the duke, with an angry air and tone, reproved the officer for making such a mistake, and afterwards amused himself with relating the adventure, particularly in Catherine's presence.

About this time Peter, perhaps to revenge himself for his wife's infidelities, formed an attachment to one of the three daughters of the senator Vorontzof, and subjected himself entirely to her will.

A sufficient time having elapsed, Catherine deemed it expedient to endeavour a reconciliation with the empress; but as it was proposed to her to confess her guilt, and submit to the mercy of her consort and Elizabeth, she disdained such terms, and had recourse to stratagem. She confined herself to her apartments, and requested permission to retire into Germany; a request, which she well knew the empress's fondness for the infant Paul would prevent her from granting. The artifice succeeded, an accommodation ensued, when Catherine seemed on the point of being disgraced, and she conducted herself more circumspectly.*

Notwithstanding the fall of Bestuchef, his partizans still persevered in their attempts to injure the grand duke in the eyes of his aunt.

* Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 117—140.

But whatever might have been the intentions of that princess respecting her unsuspicious nephew, her dissolution, which now approached, rendered them ineffectual. In the mean time, two parties had been formed in the court, one consisting of the partizans of the grand duke, and the other of the adherents of Catherine.

At the head of the duke's party was the senator Vorontzof, brother to the chancellor, a sordid but ambitious man, who encouraged the prince to repudiate Catherine, declare her son Paul illegitimate, and marry his daughter. The other party was under the direction of Ivan Schuvalof, who having injured the grand duke, persevered in the plan of Bestuchef to allow Peter a nominal sovereignty, and invest the grand dutchess with the regency, under the authority of a council, of which he should himself be president. Catherine, though by no means pleased that Ivan Schuvalof should appropriate so large a share of the power, yet acceded to his measures; and while she aimed at obtaining the supreme authority, veiled her designs with professions of indifference.

In this state of things, a mediator suddenly appeared in the person of Nikita Ivanovitch, count Panin. This man, who acted such a part in the transactions of Catherine's reign, of an obscure origin, had for some years resided as ambassador at Stockholm, and on his return

was appointed preceptor to Paul Petrovitch. Panin, an enthusiastic admirer of aristocratical forms of government, devoted himself to the service of Catherine; but persuaded of the danger she would incur in attempting violently to seize the throne, he proposed to reconcile the parties, to raise the grand duke to sovereign dominion by the voice of the senate, and secure the authority to his consort. For this purpose he concealed his real intentions, and feigned a desertion of his party, till he had lulled suspicion. Then working upon the fears of Ivan Schuvalof, whose timidity disqualified him from being the chief of a party, he reconciled to the grand duke both him and his cousin, Peter Schuvalof, a man of great courage and ambition, and real author of the plots to prevent the grand duke's accession to power. As the suspicions which Elizabeth entertained of her nephew, might on her death be divulged and interpreted to his disadvantage, Panin employed the agency of her confessor to introduce both the duke and dutchess to her presence; and as a proof of reconciliation, the empress said with her dying lips, that, "she had always loved them, and wished them every blessing."

Having thus far succeeded, the count obtained an audience of the grand duke, and endeavoured to persuade him to receive the crown at the hands of the senate, and not be proclaimed em-

peror by the army. While the duke seemed yielding to Panin's advice, two of his courtiers entered, to whom it was communicated. One of them suspecting the artifice, suggested the expediency of consulting prince Trubetskoy, an old nobleman, who had witnessed several revolutions. This aged person warmly recommended nomination by the army, as agreeable to custom, and likely to be safest. While the duke hesitated between these opposite counsels, the death of his aunt was announced; he presented himself to the guards, and in conformity with the act of settlement in 1742, received the oaths of the officers and others, by the style of Peter III. In less than an hour he rode through Petersburgh, distributing money to the populace, who joined the soldiers crying, "If you take care of us, we will serve you as faithfully as we served our good empress."*

The enemies of the emperor were now mute, and the nobles hastened to pay him homage. If his elevation excited not joy, it was beheld without murmur. Though the companions of the grand duke were giddy young men, who courted him as the heir of the empire, there was yet one of them, named Gudovitch, who bore him a sincere regard, and who had both the ability and the courage to give him salutary

* Life of Catherine, Vol, I. p. 142—171.

admonitions. Influenced by this monitor, Peter began his reign with such acts, as confounded those who had formed their ideas of his character from his conduct during the life of Elizabeth. So far from revenging the injuries which he had suffered, he forgave his enemies; shewed kindness to the friends of the late empress, and retained in their employments almost all the great officers of state. Persons who had been sent into exile by Elizabeth were recalled, to the number of 17,000; and among them appeared Biren, Munich, and Lestoc. The venerable Munich, who was now eighty-two years of age, and who had borne twenty years of exile with exemplary resignation and cheerfulness, increasing the pittance allowed for his subsistance by keeping cows, and teaching geometry, presented himself with his family in his sheep-skin pelisse before the emperor. The prince, putting round his neck the order of St. Andrew, and restoring to him his rank, said, "I hope that your advanced age may still permit you to serve me." "Since your majesty," replied the count, "has raised me from darkness to light, you will ever find me ready to expose my life in your service. Neither a tedious exile, nor the severity of a Siberian climate, has in the least damped the ardor that I have formerly shewn for the interests of Russia, and the glory of its sovereign."

To these acts of generosity and beneficence, Peter, influenced by the same wise counsellor, added two declarations which will perpetuate the memory of his reign. By one he freed the nobility from the obligation of bearing arms when called upon, and granted them permission to travel into foreign countries at their own discretion. By another, he abolished the secret council, or state inquisition, which had been invented by Alexèy Michaelovitch, for the examination of persons suspected of treason, and occasioned innumerable oppressions. The emperor also formed plans for encouraging the arts and sciences, correcting abuses in the administration of justice, and introducing a more equitable system of jurisprudence. Receiving the congratulations of foreign ministers on his accession, he surprized them by the dignity of his demeanour, and still more so, when at a splendid entertainment which he gave them, he observed a becoming sobriety. A conduct so unexpected excited the admiration of strangers as well as natives, and all his subjects were loud in praise of their new sovereign. Such was the gratitude of the nobility, that they proposed to raise him a statue of gold.*

These auspicious beginnings, however, were

* Coxe, Vol. III. p. 7, 9, 89. Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 174—186.

not followed by a corresponding conduct. Desirous of signalizing himself by great and useful actions, Peter III. had not the prudence indispensible to success in trying and delicate enterprizes; and though at first he seemed disposed to adopt the suggestions of his friend Gudovitch, he soon resigned himself to his former habits. His measures of foreign and domestic administration, as well as his private life, discovered that imprudence, weakness, and absurdity, which exposed him to contempt abroad, offended all classes of his subjects, and presented to his enemies the temptation and opportunity of effecting his destruction.

The enthusiasm with which the emperor regarded the king of Prussia, now broke out in extravagance and folly. Frederic was the topic of his conversation, his ambition was to enjoy rank in the Prussian army, and when he was appointed major-general, he placed the king of Prussia's portrait in his chamber, and intoxicated himself celebrating his promotion. "Do you know," said he to Razumofsky, ataman of the Cossacks, "that I was a lieutenant in the Prussian service before I was grand duke." "Well!" replied the Cossack, "your majesty may now make the king of Prussia a field-marshal." Peter however was past instruction. As indifferent to the interests of his allies, and the honour of Russia, as to his own dignity,

he declared to the courts of Vienna and Paris, when they were in expectation of terminating the war by the total overthrow of Frederic, that he was resolved to make peace, with the sacrifice of all the Russian conquests, and invited them to follow his example. Hostilities were suspended, and Peter concluded a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which he rescued that prince from the verge of ruin, prevented his allies from reaping the fruit of seven years toil, and received no other recompence than the friendship of the Prussian monarch, and the promise of 6,000 men to assist him against Denmark.

Peter III. entertained a high opinion of his own military talents, and had been offended by the king of Denmark. In order to rival the martial fame of his favourite hero, and take vengeance for the injuries suffered by his family, he proposed to march an army into Holstein, and recover the possession of Sleswick. The king of Prussia, who foresaw the consequences of this wild enterprize endeavoured to divert him from it; but Peter, obstinate in proportion to his inexperience, while he thanked his friend for his attention, persisted in his undertaking. Thus making peace and war in obedience to his partialities and resentment, without any regard to the interests of the empire, he gave offence

to all those who took any concern in the national prosperity.

Though he reposed his safety on the army, so little capable was he of managing men, that he took those steps that were the most likely to offend the soldiers. He showed a preference to German troops, dress, and exercise, disbanded the guards which placed Elizabeth on the throne, transferred the honour of attending his person from the horse guards to those of Holstein, and ordered part of the regiments of Ismailof, usually stationed at Petersburgh, and Preobaginsky, to join the army in Pomerania. The elevation of his uncle, prince George, to the rank of generalissimo of the Russian armies, was considered as an insult by the nobility, who remembered that the emperor himself was a foreigner.

Actuated by the rage of innovation, the tzar, as he was incapable of consulting the genius of his subjects, introduced with salutary regulations others of a dangerous tendency. He appropriated the estates of the monasteries to the service of the crown, allowing the monks annual pensions inferior to their former income, and removed the pictures of the saints from many of the churches. He banished the archbishop of Novgorod, who opposed those measures, and recalled him to still the general clamour; thus

betraying his weakness without appeasing his enemies. The parish priests persuaded the people that the emperor, though he had embraced the Greek religion to qualify himself for the throne, was in reality a Lutheran, an accusation which there wanted not circumstances to confirm. He expressed a contempt for many of the ceremonies of the Greek church; he built a Lutheran chapel in his fortress of Oranienbaum, appeared at its dedication, and distributed with his own hand hymn-books to the German soldiers, while he absented himself from the consecration of a Russian church in the same place; and what was not of the least importance, he insulted the saints in naming two newly constructed vessels, one after his uncle, the Prince George, and the other the Frederic, after his Prussian majesty.

While thus incurring the displeasure of the nobility, clergy, soldiers, and in short, the whole body of the nation, the emperor relapsed into his intemperate course of life, passing days in smoking and drinking with courtiers, who flattered his inclinations in order to hasten his ruin. On his accession to power, he treated his consort with marks of respect; in full court he invested her with the decorations of sovereignty, and in quality of colonel, presented her to the officers of his regiment. At the blessing of the waters, a ceremony in which the Russian monarchs dis-

play the utmost pomp, he made her appear adorned with imperial majesty, and acted himself as colonel. The dignity which Catherine could assume on public occasions, formed a contrast with the puerility of the emperor little to his advantage. As his mistress, the countess Vorontzof, acquired a greater ascendancy over him, he no longer behaved to his wife with the least propriety. He neglected her, and on one occasion so insulted her, that she burst into tears and retired from table. By flattering, scolding, and beating, the countess Vorontzof induced him to promise to marry her, and place her on the throne in the room of Catherine. He resolved to repudiate the empress, to declare her son Paul illegitimate, and to confine her in the fortress of Schlusselburgh. With this view, Soltikof was recalled from Hamburgh, and there was reason to believe he might have been induced to make such acknowledgements as the emperor desired. These resolutions, which should have been executed as soon as they were formed, were quickly made known to the empress by the indiscretion, no less of Peter, than of his mistress; and that princess delayed not to anticipate the designs of her consort.*

Catherine had pursued a line of policy very different from that of the tzar. Capable alike

* Coxe, Vol. III. p. 8—14. Life of Catherine 188—210.

of dissembling and of feigning, she had, before the death of Elizabeth, assumed a great appearance of devotion, which she retained on coming to the throne, being punctual in the most superstitious practices, and paying great reverence to the popes. While the emperor associated with debauchees and buffoons, she appeared with a dignified affability, and endeavoured to attach to herself those whose talents, intrigues, or ambition, might render them serviceable. By her deportment on public occasions, it appeared that she was qualified to support the majesty of a sovereign; and the neglect and insult which she received from her consort, awakened a sympathy which the prospect of her danger improved into zealous activity for her defence. A conspiracy was now formed, whose origin and progress it is necessary to develope.

Catherine, though on her reconciliation with Elizabeth, she employed greater precaution in her gallantries, indulged her impure appetites with not less frequency; and after his departure, maintained a correspondence with Poniatowsky, in order to turn the eyes of observers from her commerce with officers and courtiers. Among those who ministered to the lust of the empress was an officer in the artillery, named Gregory Orlof. This man, without education, but handsome and courageous, had been chosen, on account of his beauty, to be aide de camp to Peter

Schuvalof, grand master of the artillery, who having detected him in correspondence with his mistress, prohibited him his presence, and threatened to procure his banishment into Siberia. This incident was enough to excite the curiosity of Catherine, she contrived several interviews with the officer, and finding him as qualified to serve her ambition as her pleasure, she disclosed to him the designs which she formed against her husband. Orlof, whom the empress induced general Villebois, successor of Schuvalof, in the command of the artillery, to appoint treasurer of that corps, entered into a conspiracy with her, and engaged in it his brothers, Alexèy and Vladimir, common soldiers in the guards, his comrade Bibikof, lieutenant Passick, and other officers. While Catherine lodged in a retired apartment of the palace of Peterhof, spent the day in maturing her plans, and the evenings with this conspirator, she kept up a daily correspondence with her agents in Petersburgh.

Of these agents, the most active was the princess Dashkof, sister to the countess Vorontzof. This extraordinary woman, not more than eighteen, of great beauty, and no less vivacity, spirit, and intrigue, having lost her husband, appeared in the capital, and formed an intimate connexion with the empress. In the service of the princess Dashkof, was a Piedmon-

tese adventurer, named Odart, who made himself agreeable to his mistress by his wit and talent for intrigues, and whom she had recommended Catherine to nominate her private secretary. These two persons, having inflamed their imaginations with the rewards of wealth and honour that would attend success, eagerly engaged in a project to dethrone the emperor, and were not long in procuring associates. Dashkof first applied to Cyril Razumofsky, a native of the Ukraine, who having heard of the favour which his brother enjoyed in the court of Elizabeth, had appeared in the capital with his balalaika,* attained the rank of count, the command of a regiment of guards, the office of ataman to the Malo-Russian Cossacks, and president of the academy of sciences.† Razumofsky had insinuated himself into the confidence of the grand duke, Peter, and in their revels, having been reminded by the prince of his birth and early course of life, had concurred with Bestuchef in projecting his ruin, and now shared with count Panin, and prince Volkonsky, the dubious honour of supporting the faction which the chancellor had formed. Approving of Dashkof's scheme, he promised his assistance in case of necessity.

* A rude species of guitar, with only three strings, in common use among the Russian boors.

† Life of Catherine, Vol. i. p. 94.

When Orlof came a few days after to sound his dispositions, he told him that those who should defend the empress might rely upon his concurrence; and pleased with the prospect of new factions, animated the remains of the old. To the ataman, the princess added the prince Volkonsky, major general in the guards, count Panin, and the archbishop of Novgorod, who embraced this opportunity to revenge upon the emperor the insult of his banishment, and employed the monks to excite the people.

Having secured leaders, the princess Dashkof proceeded to engage troops; and with this view she repaired to the barracks, under pretence of visiting some officers, her acquaintance. Ignorant of the commerce between Orlof and Catherine, she met with that officer, whom she found a zealous partizan; and added to the party many officers and soldiers, whom Orlof had prepared for revolt.

The conspirators were gradually made acquainted with each other; but though they agreed to dethrone the emperor, they were not unanimous as to his successor. Catherine aspired to unlimited sovereignty, and Orlof, Dashkof, and all who expected riches and honours from her favour, supported this pretension. Panin and Razumofsky, on the contrary, proposed that she should govern as regent, and that the title of emperor be conferred on her son,

Paul Petrovitch, the grand duke. As Panin was the governor of the young prince, and expected to rule in his name, he boldly maintained his opinion till the policy of Catherine, by secretly promising him the office of prime minister, subdued his firmness.

The conspirators now thought of carrying their plan into effect; but notwithstanding the artifice and vigor of Catherine, and the zeal, activity, and courage of her partizans, the success of the plot must, in a great measure, be ascribed to the security, indecision, and weakness of Peter III. He had not only made peace with the Prussian monarch, but sent him a reinforcement of 20,000 men, to assist in driving the Austrians from Silesia. Every thing was prepared for the invasion of Holstein, and the emperor went to pass some days at Oranienbaum, intending the day after the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, to put himself at the head of the projected expedition. His imagination dwelt upon the pleasure which he expected from an interview with his *friend*, *master*, and *example*, Frederic, and the glory which he had no doubt of reaping from his military exploits, while his mind was totally inaccessible to the remotest idea of the danger that gathered about him. It was easily foreseen by the Prussian monarch, that the imprudence of Peter would encourage attempts against his

government, and he plainly expressed his apprehensions to the emperor. But so secure was the tzar, that he intreated Frederic to be perfectly easy as to his safety, assuring him that he was called father by the soldiers; that he walked alone about Petersburgh, which afforded an opportunity to any person who might be disposed to injure him; and that as he was continually doing good, he considered the divine protection a sufficient defence against every evil. As the designs of the conspirators had not escaped the penetration of the emperor's adherents, they entreated him to investigate the matter; but he was so persuaded that the reports were groundless, that their admonitions gave him offence. A memorial containing the names of the conspirators being presented to him by one of his servants, "What, always the old story," said he, "take your paper, and trouble me no more with such idle tales." While Peter was thus blinded by a vain confidence, the execution of the conspiracy, which had been fixed for the festivities of St. Peter and St. Paul, the day on which it was believed the emperor designed to arrest Catherine, was hastened by an unexpected accident.

Lieutenant Passick, the most incautious and violent of the conspirators, having been detected by his captain, was arrested at nine o'clock at night; but contrived to write to the princess

Dashkof these words, "Proceed immediately to execution, else we are undone." The princess, though Panin, who happened to call at that instant, proposed to wait till next day, informed the other conspirators, and putting on a man's dress, joined Orlof and his associates at their usual place of rendezvous. It was unanimously resolved to begin instantly; and while Gregory Orlof repaired to the barracks to put the soldiers in readiness, his brother Alexèy was dispatched to Peterhof, a distance of twenty miles, to conduct the empress to the capital. At two o'clock in the morning a soldier roused the empress saying, "Your majesty has not a moment to lose, get ready and follow me." Catherine, terrified at first, soon recovered her courage, hastily disguised herself, and getting into a carriage, which on other pretexts had been detained in the neighbourhood for the purpose, arrived at Petersburgh at seven in the morning, July 9th.

The empress proceeded to the quarters of the Ismailofsky guards; though their colonel Razumofsky had not yet arrived, and, a few only of the soldiers, half dressed, appeared, she dissembled her disappointment. After a moment's silence, she said that as the tzar intended that night to put her to death, as well as her son, she had taken to flight as the only means of escape, and that from a confidence in their

dispositions she threw herself into their hands. The soldiers roused to indignation, swore they would die in her defence. As Razumofsky arrived, and the men collected in greater numbers, Catherine was declared sovereign; the voices of some who proclaimed her regent being overpowered by those who cried "Long live the empress." While the empress gained the guards, Orlof was sent to bring over the artillery; but as the men refused to follow him without an order from their general, one of Orlof's friends informed Villebois, that her majesty commanded him to join her with his regiment at the barracks of the guards. As the general hesitated the order was repeated, and Villebois went alone to the empress. It was easy to perceive what was expected from him; but influenced by a sense of duty or danger, he ventured to speak of remaining obstacles, which he said she should have foreseen. "I have not sent for you," replied Catherine haughtily, "to learn what I should have foreseen, but how you intend to act." "To obey your majesty," returned the confounded general, going to put himself at the head of his regiment, and deliver the arsenals to the empress's friends. In two hours the empress proceeded at the head of 2000 men to the church of St. Mary of Casan. The archbishop of Novgorod, attended by his priests, received her

at the altar, and placing the imperial crown upon her head, proclaimed her sovereign of all the Russias by the name of Catherine II. and Paul Petrovitch her successor. Catherine took the usual oaths, and on her arrival at the palace of Elizabeth, crowds flocked to take the oath of allegiance. The senate acknowledged her as sole empress. As the conspirators proceeded to fortify the city they met with no resistance, except from the emperor's uncle prince George, who was immediately surrounded, and put under arrest. A regiment of 1600 men, encamped at a short distance from Petersburgh, was induced by her partizans to march to the standard of the empress. The groundless report, that the emperor intended that day to put her as well as her son to death, being industriously propagated, tended greatly to increase her followers, and before night 15,000 chosen men were at her command, and the city in which strict order prevailed, was prepared to make a formidable defence.

Catherine neglected not other expedients. She sent for the grand duke, and from the balcony of the palace exhibited him to the multitude, who thinking they beheld in the child their future emperor, redoubled their acclamations. A report that Peter III. had lost his life, was followed by a mock funeral, and about

noon the manifesto which Odart prepared a few days before was dispersed, in which the empress pretended that impelled by the dangers which threatened the religion, glory, and peace of Russia, and trusting in the divine justice, she had ascended the throne.

The conspirators now resolved to profit by the enthusiasm of the troops, and march against the emperor. Catherine, dressed in the uniform of the guards, decorated with the order of St. Andrew, and accompanied by the princess Dashkof, also in uniform, rode through the ranks; and Potemkin, an ensign in the horse-guards, observing that she had not a plume in her hat rode up to offer his, a circumstance not forgotten. At six in the evening, the empress in the same dress, with an oaken wreath in her hat, a naked sword in her hand, and mounted on a grey steed, marched at the head of 10,000 men against her husband.

While the conspiracy spread through the capital, this infatuated prince persevered in his fatal security. About two o'clock in the morning of the revolution, an officer, who enjoyed his confidence, having with difficulty procured admission, disclosed circumstances which seemed to indicate that a conspiracy approached a crisis; but without attending to the information, he ordered his faithful servant under arrest

for presuming to disturb him at so unseasonable an hour. Accompanied by his mistress, Gudovitch, Munich, and many of the nobility of both sexes, he left Oranienbaum at eleven, intending to celebrate the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul at Peterhof. At this palace he expected to find the empress, having implicit confidence in the traitors to whom he had entrusted the care of her person. On his way Gudovitch, who rode before his carriage, returning at full speed, informed him of the empress's escape, to which however he did not give full credit till he arrived at Peterhof, and searched the apartments. He was now in extreme agitation, and the stillness of terror spread over all about him, when a messenger arriving from Petersburgh, informed him that rebellion having broken out in the capital, Catherine was declared empress with the acclamations of the soldiers, and the populace. Confidence yielded to despair, and the emperor amidst women in tears, and servants incapable of advising, or disposed to betray him, fluctuated between different plans. Munich advised him to march with the Holstein troops, who had been ordered from Oranienbaum, directly to the capital. As the Holstein soldiers were devoted to Peter, and Munich himself was equal to the Razumofskys, Orlofs, and Dashkofs, who supported the standard

of Catherine, had this advice been followed, the emperor might perhaps have preserved his crown. But though he seemed disposed at first to adopt this resolution, no less prudent than manly, the timidity and treachery of his courtiers, heightened by successive reports of Catherine's progress, kept him in a state of irresolution. It was then recommended by Munich to take refuge in Cronstadt, and as this advice was unanimously approved, general Devier was sent to prepare for the emperor's reception. The emperor being informed that he might rely on the fidelity of the forces in that place, left Peterhof; but as admiral Taliezin, who had been dispatched by the partizans of the empress, had in the mean time by distributing brandy and money among the soldiers and sailors, gained them over to her interest, and made himself master of the place, when the tzar appeared at the mouth of the harbour, the troops refused to acknowledge him; and "Long live the empress Catherine," was raised by a thousand voices. Gudovitch seconded by Munich, notwithstanding the threats of Taliezin to sink the yacht, endeavoured to persuade the emperor to land, but overcome by fear, he would hearken to nothing but flight. When the yacht was at some distance from the port, Peter called Munich, and with an air of

despondency asked him what he ought to do; "Proceed instantly to the squadron at Reval," replied the marshal, "there embark for Pomerania, take the command of your army, return to Russia, and in six weeks Petersburgh and all the empire will submit to your authority."

The courtiers however exclaimed against this resolution, and Peter returned to Oranienbaum at four o'clock in the morning. When, after a little repose, he appeared, the Holstein guards, who had returned from Peterhof, surrounding him, and kissing his hands, entreated him with tears to lead them against the conspirators, and swore they would sacrifice their lives for his sake. Munich seized this occasion, "come," said he to the emperor, "march against the rebels, I will go before you, and their swords shall not reach you till they have pierced my body." But Peter subdued by his fears yielded to those who counselled him to endeavour an accommodation with the empress.

Meanwhile, Catherine having reposed about an hour and a half in a public house called Krasnoi-Cabak, eight miles from Petersburgh, advanced to the convent of St. Sergius at Strelna. Here she received a letter from Peter acknowledging his misconduct, and offering to share with her the sovereign authority. Without deigning to reply she proceeded, and Peter

hearing of her approach, sent general Ismailof with a second letter, imploring pardon, and tendering the resignation of the crown on being allowed to retire into Holstein. As Catherine's policy consisted in obtaining possession of the emperor's person, she persuaded Ismailof to betray his master. When he returned to Oranienbaum, Ismailof exhorted the tzar to repair to the empress, assuring him he had nothing to fear. Hoping to procure a more favourable treatment by ready submission, the emperor in less than an hour, accompanied by the countess Vorontzof, Gudovitch, and Ismailof entered into a carriage, and proceeded to Peterhof, where he arrived at half past twelve o'clock. His mistress was carried off by the soldiers; Gudovitch, his aide-de-camp, was insulted; while he himself was led up the great stair-case by the servants, who stripped him of the marks of his order, his clothes and several diamonds and pieces of jewelry. After remaining here some time, almost naked, bare footed, and exposed to the insolence of the soldiers, an old morning gown being thrown over him, he was confined in a room alone. The empress declined a personal interview with him, but sent count Panin, who in a long conference, induced the unfortunate Peter to write and sign the following declaration:

"During the short period which I have "reigned over the Russian empire, I have "found from experience, that my abilities are "insufficient to support so great a burthen; "and that I am not capable of directing the "Russian empire in any way, and much less with "a despotic power. I also acknowledge that I "have been the cause of all the interior trou-"bles, which, had they continued much longer, "would have overturned the empire, and have "covered me with eternal disgrace. Having "seriously weighed these circumstances, I de-"clare, without constraint, and in the most "solemn manner, to the Russian empire, "and to the whole world, that I for ever re-"nounce the government of the said empire, "never desiring to reign therein, either as an "absolute sovereign, or under any other form "of government. I declare also, that I will "never attempt to reassume the government. "As a pledge of this, I swear sincerely before "God, and all the world, to this present re-"nunciation, written and signed with my own "hand."

"PETER*."

"June 29, O. S. 1762."

When this unhappy prince had signed his own disgrace and fall, he was conveyed in the

* Coxe, Vol. iii. p. 17—36. Life of Catherine, Vol. i. 220—286.

evening to Ropscha, a small palace twenty miles from Peterhof. Thus in the course of two days, without the effusion of blood, Peter III. the lineal successor of the Romanofs, and grandson of Peter the Great, was precipitated from the throne to a prison, and Catherine, a foreigner, without a hereditary title, attained the absolute dominion of the Russian empire.

CHAP. IX.

First acts of Catherine's Reign—Returning Sentiments in Favour of Peter III.—His Assassination—Character—and Funeral—Catherine preserves Peace with Foreign Powers, and Endeavours to reconcile the Russians to her Government—Her conduct to the Conspirators—Poniatowsky—Orlof—Firmness of the Empress—Her labours to conciliate her Subjects—Her Marriage with Orlof agitated—Election of Poniatowsky—Conspiracies—Panin and Orlof disagree—Catherine desirous of praise—Success in Poland—Undertakes a new Code of Laws—Promotes Learning—Escapes Assassination—and is inoculated.

HAVING escaped the consequences of her infidelities to her consort, by stripping him of his power, and seating herself upon his throne, Catherine passed the night at Peterhof. On the following day, when the nobility came to pay her homage, among others, appeared the father and several other relatives of the princess Dashkof, who seeing them prostrate before the empress, said, "Madam, pardon my family, I have sacrificed it, you know, to you." Catherine commanded them to rise, giving them her hand to kiss. When her majesty perceived

marshal Munich, who also presented himself before her, she called aloud, " field marshal, 'twas you then who wished to fight me ?" "Yes, madam," replied the intrepid veteran, " at that period, duty and gratitude engaged me to exert myself on behalf of my late master; as your majesty is now my sovereign, you will experience the same fidelity *."

In the afternoon Catherine returned to Petersburgh, and at seven o'clock preceded or followed by the principal conspirators, rode triumphantly into the capital amidst the mingled acclamations of the soldiers and populace. The crowds lining the streets, kissed her hand, which she held out to them as she passed along. Many ecclesiastics were assembled on this occasion, round the avenues of the palace; as she rode through their ranks while the principal clergy kissed her hand, she stooped down to salute their cheeks, a custom prevalent in Russia expressive of the highest respect †. Thus, though Catherine's ambition was of the loftiest nature, she disdained not the meanest artifices which seemed adapted to further her designs.

After her arrival in the palace the empress showed herself for some days with great con-

* Coxe, Vol. III. p, 39. Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 287.
† Coxe, Vol. III. p. 37.

descension to the multitude. She repaired to the senate, where several causes were tried before her; and she held her court, at which she received the congratulations of foreign ministers. Rewards were conferred upon the principal agents in the revolution. Panin was appointed prime minister, the Orlofs were honoured with the title of count, the favourite Gregory being nominated lieutenant-general of the Russian armies, and knight of the order of St. Alexander Nefsky. Several officers of the guards received estates and promotion, and among the soldiers were distributed brandy and beer, the value of which the affability of the empress greatly enhanced. More from policy, perhaps, than generosity, Catherine treated the friends of her dethroned husband with lenity. His mistress the countess Vorontzof, though at first insulted by the soldiers and exiled for some time to a village beyond Moscow, was afterwards permitted to espouse admiral Poliansky, and reside unmolested in Petersburgh: Gudovitch was allowed to retire into his native country: the Holstein guards were either incorporated into different regiments, or withdrew themselves from Russia: and prince George of Holstein was raised to the rank of field marshal and administrator of Holstein during the minority of the grand duke *. While

* Coxe, Vol. III. p. 40.

the courtiers eagerly aspired to participate the favour of the new sovereign, it was soon perceived that Orlof had already engaged her affections. The principal conspirators were mortified, and the indiscretion of the princess Dashkof, who, having first made the discovery, divulged it among her friends, effaced the merits of her past services, and involved her in disgrace.

When the tumult of the revolution had so far subsided as to allow leisure for reflection, a change began to take place in the sentiments of men respecting the dethroned monarch. The people forgetting his infirmities and caprices, and recollecting the popular qualities which gained him the affections of those who had access to his person, lamented his misfortunes. The sailors reproached the guards with bartering their master for beer and brandy. Those who had been loudest in execrating Peter, were seized with remorse; many of the soldiers in the guards regarding their rebellion with feelings of compunction, broke out in furious reproaches against their accomplices by whom they had been seduced, and from abuse passed to blows and murder. The officers in vain endeavoured to appease the men. The tide of popular favour flowed so strongly toward the late emperor, that a leader only was wanting to reinstate him in power.

The apprehensions of a new insurrection, which the partizans of Catherine entertained, were greatly heightened by intelligence from Moscow, that when the governor, having ordered the regiments that composed the garrison under arms, and assembled the people in great numbers, read empress's ukase, announcing the abdication of the emperor and her accession, instead of the acclamation "Long live the empress," a deep silence ensued followed by sullen murmurs among the soldiers as well as the populace. The uneasiness of Catherine was extreme. Her mind was so disturbed, that several times in the night she left her bed, and even her palace, when the death of Peter calmed her fears.

This unfortunate prince had been kept six days at Ropscha, a prisoner, ignorant of his fate, when Alexèy Orlof, with an officer named Taplof, came to him, announcing his deliverance, and proposed to dine with him. Liquor was introduced as usual, previous to dinner, and while the officer amused the emperor, Orlof slipt strong poison into the glass intended for the prince. He drank the potion, but as it did not immediately produce the effect which they intended, they pressed him to drink a little more. Not succeeding, they called in prince Baratinsky, and while Orlof having thrown down the emperor, pressed upon his breast with

both his knees, the other assassins threw a napkin round his neck and strangled him *.

Thus, it was reported, perished Peter III. July 6, 1762, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after a short reign of six months. It is impossible to peruse the misfortunes of this prince without commiseration, or the events of his life without instruction. Had he remained duke of Holstein, he might have passed his life in comfort and respectability, and ended his days in peace. His nomination to be heir of the Russian empire was the greatest of his calamities. The fears of his aunt which prompted her to restore him to the hope of his rights, concurred with the profligate intrigues of her courtiers to narrow his understanding, and debase his mind with absurd habits and low vices. Without knowledge, without experience, when he ascended the throne, though his good intentions induced him to perform many commendable acts, his imprudence betrayed him into others offensive to his subjects; secure without precaution, and confiding in those whom he ought to have suspected, his weakness and irresolution prevented him from following manly counsels in the hour of danger, while his favourable opinion of men induced him to put himself in

* Coxe, Vol. III. p. 37. Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 287—299.

the power of those whose interest turned on his destruction.

That Catherine was accessary to the death of her husband has been denied by many respectable writers. In a transaction of so mysterious a nature, it is difficult to attain certain information; but that Catherine was capable of such a deed hardly admits of doubt, and it appeared essential to the safety of her person and government.

Alexèy Orlof made all haste to Petersburgh, and informed the empress of her husband's death. She retired with Orlof, Panin, Razumofsky, and other counsellors, to advise what should be done. It being thought prudent that the public should not be made acquainted with the death of the emperor until the following day, Catherine with a tranquil air dined in public as usual, and held her court in the evening: next day, the event being announced while she was at table, she instantly rose from her seat, and with her eyes full of tears withdrawing into a private apartment, did not make her appearance for several days. In conformity with this farce, a declaration, meanwhile, was published, purporting that the emperor had been seized with a violent griping cholic; that medical aid to preserve his life, had been employed without success; that while the empress had with great regret been apprised of his decease, she ex-

horted her faithful subjects to pay the last duties to his body, pray for the repose of his soul, and to consider this sudden death as an especial effect of the divine providence. The body of the assassinated prince was brought to the monastery of St. Alexander Nefsky at Petersburgh, and was exposed in an open coffin for three days; persons of all ranks being admitted as usual to kiss the hand of the deceased. His face was black, extravasated blood oozed through his skin, and so strong was the poison which he had swallowed, that those who ventured to lay their mouths on his, returned with swelled lips. The reflections which these appearances might occasion, were deemed of less consequence by Catherine's counsellors, than doubts respecting the certainty of the emperor's death. His remains were deposited in the church of the convent, without monument or inscription. On the day of his interment, Petersburgh was filled with sorrow; the populace reproached the guards with shedding the last drop of the blood of Peter the Great; the Holstein soldiers who had hitherto remained unarmed at Oranienbaum, resorted to the funeral; and while they wept around the corpse of their master, were regarded now as faithful servants by the Russians, who sympathized with their grief*.

* Life of Catherine, Vol. I. 297—307.

Catherine having nothing further to fear from attempts in favour of the unhappy Peter, was at leisure to attend to public affairs. It was expected that the alliance which prejudice, rather than policy had induced the late emperor to form with the king of Prussia would now be dissolved, and that Catherine would unite with his enemies. But as the Prussian monarch, having some apprehensions of what would happen, while he availed himself of the partiality of the tzar, neglected not to court the favour of Catherine; and as the new government was still exposed to the plots of malcontents, the empress continued the peace with Prussia, and recalled her troops. By this treaty the courts both of Paris and Vienna were disappointed. The king of Denmark was assured that he might make himself easy on the subject of Holstein; and the first opportunity was taken to renew the treaty, which had long secured to the English almost the whole of the Russian commerce. The great object, however, which occupied the first cares of Catherine, was to reconcile her subjects to her authority. With this view, as it was found that brandy and money had wrought a great change in the mind of the soldiers quartered in Moscow, she resolved on a journey to that capital in order to celebrate her coronation. Having left several of her adherents on whose fidelity she could rely, to watch over

the tranquillity of Petersburgh, she departed attended by the greater part of the nobility, who had given proofs of their devotion to her, as well as those whose absence might be dangerous. It was mortifying to the vanity of this princess that the people beheld her entry into Moscow without acclamation, and that while they retired at her approach, they discovered the greatest eagerness to see the grand duke, taking an interest in the child from a recollection of his father's misfortunes. Concealing her uneasiness, Catherine was crowned in the palace of the tzars; and, having endeavoured by flatteries, gifts, and promotions to remove the aversion of the people, and to confirm persons of influence in her interests, quickly returned to Petersburgh.

Having served herself of the discontents of the monks, the empress shewed no disposition to fulfil the promises which she had made to them of restoring their possessions. Instead of revoking the decree of Peter III, she referred the matter to a Synod composed of persons subservient to her will. Those of the clergy who had not been secretly gained were exasperated and encouraged discontents among the populace and the soldiers; they espoused the cause of the unhappy Ivan, to whom they said the throne belonged. They published a manifesto, a forgery probably, but attributed to Peter III.,

in which the vices of Catherine were forcibly exposed. This was dispersed among the soldiers, and so inflamed their minds, that they seemed likely to break out into revolt. It appeared that vigorous measures were necessary to repress the spirit of sedition, and a proclamation was issued to prevent assemblies of the soldiers. As some of the most mutinous were visited with a prison, or the knoot, or exile into Siberia, terror kept others for a while in submission.

Gregory Orlof, as he still contributed to the pleasure and the power of the empress, daily received additional tokens of favour; but the treatment of the other conspirators may serve as an example of the gratitude of Catherine, as well as of what those who commit crimes to subserve the elevation of princes have reason to expect when their services are no longer necessary. Ivan Schuvalof, who had promoted the conspiracy before hand by calumniating Peter, and as soon as it broke out gave it his support, awakened the jealousy of Orlof; Catherine not satisfied with informing him that his presence was not necessary at court, presented him, in reward of his services, with an old negro, who acted as a buffoon about the palace. As Orlof was afraid of the talents, and desirous of the employments of Villebois, he was dismissed; and

the command of the artillery was conferred on the favourite. The zeal, activity, and sacrifices of the princess Dashkof to promote the revolution have already appeared; as a recompense, she requested merely to be nominated colonel of the Preobaginsky guards; but Catherine replied, that the academy would suit her better than a military corps. Mortified by this answer, the princess made complaints among her friends, which being conveyed to the empress, she was ordered to retire to Moscow; and when Catherine endeavoured to engage eminent writers to compose the history of her life, she desired that the princess Dashkof should be represented as acting only a very subordinate part in the revolution. The archbishop of Novgorod, who had been so instrumental in raising Catherine to the throne, and assisting her to lessen the privileges of the monks, when he ceased to be useful to her projects, was immediately abandoned to the hatred of the clergy, and the contempt of the people. In a word, she insensibly removed from the court most of the officers who had been active in the conspiracy, leaving them to their original obscurity.*

Since his departure from Petersburgh, Catherine had maintained a regular correspon-

* Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 319—327.

dence with Poniatowsky; and the count, not suspecting the sincerity of her professions, received the news of her elevation with joy, and advancing towards the Polish frontier, asked permission to visit her court. The empress informed him that his presence was not necessary at Petersburgh, continued to write to him in affectionate terms, and, before his friends, spoke of her passion for him with tears. Catherine was a proficient in the arts of hypocrisy.

Though it was not the disposition of this princess to submit to control, she bore the tyranny of Orlof with great patience. This man, coarse and awkward in his manners, intemperate, and arrogant, as he advanced in power, governed the most ambitious of sovereigns. Those who were offensive to him were dismissed, whatever might be their merits. At supper one evening with Catherine, Razumofsky, and other courtiers, being inflamed with wine, he boasted that he alone had effected the revolution; and that, if he chose to abuse his power, he could in a month subvert the work of his own hands, and dethrone the empress. This insolence lessened not his favour with the monarch, who was solicitous that the part which the princess Dashkof acted in the revolution, might be concealed from posterity. The empress could not yet dispense with the courage and activity of Orlof.

The spirit of revolt, which still prevailed among the troops, was fomented by the Popes; and it arose to such a height, that for a whole day the empress was supposed to be in extreme danger of her life. On this occasion she discovered great firmness of mind. Having taken secret measures to quell the revolt, when Razumofsky, Panin, and others, came to express their apprehensions, she upbraided their fears, reminded them of her constancy in past dangers, and professed, that the attempts of a few mutinous soldiers to deprive her of a crown, which she had reluctantly accepted for the benefit of the nation, did not occasion her any alarm, and that Providence which had called her to reign, and been her defence, would confound her enemies. These expressions sound very strange in the mouth of Catherine. The Orlofs meanwhile had by speeches, promises, and gifts, appeased the soldiers, and the chiefs were punished.*

In the letters of the Prussian monarch to Peter III. the empress found many admonitions to that misguided prince to treat his spouse with deference and respect. By the perusal of these letters, she was deeply affected, and confirmed in her resolutions of living on friendly terms with Frederic. All differences were accommodated in the congress at Berlin, and Catherine

* Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 327—332.

ratified the treaty with Prussia and Denmark; abandoning to the former power all the acquisitions of the Russian arms, in the late war.

At peace with foreign nations, the empress endeavoured to calm the discontents which still existed in different parts of the empire, to correct the disorders in various departments of administration, and promote improvements in arts and commerce. She soothed the most dangerous of the clergy, banished Odart, whose delations made him odious to the courtiers, and recalled the princess Dashkof, who by her enterprizing activity at Moscow, might endanger the public tranquillity. The magnificence which the Russian court had affected, during the reign of Elizabeth, was retained, as adapted to dazzle the imaginations of men. The empress publicly promised to direct her cares to the strict and easy administration of justice; and her promises were soon followed by several beneficial regulations. A registrator of the government chancery of Novgorod, having been accused of receiving money for administrating the oath of allegiance, she banished him to Siberia for life, and issued a severe decree against bribery and corruption. She confirmed the abolition of the secret state inquisition, determined the line which ordinary tribunals ought to pursue, with regard to crimes against the

state, as well as the character of those crimes. The edict of Elizabeth against capital punishments, was revoked, as it seemed impossible to keep the Russians in subjection by other means than terror. In order to people the extensive deserts of her empire, Catherine assured foreigners, farmers, merchants, or mechanics, of a hearty welcome in her dominions, pointed out the districts adapted to purposes of agriculture, offered them money to defray the expences of their journey, and granted the free use of a capital for ten years, exemption from civil and military services, and for a certain time, from imposts, with freedom to follow their own customs, laws, and religion. Multitudes were allured by these offers; 10,000 families settled in the government of Saratof alone. Many of the colonists, however, repented of their folly. The expedient was more ostentatious than useful. With a view to encourage trade and commerce, the empress abolished several monopolies, belonging to individuals and companies, as well as the crown, and allowed a free trade in many articles, on which great restraints had been imposed. She founded a medical college for the whole empire at Petersburgh, and a foundling hospital at Moscow.*

Meanwhile, Catherine was far from being se-

* Life of Catherine, Vol. 1. p. 344, 345—354.

cure upon her throne, or easy in her court. The recollection of the crimes by which she had attained her power, was perpetually revived by conspiracies, which though defeated, were an unfailing source of uneasiness and alarm. The arrogance of Orlof, whose influence still increased, kept the nobles at a distance from court; and Catherine was obliged to live among the rough and ignorant soldiers, who had been the instruments of her elevation, because she might again require their courage. Observing her inquietude, Panin deemed it a favourable opportunity of recommending government by a permanent council, as an infallible expedient of avoiding the trouble attendant upon usurpation, and establishing her authority upon a secure basis. To insure the support of Orlof, he proposed that he should be president. Bestuchef, whom Catherine had restored to his rank and employments, and who was the rival of Panin, being consulted, expatiated on the dangers of this measure, and conjured her majesty not to divide an authority acquired with such pains. She followed his counsels; and Panin, mortified by a disappointment, which he soon discovered was owing to Bestuchef, was not long in retaliating on that intriguing old man. As the influence of Orlof was obviously great, Bestuchef, in order to gain his confidence, encouraged him to aspire to the imperial power by obtaining the hand of

the empress. After inflaming the ambition of the count, he artfully contrived to enter upon the subject in a conversation with Catherine; and as she hesitated to adopt the measure, only because it seemed fraught with difficulties, the chancellor undertook to remove them. With this view, he drew up a petition in the name of the Russians, in which he expatiated upon what the empress had done for the glory and happiness of the nation, and the uneasiness occasioned by the sickly constitution of the grand duke; and conjured her majesty to give her subjects an additional proof of her affection by deigning to marry. To this petition he procured the signature of twelve bishops, and many general officers; and Gregory Orlof, whom Catherine had solicited the empress queen to create a prince of the German empire, and intended to decorate with the title of duke of Ingria and Carelia, was on the point of ascending the throne of the tzars.

When the affair was known to Panin, he engaged Razumofsky and Vorontzof to represent to the empress the dangerous consequences of such a union. As they remonstrated with great freedom, Catherine commended their fidelity; while she not only disavowed all thoughts of such a connexion, but professed entire ignorance of the odious transaction. Bestuchef increased in influence; Vorontzof, who

foresaw his disgrace, obtained permission to retire, and the apprehension of an alliance between the empress and Orlof, excited plots and murmurs. A conspiracy to seize the favourite, which failed of success through a slight mistake, spread alarm through the palace. Catherine, thinking her life insecure in Moscow, hastily left that capital, and the multitude exhibited signs of outrageous joy on her departure. Entering Petersburgh, on the anniversary of her accession to power, she neglected no circumstance that might add to the magnificence of her appearance; but the people were sullen; conspiracies multiplied; the most powerful men of the empire, and those who had been zealous in her service, were turned into her enemies; and if they could have agreed respecting her successor, Catherine might have expiated her ambition by a fate not unlike her consort's.

The empress had reason to suspect Panin and Razumofsky; but not having sufficient evidence to render their guilt indubitable, she had recourse to artifice. As she supposed that the princess Dashkof was concerned in the conspiracies, she feigned to restore the princess to her confidence, and wrote a long letter, in which after mixing flatteries with promises, she entreated her by their long friendship, to reveal what she knew of the late plots, adding an assurance of pardon to all accomplices. To this

letter, of four pages, the princess replied, with a brevity and spirit becoming a principal agent in mysterious and dangerous transactions: "Madam, I have heard nothing, but if I had, I should beware how I disclosed it. What do you require of me? To expire on a scaffold? I am prepared." Some of the malcontents whom the empress had arrested, preserving an invincible silence, she banished to Siberia; and as it seemed expedient to court those whom she could not punish, conferred additional favours on Panin and Razumofsky.*

Though the authority of Catherine seemed so precarious, she was not less intent on promoting the welfare of the empire. Among other regulations, to facilitate the dispatch of business, she divided the supreme college of the empire, the directing senate, into six departments, four to have their seat at Petersburgh, and two at Moscow. Meanwhile, the death of Augustus III. king of Poland, October 3, 1763, afforded the empress an opportunity of displaying her capacity among foreign nations.

The worst species of government, an elective monarchy, and a hereditary nobility, with absolute authority over their vassals, and power every moment to interrupt the administration of affairs, had for many years degraded the king-

* Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 339—387.

dom of Poland from the rank, which a benignant soil, a favourable situation, a numerous and spirited people, entitled it to hold among nations. Every fresh election occasioned internal convulsions, and tempted foreign princes to disturb the public tranquillity. The Polish nobles who first sold their crown to the highest bidder, were obliged afterwards to yield it to force of arms. The armies of Peter the great re-established Augustus II. upon the throne; Augustus III. was elected by the interference of the empress Anne; and Catherine II. resolved, not only to govern the present election, but to establish an uncontrouled ascendancy in the Polish councils. She fixed upon her former gallant, Poniatowsky, as her candidate, without declaring her intentions.

With a view to this object, the empress had supported Biren in his pretensions to the dutchy of Courland, of which he was created duke, by the influence of the empress Anne. During his long exile, another duke, Charles of Saxony, son of Augustus III. of Poland, had been chosen by the states. As Charles was agreeable to the Courlanders, and supported by his father, Biren, whose cruelties were not yet forgotten, must have failed, if Catherine had not ordered her troops, recalled from Pomerania, to pass into Courland, and sent 50,000 men, under Ro-

mantzof, into the Polish territories. Biren received the homage of the senate, and the investiture of the dutchy from Augustus III. The forces which restored the duke to his sovereignty, were prepared to second the views of Catherine in Poland.

The empress combined policy with arms. As France and Austria wished to detach her from Prussia, she artfully induced those powers to declare that they would not interfere in the election of the new king; and as his Prussian majesty had been long soliciting her to enter into a defensive alliance with him, she found him a zealous promoter of her intentions. Catherine next removed all the candidates that were obnoxious to her, and after seeming to concur with the majority of the Poles, who proposed to elect a descendant of their ancient kings, she unexpectedly declared for Poniatowsky. When some person who knew how little satisfaction his election would give to the Poles, endeavoured to debase him in her esteem, by informing her that his grandfather had managed a small estate of the princes Lubomirsky, "Though he had done so himself," she replied, "I will have him to be king, and king he shall be." Her troops entered Warsaw, and appeared in the place of election. This scandalous interference indeed raised violent opposition. Count Milachowsky

boldly demanded that they should leave the hall; and when the partizans of Poniatowsky drew their swords, he exposed his breast, exclaiming, "Strike, if you wish a victim. As I have lived, I shall die free." Prince Radzivil, and count Branitzky took arms; the young and beautiful princess Radzivil appeared on horseback with a drawn sabre, encouraging the soldiers by words and example. All was in vain. The number and discipline of the Russians prevailed; Poniatowsky was elected September 7, 1764, and assumed the name of Stanislaus Augustus. Thus Catherine seemed to express her affection for him, while she only gratified her own ambition.

Meanwhile the empress, in order to enjoy her triumphs, left Petersburgh on a journey through Livonia and Courland. She invited the foreign ministers to Cronstadt to see her navy; but her vanity was by no means flattered by the English ambassador, who frankly confessed that her fleet seemed to him far from formidable. When the empress was at Riga, she appeared very uneasy, and was so eager to receive intelligence from the capital, that she often rose in the night to inquire whether a courier had arrived. After three days, dispatches reached her from Panin, to whom she had left the care of Petersburgh, containing the particulars of the unhappy Ivan's

assassination, and she soon returned to the capital.*

Though the empress raised her consequence in the eyes of Europe, by her foreign as well as domestic policy, plots succeeding each other kept her in a state of alarm, while misunderstandings between her favourite and her prime minister, aggravated her afflictions. The boldness, activity, and devotion to her service of Orlof, were not less necessary to defeat the machinations of her secret enemies, than the talents and reputation of Panin to the dispatch of business, and the credit of her government. Orlof, however, neglected those assiduities that seemed likely to prolong his influence, preferring the chace of the bear to the amusements of the court. The minister endeavoured to improve the inattention of Orlof. He encouraged an inclination, which the empress discovered, to a young officer named Vissensky, and was in expectation of seeing the old favourite discarded, when by a sudden alteration in his behaviour, he recovered his post, and Vissensky was dismissed, with magnificent presents, to an employment in a distant province. Panin, whom the return of Vorontzof, to the exercise of his office as chancellor, rendered very uneasy, now began

* Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 390—434. Mayo, Vol. I. p. 391.

to court the man whose fall he had just endeavoured. It was not difficult to appease Orlof, who remembered what the chancellor had done to prevent his union with the empress. Vorontzof was received with coldness; it was signified to him that it would not give offence if he gave up his place; and resigning what he could not preserve, he retired with a gratuity of 50,000 rubles, and a pension of 7000. These incidents, trivial in themselves, discover the character of the men who flourished in the court of Catherine.

The following deserve to be related as illustrating the genius of the princess herself. Among other expedients to detect her secret enemies, she intercepted the correspondence of foreign ministers; and, as in the letters of the French agent, which she bought, as well as his cypher, she imagined she perceived a knowledge of the plots, which were incessantly formed to subvert her authority, she was highly incensed against the court of Versailles, and treated the ministers of Louis XV. with contemptuous neglect. Nothing was to be apprehended from the French government; but the French writers, who had obtained a great influence by their vivacity, assurance, and genius, had appropriated the right of distributing fame. As their praises might be procured by flatteries and benefactions, not less than merit, Catherine assiduously

courted their favour. She corresponded with Voltaire and d'Alembert; she offered the latter a salary of 24,000 livres to undertake the education of the grand duke, bought Diderot's library to enable him to portion his daughter, and leaving it in his possession, gave him a pension as librarian; and in short, she distinguished by her bounty, most of the literary men and eminent artists of Paris. Unmixed panegyric was the reward of such munificence.

While Catherine purchased the praises of French writers, her designs in elevating Poniatowsky to the Polish throne, gradually unfolded. To perpetuate the distractions and weakness of the republic, she had compelled the diet to rescind the resolution by which the *liberum veto* was suspended in civil and military affairs.* She prevented Stanislaus from adopting those measures that might promote the order and prosperity of his dominions; and in the religious dissentions of that unhappy country, found a pretext for interfering with military force. To show the ground of this pretext it may be proper to take the matter a little higher.

When the Catholic religion was, about the tenth century, introduced into Poland, at that time very contracted in its limits, the adjacent provinces

* Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 446. Mayo, Vol. I. p. 394.

embraced the Greek communion; and, when these countries were united to Polish dominions, by various means, they retained their peculiar forms of religion. As the members of the Greek church were the most numerous, the Catholics were obliged to acquiesce in an entire freedom of religious opinions. This toleration afforded great facilities to the progress of the reformed doctrines, which were embraced by the majority of the nobles and senators. A law was passed in 1563, by which an equality of rights was secured to all the Polish nobles, who professed Christianity, and to avoid invidious distinctions, they were styled, *dissidents in religion*, a phrase intimating that they differed from each other in religious matters. The Catholics, as they increased in importance, first applied the term *dissident* to those who were not of their communion, then induced the Greek and Protestant Christians to persecute the Arians, and afterwards so encroached upon their rights as to exclude the dissidents from all public offices, and enact a law pronouncing guilty of treason, those who should attempt to recover their privileges by recurring to foreign assistance.

Having suffered these oppressions for some time, the dissidents applied, those of the Protestant communion to the courts of London, Copenhagen, and Berlin, and those of the Greek,

to the empress of Russia. These courts presented memorials in behalf of the dissidents to the diet assembled, September 1st, 1766. But the bishop of Cracow, a furious prelate, maintained that the privileges of the dissidents were abolished, and that by having recourse to foreign powers, they had violated the constitutions of the state, and proposed to enact severer laws against them. He was supported by several prelates, and the majority of the nobles. Violent debates ensued, and, though the Russian troops appeared at the gates of Warsaw, all that the dissidents could obtain, was liberty to exercise religious worship under certain restrictions. As this was far from satisfactory to them, they formed a confederacy, in which they were joined by many Catholics, and supported by Russian armies. Prince Radzivil, who had opposed the king's election, united under his standard the Catholics of his faction, and joined the dissidents to obtain a general redress of grievances. Stanislaus was obliged to assemble another diet, October 5th, 1767, in order to terminate the contentions. But the bishop of Cracow, and his partizans, unawed by the presence of the Russian troops, still inveighed against the pretensions of the dissidents, and the interference of foreign powers. To put an end to the contest, he was seized on the 15th, with some others,

by a Russian officer, and sent into Russia. The diet then passed an act according to the will of Catherine, confirming the dissidents in all their privileges. It was vain to complain; prince Repnin was master in Warsaw, and the Russian troops intersected the whole country. An extraordinary diet, convened the following year, therefore, ratified the acts of the preceding, and passed others tending to establish the Russian ascendancy. The king, whom Catherine was thought to honour, without influence and without authority, exposed to the insults of the Russian general, seemed a prisoner in his capital.

The humiliation of the Polish king was a matter of indifference to Catherine, and she took measures to prevent the neighbouring powers from obstructing her encroachments. She governed Sweden by cabals in the senate, flattered the king of Denmark with the prospect of obtaining Holstein, cajoled the English by an advantageous commercial treaty, and formed an alliance with his Prussian majesty which made it his interest to further her designs.*

While the ambition of Catherine spread confusion and misery over the fertile provinces of Poland, it prompted her to persevere in her

* Coxe, Vol. I. p. 24—34. Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 449—466.

attempts to improve the internal government of her own dominions, and civilize her subjects. The jurisprudence of Russia, notwithstanding the labours of Alexèy Michaelovitch and Peter I. had not attained a consistent form. The laws, which had accumulated to a great mass, were perplexed, insufficient, and contradictory, and while they embarrassed judges of integrity, delayed and burdened the administration of justice, as well as afforded scope for the greatest venality, abuse, and oppression. Catherine formed the design of correcting these disorders.

That business might flow with greater regularity, and fewer obstructions, she divided the colleges of the empire into separate departments, each having its appropriate concerns. That no pretext for corruption might remain, she encreased the salaries of the judges, and insured them half-pay, when age and infirmity obliged them to retire. She then ordered deputies from all the provinces of her vast empire to assemble at Moscow, to deliver their opinions upon a new code of laws, which she designed to form. Persons, different in manners, dress, and language, many of them ignorant of the nature of laws, drawn together to discuss regulations, for their government, afforded a curious spectacle, unexampled in the annals of the world. The business was opened, by read-

ing the instructions, composed by the empress herself, to direct in framing the new code. These instructions, which consist chiefly of principles and maxims drawn from the works of Montesquieu and other French authors, and breathe a liberal and philanthropic spirit, excited bursts of applause, from those, who, ignorant perhaps of the subject, wished to gain the favour of Catherine, or escape Siberia. The reflection of the deputies, from the Samoyedes, who had the courage to express themselves freely, deserves to be recorded. "We are a simple and honest people," said they, "we peaceably tend our rein-deer. We want not a new code; but make laws for our neighbours, the Russians, that may stop their depredations."

The debates which succeeded, passed not with such unanimity. Though some of the Russian nobility, of narrow and illiberal minds, had ventured to affirm, that they would stab the first man who should propose to emancipate the boors, count Sheremetof, the wealthiest person in Russia, possessing 150,000 vassals, and an annual revenue of £170,000, arose and declared he would cheerfully agree to give liberty to the peasants. A contest ensued, which grew so violent as to threaten dangerous consequences, and the deputies were dismissed. Before their

departure, however, as some proof of gratitude was required from them, they decreed to Catherine the titles, *great*, *wise*, *prudent*, *mother of the country*, all of which, except the last, with a feigned modesty, she refused to accept. To applaud the empress, was all that could be expected from the deputies; and, having left commissioners to prosecute the work according to her instructions, she sent copies of them to those princes whose praises she wished to add to the flatteries of her own subjects. While others said that the work, which she had undertaken, would be a monument to her glory, the king of Prussia, who had no fear of offending her delicacy, wrote a long letter, full of such things as might have been expected from that insincere prince. "No woman," he told her, "had been a law-giver. That glory was reserved for the empress of Russia. Had she lived among the Greeks, who well knew how to appreciate merit, and conferred the highest rank among their deities on legislators, she would have been placed between Lycurgus and Solon." To seem great, was the wish of Catherine.

In order to encourage a taste for science and the arts, among her subjects, this princess granted new privileges to the academy of sciences, and animated its members to fresh exertion, by an annual allowance of 60,000 rubles,

and inviting foreign philosophers to settle in her capital. Among others, she distinguished the celebrated Euler, giving him a yearly stipend and a house, with other marks of favour. She improved the academy of arts, by fresh regulations, an increase of income and scholars, and the construction of buildings for the better accommodation of its members. She enlarged and improved the academy for the education of youth in the sciences, connected with military service, and founded a school for the instruction of young ladies, similar to that of St. Cyr, in France. She liberally patronized a society established by some noblemen for the advancement of agriculture.

The trading companies established at Kamtshatka and the mouth of the Kovima, which the empress had encouraged to make discoveries, sent an account of several small islands, which they had discovered in latitude 64°., named Aleyut, and, at which they had established a trade in furs. On receiving this information, her majesty ordered colonel Blenmer, with several geographers to sail from the river Anadit, and prosecute the discoveries of the trading companies.

Two years afterwards, 1767, Catherine, following the example of Peter I. and the empress Anne, dispatched several of the most ingenious

persons belonging to the academy of sciences, to explore the different provinces of her empire. They were ordered to direct their inquiries to the geographical situation of the principal places, their temperature, the nature of their soil, productions, and wealth, together with the character, manners, customs, traditions, history, and religion, of the nations who occupied them. To evince the utility of this undertaking, as well as the judgment employed in selecting those who engaged in it, no more is necessary than to mention the names of Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenstaed, George, and Lepekin.

When the empress was informed, that a transit of Venus over the Sun would take place in 1769, she addressed a letter to count Vladimir Orlof, director of the academy of sciences, at Petersburgh, wishing to learn from the academicians the fittest places to make observations, and promising to employ every means in her power to procure persons and instruments adapted to the purpose. Kola, in Lapland, and the borders of the Caspian Sea, were chosen as the points of observation, and application was made to an English artist to furnish instruments.

The successful usurpations of the empress in Poland, the reforms which she made in the administration of justice, and the splendid

patronage which she bestowed upon the arts and sciences, were all insufficient to reconcile the minds of her subjects to her government. The princess Dashkof, who had been again banished to Moscow, divulged the criminal steps by which Catherine acquired supreme power, and fomenting the discontents of those, who were originally averse to the present government, or who thought their services not sufficiently rewarded, diffused the spirit of sedition. In order, if possible, to divert her subjects from the thought of her crimes, and their own calamities, the empress endeavoured to dazzle and amuse them with magnificent shews. Several tournaments were exhibited at Petersburgh, in which her courtiers emulated the knights of chivalry, if not in their dexterity, at least, in the gorgeous splendour of their habits and accoutrements. These shews, condemned, by the thinking as frivolous and expensive, contributed nothing to the empress's security. The death of Peter III., as the memory of his failings was lost in the recollection of his useful deeds and wretched fate, excited general lamentation among the Russians. A young officer, named Tschoglokof, persuaded that he was inspired to avenge it, repaired for several successive days to the dark passages leading to the inner apartments of the palace, intending to

dispatch the empress as she passed. Happily she did not go as usual; and Tschoglokof, imprudently trusting his design to another officer, who betrayed him, was seized, while he waited for her majesty, armed with a long poignard, of which he readily confessed the use. Catherine pretended at first to forgive the young man, in order to conceal the attempt from the public; but soon had him conveyed to Siberia.

At this time, the small-pox made such ravages at Petersburgh, that the empress with her son, deemed it prudent to remain at her palace of Tzarskoselo. The distemper, however, reached the court, and the danger to which both her majesty, and the heir-apparent were exposed, together with a concern for the lives of her subjects, suggested the expediency of introducing the practice of inoculation. The empress invited a physician from England, Dr. T. Dimsdale, for that purpose. Without a moment's hesitation, she first submitted herself to the operation as soon as convenient, after Dr. Dimsdale's arrival, and next the grand duke, with many of the courtiers, were inoculated. The practice became general. When the grand duke recovered, Catherine created Dr. Dimsdale baron of the Russian empire, counsellor of state, and physician to her imperial majesty, with a pension of £500 a year, and presented

him with £10,000, and a miniature picture of herself and the grand duke. She conferred the same title upon the Doctor's son, and made him a present of a gold snuff-box richly set with diamonds. December 3d, 1768, a thanksgiving service, for the recovery of her majesty and the grand duke, was performed, in the imperial chapel, with every circumstance of solemn magnificence. The senate decreed a festival in commemoration of the event.*

The inoculation of the empress Catherine might seem a circumstance not sufficiently important to obtain a place in history, if it did not display several features in her character. It was magnanimous to submit to an operation, which, though experience had proved to be extremely beneficial, was not without danger, and her example was necessary to recommend to general practice in Russia. The rewards, bestowed on Dr. Dimsdale, is an instance of her profuse liberality, and the solemnity on her recovery, of the ceremonious pomp, which she employed to awe the imaginations of her subjects.

The dangerous ambition of the empress had in the meantime awakened the jealousy of other

* Coxe, Vol. III. p. 161—191. Life of Catherine, Vol. I. p. 477—496. 499—524.

powers, and involved her in a war with the Turks, in which she discovered that the resources of her empire, and the vigour of her counsels, were not disproportionate to her vast desires.

CHAP. X.

War with Turkey—Destruction of the Turkish fleet—Victories of the Russian armies—Unhappy fate of the Princess Tarrakanof—Partition of Poland—Plague in Moscow—Negotiations with the Turks—Disgrace of Orlof—Campaigns on the Danube—Conclusion of the War—Migration of the Calmuck Tartars—Rebellion of Pugatchef—Intrigues in the Court of Catherine.

THOUGH Catherine, having seized the members of the Polish diet who resisted her pretensions, and overawed others by the presence of her troops, had procured acts which seemed to confirm her ascendancy in Poland, men had no sooner time to reflect on the disgrace and oppressions, which the nation suffered, than the spirit of independence revived, and a horrible scene of carnage and desolation ensued. Dissatisfied with the privileges granted to the dissidents, the Catholic nobles formed a confederacy in the province of Podolia, and were encouraged by Austria and France, the latter of which powers enforced their applications for assistance to the Ottoman Porte. The ardour with which they were inspired, however, as it rendered them impatient of delay, and induced them, in small

bodies, without discipline, without concert, to encounter the Russian troops, was destructive to their hopes. They at first made themselves masters of the castle of Bar, whence the confederacy derived its name, and fought with great obstinacy and courage. But as the empress continually reinforced her armies, their valour only served to cover their fields with dead bodies exhaling pestilence. They were forced to retire into Cracow, which was taken by Apraxin, the Russian commander, after six weeks siege.*

The grand signior had not been an indifferent spectator of the transactions in Poland. When Catherine, and her ally, the king of Prussia, prepared to employ the vacancy to the crown, in subserviency to their ambitious designs, he expressed himself with a liberality and moderation highly offensive to those princes. The danger, which threatened his own dominions from the subversion of Polish independence, concurred with the solicitations of the confederates of Bar, and the representations of the French minister, Vergennes, to determine him to arm for the deliverance of Poland. As the Russian ambassador, on being asked whether his court would abstain from interfering in the affairs of Poland, gave not a satisfactory answer,

* Mayo, Vol. I. p. 511.

he was thrown into the castle of the Seven Towers. A manifesto was delivered to the foreign ministers at Constantinople, justifying this step, accusing Catherine of having violated the treaties of the Ottoman empire, and exposing her conduct in the affairs of Poland. Extraordinary preparations for war were made by the Turks.*

Catherine had not expected that neighbouring powers would patiently acquiesce in her usurpations upon the Poles; and, though she would willingly have delayed the war for some time, she was not afraid of the menaces or numerous forces of the sultan. When informed of the imprisonment of her ambassador, and the manifesto which Mustapha had issued, she justified her own conduct, in a counter manifesto, by those fair pretexts, that ambition employs to impose upon men, and prepared with her peculiar spirit to resist her enemies. Her armies, in a good condition, supplied with stores and provisions, early in 1769, extended themselves from the Danube to the Kuban. Prince Galitzin was stationed on the Dniester with 70,000 men and 100 pieces of artillery, and Romantzof with 40,000 men, advanced into the Ukraine. The Tartars, who had made an

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 3—8. Mayo, Vol. I. p. 395—514.

irruption into New Servia, were driven back into the Crimea, and Galitzin crossing the Dniester with 30,000 men defeated the Turks under the walls of Choczim. The first advantages, however, seemed on the side of the Ottomans; for Galitzin was obliged to retire from Choczim, and Romantzof was repulsed before Otchakof, the grand army under the vizier advanced through Moldavia, and Galitzin, who had a second time undertaken the siege of Choczim, was compelled to retreat. But the tide soon turned, and events declared for oppression and injustice. Intrignes removed the vizier, Selictar Hamsey Pacha, and the Russians crossing the Dniester, defeated the Turks, and made themselves masters of Choczim, Jassy, and Bucharest.*

While Catherine employed her troops against the Turks, all descriptions of men in Poland roused by the oppressions which she exercised under the pretence of humanity, formed confederacies to check her violence, declaring that their honour, liberties, fortunes, and homes, being attacked by unprincipled ambition, they were resolved to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their rights. It can hardly be related without tears, that the princes of Europe, called by interest, humanity, and jus-

* Mayo, Vol. I. p. 536.

tice, to oppose the aggressions of Russia, allowed this noble spirit, which might have saved Poland, to be extinguished in blood, desolation, and unexampled outrages. When the campaign against the Turks was closed, the Russian troops again over-ran Poland, and their discipline gave them a decided advantage over the confederates. The excess to which cruelty was carried, may be conjectured from the following fact:—Nine Polish noblemen, whose arms had been cut off at the wrists, appeared in Warsaw, a spectacle sufficient to awaken in every breast sentiments of pity, indignation, and horror. This atrocity had been perpetrated by the orders of the Russian general Drevitch. To such a state of dependence were the king and senate of Poland reduced, that they were obliged to declare war against the Turks, who had taken arms for their deliverance.*

Aware that her designs for the subjugation of Poland must depend on the event of the Turkish war, the empress made the utmost exertion to bring it to a successful conclusion. While her armies should harrass the Ottomans in Moldavia and Valachia, and her fleet on the Don should pass into the Euxine to awe the Crim Tartars, she resolved on executing the design, suggested by marshal Munich, of attacking the Turkish

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 10. Mayo, Vol. I. p. 538.

possessions in the Mediterranean. She employed every expedient to build ships and procure seamen, and kept up the best understanding with Denmark and England. In September, 1769, her fleets sailed from Archangel and Revel, and steered for the islands of Greece. The British, the natural defenders of liberty, who ought to have supported both Poles and Turks, against the ambition of Catherine, to merit her friendship, supplied her ships with good officers, and allowed them to winter and refit in the ports of England and Minorca. Orlof, early in the spring of 1770, sailed from Port Mahon, and appeared off the Morea, to assist the Mainots and Greeks, whom the emissaries of the empress had prepared for revolt, in asserting their independence. Having reduced Navarino, Coron, and Patros, he was joined by the squadron under admiral Elphinston. With this fleet, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, and several smaller vessels, he encountered the Turkish fleet, which he obliged, after some slight engagements, to withdraw. Pursuing the Turks, he brought them to an action, July 5th, between Scio and the coast of Asia Minor. The fight was desperate, the admirals' ships both blew up; and, after a short pause, the contest being renewed, and victory declaring for the Russians, the Turks took shelter in the bay of Tschesmè, which proved their de-

struction. While Elphinston blocked up the bay, four fire ships were prepared to destroy the Turkish fleet. But no person could be found to conduct so dangerous an enterprise, till lieutenant Dugdale undertook to manage the fire ships, and vice-admiral Greig to cover them. At midnight, Greig, in defiance of the Turkish batteries, began the attack, while Dugdale entered the harbour with his fire ships, and as none of the seamen would venture, with British intrepidity, he, having lashed the helm, and pressing in, fastened himself the grapplings to the first of the Turkish ships, and saved his life by swimming again to the Russian squadron. The fire took such effect that all the fleet was consumed, except one man of war and a few gallies, which were towed away by the Russians, who bombarded the town and the castle which defended it. A shot falling into the magazine of the latter, both were laid in ashes. In the morning, scarce a vestige remained of a town, castle, and fine fleet all in existence the preceding evening. Though this celebrated exploit was entirely owing to the skill and gallantry of three Englishmen, Elphinston, Greig, and Dugdale, the empress ascribed it to Alexèy Orlof; but this officer, whom crimes, not merit, had raised from the rank of a common soldier to the command of the Russian fleet, was not capable even of improving the advantages of victory

or accident. Hasan Bey, with 3000 Turks, obliged him to raise the siege of the fortress which protected Lemnos; while baron de Tott, a French officer, in the service of the Sultan, prevented him from forcing the passage of the Dardanelles.*

The armies of Russia, which the empress had reinforced, endeavoured, in the meantime, to improve to the utmost the diversion made by the fleet. Count Panin prepared for the siege of Bender, and generals Prosorowsky and de Berg were employed, the one on the side of Otchakof, and the other against the Crim Tartars. Romantzof, who had succeeded Galitzin, as commander in chief, advanced with the main army through Moldavia. The Turkish armies which had likewise received great reinforcements, were stationed the one under the command of the vizier, on the Danube, and the other under the khan of the Crimea, upon the banks of the Pruth. This army of 80,000 men, Romantzof found advantageously posted upon a hill, which, as it was extremely dangerous to attack, he resolved to wait with patience, till the imprudence of his enemy should afford him a more favourable opportunity. At the end of the three weeks 20,000 Turks, drawn into the plain by an arti-

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 30—35, 43—47. Mayo, Vol. II. p. 26.

fice of the Russian general, were repulsed with such success as to encourage the assailants to storm the Ottoman camp After a vigorous resistance he Khan abandoned his entrenchments with part of his artillery and baggage, and retired upon the army of the vizier, who passed the Danube to his assistance. Romantzof, imprudently pursuing the retreating enemy, advanced toward the confluence of the Danube and the Pruth, where he was encountered by 150,000 Turks; his own army being weakened by a large detachment, which he had sent to protect a convoy of provisions. He was now in a situation like that of Peter the great, in 1711; but his courage, though not less resolute than the tzar's, was more temperate, his skill greater, and his troops better disciplined. Confident in his own talents, and the steady valour of his soldiers, Romantzof hesitated not to give his enemies battle. Such was the advantage of science and discipline, that the Turks were driven from the triple entrenchments with which they had fortified their camp across the Danube, with the loss of a great part of their army, 143 pieces of artillery, and 7000 waggons laden with provisions. These two victories decided the fate of the campaign. The Budziac Tartars were obliged to submit, Panin reduced Bender, general Igelstrohm took Akerman,

and the three provinces of Valachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia paid homage to the empress.*

The news of these victories excited extreme joy in the court of Petersburgh; Catherine celebrated them with magnificent festivities and prepared for fresh success. Her progress, however, alarmed the court of Vienna; and, as the disasters, which the Turks had suffered in the course of the war, were greatly aggravated by the plague which daily carried off thousands in Constantinople, and a spirit of revolt, which spread over the Asiatic provinces of their empire, they were disposed to peace. Austria and Prussia undertook the office of mediators. But as his Prussian majesty, who thought to share in the fruits of Catherine's triumphs, acted not with earnestness, and as the demands of the empress were exorbitant, hostilities were renewed with additional violence in the different scenes of contest. The war on the Danube promised but little advantage, and might provoke Austria to declare openly for the Turks; the empress therefore determined to direct her principal efforts against the Crimea. Her emissaries having previously seduced the Tartars from their allegiance, prince Dolgoruky advanced to the Peninsula, and though the isthmus of Prekop, five miles in extent, presented a

* Mayo, vol. ii. p. 29—31.

ditch seventy-two feet wide, and forty-two feet deep, with fortifications manned by 57,000 Turks and Tartars, the prince forced this barrier, made himself master of all the Crimea, and substituted a new Khan in the room of Selim Guerai, who was compelled to take shelter in the Turkish dominions, where he died of grief.

Meanwhile the Turkish army on the Danube having gained considerable advantages over the generals Weisman and Essen prepared to establish itself in Valachia, which induced Romantzof to resume offensive operations. The vizier was driven from his entrenched camp into the mountains of Bulgaria, and his general Mousson Oglow was obliged to abandon Giurgewo, which he had taken, and recross the Danube*.

Alexèy Orlof repaired to Petersburgh to enjoy his triumphs and solicit additional means of pursuing his conquests in the Archipelago. He proposed to the council a plan by which Greece might be conquered, Egypt delivered from the Turkish yoke, the Dardanelles forced, and the Russians obtain a firm footing on the shores and islands of the Marmora.

As he required for this purpose but 10,000,000 of rubles, the empress, who never spared ex-

* Life of Catherine, vol. ii. p. 71—73. Mayo, vol. ii. p. 63.

pense, and was resolved that nothing should be wanting to establish her dominion in the Mediterranean, granted him twenty, and ordered his fleet to be reinforced by a strong squadron. Orlof, however, though he had obtained the fame of great exploits, was more qualified to perpetrate dark and villainous crimes, than to accomplish such mighty undertakings. Passing through Vienna, he supped with the Russian ambassador and many others; he spoke of the revolution by which Peter III. lost his throne and his life; without the least solicitation, he related the death of that unhappy prince; and while the whole company was seized with horror, he coolly observed, that it was lamentable that a man of so much humanity as he, should be forced to execute such commands. He had been commissioned by the empress to get four paintings done in Italy representing the destruction of the Turkish fleet; and, as the painter Hackert to whom he applied had never seen a vessel blow up, the admiral made no difficulty in affording him such a spectacle, though at the hazard of setting fire to all the vessels in the roads of Leghorn.

If Alexèy Orlof achieved not the conquests which he had confidently undertaken, he performed to his mistress another service, more suited to his temper and capacity. The princess Tarrakanof has been already mentioned as one

of the children of the empress Elizabeth by Alexèy Razumofsky. Prince Radzivil, having learnt the secret of her birth, thought that she might be made the instrument of revenging the injuries which the Poles had suffered from the ambition of Catherine. He gained the persons entrusted with the education of the young princess, and conveyed her to Rome. When Catherine was informed of the affair, she began to frustrate the designs of the prince by confiscating his estates, which reduced him to the necessity of leaving the princess in narrow circumstances to the care of a governess, and of repairing to Poland His possessions being offered to him on condition of bringing his ward into Russia, though Radzivil would not submit to that proposal, he agreed, as the price of pardon, to abandon the daughter of Elizabeth.

As Orlof had orders from Catherine to send the unoffending Tarrakanof to Petersburgh, he no sooner joined his fleet at Leghorn than he began to execute his commission. He employed a Neapolitan, named Ribas, who presented himself to the princess in the dress and style of a Russian officer, come to pay his homage. Having, by pretended sympathy and some assist ance, gained the confidence both of the unfortunate Tarrakanof and her governess, he professed to be sent by count Alexèy Orlof to

offer her the throne of her mother. It was easy to impose upon an unsuspecting girl. When she was sufficiently prepared, Orlof himself appeared, and not only enflamed the sentiments of ambition with which she had been inspired, but by feigning a passion for her, gained her heart, and drew from her promises of marriage. The ceremony was performed according to the Greek ritual, by villains suborned to appear as priests and lawyers. Orlof insinuated to the princess, whom he had thus seduced, that it would be expedient to retire to a place less exposed to observation than Rome, till the conspiracy should break out which should place her on the throne. Not suspecting his intention, she accompanied him to Pisa, where he lodged her in a magnificent palace, and gave her every mark of tenderness and respect. As the Russian ships under admiral Greig had just arrived at Leghorn, Orlof pretended that his presence was necessary there, and offered to take the princess with him. The report, which she had heard of the beauty of Leghorn, and the magnificence of the Russian fleet, induced her readily to embrace the offer. At Leghorn she appeared as a princess, every thing seemed at her command, and all was eagerness to gratify her desires. After spending several days in pleasures and amusements she expressed a wish to see the Russian ships. Orders were immediately given; she was conveyed from the shore in a boat with

splendid awnings, and two other boats followed, with count Alexèy Orlof, admiral Greig, and several Russian and English officers. The procession was welcomed by the fleet with music, salutes of artillery, and repeated acclamations; honours, the princess was told, paid to her rank. The deluded and unfortunate Tarrakanof, however, was scarce upon the deck of the vessel, when she was handcuffed. Youth, beauty, innocence, tears, and cries appealed in vain to the assassin of Peter III. who next day sent his victim to Petersburgh, where she was thrown into prison, and perished; by what means is unknown.*

This relation sufficiently exposes the character of Alexèy Orlof, and reflection would only impair the sentiments of abhorrence, that it must awaken in every mind. It ought, however, to be remembered that this monster enjoyed the highest honours in the brilliant court of Catherine, and that the above series of imposition, perfidy, seduction, impiety, and barbarity was committed in executing the orders of a princess, who by legislating for her subjects and patronizing learning, claimed the praise of preventing crimes, protecting innocence, and improving the morals of men.

While the armies of Catherine triumphed over the Turks along the Danube, Poland

* Life of Catherine, vol. ii. p. 52—70.

the original cause of the war, was sinking deeper in calamity and its provinces were dismembered to enlarge the territories of its too powerful neighbours The origin and progress of this famous partition, from which Europe dates so many of its miseries, it is now necessary to relate.

The king of Prussia, who had acquiesced in the confusion and desolation, which Russian violence and barbarity spread through Poland, in expectation of sharing in the spoil, sent, toward the close of 1770, his brother, prince Henry, to confer with the empress on the subject. To avoid suspicion, this prince gave it out that he intended to visit his sister, the queen of Sweden, and return by Denmark. But while at Stockholm, he accepted an invitation to pass a few days at Petersburgh, under pretence of paying respects to Catherine. While nothing seemed to engage the Russian court but rejoicings in celebration of victories gained over the Turks, and entertainments of a splendour and costliness unexampled in Europe, in honour of their noble guest, the empress and prince Henry concerted measures for the subversion of Poland. It was Catherine's original policy to render this kingdom subservient to her will and eventually subject it to her dominion. But when she perceived, from the conversation of prince Henry, that Prussia and Austria would

oppose her designs, except they shared in the prey, she acceded to the plan of the Prussian monarch. Events favoured the iniquitous designs of these princes.

Poland itself was not in a condition to offer any resistance. Dumouriez, an agent of the French court, had indeed made some progress in reconciling the confederacies which opposed the usurpations of Russia, and in concerting measures for vigorous resistance. But d'Aiguillon, succeeding the duke de Choisuel as prime minister, adopted a line of policy contrary to his predecessor, and the confederates left to themselves yielded to the discipline of the troops commanded by Suwarrow. Prussian and Austrian soldiers, under pretence of checking the progress of the plague, drew round the Polish provinces: the Russian ambassador in Warsaw dicted the measures of government: the king was seized and carried off in his capital, and, after various hardships, narrowly escaped assassination; while the plague extended its ravages, and the fields afforded not enough to subsist the armies of the confederates, and the Russians. In this deplorable condition, labouring at once under the evils of anarchy, foreign invasion, civil war, famine, and pestilence, Poland was abandoned by those nations who had expended so much blood and treasure to maintain a balance of power in Europe.

The British monarch, the dupe of Catherine's policy, sacrificed the glory of combining neighbouring states in support of an oppressed people, to preserve the precarious advantage of Russian commerce. Domestic contentions occupied the courts of Denmark and Sweden, while France was not in circumstances to interfere with spirit, her revenues were in disorder, her trade declined, and the licentiousness and imbecility of Louis XV. who had lost the affection of his subjects, exposed him to contempt. Austria was the only power that seemed likely to obstruct the schemes of Frederic and Catherine. Jealous of Russia, the court of Vienna encouraged the confederates, and entered into a treaty with the Porte to assist him against the Russians, on condition of being reimbursed the expenses of the war. The Prussian monarch, however, undertook to engage the concurrence of the young emperor Joseph II. and the three powers concluded an alliance by which they agreed to dismember Poland, and settled the portions which each was to receive. Without avowing their intentions, they pursued their designs; the Russian troops reduced the confederates, and made themselves masters of all the fortresses; Frederic seized Prussia royal; and the emperor took possession of the salt works of Wielickza and Bochinia. Having

thus made themselves sure of success, they published a manifesto, setting forth their pretensions. They expatiated upon the evils which the contiguous nations had suffered from the confusions of Poland, and in order to preserve the kingdom from entire dissolution, and maintain the peace of Europe, they proposed to take possession of such territories of the republic, as might be an equivalent for their claims, and form a natural boundary between the partitioning powers and the kingdom of Poland. After this, they proceeded to specify the provinces which they respectively claimed. Poland by this partition lost territory containing five millions of inhabitants. The country usurped by Catherine had for its limits the Vella, from its source to its junction with the Niemen, and the Berezina to its junction with the Dnieper, and amounted to 3440 square leagues, with a population of 1,500,000 souls.

With arms in their hands, the partitioning powers despised the feeble remonstrances of the courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, as well as the declaration of the Polish monarch, which, with great force of pathos and argument, exposed the iniquity and danger of their pretensions. Adding insult to violence, the three powers now required Stanislaus to assemble a diet to ratify their usurpations.

The unfortunate monarch without confidence in his subjects, or prospect of relief from foreign states, and at the mercy of his enemies, in conformity to their orders, summoned a diet which met April 19, 1773. A spirit of resistance seemed to actuate the members of the diet as well as the king; but by bribing some, alluring others by promises, and threatening to depose the king ruin his friends, and pillage Warsaw, the portioners brought the deputies to obey their commands. Acts were passed, which not only ratified their claims, but which, as they perpetuated the principles of anarchy and insubordination, exposed the kingdom to still further encroachments.*

While Catherine enlarged her dominions on the Polish frontier, she entered into negotiations with the Turks for peace, to which, notwithstanding her victories, several circumstances disposed her. The Russian fleet, though it still carried on a piratical war in the Mediterranean, was weakened by distempers among the seamen, and decay in the ships, while her officers in that quarter had never availed themselves of the spirit of revolt which spread through Greece, Egypt, and Syria. War carried on in so many quarters exhausted the revenues of the empress, her victories were gained at an immense loss of men, and the

* Coxe, vol. i. p. 53—62. Mayo, vol. ii. p. 32, 91—97. Life of Catherine, vol. ii. 28, 107—128.

plague, passing into the Russian armies, spread into the towns and villages, and carried desolation to Moscow, about the close of 1770. It continued its ravages for two years, and its fury was prodigiously increased, by the ignorance and superstition of the people, who despised precaution and prescriptions, and looked upon devotion to the pictures of the saints as the sovereign remedy. Gregory Orlof was commissioned, by the empress, as soon as she learnt the extent of the calamity, to repair to Moscow and endeavour to exterminate the evil. In September 1771, a fortnight before his arrival, an enthusiast of the populace declared to a crowd which he had collected together, that the picture of God's mother, at St. Barbara's gate, assured him, that if she were zealously worshipped, she would quell the pestilence. The story spreading, multitudes flocked to St. Barbara's gate, imploring the aid of the picture. Processions followed successively in which the infected and uninfected mingling together diffused the contagion. The primate of Moscow, Ambrosius, an enlightened man, repaired with five soldiers sent by general Yerapkin, to fetch away the picture, which aggravated the public distress. But the populace, who frequented the gate by night as well as by day, drove away the soldiers, reproached the bishop with heresy, and ringing the bells, drew together the people to

inform them of the violation offered to the picture. It being reported that the prelate had taken refuge in the Donskoi monastery, the infuriated rabble ran thither, and finding him engaged in divine worship threw him down, without regard to his age, office, habits, or present employment, beat him on the head and dispatched him with knives. Returning to the city, they vented their rage on the hospitals, quarantine house, and the physicians and surgeons. An Italian dancing master, whom they took for a physician, having his legs and arms broken, was left in the street. General Yerapkin towards night, encountered this crew with 150 soldiers, and two field pieces, and after an obstinate and protracted contest in which 250 lost their lives, and 300 were made prisoners, succeeded in dispersing them. In the morning, he paraded the streets at the head of his men, with drawn sabres, and the day after a regiment of infantry came to his assistance; while all the civil officers had fled. Eight hundred died every day of the plague, and the tumults heightened the grief and terror that agitated men's minds. At length the severity of the winter conspired with the authority, courage, and zeal of Orlof, to abate the scourge. Catherine rewarded his services, by erecting a column and striking a medal, as memorials

of them; nor did she forget the meritorius Yerapkin *.

To these circumstances, which lessened the value of the Russian victories, it must be added, that the sultan's affairs were somewhat improved by the men of capacity whom he had placed at the head of the military and naval departments, and the exertions of baron de Tott, his chief engineer. As Turks and Russians both were inclined to peace, an armistice was agreed upon May 30, 1772, and a congress was opened at Fokshiani between Gregory Orlof and Osman Effendi. The unreasonable demands of the empress prevented an agreement; but marshal Romantzof and Mousson Oglow, the grand vizier, aware how much their armies required repose, prolonged the armistice to the beginning of the following year; and another attempt to reconcile the differences was made at Bucharest with no better effect †.

Gregory Orlof, who had long aspired to a union with Catherine, thought the congress at Fokshiani favourable to his schemes, and procured the honour of treating with the Turkish plenipotentiaries, in hope, that if the negotiations succeeded, he should acquire such favour with the Russians as would smooth his way to

* Life of Catherine, vol. ii. p. 78—90. † Idem, p. 94. 103—105.

the throne. But the event disappointed his expectation. The affection which the empress entertained for Orlof had been returned, not so much with a like attachment as with the attention which gratitude and ambition inspired. When he imagined his services proportionate to any reward, he assumed a distant behaviour, and the more Catherine wished to recover him to his usual assiduities, the more he frequented the company of other women. Though this conduct offended the empress, her fondness for Bobrinsky, her son, by this haughty favourite, prevented her from coming to an open rupture, and induced her to propose a clandestine marriage, which he rejected with disdain, deeming himself not unworthy to share with her a throne, which she acquired and preserved by his valour. The empress dissembled for a time; but Panin, who watched an opportunity to accomplish his rival's downfall, perceived her resentment; and, during his absence, contrived to introduce to her affection a young handsome officer, named Vassiltschikof. The stratagem succeeded; and while no expedient was neglected to confirm the new attachment of the empress, it was insinuated to her, that Orlof meant to avail himself of his appointment as negotiator, to betray the interests of Russia, and acquire the sovereignty of Moldavia and Valachia.

When the count learnt, at Fokshiani, that he was supplanted in Catherine's affection, he was at first seized with rage; but afterwards supposing that by his presence he would recover his influence, and crush his enemies, he abandoned the negotiations to repair to Petersburgh. On approaching the city an officer delivered him her majesty's orders not to enter; and he retired in silence to one of his country seats, where to his mortification he found, that those who had courted him, were attached only to his fortune; and that the magnitude of his power alone had concealed his enemies. In this forlorn situation, Orlof retained his courage; and when Catherine, apprehensive of his influence in the army, demanded the relinquishment of his employments he refused compliance. She forbore to chastise a man whom she had so long distinguished; and Orlof softened by her bounty, consented to leave Petersburgh. His submission was rewarded with 100,000 rubles, a yearly pension of 150,000, a magnificent service of plate, and an estate with 6000 boors. Assuming, at her majesty's wish, the title of prince, Orlof set out upon his travels in different parts of Europe, displaying a splendour and prodigality that showed the profuse magnificence of his former mistress *.

* Life of Catherine, vol. ii. p. 95—101.

During the negotiations, which were protracted for the purpose of mutual deception, the belligerent powers prepared to renew the contest. Catherine accomplished her views in Poland, by the treaty of partition, and formed an alliance with the Khan of the Crimea, by which the Tartars put themselves under her protection. The sultan was freed from the most formidable of those chiefs, who had shaken off his authority, Ali Bey; and as he could not yet submit to the terms of the empress, active operations recommenced early in 1773. The Russian arms, however, were not crowned with their former success. Romantzof endeavoured to bring his enemy to an immediate engagement; but all his efforts being frustrated by the skill of the vizier, he ventured to cross the Danube to lay siege to Silistria. But after forcing the Turks into the town, while he prepared for a general assault, he learnt that the vizier, who had perpetually harassed his march, had dispatched 50,000 men against him, and took measures to prevent his retreat. The marshal under cover of an attack upon Silistria, silently retired during the night; but although he conducted his army across the Danube, this enterprize cost him 10,000 men, and the able general Weissman, and so much were his troops enfeebled by fatigue, watching, and sickness, from heat and noxious exhalations of the swamps, that

he was obliged to withdraw to Jassy to recruit and refresh. Prince Dolgoruky endeavoured to possess himself of Varna in Bulgaria, but after some success he found it necessary to raise the siege, and on his retreat, the Turks routed him with great slaughter.

When Catherine perceived that her armies, maintained at great expense, were destroyed without gaining any advantage, she was discontented, and inquired of marshal Romantzof why he gave not battle. The marshal answering, that the vizier possessed three times more men than he, she immediately replied, "The Romans never asked the number of their enemies, but where they were." In defiance of the enemy's superiority, Romantzof resolved to obey, and advanced again to Silistria; but after six weeks of unremitted assault, the vizier constrained him to retire with great loss.

While Mousson Oglow thus defeated the designs of Catherine's troops, her fleet consisting of thirteen sail of the line, and as many frigates, accomplished nothing of moment. Orlof was satisfied himself with committing depredations on the Turkish islands, and affording a feeble assistance to the rebel chiefs in Syria and Egypt.

The following year, however, the empress brought the war to an advantageous close.

Though rebellion raged in the southern provinces, she was freed from all apprehensions from Sweden and Poland, and accordingly put her army under Romantzof, in a condition to defeat the vast preparations made by the new sultan, Abdulhamet. It being the intention of the Russian general to penetrate into Bulgaria, the Turks, who disputed the passage, after several hours fighting, were forced to yield to the valour of Soltikof, and generals Kamensky and Suwarrow, who crossed the river at another place, defeated the Reis Effendi at the head of 70,000 men, taking a fine train of brass artillery, cast by baron Tott. These disasters excited a spirit of revolt in the Ottoman troops, and Romantzof, who remarked that the vizier, encamped at Schumala, was at distance from other corps of the army, cut off his communication with his magazines, as well as with his generals. Without succour, and disabled from fighting by the insubordination of his soldiers, the brave Mousson Oglow had no other resource than to sue for peace. Two plenipotentiaries were dispatched to Kainardgi, and, as the Russians persisted in their former demands, concluded, in July, a treaty with prince Repnin, granting to the empress the free navigation of the Dardanelles, and of the Turkish seas and the cession of Kilburn, Kerche, Jenickala, with

a tract between the Bog and the Dnieper, Azof, and Taganrok, on condition that she restored her other conquests. The Turks acknowledged the independence of the Crimea, and as a reimbursement for the expences of the war, stipulated to pay 4,000,000 of rubles. Besides the direct advantages which Catherine derived from this treaty, she was also enabled in consequence of it to undermine the power of the Turks in Moldavia and Valachia, to extend her authority over the Tartars, and to carry on war in the regions of the Danube, with increased facilities, as well as to secure her acquisitions in Poland. Thus the empress obtained, by the supineness and impolicy of other nations, and the sagacity and vigour of her own mind, those great objects at which Peter I. aimed on the Euxine. The joy which the peace occasioned in Petersburgh was extreme. The empress ordered eight days of rejoicing; the prison doors to be thrown open to all who were not guilty of treason; and all who had been sent to Siberia, since 1746, to be released.*

Subverting the independance of Poland, and humbling the pride of the Ottomans, enlarging her territories along the whole extent of her

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 143—147, 165—175. Mayo, Vol. II. p. 137—174.

empire, from the Baltic to the Euxine, and opening fresh sources of wealth in the commerce of the Mediterranean and Turkish seas, Catherine seemed to acquire an ascendancy formidable to the nations of Europe. The advantages, however, which her arms and foreign policy procured, were, in a degree, counterbalanced, by the evils which preyed upon the interior of her dominions. Her fleets and armies had been maintained at an expense, which rendered it necessary to impose extraordinary taxes, a burden not long supportable by nations without liberty and trading capital. The plague spread among her troops, and through many provinces, conspired with the sword to waste the lives of her subjects. Flourishing districts were converted into desarts, by the migration of the Calmuck Tartars, a curious event. Tribes of these wanderers had taken up their seat upon the step of the Volga, above Astrakhan, and about the middle of the last century, acknowledged a dependance upon Russia. Subsisting on the produce of their cattle, they led a roaming life, and though inclined to peace, often served in the Russian armies. As the empress innovated upon their customs, and infringed their liberty, of which they were very tenacious, they took great offence, which was aggravated by the rapacity and insolence of the Russian

inspector, Kischenskoy. The priests and elders having resolved to migrate, easily prevailed with the people, by telling them, that the Russians intended to force them to embrace Christianity, pursue agriculture, and furnish recruits. To this they added a pretended order from the great high priest at Thibet, to return to their ancient residence. Having made preparations, they departed in the autumn of 1770, and after suffering from the Cossacks of the Yaik and the Kirghises, they reached the Chinese borders in the summer of 1771, where they were protected. They fled with such secrecy and speed, that it was impossible to pursue them. Application was made by the empress for their restitution; but she received from the Chinese government a contemptuous and satirical reply, very mortifying to her vanity. Russia lost by this migration 70,000 tents or families, about 350,000 souls.*

A still heavier calamity, which even threatened to overturn the government of Catherine, afflicted the Russian empire in the rebellion of Pugatchef. The Russians could not forget the means by which Catherine acquired the crown; the nobility were offended by the arrogance of her favourites; the clergy lamented the loss of

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 175—187.

their privileges; and the draughts made from their children, together with a multitude of vexations, exasperated the peasants.* The memory of Peter III. was cherished with affection, and the priests to revenge the loss of their possessions spread a report that he was not dead, but would soon appear to reclaim his throne. Several impostors, accordingly pretended to be the unfortunate tzar. The first was a shoemaker, of Voronetz, who, assuming the name of Peter, in 1767, was seized and executed. In 1770 another, a deserter from Orlof's regiment, named Chernichef, arose in the village of Kopena, on the frontiers of the Crimea; but a Russian colonel, who marched through the place, just when the priests, having procured him many partizans, prepared to crown the deserter, with a strong guard dragged him from the altar to execution. This man was succeeded by a peasant, belonging to the Vorontzof family, who, leaving his village, served as a Cossack at the station of Dubofka on the Volga. As a body of the Cossacks marched to the Russian army, he collected them, in a small post house, between the Don and the Volga, professing to be the late emperor. They acknowledge him; but their commander unexpectedly appearing, confounded them, and, seizing the impostor by

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 204.

the hair, conducted him with their assistance to Tzaritzen. During his trial, some movements, in his favour, were made by the inhabitants, which being repressed with difficulty, he was conveyed to a small island in the Volga, where he perished by the knoot. A malefactor at Irkutsk made a like attempt with a like event. These were the forerunners of Yemelka Pugatchef.

This man, son of the Cossack, Ivan Pugatchef, born at Simoveisk, on the Don, served as a common Cossack in the war against the Prussians, as well as under count Panin, at the taking of Bender. Being refused his discharge, he fled into Poland, where he was concealed by hermits of the Greek religion, to whom, relating his adventures, he said among other things, that a Russian officer, fixing his eyes upon him, exclaimed, "Were not my master Peter III., dead, I should believe I saw him once more in you." The monks found no difficulty in making him concur in their imposture. He passed to the sectaries in Little Russia, and made pretensions to uncommon sanctity. Danger of detection led him to repair to the Cossacks, on the Yaik, several of whom he gained; but he was arrested for treason, and being sent to Casan to be tried, the supineness of the governor allowed him to escape. He descended the

Volga, and passed by the Irghis into the desart. As his company increased, he publicly professed to be Peter III., who had miraculously escaped assassination, and circumstances favoured his imposture.

The Cossacks are generally attached to the principals of the Russian sectaries, who abound in Siberia. Some recruits raised, in 1771, from the Cossacks of the Yaik, were ordered to shave their beards, which they prized almost as much as their lives. This order being opposed, an officer sent to enforce obedience, commanded them to be shaven in the midst of the town, which raised a rebellion. In the spring, as general Freyman garrisoned Yaitsk, and proceeded to chastise the rebels, many of them fled into the desart, subsisting by the chace, and the bounty of their relatives. The impostor availed himself of the religious prejudices as well as discontent of these Cossacks, who flocked to his standard, in great numbers, as to their deliverer from civil and ecclesiastical oppression. In the middle of September, 1773, Pugatchef had only nine followers; but in a few days they increased to 300. He now appeared before Yaitsk, but his attempt being frustrated, he attacked the colonies of the Oeloets reducing their forts. A body of troops sent from Orenburgh fell into his hands, through the imprudence of their

commander, colonel Bulof; and his followers ensnared another detachment in the defiles and overpowered them. In these actions the officers, whom he made captive, were barbarously murdered, while the soldiers joined his followers, or remained prisoners. These successes emboldened him to attack Orenburgh, which he was on the point of carrying, when it was relieved by the garrison of Krasnogorsk. This disappointment, however, was more than compensated by large accessions from the Bashkirs, the peasants employed in the mines of the Uralian mountains, and 11,000 Calmucks, who having murdered their commander, brigadier Vegezak, joined the rebel. The whole district of Orenburgh submitted to his arms, and he would have taken Catherinenburgh, if his march had not been delayed by a false report. The success of Pugatchef was prodigious. Moscow was ready to receive him, and the people were so devoted to him, that wherever he came, they furnished his soldiers with provisions and forage. But this tide of prosperity, which was owing no less to the temper of the peasants, and the unskilfulness of his enemies, than to his own address, courage, and activity, served to ruin him. He soon abandoned his pretensions to sanctity; he butchered with the greatest bar-

barity the Russian nobles and officers who fell into his power; he indulged in riot and intoxication; and, above all, by delay to improve his advantages allowed the ardour of his followers to cool, and his enemies time to prepare his overthrow.

The progress of the rebellion alarming Catherine, she recalled Bibikof from the Turkish war to march against the insurgents. She published manifestoes, cautioning her subjects against imposture, and offering pardon to the Cossacks, who might return to duty, and a reward of 100,000 to him who should put Pugatchef to death. Counter manifestoes were issued by the impostor, who affixed to them the name of Peter III., and struck rubles with his effigy and this inscription, "Peter III. emperor and autocrator of all the Russias," and on the reverse, "Redivivus et ultor."

Bibikof had meanwhile advanced to Casan, he invited the nobility to unite in extinguishing the rebellion; while his generals gained some advantages over the insurgents. Pugatchef, obliged to raise the siege of Orenburgh, was attacked by prince Galitzin, and retreated after a brave resistance. He fell upon Bibikof unexpectedly, who lost his life; but being pursued by Galitzin, he suffered a total defeat,

March, 1774, near Kargaula, twelve miles from Orenburgh, and escaped, with difficulty, to the Ural mountains. It was not long, however, before he appeared in great force on the east of those mountains, burning whatever offered the least resistance. In order to retrieve his losses by some signal exploit, he suddenly descended towards Casan, marking his track with fire and blood. The suburbs of the town were burnt, and siege was laid to the citadel, when the indefatigable colonel Michaelson compelled the rebel to retire, and after three days severe fighting, to flee with 300 Cossacks, across the Volga. But his losses being instantly repaired by Cossacks, Bashkirs, and peasants, he resolved to march to Moscow. The favourable moment, however, had elapsed; peace with the Turks released the army of the Danube; and the rebel, bending his course down the Volga, routed general Dies, stormed Saratof, and obtained possession of Demitrefsk by treachery. Near this place, the astronomer Lovitch was employed in taking levels for the projected canal between the Volga and the Don. Being ordered to appear before Pugatchef, he commanded his soldiers to raise him on their pikes, "in order," said he, "that he may be nearer the stars," and in this situation he butchered the unoffending astronomer. Thus the

barbarian filled up the measure of his enormities, as his fate approached.

Count Panin was now sent against the impostor. He reinforced colonel Michaelson, who cut off Pugatchef's convoys, and falling upon him in the passes, while he was greatly incumbered, forced him, after an obstinate conflict, to swim the Volga, and betake himself to the desart, where he began his revolt. Deserted by his followers, whom thirst and hunger undeceived, as he gnawed the bones of a horse to prolong his life, some of them, probably excited by the hope of pardon, accosted him; "Come," said they, "you have been long enough emperor." He shattered the arm of the foremost with a pistol shot; but the other Cossacks having bound him, delivered him to general Suwarrow, who commanded the troops on the Yaik. This general conveyed him to count Panin, who sent him in an iron cage to Moscow, where he was beheaded and quartered. He endured his punishment with great resolution. Only eight of his accomplices suffered death. This rebellion cost 100,000 men, the loss of many towns, 250 villages, and interrupted the mines of Orenburgh and the trade of Siberia. The empress amply rewarded colonel Michaelson, by whose activity and perseverance it was extinguished, and abolished the name of the Yaik and

Yaitsk, substituting Ural and Uralsk in their stead.*

Thus Catherine, while she accomplished her schemes on Poland and on Turkey, terminated happily, a war which endangered the existence of her empire. The glory of these achievements, however, will appear more imposing than solid, if it be considered, that by the wars undertaken at the instigation of ambition and the evils of misgovernment, she lost as many subjects as were contained on her new acquisitions; and that there was no advantage to counterbalance the calamities, which she diffused over Poland, the fairest provinces of Turkey, and vast districts of her own dominions. It is a heavy misfortune, that those, who in a brilliant manner, waste the lives and increase the miseries of men, should obtain their admiration.

While these warlike operations proceeded, several occurrences took place, to which we must now return. When the courtiers rejoiced in the absence of prince Orlof, and expected that he would continue on his travels at least two years, he suddenly re-appeared, after five months, in Petersburgh. The empress, indeed, ordered him at first to retire to Reval; but afterwards

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 203—245. Coxe, Vol. III. p. 91—109.

allowed him to appear at court. Though he was restored to his employments, to serve as a counterpoise to the faction of Panin, who supported the pretensions of the grand duke, he never recovered his influence, and though Catherine seemed to regard him with her former affection, she would not consent to the banishment of his rival. On the marriage of the grand duke, October 10th, 1773, it was expected, according to a promise made to Orlof, that count Panin, his governor, would fall into disgrace. His pupil, however, interposed, and instead of ordering him to retire, the empress thanked him for the care he had bestowed on the education of her son, confirmed him in his office of minister, and loaded him with presents.

The empress's favourite, Vassiltchikof, who avoided the envy of the courtiers, and daily gained upon her esteem, by his moderation, was all at once ordered to repair to Moscow. Orlof, who attributed this occurrence, to the returning kindness of the empress for him, had the mortification to perceive that the young officer, who, on the day of the revolution, had gallantly supplied a deficiency in the empress's dress, engaged her affection. Potemkin, proud and presumptuous as he advanced in favour, one day, playing at billiards with Alexèy Orlof, boasted that

he could remove from court whoever might be obnoxious to him. A quarrel ensued between these courtiers of Catherine; Potemkin received a blow, which occasioned the loss of an eye; and Orlof informing his brother of the affair, he requested the empress to dismiss her paramour. Potemkin was sent to Smolensk, where he continued nearly twelve months.*

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 190, 155, 298.

CHAP. XI.

Laudable pursuits of Catherine—Recal of Potemkin—Journey of the Empress to Moscow—Affairs of Poland—Potemkin ordered to retire, but disobeys—Disgrace of Razumofsky—Marriage of the grand duke—Fall of Zavadofsky—Visit of Gustavus to Petersburgh—Conduct of Catherine in the Crimea—Korzakof, a serjeant in the guards, favourite—Armed neutrality—Interview of the Empress with Joseph II.—Turkish Affairs—Settlement of the Jesuits in Poland—Acquisitions of Catherine on the Euxine—Death of Panin—Orlof and Lanskoi—Commercial Treaties—German professor of Geography—Toleration—Momonof favourite—Progress of Catherine to the Crimea.

Amidst schemes of ambition, and the intrigues of her court, Catherine neglected not altogether other objects. She carried on public buildings for the embellishment of Petersburgh, and in order to render the practice of inoculation general, established hospitals for the purpose, in the extremities even of her dominions. When the empire began to repose from foreign wars and internal convulsions, she employed her cares in applying remedies to the evils which her ambition had gendered, or which sprung up from the wretched constitution, and enormous extent of her provinces. She abolished the taxes im-

posed to support the war, as well as many of the old imposts of an impolitic or oppressive nature, assisted the provinces, which the rebellion had ruined, with loans of money without interest, and corn from the stores of government, and enhanced the value of a general pardon, by condemning matters relative to the calamitous transactions to oblivion. She issued other regulations tending to encourage industry, banish invidious distinctions, or facilitate the administration of justice. The treasurers of the empire having embezzled the public money, Catherine would not allow them even to be tried,* an act of high injustice to her subjects, though perhaps necessary to her glory, as it is probable many of her courtiers were implicated.

Of nothing was Catherine more apprehensive than that men might cease to talk of her. To this fear must be ascribed her perpetual interference in the occurrences of Europe, her wars, her munificent patronage of men of genius, as well as many of the splendid and salutary institutions that distinguish her reign. This inordinate desire of notoriety, though the governing passion of her mind, which prompted her to vast, dangerous, beneficent, or pernicious undertakings, often yielded to the superiority of

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 193, 203, 249.

another, which exhibited her in a light, not a little amusing.

Potemkin, in his solitude, now threatening to turn monk, then to be the greatest man in Russia, suddenly wrote the empress desiring her to think of him. He was recalled, and, while prince Orlof was absent at his hunting seat, installed into the post of favourite. On his return, Orlof uttered complaints and reproaches to no purpose. The new favourite acquired an absolute ascendancy over the empress, added every day to his honours and emoluments, and, with no other recommendation than a handsome person and an insatiable ambition, was introduced into the council, and obtained the vice-presidency in the war department, count Chernichef, an old general, whom he had ruined, being obliged to resign. The presumption and audacity of Potemkin were not inferior to his power or ambition. One day, while engaged at play, he refused to attend the council, and the messenger humbly asking for a reason to allege on his return, he said, it was to be found in the first psalm and the first verse: *Blessed is the man who goes not in the council of the ungodly.*

Prince Orlof, though by the efforts of the empress he had been reconciled to Potemkin, could not bear to see him possessed of such honour and authority, and accordingly begged permission to retire. It is very edifying to ob-

serve the condition to which Catherine was reduced by two men who had derived all their consequence from her favour. The passion of which Potemkin was the object obliged her to support his arrogance, and indulge his boundless desire of power, while in order to serve as a check upon this minion, as well as to prevent the consequences of Orlof's resentment, she found it necessary to sooth him by condescension and flatteries. To such subjection was brought the princess who distributed kingdoms *.

Soon after Pugatchef was executed, the empress resolved on a journey to Moscow, and employed every art to gain popular favour. Though she despised the priests, as they enjoyed the veneration of the people, she disdained not to court their approbation. With this view, she carried with her a great number of small pictures of the saints, which she distributed in the churches and chapels by the way, and a large figure decorated with gold and diamonds for the cathedral of Moscow. She entered the capital, under triumphal arches, attended with a brilliant train, and proclaimed a reduction of the taxes. But hypocrisy, magnificence, and bounty could not procure the acclamations of the people, who would have hailed the impostor

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 308—311.

Pugatchef as a God. They beheld the procession with sullen wonder.

A few days after her arrival at Moscow, Catherine with her court made a pilgrimage on foot to a convent, about thirty miles from that city. Count Panin, the only person not invited, sarcastically observed, "The empress did not wish that I should accompany her on this pilgrimage; because she thought I have not enough of devotion or the courtier."

Potemkin succeeded not only to Orlof's post, but to his hopes of an alliance with the empress. Holding all religion in contempt, he all at once assumed the appearance of devotion, during lent, living on roots and water, daily frequenting confession and importuning the saints with his prayers. He disclosed his irregularities to the empress's confessor, whom he entreated to inform her that his uneasy conscience would not allow him to indulge any longer a commerce, which marriage alone could render lawful. Coming to an explanation with her paramour, Catherine told him, that though she had a regard for him, she was able to renounce it, and that were he resolved not to fill the post of favourite any longer, she could substitute another in his place. Disappointed and confounded, Potemkin talked of taking orders and becoming archbishop; but he soon returned to the pursuits and pleasures of the court.

The empress distinguished this visit to Moscow by bestowing rewards on those who had contributed to victories of the late war. Romantzof, Alexèy Orlof, general Panin, prince Dolgorucky, count Soltikof and Chernichef, and admiral Greig, the principal officers, received different orders of knighthood, with promotions or pecuniary rewards. As an example of these rewards, and of Catherine's munificence, Romantzof, received an estate with 5000 peasants, 100,000 rubles, a hat encircled with a laurel branch of jewellery, a fine service of plate, with the order of St. George, an epaulette of diamonds, a magnificent marshal's staff, and the sirname of Zadunaisky *.

It was a great object with Catherine to promote commerce. As the trade of Siberia, which the late rebellion had interrupted, was checked through want of money, she established a bank at Tobolsk, which remedied the evil. Privileges were granted to those of her subjects, who might engage in commerce. It was attempted to form settlements on the frontiers of China to facilitate the intercourse with that nation. New manufactories were established, and the commercial treaty with Great Britain was renewed.

Though the treaty, by which Russia, Austria,

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 311—318, 330, 332, 335.

and Prussia seized the territories of Poland, described the frontiers of each of the powers, the two latter continually encroached upon the republic. The empress, for a time, connived at these fresh usurpations; but no sooner was she freed from the Turkish war, and the rebellion of Pugatchef, than she made such remonstrances a induced them to keep within the limits which the treaty prescribed. The part, which fell to her share, was so much better governed than that of the other partitioning powers, that numbers of the Jews fled to her provinces from their oppression. She sent the king of Poland 250,000 rubles as an indemnification for that part of his domains that had fallen into her hands. Her influence was employed to mitigate the violence of Austria and Prussia, to repress the turbulent factions of the nobility, and to procure for the dissidents the public exercise of their religion, and a right of appeal, in case of grievance, to a tribunal composed partly of their own communion *.

Potemkin seemed to have so entirely gained the heart of Catherine, that it was not easy to suppose, he could be supplanted. But her desires were as fickle as they were insatiable. While loading Potemkin with dignities, Zavadofsky,

* Coxe, Vol. I. p. 62, 68. Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 305, 331.

a young Ukrainer, privately enjoyed her smiles, and being soon publickly acknowledged as favourite, a curious scene ensued. Potemkin being ordered to travel, pretended to obey; but next day, to the astonishment of the courtiers, he placed himself with great composure before the empress, as she sat down to whist. Far from exhibiting signs of displeasure, she handed him a card, saying he always played luckily. Potemkin allowed Zavadofsky to please a woman approaching fifty, and satisfied himself with retaining unimpaired his influence and grandeur. When the news of Potemkin's disgrace reached prince Orlof, he hastened to Petersburgh in high expectation of recovering her majesty's confidence; but seeing his rival at her side, he kissed her hand, and full of disappointment returned immediately to Moscow.

Meanwhile the party of Panin, who were desirous of seeing Paul Petrovitch assert his claim to the throne, filled the mind of the empress with uneasiness. Paul himself, indeed, gave no encouragement to their designs; but the suspicions of the empress, induced her to attempt he ruin of his confidant, count Razumofsky, a daring man. Observing signs of intelligence between the count and the grand dutchess, she carefully informed the grand duke, who, though he did not credit the surmises of his mother, resolved to keep an eye over Ra-

zumofsky, and recommended circumspection to his consort. Whether the grand dutchess had an inclination to Razumofsky is uncertain; but she kept up a correspondence with him, and it was said, entered into intrigues, dangerous to her accuser, when she died in childbed. Catherine, who was suspected of being accessory to this event, expressed the greatest sorrow. The papers of the grand dutchess tending to criminate Razumofsky, he fell into disgrace; but the services, which his father had rendered the empress, mitigated his punishment into exile in the quality of minister first to Venice and then to Naples.

The apprehensions, which Catherine entertained from the partizans of the grand duke, had not escaped the king of Prussia. When he wished her to second his purposes he always testified a great concern for her son; and as the empress knew well with what ease Frederic could encourage her discontented subjects to disturb her government, she neglected nothing to secure his friendship. Prince Henry had been sent by his brother, a few days before the death of the grand dutchess, to settle some differences that had arisen between Prussia and Russia, respecting the demarcations in Poland, and Catherine, as soon as the grand dutchess was interred, seeming to consult him about a second consort for her son, informed him that

she had cast her eyes upon his niece, the princess Sophia of Wirtemburgh Stutgard. The proposal was communicated to his Prussian majesty; and though the princess was betrothed to the hereditary prince of Hesse Darmstadt, Frederic hesitated not a moment. The prospect of so large a fortune dissolved the ties of affection, and, as the union was likely to confirm the alliance between Frederic and the empress, it was never considered whether it would promote the happiness of the princess Sophia. The matter being arranged, the grand duke, attended with a splendid retinue, accompanied Prince Henry to Berlin, to see his intended spouse, and the princess having previously embraced the Greek religion, and adopted the name of Maria Feodorovna, the nuptials were solemnized at Petersburgh, October 7th, 1776 *.

Zavadofsky had, for eighteen months, satisfied himself with ministering in obscurity to the gratification of the empress, when stimulated by the example of Potemkin, he aspired to the function of prime minister. The intrigues, into which he entered for that purpose, tending in the first instance to ruin Potemkin, he determined instantly to crush his feeble rival. A young Servian, named Zoritch, tall and of

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 343—358.

an appearance adapted to attract a licentious woman, coming to Petersburgh to seek promotion, Potemkin gave him a captain's commision, and put him in the way of the empress. Next day Zavadofsky was dismissed to make room for the Servian, who employed his influence to support the fortunes of the man to whom he was so much indebted *.

While these intrigues occupied the court of Catherine, her attention was turned to the foreign relations of her empire. Though policy should have induced Denmark to unite with Sweden against the growing power of Russia, the influence which Peter I. had established, at the court of Copenhagen, was exercised with little interruption by his successors, and Catherine had confirmed it by relinquishing all claims upon Holstein for the counties of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst. If it gave the empress pleasure to rule in the councils of Denmark, the revolution of Sweden in 1772, which destroyed the Russian ascendency in the court of Stockholm, was a source of mortification. She watched with extreme jealousy all the motions of the Swedish monarch, and fitted out a fleet, which excited such alarm among his adherents, that he resolved to have an interview with her in order to discover her real intentions. He

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. 361—364.

arrived at Petersburgh, June 16th, 1777, and after visiting count Panin went to Tzarsko-selo, where the empress at that time resided. Conferences passed with feigned cordiality; and the empress treated Gustavus with sumptuous entertainments, in which she affected to display her magnificence. She often discoursed with him to discover his character, and perceiving that he was deficient in prudence, she endeavoured to involve him in danger, by challenging him to make innovations in the dress of the Swedes. Gustavus accepted the challenge, and though the consequence which Catherine expected ensued not, her malignity was not the less in proposing the temptation. The Swedish monarch, laden with rich presents, took his departure, confirmed in his apprehensions of the empress's power, while she was more fully disposed to humble a prince of so much enterprize and turbulence.

It was, however, in her transactions with the Turks, that Catherine discovered the iniquity of her counsels, no less than the vigor of her policy. The peace of Kainardgi had not long been concluded, when her agents corrupting the Crim Tartars, excited them to revolt from their Khan Doulet Gueray, devoted to the Ottomans. Her troops suddenly entered into the Crimea, and compelling Doulet Gueray to flee, elected Sahim Gueray in his stead. This Khan, igno-

rant of the nature of Russian protection, was advised to send a deputation of nobles to implore the support of the empress, which she cheerfully granted. While a town and fortress were constructed between Kerche and Jenickala for the christians of the Crimea, who fled to the Russians, orders were given to Romantzof to collect an army on the Dnieper. The Turks being justly provoked, a rupture would have followed, had not prince Repnin, appointed ambassador extraordinary, succeeded in lulling their suspicions.

The confusions of the Crimea, in the mean time increased; the Ottomans substituted a new Khan, Selim, in the room of Doulet; and the Russians furnished their Khan with a guard of soldiers, whom the Tartars for the most part slaughtered. The empress now sent fresh troops into the Crimea, who defeated the adherents of Selim and put him to flight, and by her minister solicited the Porte to acknowledge Sahim Gueray. This not succeeding, marshal Romantzof declared to the divan that his mistress would, rather than abandon Sahim, have recourse to war, a declaration which was not calculated to conciliate the Turks. But as they came not to an immediate decision, while talking of the independence of the Crimea, Catherine reduced it to subjection, and made preparations to extend her authority over Valachia and Moldavia.

These implausible encroachments roused the indignation of the Ottomans, and the whole nation breathed hostilities. The French, who had formerly incited the Porte against the Russians, being on the eve of a war with Great Britain, were desirous of weakening the connexion between this power and Russia, and interposed, at this crisis their interested mediation. Catherine wished to avoid a rupture, and the disorders incident to the Turkish government were aggravated by the plague which in a short time carried off 160,000 persons. In this state of the two powers, the French ambassador M. de St. Priest, easily effected (March 21st, 1779) an accommodation, very advantageous to the empress. While she abandoned some of her pretensions on Moldavia and Valachia, the Porte surrendered some vessels which had been detained in the Dardanelles, and acknowledged Sahim Gueray as the sovereign of the Crimea. This treaty afforded Catherine such satisfaction that she bestowed magnificent presents on her own minister at the Porte, as well as on M. de St. Priest.*

Freed from apprehensions of a Turkish war, the empress at the solicitation of his Prussian majesty interposed her powerful mediation to terminate the contest that had arisen between

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 338—340, 399—405.

him and the house of Austria, respecting the succession to Bavaria, and was a principal instrument in accomplishing the pacification of Germany.

During these events, Catherine amused her courtiers with banquets, masquerades, and entertainments of splendor unexampled in other courts of Europe. It was so common for her to change her favourite, that the substitution of another instead of Zoritch, might have been passed over in silence, had it not been attended with a curious incident. This young man, who seemed daily more pleasing to the empress, being suddenly ordered to leave court, immediately complained to his benefactor Potemkin, who hesitated not to enquire why she had discarded him. "I was fond of him yesterday," replied Catherine, "and to day I am not. If he were better informed, perhaps I might prefer him still; but his ignorance makes me blush. He can only speak Russ; let him travel into France and England to learn foreign languages." Potemkin acquiesced; and after looking about for a successor to Zoritch, he went to pass the evening with the empress, when he learnt with surprize, that his pains were superfluous. Rimsky Korzakof, a serjeant in the guards, was appointed aide-de-camp to the empress, and distinguished by the usual marks of her favourites. A fact will serve to shew that his information

did not constitute his merit. Thinking that a man like him ought to possess a library, he sent for the principal bookseller in Petersburgh, and told him that he wanted books put up in a large room of the house, which he had received from the empress. The bookseller inquiring what books he would please to have, Korzakof replied; "you know that better than I; let large books be at the bottom, and smaller and smaller up to the top."*

The service which the French had rendered to the empress in procuring an accommodation with Turkey, disposed her to favour that nation, while the naval superiority of the English, awakening her jealousy, detached her from them. Their commerce, however, was too profitable to lose, and though she encouraged their revolted colonies, she invited them to fetch from her dominions the commodities which they could no longer obtain from America. Potemkin indeed advised, that with a view to the increase of trade, an object to which the empress devoted great attention, she should adhere to her alliance with England. But the counsels of Potemkin, and the efforts of the English minister, Sir James Harris, were defeated by the partizans of France. Vergennes, the French ambassador, conceived the plan of an armed

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 408, 422.

neutrality, in order to counterbalance the maritime superiority of Great Britain, and by a very singular stratagem, which deserves to be mentioned, as showing on what trivial circumstances the most important events depend, succeeded in rendering Catherine the principal instrument of his designs.

The British minister aware of the attempts which were made to induce the empress to propose the armed neutrality, drew up a memorial to counteract their designs, which Potemkin promised to recommend to her majesty. Informed of this, the partizans of France gained a mademoiselle Guibald, governess of the prince's nieces, who stole the paper from his pocket, and after it was enriched with notes refuting the objections of the English minister, restored it to its former place. The empress, supposing that the notes had been added by Potemkin, was fully confirmed in the resolution, to which impatience of any superiority had inclined her, of uniting the northern powers against England. The maritime nations were disposed to concur in a scheme, which promised to reduce a greatness so long the object of their dread and envy. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark formed a league, to which other neutral nations acceded, for the purpose of supporting new principles of maritime law; that free bottoms make free goods; and that neu-

tral states have a right to carry on trade with the same facilities, with belligerent powers in time of war as in time of peace. To maintain these pretensions, the members of the confederacy agreed to protect each other's vessels, in case of aggression, in conformity with the conditions of the league. As soon as the empress learnt the views of Denmark and Sweden, she published a manifesto, stating the objects of the alliance, and her determination to support it with the greatest part of her naval force. France and Spain, as it was calculated to promote their interests, were quite astonished at the wisdom, justice, and liberality of this system; while the British, whom it was designed to humble, being in no circumstances to resent the injury, were obliged to suppress their indignation.

In order to accomplish the objects of the maritime league, Catherine ordered eight ships of the line to be built at Petersburgh, and twelve at Cherson, on the completion of which the Russian navy amounted to forty-two sail of the line in the Baltic, and twelve in the Euxine, exclusive of a great number of smaller vessels. This force protected commerce, and gave the empress great weight in the affairs of Europe. She might now have directed her attention solely to the welfare of her subjects, if the lust

of conquest had not predominated in her mind.

Potemkin still enjoyed the highest favour with Catherine, and while he manifested the most entire devotion to her service, actually governed her according to his will. No less ambitious than herself, he aspired to the glory of crowning her at Constantinople; and, as the concurrence of the emperor of Germany was necessary to this scheme, it was proposed to court his alliance. Accordingly the empress desirous of an interview with Joseph, invited him into Poland, and departing herself for Mohilef, met that prince, May 30th, 1780. It was concerted by these princes to attack the Turks, share the spoil, and re-establish the Greek republics. Catherine engaging to support the emperor in his designs upon Bavaria, Joseph accepted an invitation to visit the empress's dominions; and, after exploring whatever was curious in Moscow or Petersburgh, returned, admiring the mixture of refinement and barbarity exhibited in Russia, and the singular spectacle of a woman, qualified to govern the world, enslaved to two of her courtiers.

The greatest harmony seemed to subsist between Russia and Turkey. Instead of interposing in the contentions of the Tartars, the

empress turned her cares to the improvement of those advantages for lucrative commerce, which the Euxine afforded. She furnished merchants with the free use of ships, and promised to indemnify them for the losses which they might at first incur. But unreasonable claims started by Catherine respecting the navigation of the Euxine, the ascendancy which she had established among the Little, Crim, and Budziac Tartars, and demands, which she made, that the governors of Moldavia and Valachia should not be deposed or punished, were so alarming to the Ottomans, that they began to prepare for war. As however the empress deemed not a rupture expedient at present, and as the French minister proffered his mediation, both powers lowering their pretensions, matters were amicably adjusted.

Although the affair seemed to be settled, the causes of contention still existed, and a new claim advanced by the empress of establishing consuls in Moldavia, Valachia, and Bessarabia, so provoked the sultan, that nothing but extreme weakness prevented him from coming to hostilities in the beginning of 1781. But the concession of this point, together with the dismission of a minister obnoxious to Catherine, was far from satisfying the boundless cupidity of this princess. The state of vassalage to which, in violation of the late treaties, she had

reduced the Khan Sahim Gueray, roused the indignation of the high-spirited Tartars to such a degree, that they chose a new Khan, and attacking Sahim, entirely defeated him. While the civil war which now raged in the Crimea, furnished her with a pretext for pouring in troops into that devoted country, a terrible fire broke out in Constantinople, which in a short time consumed 40,000 houses, 300 corn-mills, and 50 mosques. The distress, which this calamity, added to the plague, produced among the Turks, presented an opportunity, which the empress and her German ally seized to prosecute their designs. Accusing the Ottomans of fomenting rebellion among the Tartars, she presented in concert with Joseph, a memorial to the Porte, insisting that the Turkish government should not interpose in the affairs of the Tartars, infringe on the privileges of Moldavia and Valachia, or obstruct the navigation of the Euxine or Archipelago. As any evil seemed to the Turks preferable to such abject submission, this memorial had not immediately its intended effect *.

Meanwhile the empress suffered a heavy disappointment in her son Bobrinsky. This youth, whom she loved with extreme tenderness, and on whose education she had bestowed great care,

* Life of Catherine, Vol. II. p. 477—487.

being arrived at a fit age, she wished him to make the tour of Europe. The villain, Ribas, Alexèy Orlof's agent in the seduction of the princess Tarakanof, was recommended by one of her courtiers, as a person qualified to take the charge of the darling child. The empress believed the deceitful courtier, and Bobrinsky, who left Russia modest and docile, made such progress under the tuition of Ribas, that on his return his incorrigible perversity compelled his fond mother to send him into a sort of exile at Reval.

The diversity of objects which employed the mind of Catherine is very remarkable. At the time when she prepared to wrest fresh provinces from the Turks, she completed the plan of dividing her empire into governments, and of establishing in every part of it the regulations which six years before (1776) she had introduced into Twer and Smolensk; she erected in honour of Peter the Great an equestrian statue, a work of uncommon magnitude and great sublimity; and she composed moral and historical works for the instruction of her grand-children, the princes Alexander and Constantine, as well as endeavoured to instil just principles into their minds, discoursing in their presence with their tutor, and writing marginal remarks on their lessons *.

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 2, 8, 11.

When the Jesuits were driven from all the other kingdoms of Europe, she gave them an asylum. She had observed in her journey to Mohilef, that the inhabitants of White Russia, all Roman Catholics, were extremely attached to the Jesuits, and she appointed a catholic archbishop of Mohilef, with a Jesuit as an assistant, allowed the Jesuits to establish themselves in that province, and sent an ambassador with a letter, which, though written by herself, she disavowed in the Petersburgh Gazette, to solicit his holiness the pope to sanction the establishment. Whether Catherine expected by this step to draw the riches of Paraguay into her dominions, or designed merely to display her superiority to the alarm that was spread through other European courts, is uncertain; but it was curious to observe the head of the Greek church affording protection to the great defenders of the Latin church, when catholic princes had unanimously conspired their downfal.

The ambitious schemes of Catherine, in the meantime, proceeded on the frontiers of Turkey. Cherson, on the shores of the Dnieper, whose foundations had been recently laid, already contained 40,000 inhabitants, and from its dock-yards sent out not only merchant vessels, but ships of war fit to strike terror into the Ottoman empire. Having corrupted the Khan, and excited a revolt against him, Catherine

under colour of protecting him, dispatched Potemkin with an army into the Crimea. The malcontents were easily subdued, and Sahim-Gueray being restored, was persuaded to demand the cession of Otchakof. This insolent demand excited a faint resistance on the part of the Turks, which affording a pretence for the active operation of the Russian armies collected in the Ukraine, they quickly seized the whole of the peninsula, while Potemkin and Suwarrow reduced the Kuban. In justification of these flagrant measures, Catherine had the assurance to issue, April 8, 1783, a manifesto, accusing the Turks of having violated the treaty of Kainardgi, and declaring the Crimea, isle of Taman, and the Kuban, to be re-united to the Russian empire, as a recompence for the expence incurred in preserving the peace of those countries. To complete the farce, Sahim Gueray, whom she had made captain in a regiment of her guards, abdicated the throne in her favour. As it could not be expected that the Turks would tamely submit to these usurpations, vast preparations were made in concert with the German emperor to maintain them, and even to extend the territories both of Austria and Russia.

Though the dispositions of the Porte were pacific, and the French ambassador again interposed his mediation, as the empress demanded

the possession of the Crimea, the isle of Taman, Kuban, and Budziac Tartary, and the emperor the restoration of all that had been ceded by the treaty of Belgrade, the wisest and the most moderate of the Turks judged it would be better to hazard the event of a war, than yield to requisitions as dangerous as dishonourable. In conformity with these sentiments large bodies of troops were drawn to the frontiers of the Danube, and foreign officers and engineers were employed to discipline the armies, and improve the artillery; and fleets were prepared in the Euxine and the Mediterranean. An alliance was concluded with Spain, and assistance was expected from France, Sweden, and Prussia. And a manifesto, written with great energy of language, and cogency of argument, was issued in reply to the shameless pretensions of Catherine. But notwithstanding these warlike measures, the Ottomans thought it expedient to concede. The empress in a personal interview with the Swedish monarch at Fredericksham, prevailed on him to remain neutral; and such vast preparations were made on the Dnieper, and in Hungary, as must ensure an easy victory over the present weakness of the Turkish empire. After long consultation, the divan, therefore, resolved to concede; and a treaty was signed, January 9, 1784, by which Catherine retained the sovereignty of the

Crimea, the isle of Taman, and great part of the Kuban; thus, without going to war, acquiring a vast territory, containing 1,500,000 souls. With so much sagacity and spirit did she conduct her affairs. She restored their ancient names to the Crimea and the Kuban, the former being called Taurida, and the latter Caucasus. While this politic princess obtained such advantages for herself, she satisfied her ally, the emperor, with prospects of acquisition, when circumstances should recommend renewal of hostilities with the Turks; and promises of support in his contest with the Dutch, respecting the navigation of the Scheldt.* Catherine was as capable of overreaching her allies, as of subduing her enemies.

Not contented with having procured for his sovereign the possession of the Crimea, the dominion of the Euxine, and the free navigation of the Dardanelles, Potemkin allured the famous prince Heraclius to pay her homage. These services were rewarded by the empress with additional presents and honours. While accumulating favours upon the man who enlarged her territories, she was reminded of the series of crimes that raised her to the throne, by the death of two of the agents in that transaction,

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 17—44 Mayo, Vol. II. p. 509.

count Panin and prince Orlof. The former, driven from the management of affairs by Potemkin, died of chagrin, and the latter, having passed several years in travelling, sunk into melancholy on the loss of his wife in 1782. He appeared immediately in the court of Catherine, a dismal spectacle, now giving himself up to extravagant joy, and then bursting out into such reproaches against the empress, as threw her into the bitterness of grief, and all who heard him into astonishment. Forced to Moscow, he imagined that the shade of Peter III. armed with an avenging dart, incessantly pursued him; and, tormented night and day by this spectre, expired in agonies. It was, however, another accident that afflicted Catherine.

Potemkin, having sacrificed Korzakof, by encouraging an intrigue between him and the countess Bruce, whom he wished to ruin, the empress had fixed her eyes on Lanskoi, a Polish youth, without education, but of a figure, as fine as could be imagined, belonging to the chevalier guards. So passionately fond was she of this favourite, that she took upon herself the care of instructing his mind, and giving polish to his manners. But when, under her forming hand, refinement and intelligence began to impart additional charms to the graces of his person, Lanskoi was seized with a violent fever, and expired in the flower of his age. The grief

of Catherine was so extreme, that she ordered herself to be put to bed, as if indifferent to life or death, refused sustenance for several days, and shutting herself up in her palace of Tzarsko-selo for three months, declined even the company of the grand duke and dutchess. She afterwards raised a superb monument to this youth, just visible from the windows of her private apartment, and accidentally walking near it, after an interval of two years, was observed to shed many tears. Potemkin alone ventured to penetrate the solitude of the empress, and dispel her sorrow. His attention was repaid by new marks of esteem and confidence.*

It was now the object, which interested the courtiers, to see the post, vacant by the death of Lanskoi, filled by a person whose influence might further their schemes. The princess Dashkof exerted her intriguing spirit to procure it for her son; but Potemkin, who feigned to favour the young man, exposed both him and his mother to ridicule in the presence of Catherine, and turned her attention to one of his officers, named Yermolof. The triumph of young Dashkof appeared at hand, and Potemkin redoubled his attentions to the princess Dashkof, who was so pleased, that she requested him to admit one of her nephews into the number of his

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 50 92.

aides de camp. He replied maliciously, that the last vacancy had been given to lieutenant Yermolof, a person whom she had the mortification to see the same day attending upon the empress.*

These intrigues, though they occupied the court of Catherine, interrupted not her schemes for the extension of her fame. She interfered in all the important transactions of Europe. The contests respecting the navigation of the Scheldt, and the exchange of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands, which engrossed the public mind in 1784 and 1785, were excited chiefly through her influence. She established a trade in furs in Kamtshatka, and the adjacent islands. She revived the commercial intercourse with China, which the misconduct of the Russians had interrupted, and formed treaties of commerce both with France and Austria. While she took these prudent measures to improve the Russian commerce in so many quarters, she gave a striking instance of narrow illiberality in her conduct toward England. The English not only first opened a maritime intercourse with Russia, but discovered that it was capable of such intercourse, and carried on for ages a trade of immense advantage to the Russians. To the assistance which the British, contrary to

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p 95.

their true interests afforded her in the Turkish war, Catherine was indebted for her naval victories. Yet she was the great agent in forming the armed neutrality, so inimical to the welfare of Britain; and now in 1785 consented to a clause in the commercial arrangements with France, detrimental to the interests of England, while the ancient treaty with this power was suffered to expire. Gratitude was not an element in the character of Catherine; but it was remarkable, that when seeking commercial alliances of precarious advantage, from one extremity of the old continent to the other, she should offend the nation who carried on the most profitable half of the whole Russian trade.

As connected with the subject of trade, may be mentioned the Lombard bank, a singular institution. To furnish those who were disposed to improve their lands, the empress opened a bank with a capital of 33,000,000 of rubles, and power to issue bills to the amount of 100,000,000. Of the capital, 22,000,000 were to be lent to nobles, for the term of twenty years, upon mortgages on their estates, at an interest of five per cent. besides three per cent. to liquidate the debt. The remaining 11,000,000 were to be lent to merchants and tradesmen for the same period of years, with the same payment, for the purpose of reimbursement, but at an in-

terest of four per cent. This bank was to serve as an insurance office against fire, and a depositary for money.

As the means of instruction were very disproportionate to the population of her empire, Catherine resolved to increase them, and with this view appointed a commission to superintend the establishment of schools in various provinces. To this commission, which she deemed of great importance, she frequently sent notes communicating hints for the improvement of the schools, and even attended during lesson. One day, while she was present, with several courtiers, a learned German, who had accepted the professorship of geography and history in the Russian tongue, instructed natives of Siberia. After listening attentively, she commended his knowledge and assiduity, but objected to some of his observations. The professor replying in the most satisfactory manner, the president of the commission, Zavadofsky, appeared enraged at his insolence, while she gave the scholar thanks for correcting her mistake; and, as she perceived Zavadofsky's displeasure, ordered him, when he attended her to her carriage, to repeat her thanks to the professor. But this prevented not Zavadofsky from depriving the German of his office and lodgings, an example of the tyranny exercised by the favourites of Catherine.

Though policy induced the empress to make pretensions of reverence for the rites and observances of the Greek church, it is probable that she had imbibed the sentiments of the French philosophists respecting religion, and regarded all forms of worship with indifference, if not contempt. She afforded all sects not only protection, but liberty to aspire to any office or dignity under her authority. Those who were reputed heretics met with extreme forbearance from her. "Poor wretches," said she, "since they are to suffer to such a degree in the future world, it is but reasonable to make their condition here as comfortable as possible." In conformity with this sentiment, which no doubt ought to be considered as a sarcasm, she not only supported Islamism in the Crimea, the catholic faith in Poland, and indulged Protestants and Pagans with protection, but her confessor, by her orders, invited ecclesiastics of all communions, on the day of blessing the waters, to a grand entertainment, which she called the dinner of toleration. At the same table were seated ministers of eight different forms of Christianity. For several years the same ecclesiastic annually invited on the 6th of January to dine with him, the clergy of the several communions in Petersburgh, who assembled in a body of fifteen or sixteen different persuasions, in the habits of their respective churches. At these

meetings, the archbishop of Novgorod and Petersburgh presided, who, on the close of the repast, uttered aloud, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will to men." The evening passed in agreeable discourse, grave, or humorous, in the several tongues of Europe. Catherine defrayed the whole of the expense.*

Yermolof, soon forgetting his obligations to Potemkin, endeavoured to injure him in the opinion of the empress. In consequence of a quarrel, Potemkin had disgraced an uncle of Yermolof's, who complained to her majesty, and Potemkin being reproved, "Madam," said he enraged, "there is but one alternative, you must either dismiss Yermolof or me; while you keep that white negro I will not set my foot within the palace." Catherine obeyed; and the same day Yermolof resigned his post to Momonof.

The intention, which Catherine had announced in the beginning of 1786, of making a magnificent progress into the southern provinces of her empire, to receive the homage of her new subjects, excited the fears of the Turks, and the curiosity of all Europe. It was the great object of Catherine's ambition to expel the Turks from Europe, and found a new empire on the ruins of the Ottoman greatness. With this

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 110, 128, 131, 119—127.

view, her second grandson had been baptized by the name of Constantine, brought up by nurses from Greece, and instructed in the Greek tongue: she had seduced the emperor Joseph from the line of sound policy by prospects of sharing in the spoils of the Turkish empire: and while she intrigued in Egypt and the Archipelago, she had endeavoured to prevent the interference of France, by forming a commercial treaty very favourable to that power. The designs of Catherine, however, were hardly ripe for execution; and that she resolved at this period on the journey to the Crimea, must be ascribed to Potemkin, who, apprehensive that his enemies might employ the abuses of his administration to undermine his power, hoped to amuse the empress with fictitious appearances of prosperity and submission. The original conception of this progress was formed in a most extraordinary style of magnificence and grandeur; but while preparations were in forwardness, the young prince Constantine, who was to be conducted to the gates of the eastern empire, was seized with the measles, and it was reported that skirmishes had taken place between the Russians and the Crim Tartars. Though these circumstances narrowed the original design, setting aside the coronation of Catherine as queen of Taurida, and protectress of the Tartars, the empress departed from Petersburgh

January 18th, 1787, accompanied by the principal persons of her court, and the ministers of Austria, France, and England. For the space of five hundred leagues the road was illuminated with large fires, at the distance of every thirty fathoms; and merchants, summoned from all quarters, with crowds drawn by curiosity, presented the appearance of a numerous and industrious population. A great number of horses having been previously prepared, the empress travelled night and day; and as she distributed upwards of 100,000 rubles in every town on her rout, and had in her carriage a large sack full of gold pieces, which were scattered among the peasants, it may be supposed that she was followed with acclamations, and that in all the towns balls and illuminations afforded a joyous spectacle. This flattering scene, however, suddenly changed, as she entered the province of marshal Romantzof. Potemkin, who envied the glory of that veteran, had contrived to leave him destitute of every thing necessary to receive his sovereign with magnificence; Kief presented a heap of ruins; the severity of the imposts excited murmurs; and the troops of the marshal appeared incomplete, and in old clothes. The marshal concealed not his complaints, which Catherine ascribed to jealousy.

After being delayed in this dismal country three months by the ice, she embarked, with her

numerous retinue, in a fleet of fifty gallies, an descending the Dnieper, entered the government of Potemkin. His arts, aided by the spring, diffused a magic charm over the whole scene. At Krementshuk, 12,000 men, in new uniforms, manœuvring with a body of Cossacks, exhibited a sham fight before the empress. On this occasion, when all persons pressed to solicit favours, she said to Suwarrow, "Do you want nothing, general." "Only that you would order my lodgings to be paid, madam," returned Suwarrow. The rent of his lodgings was two rubles a month. The bounties of Catherine were celebrated with all the pomp of rhetoric; but who has recorded the services which she neglected to reward?

The king of Poland came to pay respect to the princess, who had raised him to a throne, for the purpose of humbling him. She gave him a cold welcome, and having received vague promises of support, Stanislaus departed with apprehensions of a second partition.

As the empress descended the Dnieper, she found its banks covered with villages, which had been constructed on purpose, and peasants well dressed, tending numerous flocks, who had been brought from different parts of the country. While she was delighted with the beauties, which the artifice of her minister had for a moment imparted to a desart, she was met by the

emperor Joseph, who accompanied her to Cherson. This city was wealthy, its harbour full of vessels, and its docks well supplied. A ship of sixty-four, and another of forty guns, were launched in Catherine's presence. As she passed through the town, she saw on the eastern gate an inscription to this effect, "This is the road to Byzantium." While she was here, four Turkish ships of the line anchored in the roads, which excited great indignation in her mind. "See!" said she to her courtiers, "it might be supposed the Turks had forgotten Tscheme!"

From Cherson, the empress proceeded into the Crimea. Wherever she stopt a night, a palace was prepared for her reception. The evening which she spent at Baktschezerai, a mountain was so illuminated, that it seemed entirely on fire. She distributed considerable presents among the Tartar nobles, who in return, testified the most ardent devotion, and in six weeks declared for the Turks. On her way home, when she came to Pultava, Potemkin entertained her with an exact representation of the battle in which Charles XII. lost the glory of a hundred victories. The emperor Joseph was so captivated with the behaviour of Catherine, that he expressed his inclination to assist her in placing her grandson upon the throne of the Cesars; and, though he was informed of a revolt in the Netherlands, which required his presence,

never left her till she reached Moscow.* The progress of the empress to the Crimea, was perhaps the most extraordinary journey ever performed, considering the fascinating ease, humour, and playfulness, with which she entertained her companions; the pompous munificence which she employed to astonish her subjects; and the wonderful contrivances devised by Potemkin to impose upon her judgment and flatter her vanity.

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 151—170. Mayo, Vol. III. p. 67—70.

CHAP. XII.

War with Turkey—and Sweden—Success of Catherine—Peace with Sweden—Reduction of Ismail—Disgrace of Momonof—Disasters of the Turks—Peace—Death and Character of Potemkin—Dismemberment of Poland—Catherine's opposition to the French Revolution—Usurpation of Courland—Singular disappointment—Projects on the Caspian Sea—Death—and Character—Paul.

THE splendid journey of Catherine, which originated in ostentation, and produced no advantage to herself, excited serious apprehensions in neighbouring states. The Turks, who were persuaded that Catherine aimed at their ruin, made preparations for defence; and as it was supposed, that in the interviews between their imperial majesties, measures were concerted for a joint attack upon Turkey; England and Prussia were resolved to maintain the independance of Europe. They stimulated the Turks to hostilities; while France, whose interest lay in preserving peace, endeavoured to prevent a rupture. When it appeared that the divan considered war as the safest policy, Catherine, whose profusion and costly establishments had deranged her

finances, was disposed to lower her pretensions; but the sultan, provoked by repeated injuries, and in expectation of assistance from other powers, sent her ambassador to the seven towers, and published a declaration of war. In conformity with this spirit, the Turkish emperor neglected no expedient to inflame the animosity of his subjects against the Russians, or frustrate the designs of his insatiable enemies. England and Prussia, while they encouraged the Turks to warlike measures, instigated the northern powers to seize so favourable an opportunity for curbing the ambition of Catherine; a design to which the French also contributed; for, though they professed neutrality, they incited the the Swedish monarch to make a diversion in favour of the Ottomans.

Meanwhile Catherine, who had foreseen a rupture, prepared to execute her designs. She issued a manifesto, in which, accusing the Turks of perfidy, treachery, and contempt of the most solemn engagements, she impudently pretended that she was obliged to recur to arms, as the only means of asserting her rights; and that, perfectly innocent of the calamities which the war might create, she was authorised to rely not only on the providence of God, and the aid of her allies, but on the prayers of Christendom for the success of so just a cause. For the purpose of enlisting superstition in the service of

her destructive ambition, she circulated among her subjects the prophesies of the patriarchs, Jeremiah and Nicon, predicting the downfal of Constantinople. These, however, were not the weapons on which Catherine depended for victory. A fleet of eight sail of the line, and twelve frigates, with about two hundred smaller vessels, was equipped in the Euxine, and two strong squadrons were ready at Cronstadt to sail for the Mediterranean. Her armies, to the amount of 150,000 men, assembled on the shores of the Bog; while her ally, the emperor, who was no less desirous of the fall of the Turks than herself, promised to send 80,000 men into Moldavia.

The hope of triumphs, which these armaments seemed to ensure, was encouraged by the first events of the war. It was the desire of the empress to subject to her authority the Tartars on the Euxine, and other tribes inhabiting the regions of Caucasus. But, animated by the love of independance, and the exhortations of a new prophet, the sheik Mansour, who appeared among them, these hordes took arms in defence of their liberty and religion. An obscure, but destructive warfare, commenced in 1784, had been carried on since that period; and the Russians, though they gained victories, suffered great loss, sometimes a defeat, and made little progress in subduing the enthusiasm of these inde-

pendant tribes. Assisted by the Turks, who considered them as useful allies, they entered the Russian frontiers, under the command of their prophet; but their irregular courage was overborne by the numbers, arms, and discipline of their enemies. The Russians defeated Mansour, and ravaged the country of the Tartars, and foiled the attempts of the Turks on Kinburne, events which excited uncommon joy in the court of Petersburgh, as ominous perhaps of the result of the contest.*

While Catherine, in concert with the German emperor, prepared to overwhelm the Ottoman power, she endeavoured to form an alliance with Austria, France, and Spain, to counteract the designs of England and Prussia. But these powers not only frustrated this attempt, by intimidating Louis XVI., but engaged the Swedish monarch to declare war against Russia, and incited the Poles to embrace the present opportunity of throwing off the Russian yoke.

Though the empress was disappointed in her negotiations, and involved in war, on which she had not calculated, and which spread terror through Petersburgh, she discovered the utmost composure; and while she took measures to repel the immediate danger, relaxed not her

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 176—195. Mayo, Vol. III. p. 71—73.

efforts against the Turks. Accident, no less than prudence and firmness enabled her to defeat the designs of the Swedish monarch. Desirous of emulating the fame of Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles XII. this prince joined his troops in Finland, and prepared to lay siege to Fredericksham with great hopes, as the Russian soldiers had been marched to the Turkish frontier. But his men became mutinous, and would not fight; and at the same time the Danes made an irruption into Sweden. The intrigues of Catherine, which fomented the discontents among the Swedes, and induced the Danes to take the field, would have proved fatal to Gustavus at the moment when he dreamt of victory, if the spirited interference of the English minister, Sir Hugh Elliot, had not led the Danish general to withdraw his army, and agree to an armistice. If unforeseen events thus enabled the empress to defeat the military preparations of her new enemy, she was still more remarkably indebted to happy occurrences for preservation from his naval force. The Russian fleet, of eighteen sail of the line, was prepared to sail for the Mediterranean, and pilot boats and tenders were engaged in England. When everything seemed to favour the expedition, a proclamation appeared in the London Gazette, prohibiting British seamen from entering into foreign service, and the merchants were ordered not to

furnish tenders, the government being determined to maintain a strict neutrality. To remedy this disappointment, the empress applied to the Dutch; but influenced by the British, they expressed a like determination. Though nothing could be more vexatious to Catherine than these disappointments, nothing could be more advantageous; since, if her fleet had sailed early in the season, her capital, her arsenals, and the province of Livonia, had been exposed to imminent peril. The Swedish fleet of fifteen sail of the line, and five large frigates, appearing in the gulph of Finland, admiral Greig put to sea with seventeen sail of the line. A battle ensued, June 30th, 1788, after two hours fighting the fleets parted to refit, and then renewed the contest with redoubled fury. When night came on, the advantage, if any, was on the side of the Swedes; but Greig, after retiring to Cronstadt for a few weeks, again put to sea with additional force, attacked his enemies by surprize, and, capturing one vessel, obliged the rest to take shelter in the harbour of Sweabourg, where they were blocked up the remainder of the season. Catherine testified the high sense she entertained of this service, by writing a letter of thanks to the admiral, and bestowing upon him more substantial rewards.*

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 201—254. Mayo, Vol. III. p. 115.

Meanwhile the forces of the empress acting against the Turks and Tartars, signalized themselves by more dangerous exploits. While the Tartars of the Kuban were defeated, and the Turkish fleet repelled, Potemkin advanced through regions, which war and pestilence had desolated, to the siege of Otchakof, which he began August 29. The place was taken by assault, after a vigorous defence of three months and twenty days, in which the assailants lost 12,000, and the besieged 25,000 men. A scene, which lasted three days, ensued, of rapine, debauchery, and slaughter.

Though the arms of Catherine were so successful in every quarter, the posture of her affairs seemed only to demand fresh exertions. She ordered new levies to recruit her armies extending from the Caspian sea to the Baltic; and as the population of Russia was greatly diminished, the exiles were drawn from Siberia to supply the deficiency. Tyranny relaxed at the call of ambition.

The Swedish monarch, who appeared on the verge of ruin last year, having, during the winter, made peace with Denmark, and established absolute authority in his states, again endeavoured to annoy the empress. But, though after gaining two victories, he penetrated into Russian Finland, he was compelled to retire with loss; while his fleet of gallies of forty sail

was defeated by the Russian fleet of seventy sail, under the prince of Nassau.

Not disheartened by this series of disaster, Gustavus determined to prosecute the war with still greater vigour. In April of 1790, he made himself master of three strong posts within twelve leagues of Petersburgh, 3000 Swedes obliged 10,000 Russians, who were sent to recover the most important of them, to retire with the loss of 2,000 men. The duke of Sudermania attacked the Russian fleet in the harbour of Reval; but the wind shifting, he narrowly escaped with the loss of a sixty gun ship. To counterbalance this failure, Gustavus, falling upon a division of the Russian fleet, at Fredericksham, took thirty-eight gallies, and destroyed a number of gun-boats. As if it had been determined that defeat should be alternate, the Russians having blocked up the Swedes in the harbour of Viborg, seven or eight of the ships of the line were destroyed; while the king of Sweden, to revenge the loss, gave battle to the prince of Nassau, and, after a furious combat of two days, captured forty-five of the Russian gallies with 4000 men.

Gustavus now perceived that little success could be expected in a war against Russia; and Catherine, willing to free herself from an adversary, who, if not formidable, at least occasioned a considerable diversion of her forces, con-

cluded a treaty, August 14th, 1790, under the mediation of Spain, things reverting to their former condition. The rejoicings on this occasion, in the court of Catherine, were extreme, which showed how much she was interested in the event.* But it is time to return to the Turkish war.

The success of the emperor Joseph, who, in some measure, retrieved the disasters of his first campaign, and the fluctuation which the death of the excellent prince Achmet IV., introduced into the Turkish councils, were favourable to the progress of Catherine's arms. The empress exceeding her usual munificence in rewarding the officers and men engaged in the capture of Otchakof, it excited a spirit of emulation in the Russian armies, which nothing could resist. While Suwarrow, in conjunction with the prince of Saxe Coburg, with 30,000 men, entirely defeated the army of the vizier, amounting to 90,000 men in Valachia, Potemkin, with the grand army in Bessarabia, frustrated the attempts of the Turks for the recovery of Otchakof, and prince Repnin and general Kamenskoi repulsed them in Moldavia. The Russians aimed at the reduction of Bender, and 8000 cavalry, who advanced to relieve the fortress,

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 262—275. Mayo, Vol. III. p. 114, 162, 198.

were totally routed. Repnin, encountering the Turkish army, under the famous Hassan Bey, who had been sent to retrieve the honour of the Ottoman arms, gained a complete victory, taking all his artillery. The reduction of Bender, of Bialogrod, and Kylia Nova, were the fruits of this exploit.

In the midst of this career of victory the empress lost her ally, Joseph II., who, dying in February, 1790, left his hereditary dominions to his brother Leopold. This prince, embarrassed by the revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands, and apprehensive of an attack from the Prussians, concluded a peace with the Porte, restoring all his conquests beyond Choczym. This treaty somewhat damped the flame of war, and several months elapsed without any memorable occurrence. But in the autumn of 1790, preparations were made to reduce Ismail, the only fortress, which remained to the Turks on the lower Danube, and which opened a passage to the countries between the Danube and the Ottoman capital. This place well fortified, with a strong garrison, and 232 pieces of artillery, Suwarrow received orders to take, and accordingly with 23,000 men, aided by a fleet of gallies, he obeyed. Under cover of a tremendous fire, from 567 pieces of cannon on board the gallies, and surrounding batteries, he made a furious assault, which the Turks received with

unshaken firmness, the citizens, men and women supporting the troops. Suwarrow, though repulsed, was not dismayed; he came again to the attack, and forced his way into the fortress, where the desperate courage of the Ottomans prolonged the contest for some time. The commander, who deemed further resistance vain, had consented to capitulate, when, an affray taking place, he and the prisoners fell a prey to the ferocity of the victors, who, continuing the carnage, through the night, filled streets, squares, mosques, and houses, with heaps of slain, to the number of 15,000. Great booty fell into the hands of the Russians, who lost 13,000 of their best soldiers. This is an example of the effects of Catherine's ambition; 28,000 souls sacrificed in ten hours. The general, who was incapable of respecting merit in an enemy, gave the following account of his success to the empress: "The haughty Ismail is at your feet."

Catherine, elated with these victories, when the British ambassador appeared next at court, said to him: "Sir, since the king, your master, is resolved to drive me from Petersburgh, I hope, he will allow me to retire to Constantinople."

As soon as circumstances would permit, prince Potemkin returned to Petersburgh, to enjoy his triumphs in the approbation of his sovereign, who expressed her joy in alternate festivities

and presents. Among other things, she gave him a coat laced with diamonds, which cost 200,000 rubles. The prodigality of the prince seemed to exceed even the munificence of his sovereign. During a few months stay at Petersburgh he expended upwards of 1,200,000 rubles, and the entertainment which he gave to the empress, and all her court, in his palace of Taurida, had no example except in the fables that amuse young minds.*

Amidst all his grandeur, triumphs, and pleasures, uneasiness preyed on the spirits of Potemkin, which the presence of a new favourite increased. Momonof was agreeable enough to the empress; but, not finding any pleasure in pleasing a woman of sixty, he had formed an intimacy with one of her maids of honour, the princess Scherbatof, young, handsome, and sprightly. This connexion, having subsisted some time unknown to Catherine, the jealousy of the courtiers at length opened her eyes; but she thought fit to connive at the discovery for the present. When, however, the young countess Bruce, one of the richest heiresses of the empire, was presented at court, she told Momonof that it was her intention he should marry her. Momonof implored her not to press it, and she

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 279—301. Mayo, Vol. III. p. 191, 201.

insisting upon the reason of his reluctance, he fell at her feet, and confessed that he had pledged himself to the princess Scherbatof. Next day the lovers were married, and sent to Moscow. But Momonof having disclosed to his wife the secrets of his intercourse with the empress, she divulged them with indiscreet levity. When the couple had retired to rest, the master of the police at Moscow, entering their apartment, delivered them to six men disguised as women. Seizing the talking lady, they stript her of her night clothes, and scourged her with rods, her husband being compelled to kneel during the chastisement. The master of the police, who had meanwhile retired, re-entered the room; "Thus," said he, "the empress punishes the first indiscretion; for the second she sends persons to Siberia."*

On the day of his marriage, Momonof was succeeded in his post of favourite by Plato Zubof. This person, being very obnoxious to Potemkin, he importuned the empress to dismiss him; but the new paramour was too agreeable to Catherine to have any thing to fear, even from the artifices or authority of Potemkin.

At the close of the late campaign, negotiations had been opened at Sistovia, under the mediation of the courts of London, Berlin, and

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 294—313.

the Hague, to reconcile the contending powers. But as the successive victories of the empress led her to insist on retaining a great part of her conquests, England and Prussia, who had at first persuaded the Porte to engage in the war, now from the same motives of policy dissuaded the sultan from acceding to her terms, and took measures to support him. Selim, animated by their declarations, prepared for a vigorous defence of his dominions; and Catherine to maintain the glory of her arms. Potemkin, taking farewell of his benefactress, repaired to the scene of conflict. Equal success awaited the discipline, and tactics of the Russian armies. Prince Galitzin, April 4th, reduced Maczin, a fortress south of the Danube, and eight days after, defeated a division of the Turkish army near Brailow. Kutuzof routed the Turks and Tartars at Babada; Gudovitch made himself master of Anepe, on the frontiers of the Crimea, taking the garrison consisting of 6000 men; while prince Repnin, at the head of 25,000 Russians, gained an entire victory over 70,000 Ottomans, the flower of their armies, near Maczin.

The negotiations, in the mean time, still proceeded. Though the arms of Catherine had been crowned with such numerous and brilliant victories, as her resources of men and treasure were drained, the king of Prussia undermined

her authority in Poland, and the mediating powers enforced their interposition with formidable armaments, she perceived the necessity of making peace. A treaty was concluded, August 4th, 1791, by which she renounced all her conquests, except Otchakof, and the region between the Bog, the Euxine, and the Dniester. This war, which originated solely in the ambition of Catherine, consumed, it is said, 130,000 Austrians, 200,000 Russians, and 330,000 Turks, in all 660,000 men.*

While the British prepared an armament to compel the empress to terminate hostilities, a plan, for marching an army into Bengal, and driving them from their oriental possessions, suggested by a Frenchman, named de St. Genie, was presented to her, of which she testified her approbation, and which, if matters had come to extremities, she would probably have attempted to execute.

Soon after the preliminaries of peace were signed, Potemkin finished his course, in a manner forming an edifying contrast to the splendour of his life. Seized with an epidemic fever, which raged at Jassy, he contemned all advice and regimen, indulging in gluttony and intemperance. An expectation of recovering,

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 317—321. Mayo, Vol. III. p. 241.

by removal, induced him to set out for Nicholaef; but he had proceeded only a little way, when, being much worse, he was taken from his carriage, and, placed on the sloping side of the road, expired in a ditch, October 15th, 1791, in the fifty-second year of his age. Prince Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin, is the most remarkable example, recorded in authentic history, of the effects of continued indulgence upon the mind of man. He united in himself all the vices, that debase or torment human nature, with many of those qualities, which, when directed by a sound judgment, constitute greatness, activity, courage, resolution, magnificence in his projects, unsparing profusion in his expedients, and a power of drawing from others, stores of knowledge, and conversing with propriety on all subjects. The ascendancy, which he acquired over the mind of Catherine, first by his ardent passion and manly beauty, and maintained, for nearly twenty years, by soothing her apprehensions, and flattering her ambition with prospects of oriental empire, served to display all the properties of his nature. As every thing was in his power, oddity, capriciousness, and extravagance, singularly characterised his desires, schemes, and mode of life. With one hand he made motions to the women, who pleased him, and with the other the sign of the cross. To be a monk, a bishop, duke of

Courland, king of Poland, sovereign of Moldavia, Valachia, and Bessarabia, were objects which alternately occupied his thoughts. Wishing to have Plutarch read to him, when the reader came to the life of Agesilaus, he interrupted him, saying, "Think you that at a future period, I could go to Constantinople?" "If her majesty please, it is not impossible," replied the reader; "That is enough," returned Potemkin, "if any person should tell me to day that I could not go, I would blow out my brains." It was his opinion, that with 10,000 Russians, he could march through China, and nothing but death prevented an attack, which he meditated on that empire. During the siege of Otchakof, he coolly walked backward and forward under the guns of the ramparts; because some persons uttered suspicions of his courage. He often had sterlet soup, when the fish was so dear, that a dish, which was the prelude to his dinner, cost him 300 rubles; and dispatched his officers from the Crimea to Petersburgh, for oysters or China oranges. Sometimes he passed weeks with his inmates, playing at cards or chess, lounging on a sofa without speaking, in a morning gown, with bare legs and shirt collar unbuttoned; at others, he would appear in a magnificent suit, covered with ribbons and shining in diamonds. As he wished to have the

most costly things, he bought ten or a dozen violins, one worth 6000 rubles, and they were all destroyed by dust or rats. Having exhausted all the sources of sensual pleasure, and attained all the power and glory which the sovereign of Russia could bestow, his existence became so oppressive to him, that, when he was last at Petersburgh, he sometimes amused himself with pouring his diamonds out of one hand into the other. In the presence of a score of persons, he walked for hours up and down his apartment, biting his nails. In the long winter evenings he sat alone with a table before him, spread with black velvet, covered with his diamonds, which he employed himself in placing in the shape of crosses, circles, and other fanciful figures. It occurred one evening to weigh them, when he found that they amounted to several pounds.

From the place of his death, the remains of Potemkin were conveyed to Cherson, and deposited beneath the dome of a small church belonging to the fortress. Catherine expressed an intention of erecting a superb monument to his memory; but never executed this design. When Paul ascended the throne, he ordered the body of the prince to be removed, and thrown into the ditch of the fortress. A hole was dug in the fosse, into which was thrown, like a dead

dog,* the remains of the man, who domineered over the lofty Catherine, with all her subjects, and meditated the conquest of China, and the subversion of the Ottoman empire.

When the empress was informed of the death of Potemkin, she shut herself up for fifteen hours, not to lament the loss; but to distribute the employments which he had ingrossed.

When the empress was engaged in the Turkish war, the Poles had embraced the opportunity to attempt to break the fetters which she had imposed upon them. She now determined to take vengeance, by expunging Poland from the list of nations, a scheme suggested to her some years before, by prince Henry of Prussia. As a new constitution had been formed, which promised to correct the disorders of that wretched country, Catherine declared to the diet, that she was determined to support the old constitution, and an army of 120,000 men, poured in from different quarters to crush the rising spirit which the Poles discovered to defend themselves. She found no difficulty in persuading Frederic William, who supported the Poles in expectation of gaining Thorn and Dantzic, to agree to a final partition of Poland. Overawed by the power and threats of the empress, and

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 260, 305, 308, 324, 327. Clarke's Travels, Vol. I. p. 602.

without hopes from those who had taken arms, Stanislaus assembled deputies from different provinces, and it was resolved, that they should yield to the superiority of the Russians. The king of Prussia, in concert with Catherine, marched an army into Poland; while she declared that she would incorporate, with her domains, all the territory which her arms had acquired. Though the diet was forced to desist from opposition to the usurpations of the portioners, the barbarity and oppressions exercised by the Russians, induced the patriots once more to take arms. They assembled under the standard of the celebrated Kosciusko. Sanguinary contests ensued, in which, though they discovered valour and patriotism of the highest order, they were unable to prevent the total overthrow of the republic.*

While Catherine consummated the subversion of Poland, she endeavoured to restore the Russian ascendancy at the court of Stockholm, and to acquire the merit of supporting the cause of monarchy in the world. For this purpose she encouraged her rival, Gustavus of Sweden, in his enterprise for the restoration of Louis XVI., by the promise of 12,000 men, and an annual subsidy of 300,000 rubles, expecting that this chivalrous adventure would bring him into dis-

* Mayo, Vol. III. p. 243, 316.

credit with his subjects. This expedition being prevented by the assassination of Gustavus, she still promoted the league, for the restoration of the Bourbons, by every expedient, except actually engaging in the contest, in hopes that as the belligerents exhausted their resources, her power would increase. To express her abhorrence of the French revolution, she renewed the treaty of commerce with Great Britain, which had been interrupted to pay court to France; she promised to send a squadron to join the English fleet, and in 1795 formed a defensive alliance with that power. She prohibited the importation of French merchandize into her dominions, welcomed the emigrants, banished all who favoured revolutionary principles, recalled her ambassador from Paris, refused to admit the charge d'affaires of the republican government, and even dismissed colonel l'Harpe a Swiss, tutor to the princes Alexander and Constantine, because he was a friend of liberty.*

Plato Zubof, who had hitherto been a total stranger to business, employed the post of favourite to make himself minister. He acted in both capacities, what neither Orlof nor Potemkin could do; while he succeeded to the authority of these potent personages. To court him was

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. 347—349.

the sure way of obtaining the approbation of Catherine. His father, brothers, and sister, were distinguished by honours and presents.

The empress still prosecuted her schemes of aggrandizement. She had long fixed her desire upon Courland; and had not neglected measures to gratify her rapacity. In 1786, on hearing that the duke, son of the famous Biren, was in an ill state of health, she sent a body of troops, into the dutchy, to support the freedom of election, in case of his demise. While the duke made himself odious to his subjects by innovations, her agents gained over the nobility. She embarrassed the trade of the Courlanders, and turned the profits of it into the hands of the Livonians. The Courlanders, without protection, thought it better to be the subjects than the neighbours of the empress; and the duke being called to Petersburgh, the states of Courland and Samogallia, after great altercation, which was terminated by the presence of the Russian general Pahlen, formally surrendered themselves, March 18th, 1795, to the empress of Russia. Not satisfied with this acquisition of territory, Catherine took occasion from the discontents of some of the nobles, to proscribe them, and bestow their estates upon her voracious courtiers, particularly the favourite Zubof and his brother.*

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 363.

From the death of Gustavus, Catherine laboured, without interruption, to undermine the authority of the duke of Sudermania, the regent, in order to improve the young king's minority to recover her influence in Sweden. For this purpose, she employed count Stackelberg, a minister of consummate address, to engage the affection of the king, and negotiate a marriage between Gustavus and her granddaughter, the princess Alexandra. The obstacles, which obstructed this design, seemed insurmountable. Gustavus was betrothed to the princess of Mecklenburgh, and the regent had an extreme aversion to Catherine. The marriage, however, was set aside, and the duke's animosity being softened, he accepted an invitation to visit the court of Petersburgh with his ward. On their arrival, Gustavus was received, by the empress, with every mark of respect, and on being introduced to the princess, was captivated with her person and accomplishments. Every thing wore the most favourable appearance, and the Swedish ambassador demanded the princess in marriage for his sovereign. On September 21, 1796, the day appointed for the espousals, Catherine, with her court, assembled in the apartment of the throne, and the archdutchess presented herself, adorned as a bride, rejoicing in the prospect of a union with a monarch who had gained her affection, when

neither Gustavus nor the regent appearing, turned the joy which sat on every countenance into the air of disappointment. The empress's artifice had deceived her. Building on the impressions which she perceived the princess had made on the heart of the young king, Catherine ordered it to be inserted in the marriage articles, that the princess, who was of the Greek religion, should have her private chapel and clergy in the royal palace. These articles, of which he had no knowledge, being presented to Gustavus, an hour before the ceremony, he said: that, although he would not impose any restraint upon the conscience of the princess, he could not allow her a chapel or priests in his court. Entreaties and arguments were urged to procure his consent in vain; and when it appeared he could not gain his point, he at last said; "I cannot, I will not sign them." As he still continued some days in Petersburgh, the Russian ministers renewed their importunities; but he remained inflexible, declaring, however, "that since the laws of Sweden, prevented him from acceding to the propositions of the empress, he would refer the matter to the states, when he came of age; and should they consent to a queen of the Greek religion, he would send for the princess." The mortification of Catherine was extreme.*

* Mayo, Vol. III. p. 536.

The cupidity of the empress was too inordinate to allow her to omit any opportunity of enlarging her territories. Under pretence of defending Lolf-Ali-Khan, a descendant of the Sophis, against Aga-Mahmed the present sovereign of Persia, she thought to obtain the Persian provinces on the Caspian sea. After endeavouring, in vain, to engage the Porte in her designs, she dispatched Valerian Zubof with an army into Daghestan. That general having reduced Derbent was repulsed by Aga-Mahmed, and Catherine reinforced her troops.

But while the empress flattered herself with the conquest of the Persian provinces, she approached the term of her projects and enjoyments. Her health, which was on the decline, was considerably impaired by the fatigue of the entertainments given in honour of the Swedish monarch. On the evening of November 4th, 1796, she appeared at a private party with her usual cheerfulness, and next morning, after transacting business with her secretaries, retired alone to her apartment. An attendant in waiting, uneasy at not being called, entered the apartment and found her extended on the floor. Her physician ordered her to be bled; but though her life was prolonged thirty-seven hours, after the seizure, she was quite insensible, and expired November 6th, in the 68th year of her age.*

* Mayo, Vol. III. p. 588. Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 371

Beautiful in her youth, Catherine preserved a majestic gracefulness to the end of her life. Though of a moderate stature, as she was well proportioned and carried her head high, she seemed tall. Her forehead was open, nose aquiline, mouth agreeable, chin rather long, eyes blue, with thick darkish eye brows, and auburn hair. She usually dressed in the Russian manner, and except on festivals never wore rich attire. Her form, gait, and looks, bore marks of superiority and command.

The habits of this princess were extremely regular and temperate. She rose usually at six in the morning, and after a light breakfast, transacted business with her secretary till ten, when sitting down to her toilet, she signed papers of various kinds. At eleven she went to chapel, or spent the time with her grand children the princes Alexander and Constantine. Her dinner, always on the table about one, seldom detained her above an hour. Business then engaged her an hour or two, when she repaired to the theatre or a private concert, and, if there was not a court, spent the evening with a small party at cards, retiring, generally without supping, between ten and eleven. This order and temperance, with equability and cheerfulness of temper, contributed to preserve her health, which was rarely affected.

The character of this extraordinary woman

is not so easy to describe as her person or habits. Those who approached her in private were fascinated with the courteousness of her behaviour, and the sprightliness and gaiety of her conversation. Her majestic air and decorous stateliness in public, inspired respect; while the solidity, vigour, and compass of her understanding, qualified her to govern men. The vast empire, which she obtained by courage and sagacity, she meliorated by her laws, enlarged by her conquests, and exalted by the splendour of her court, the diffusion of knowledge, the improvement of commerce, of agriculture, and the arts, and a magnificent patronage of learning. This combination of brilliant qualities and exploits, however, ought not to shelter her vices from severe censure. It cannot be forgotten that she ascended the throne over the body of her dead husband, to whose assassination it is more than suspected she was privy. It must ever excite abhorrence to reflect on her capricious and insatiable licentiousness which cost her subjects 92,820,000 rubles,* presented them with a most pernicious example, and exposed them to the insolent tyranny of profligate favourites, and all their retainers.

* Catherine bestowed this sum, about £42,000,000, on those persons to the number of twelve, who successively occupied the post. See Mayo, Vol. III. p. 539.

Justice and humanity must be extinguished in the minds of men, before they can read the history of the calamities of Poland and the Crimea, of the wars which deluged with blood the shores of the Danube and the Dnieper, and desolated the adjacent countries, without execrating the ambition, injustice, and perfidy of Catherine.

When the grand duke Paul Petrovitch was informed of the danger of the empress, he repaired to the capital, and quietly succeeded to the empire in the forty third year of his age. Having arrived at such years, under a princess of such talents as his mother, it was natural to expect that he should be qualified for government. But naturally of a weak understanding, Paul had not received the education of a sovereign. As Catherine knew not only that his title to the crown was unquestionable; but that a great and respectable party, dissatisfied with her government, favoured his claims, she regarded him with extreme jealousy, and treated him in the same way as Elizabeth treated his father. He was excluded from all business. Though generalissimo of the Russian armies, he never led a regiment to battle, and though grand admiral of the Baltic, he never saw the fleet at Cronstadt. When the empress left Petersburgh, the government of it was never entrusted to him. The grand duke was not am-

bitious, and he appeared not to afford any countenance to the turbulent intrigues of those who abused his name. But Catherine knew how easily the sovereign of the Russias may be stript of his boundless authority, and, therefore endeavoured to prolong the childhood of her son, to render him contemptible, and retain him in the most absolute subjection.

When he was about twenty the empress wished him to make the tour of Europe, and together with the grand dutchess he travelled through Poland, Austria, Italy, France, and Holland. During their journey, a courier was dispatched every day to inform the empress of their progress and employments. As was natural, they wished to know what passed at Petersburgh; but she was resolved they should not be gratified. The letters of Bibikof, addressed to count Soltikof, who accompanied the grand duke, containing an exact account of passing events, were intercepted, and Bibikof was sent to Siberia for presuming to gratify the curiosity of the son and heir of Catherine.

The usual residence of the grand duke was Gatshina, a magnificent palace, built by Gregory Orlof, and on his death, purchased by the empress as a present for her son. Without dignified employment, without knowledge, averse to reflection, Paul wasted his prodigious ac-

tivity, in puerilities. His grand occupation was to exercise a few battalions of soldiers at his palace of Gatshina. He was extremely fond of the menage, and amused himself frequently with the diversion of a tournament. He studied with great attention whatever related to etiquette, the shape of a coat, the position of a hat, and the size of a pair of boots. He seemed not to be malignant; but he was ignorant of men and of affairs, conceited, obstinate, whimsical, and absurd. His conduct when he came to the throne exhibited a most extraordinary mixture of caprice, folly, and tyranny.

CHAP. XIII.

Funeral of Peter III.—Absurdities of Paul.—War with France—and with England.—Paul's challenge to the potentates of Europe.—Tyranny and Assassination—Alexander—Peace with England and France—Interview of the Emperor Alexander with the King of Prussia.—War with France.—Battle of Austerlitz.—Campaign in Poland.—Battle of Eylau—of Friedland.—Peace of Tilsit.—Turkish war.—Conferences of Erfurth—Progress and termination of the Turkish War.

AMONG the first acts of Paul on his accession, was the reinterment of his father Peter III. He ordered the corpse to be taken up and brought to the palace to receive the same honours as were to be shown to Catherine. As the unfortunate Peter had omitted the ceremony of coronation, the imperial crown was fetched from Moscow and placed upon his coffin, as it lay by that of the deceased empress. Over both was a species of true lover's knot, with this inscription in Russ; "divided in life, united in death." Count Alexèy Orlof, and prince Baratinsky,

the assassins of Peter, were stationed, as chief mourners, on each side of the corpse, while it lay in state, and on the day of the funeral procession appeared in the same office, before the whole court, amidst all the ceremonial of pompous grief. This strange but awful species of punishment, the callousness of Orlof endured with composure; but prince Baratinsky was so overwhelmed, that he was enabled to support his station only by the application of volatile salts, and other stimulants *.

The character of the new sovereign, so different from that of Catherine, and the hatred which he discovered to her institutions, produced an entire and sudden change in the court, the government, and foreign relations of Russia. The ease and gaiety which the presence of the late empress diffused among her courtiers gave place to the restraint of military discipline, and instead of the pleasures and entertainments which spread the sound of joy in her palace, nothing was heard but the clatter of swords, and the echo of enormous boots. Though the habits and manners of Paul at once realized the forebodings of the courtiers, his first public acts seemed to announce a reign of popularity. He liberated Kosciusko and other Poles, whom zeal for their country had brought to a prison. He

* Life of Catherine, Vol. III. p. 52.

granted honours to the nobility, which though of little value, were adapted to gain their confidence. He conciliated the clergy by raising the bishops to the orders of the empire, and founding a church to St. Michael, as he said, by divine inspiration. But whatever favour he acquired by justice or clemency, he soon forfeited by his absurd and tyrannical innovations and enactments. It may be proper to subjoin a few instances of his vexatious regulations and minute oppression.

The guards, so formidable to the tzars, since the reign of Peter the great, and the authors of so many revolutions, were rendered incapable of injuring him, by a bold step of the new emperor. With these turbulent regiments, he incorporated the troops, which he had employed himself in exercising at Gatshina, distributed the officers, promoted several steps, among different companies. This measure, which had it not been so opportunely effected, might have cost him his life, had no other consequence than that of inducing several hundred officers to retire. Free from all apprehensions from the guards, Paul entered upon his career of innovation. His guard was mounted, in a totally different uniform, and he employed himself in the court, three or four hours a day, in teaching his soldiers to manœuvre. In the midst of

patterns of uniforms and accoutrements he issued his regulations respecting hats, caps, feathers, boots, spatterdashes, cockades, and sword-belts. The officers who first appeared in the uniform which he had last introduced, were sure of reward.

While modelling the dress of his soldiers upon the antiquated uniform of Germany, Paul put forth a decree that all who appeared in round hats, should have them taken from them or torn in pieces. The vexations arising from this order were innumerable; the Cossacks and soldiers of the police seizing the people's hats, or beating those, who, ignorant of the prohibition, offered resistance. Another prohibition appeared, allowing a fortnight to procure harness for carriages, in the German mode, and authorizing, after that period, the police to cut the traces of every carriage harnessed in the Russian manner. An ancient custom among the Russians was, when they met the tzar, his consort, or his son, to alight and prostrate themselves in the snow or filth. This tyrannical homage, which had been abolished in the former reign, Paul re-exacted in all its rigor. Several persons, whose coachmen passed on without observing the emperor, were thrown into prison. Those who were permitted to kiss the hand of Paul, were obliged to make the

floor resound by striking it with their knees and smack their lips aloud. Prince George Galitzin was arrested by his majesty himself for negligence in performing this ceremony. All tradesmen were ordered to efface the French word magazin, from the front of their shops, and substitute the Russian word signifying shop; because, said Paul, the emperor alone can have magazines of wood, flour, corn, and other articles.

These regulations, which show the vexatious puerility of the emperor, were attended with a complete change in the governments of the empire. The viceroyalties were remodelled, and their boundaries altered, which threw twenty thousand persons of condition out of employ.

Paul's aversion to his mother, which occasioned this alteration, influenced him likewise in his foreign policy. He countermanded the troops, which had been ordered to march into Gallicia, and seemed disposed to preserve peace with the French republic. But he soon found reason to adopt a different line of conduct. The success of the French arms, which spread terror to the remotest extremities of Europe, taught those princes, who had remained spectators of the contest, that resistance was essential to their safety. With this conviction, the insolence of the French directory, and Buonaparte's unpro-

voked invasion of Egypt, conspired to determine Paul to measures of hostility. The directory, inflated with their victories, having declared that if any ship were allowed to pass the sound with English merchandise, it would be considered as a formal declaration of war against the French nation, he ordered, May 15th, 1798, twenty-two sail of the line, and two hundred and fifty gallies to proceed to the Sound for the protection of trade against French oppression. When the knights of Malta, indignant at the pusillanimity of their grand master Hompesch, offered to put themselves under his protection, he not only accepted the title of grand-master, but promised to maintain the order in its institutions and privileges, and employ all his power to restore it to its former condition. December 18th he entered into a treaty with his Britannic majesty, to send 45,000 men with suitable artillery into the field, on condition of receiving £225,000, to defray the first expences, and £75,000 per month as soon as his troops should pass the Russian frontiers. A few days after, an alliance was concluded between him and the Porte, for the mutual guarantee of each other's dominions.

In conformity with these stipulations, the emperor dispatched Suwarrow, famous alike by his victories and barbarities on the Turkish

frontier and in Poland, at the head of 60,000 men, to co-operate with the Austrians in Italy. He fitted out twelve sail of the line in the Baltic, to act in concert with the British fleet, sent a squadron to join the Turks in the Mediterranean, declared war against Spain as the ally of France, concluded a defensive treaty with Portugal, and endeavoured to stimulate the German states to a vigorous prosecution of the war. He agreed likewise to furnish 17,595 men to assist in the expedition projected by the British against Holland. This ardour, however, which Paul discovered in favour of the allies, was but of short duration.

Suwarrow, having joined the Austrians in Lombardy, by a succession of brilliant victories subverted the French power in Italy, and passed the Alps to form a junction with the archduke Charles. After surmounting innumerable difficulties in making his way through the mountainous districts of Switzerland, he found on reaching the canton of Glarus, that the archduke had been withdrawn, and that he was left alone to extricate himself from peril and embarrassments. The retreat which he was compelled to make in the face of the French armies procured him no less glory than his victories. With the retreat of his army in Switzerland, which Paul attributed to the court of Vienna,

the failure of the expedition to Holland concurred to alienate his mind from the cause of the allies. He not only recalled his naval and military forces; but, not being indulged with the cession of Malta he entered zealously into the project of the French for reviving the armed neutrality; he laid an embargo upon all British shipping in his ports; and he conceived an extravagant admiration of Buonaparte, which he expressed with his usual thoughtlessness. One day, general Pahlen being at dinner with him, he said he would give as a toast, the greatest man in Europe, and immediately drank, *Buonaparte! Huzza! vive Buonaparte!*

The king of Sweden, a zealous partizan of the armed neutrality, having gone to Petersburgh, to concert measures with the emperor, he entertained that prince with his favourite diversion of a tournament. In the evening, while the glass went briskly round, a dispatch arriving from Buonaparte the conversation turned on the success of the French arms, the projects formed to humble the pride of England, and the prowess which the emperor displayed in the course of the day. Inspired with the spirit of chivalry, Paul conceived the design of sending a challenge to all the potentates of Europe, which was announced in the court gazette of Petersburgh, December 30th, in the following

terms. "It is said that his majesty the emperor, seeing that the powers of Europe cannot agree, and wishing to terminate a war which has raged eleven years, intends to propose a place where he will invite all other potentates, to fight them in closed barriers; for which purpose they are to bring with them their most enlightened ministers, and most skilful generals, as squires, umpires and heralds; such as Thugut, Pitt, and Bernstorff. He intends himself, to have with him, counts Vander Pahlen, and Kutusof."

While the emperor ruined the commerce of Russia by an embargo on English shipping, and exposed the state to the calamities of a rash and destructive war, he continued to provoke the patience of his subjects by acts of folly, caprice, and insanity. His rage against the English rose to a perfect paroxysm. He not only employed all his efforts to unite the northern powers in a confederacy against the British, laid an embargo on their shipping, marched their seamen into the interior, sequestrated their property and threatened the Turks with war if they allowed them to land in Egypt; but returned the dispatches of the British government with terms of pacification, unopened, after having pierced them in many places with a penknife. Discoursing in private, with one of his nobles, his majesty without any pro-

vocation, gave him a slap in the face, adding; "The salutation by the hand of me, Paul." Flourishing his cane in a fit of passion, he accidentally broke the branch of a large glass lustre, and perceiving what he had done, he attacked the lustre and reduced it to pieces. As he passed along one day he observed a nobleman looking at some men planting trees. "What are you doing," said he, "Merely seeing the men work," replied the nobleman. "Oh, is that your employment; take off his pelisse and give him a spade." He ordered the author of an epigram, in which his reign was contrasted with his mother's to lose his tongue, and sent him to one of the Aleutian isles. While reviewing some soldiers in front of his palace, an officer was thrown from his horse and dislocated his arm. Far from discovering any appearance of sympathy, the emperor kicked the officer as he lay on the ground. The regulations of Paul multiplied oppressions and punishments, his furious passions kept his courtiers, and even his family in continual alarm, and the vigilant inspection which his spies exercised over words, looks, gestures, and the most indifferent actions spread mistrust, suspicion and dismal uncertainty throughout Petersburgh. A subject of ridicule among foreign nations, the contempt and the terror of his subjects, a cabal it is said was formed in

the state to deprive the emperor of his power, when he fell a sacrifice to private revenge and ambition.

The last of Catherine's favourites, Plato Zubof, delivered to the new sovereign her will, which appointed Alexander her successor; but instead of receiving the reward which he expected, was banished from the court in disgrace. In order to revenge this affront, and open again the path to distinction, he formed in his retirement the design of murdering the emperor. He contrived by his intrigues to insinuate himself into the favour of Paul, and associated with himself several other noblemen of rank. Having taken their measures, the assassins proceeded to the palace on the evening of March 22d. The emperor, who usually slept on a sofa, in anapartment next to that of the empress, having contrary to his custom kissed the members of his family very affectionately, visited the centinels at their posts, and then retired to rest. The guard being changed by officers who were in the conspiracy, the murderers penetrated with ease to the door of the emperor's apartment, where a hussar, whom it had been found impossible to remove, presenting his fusee, Zubof cut him down with his sabre. The murder of his faithful servant roused the unfortunate prince, who springing from his sofa, when the conspirators entered

the room, at first endeavoured to shelter himself behind chairs and tables, then assuming an air of authority commanded them to surrender, as his prisoners. As they fiercely advanced toward him, he implored them to spare his life, offering to accept of any terms which they might propose. Finding supplication vain, he made a violent effort to reach the window, in which he cut his hand; and being drawn back, he knocked down one of the assailants with a chair. The empress awakened by the noise would have called for assistance, if a voice had not whispered to her to remain silent under pain of instant death. While the emperor made a desperate resistance, one of the conspirators brought him to the floor with a blow on the temples; when recovering a little, he again supplicated for his life, another taking off his sash, threw it twice round the neck of the defenceless prince; and one end being held by himself and another given to Zubof, they strangled their sovereign. Having accomplished the horrid deed, the assassins retired without molestation to their respective homes. Thus perished Paul the sovereign of all the Russias in the fifth year of his reign. So precarious is the most despotic authority, when folly and oppression expose it to hatred and contempt.

The death of the emperor, which the court attributed to apoplexy, diffused an extreme joy

among Russians, who expected a mitigation of all their calamities, from his successor his eldest son Alexander. This prince, the delight of his subjects, and the admiration of the civilized world, was born December 12th, 1777. Catherine, who was fond of her grandchildren in proportion as she disliked her son, intended Alexander for her successor, and neglected not the means to qualify him for the labours of government. While she entrusted the care of his education to L'Harpe, a philosopher distinguished by amiable manners, and a passionate admiration of the liberty, which the French revolution promised to the nations; she united her efforts with those of his tutor, to inform the understanding, and discipline the affections of the young prince. She composed for his use a "Sketch of Russian History," and "Miscellaneous Pieces," a work of amusement and instruction, and employed every expedient to support the authority of the teacher, and excite the industry and application of the pupil. It was not perhaps to the advantage of Alexander that he was married*, at the early age of fifteen, or that about the same age he was deprived of his preceptor In his early years, however, he discovered those qualities which have shone out in his subsequent life, and are

* To the princess of Baden Durlach, March 21st, 1793.

so adapted to engage the hearts of men, elevation of sentiment, equability of temper, rectitude of judgment, generosity, condescension, humanity and benevolence. Placed in a very critical situation between his grandmother and his father, he acquired a degree of caution and circumspection not very suitable to his age. He never seemed to approve of the intentions of Catherine in his favour, and though his father treated him coldly, so strong was the filial principle in his mind, that he always obeyed his orders, even when they were contrary to his inclinations. With these amiable qualities it was suspected that he had not sufficient confidence in his own understanding, and would yield too easily to the persuasions of others, a suspicion which some events of his reign have served to confirm.

About the time of his accession to the throne, Paul gave several proofs of the distrust which he entertained of his son. He retained the young prince about his person, placed around him officers on whom he could rely, and transferred him from his own regiment to the command of another. He appointed him to perform the function of clerk in the office of the minister Besborodko, an employment which no doubt tended to the benefit of the grand duke. The soldiers loved him for his humanity; and mediating between the despot and such of his sub-

jects as incurred his displeasure, he excited general admiration.

The expectations which all men entertained from the character of Alexander, were realized, when he was proclaimed emperor. He resolved at once to terminate the war with Great Britain, into which his father had improvidently entered, an event which would probably have taken place had the late emperor survived; since the British had reduced the Danes to terms, compelled the Swedish fleet to take refuge in Carlscrona, and rode triumphant in the Baltic with 25 sail of the line, and 45 frigates. The new emperor ordered the British seamen to be conducted carefully to the ports from which they had been taken, and British ships and merchandise to be restored, he removed all prohibitions against the exportation of grain; and he re-established peace and friendship with the court of London.

The first public declaration of the emperor was, that he would adhere to the system pursued by his grandmother. In the month of October he concluded a treaty with France, highly favourable to the commercial interests of that nation. The great objects at which he aimed were to improve the condition of his subjects, and to preserve the peace of Europe. The former of these objects, though not absolutely neglected, he has hitherto been obliged in a

great measure to defer, so much attention has the latter required.

In the course of 1802, his imperial majesty had an interview with the king of Prussia at Memel, which was supposed to relate to matters of great moment, but appeared in the event a mere complimentary visit The time was past in gaiety and pleasure. During this visit the emperor and king walking on the quay of Memel, fell into conversation with the master of an English vessel, and after some time, the king said to the master of the vessel, this is the emperor of Russia. Very much surprized, the mariner assumed a more respectful tone; but when the emperor added, this is the king of Prussia, he immediately turned off, saying, O! your servant gentlemen, don't think you can dupe me in that way; Mr. Emperor and Mr. King, I wish you a very good morning.

Though of a pacific disposition, and little inclined to take offence, Alexander beheld with uneasiness the incroachments of Buonaparte in Italy and Germany; and soon had just reason of complaint. The treaties which he had formed with France were flagrantly violated, and his ambassador at Paris treated with insult. These provocations, however, produced nothing farther than coldness between the two powers, till the murder of the duc d'Enghien, when Alex-

ander addressed a spirited remonstrance to the French government on that barbarous transaction. To this an irrelevant and threatening reply being given, another note was presented, in which the overbearing and encroaching conduct of the French government was exposed with temper, dignity, and force. The emperor required that in conformity with the convention of 1801, the French troops should be withdrawn from Naples, the neutrality of that kingdom being respected; that a principle of concert should be laid down for the adjustment of the affairs of Italy; that the king of Sardinia should be indemnified for his losses; and that the French troops should be withdrawn from the north of Germany. As the ruler of France was disposed to resent rather than satisfy these equitable demands, Alexander recalled his minister from Paris, and soon (April 11th, 1805) formed an alliance with his Britannic majesty for the purpose of applying a remedy to the evils which afflicted Europe. It was proposed to combine the European states in a general league, and independently of the succours furnished by his Britannic majesty, to collect a force of 500,000 men, which might bring the French to consent to the establishment of such an order of things as would insure a lasting peace, and prove a barrier to all future usurpations.

Sweden and Austria acceded to the coalition; and the latter power, after ineffectual attempts to accommodate differences by negotiation, commenced hostilities against France.

In this short war, which the Austrians began prematurely, conducted without skill and terminated with the loss of many of their fairest provinces, the emperor of Russia conducted himself wlth promptitude, spirit, and firmness. Three armies, whose preparations he superintended himself, he dispatched successively to the aid of the Austrians. While the court of Berlin, complained of the violation of their territories by the French armies, he appeared in that city; and gaining all hearts by the suavity of his manners, he seemed to infuse animation and vigor into the irresolute and dastardly councils of Prussia. The Austrian armies having been entirely vanquished in Swabia, and the first of his own armies compelled to retreat from the Inn, he quickly repaired to the field of contest to encourage his troops by his presence and example. The emperor joined his army a few days before the battle of Austerlitz, which was fought December the 2nd. In this contest, so fatal to the hopes of the combined powers, the armies were nearly equal, each amounting to between 70,000 and 80,000 men; but the French were so superior in

the skill of their officers, the discipline and confidence of their troops, that they gained a most splendid victory over the courage of the allies. On this day the gallantry of Alexander was conspicuous. It is said, that when victory had declared for the enemy, he thrice at the head of his guards charged the assailants, and not only covered the retreat of the allied army, which would otherwise have been entirely destroyed, but rescued the greater part of the Russian artillery, which had fallen into the hands of the victors. As the fate of Austria was decided in the field of Austerlitz, the emperor Francis was obliged to submit to the terms of the conqueror; but Alexander refusing to be a party in so humiliating a transaction, retreated towards Russia with his unbroken armies, and the French judged it not expedient to molest him.

Though the object of the coalition was wholly frustrated, the connexion still subsisted between the courts of London and Petersburgh; and when Mr. Fox opened a correspondence with the French government, with a view to adjust the differences between England and France, he insisted on the necessity of admiting Russia as a party to the negotiation. M. D'Oubril was in consequence dispatched by the emperor with full powers to conclude a peace. After some fruit-

less discussion, the weakness or imprudence of this minister induced him to separate the interests of his court from those of Great Britain, and sign a treaty for Russia alone. When, however, he carried the treaty to Petersburgh for the approbation of his master, it was declared that he had exceeded his instructions; and his imperial majesty signified to the French government his determination not to assent to the articles which M. D'Oubril had signed.

Meanwhile Prussia, whose mean, vacillating, and dangerous politics, had allowed her to behold with indifference the aggressions of France, upon the liberties of Germany, and the total overthrow of Austria, in the plains of Austerlitz, receiving from the ruler of France insults and mortifications, the usual rewards of his allies, came to extremities with that nation. Among other great errors, by which the Prussians contributed to the abasement of their power, they neglected, till it was too late, to communicate their intentions to England and Russia; and though Alexander, as soon as assistance was solicited, gave orders for the march of his troops, the event of the war was determined in the battle of Auerstadt, a month before they could have reached the scene of action.

The Russian troops, marching to the aid of the Prussians, had entered Warsaw; but the general, Benningsen, informed of the advance of

the French force abandoned that place, and retired behind the Narew. Buonaparte, having put himself at the head of his armies, crossed that river in pursuit of the Russians. While his left wing, under Ney and Bessieres, prevented the Prussians, under Lestoc, from joining the Russians, he himself attacked the main Russian army, which had been greatly reinforced, and entrusted to the command of general Kamenskoy. On the 23rd of December, the Russian general was driven from his intrenchments at Nasielsk, and his position behind the Wkra being forced, he resolved to retreat beyond the Niemen. General Benningsen, however, considering himself at liberty to use his own discretion, gave the French battle at Pultusk on the 26th. The contest was long and obstinate, and both parties claimed the victory. The advantage perhaps was small on either side; since the French went into cantonments, and the Russian general deemed it expedient to retire during the night.

Benningsen being now appointed commander in chief, he determined to harass his enemy by all possible means; but Buonaparte penetrating his design, resolved to become the assailant, and for this purpose ordered the corps of the prince of Ponte Corvo, and marshal Ney, posted, the one in Elbing, and the other on the right bank of the Alla, to surprize Konigsberg. This

plan was defeated by the Russian generals, Pahlen and Galitzin, who drove Ney from the banks of the Alla; and part of whose corps, engaging the French at Mohringen, January 25, compelled the prince of Ponte Corvo, after a sharp action, to retreat thirty leagues. In consequence of these advantages, which enabled Benningsen to advance to the lower Vistula, Buonaparte broke up his cantonments at the close of January, and collecting his troops, to the number of 120,000 men, resolved to attack the centre of the Russian army on its march to the Vistula, by the way of Wildenberg. As soon as the Russian general perceived the superiority of the enemy in number, he began to retire upon the Pragel, from which it was the plan of the French to cut off his retreat. Much desperate fighting occurred on the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th of February, when the Russians appeared on the 7th, posted behind the little village of Eylau. A most bloody contest took place for the village which the French were eager to possess before the general engagement. Both armies having passed the night facing each other, the Russians commenced the attack upon the village of Eylau, where Buonaparte was posted in the church. He judged it of the utmost importance to gain the rising ground, which commands the plain in which Eylau is situated, and ordered marshal Augereau, with

40 pieces of cannon against it. A terrible cannonade was opened on both sides, and the armies being within half a gun shot of each other, the carnage was horrible. At this moment a thick fall of snow, which intercepted the view of the troops, continued for half an hour. When the weather cleared up, the main body of the French army appeared on the verge of destruction, from which they were rescued by a desperate charge, made by Murat, on the the Russian infantry. The contest was maintained for twelve hours; and when the combatants separated from each other, it was impossible to determine on which side lay the victory, so nearly were the losses and advantages balanced, and so much did the patient and obstinate courage of the Russians avail against the superior number, science, and discipline of the French. While the Russian general, instead of driving the French over the Vistula, was forced beyond the Pragel, Buonaparte was disappointed in his design upon Konigsberg, and obliged to fall back upon the Vistula. This was the severest check which he had as yet received, and a prelude of what he might expect from the valour and snows of Scythia. In this battle, the French army amounted to 90,000 men, and the Russian 60,000; and each of them was reduced a third.

Alexander, though the intrigues of the French

had involved him in a war with the Ottomans, his ally, the king of Prussia, had, in a few months, lost his armies, and almost all his dominions, and his troops had suffered so severely in the late contests, seemed resolved to maintain the struggle. When Buonaparte, after the battle of Eylau, sent general Bertrand to the Russian commander in chief with pacific overtures, Benningsen replied, "that his master had sent him to fight, not to negotiate." The emperor himself, with the grand duke Constantine, and a reinforcement of 60,000 men, joined his armies. He was met by the king of Prussia, and both monarchs proceeded to Konigsberg.

Buonaparte, disappointed in the capture of that city, employed every expedient to strengthen his position behind the Passarge, exacted fresh auxiliaries from his vassals in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, and called out the conscription of 1808. Aware that a defeat would be the signal of revolt to the subjected nations, and inflame the spirit of discontent, which his tyranny had excited in France, he directed all the resources of his genius and empire to secure victory. While he refreshed and recruited his armies, he pushed the siege of those places, which remained to the Prussian monarchy, particularly Dantzic. This place was long defended with skill and resolution against the attacks of marshal Le Febre, and an army 40,000

strong; but a detachment of Russians sent to its relief, from Pilau, having been defeated, the garrison surrendered by capitulation, May 27.

Buonaparte again proposed to the emperor to renew negotiations for peace; but though negotiations actually commenced, they produced no favourable result. On the 5th and 6th of July, the French lines were attacked at different points by the Russians. This movement, which was defeated, induced the French ruler to recommence offensive operations. After various affairs, always to the advantage of the French, Benningsen took up a position in front of Friedland, on the left bank of the Alla. A mighty and decisive struggle now ensued. In this terrible engagement, which began at three in the morning, and continued till eleven at night, though the Russians made a successful resistance during the early part of the day, their centre being forced about five in the afternoon, they were obliged, after performing whatever valour and constancy could effect, to retire in disorder beyond the Alla. On this day, the loss of the Russians amounted to 12,000 men. Pursued by the French cavalry, Benningsen continued his retreat by Tilsit, over the Niemen, for four days; and on the 19th, having proposed an armistice to the French generals, hostilities ceased. An interview took place between the

French ruler, and the emperor of Russia on a raft in the Niemen. Half of the town of Tilsit was considered as neutral ground, and feasts and entertainments succeeded to the rage of war. As Alexander was only an auxiliary in the contest, he had nothing to adjust with the French on his own account. In consenting, however, to the treaty of Tilsit, concluded July 7, he exposed himself to great censure, as it seemed a dereliction of his engagements with England, for the purpose of restoring an equilibrium of power among European states. Instead of liberating the north of Germany, re-establishing Holland and Switzerland, and securing Italy, he recognized all the usurpations of Buonaparte, and agreed to the sacrifice of half the Prussian dominions. It may somewhat abate the severity of this censure to remark, that though the English government granted him a subsidy of £500,000, they attempted no diversion in his favour till it was too late, and that to persevere in the struggle would only have lessened the means of accomplishing the objects of the league, when a more favourable opportunity should occur. After all, the conduct of the emperor of Russia in deserting the common cause, seems not to admit of justification. His council was divided, and the faction, which favoured France, and the prosecution of the Turkish war, prevailed.

When Buonaparte had resolved on war with

Prussia, he dispatched Sebastiani to Constantinople to persuade the Turks to break off their connexion with England and Russia. Listening to his artifices, they recalled the hospadors of Moldavia and Valachia, in direct violation of the late treaty with Russia, and 40,000 men, under general Michelson, who should have reinforced the army in Poland, entering Moldavia, took possession of Choczym, Bender, and Jassy, in November 1806. The Turks, who would have satisfied all the reasonable complaints of the court of Petersburgh, were so incensed by this aggression, that a rupture was unavoidable. Prosecuting the unjust and ambitious views of his court, the Russian general soon added Bessarabia and Valachia to his conquests, and threatened to join the revolted Servians. For the purpose of retaining these acquisitions, the faction inimical to England, not only induced the emperor Alexander to consent to the peace of Tilsit, but zealously to second the designs of Buonaparte for the destruction of British commerce, and of the independence of all the secondary powers of Europe. In conformity with secret engagements, into which he entered to this effect at Tilsit, the emperor of Russia broke off all intercourse with England, revived the armed neutrality, and laid an embargo on all British ships in his ports.

The obstruction which the insurrections in

Spain created to Buonaparte's perfidious schemes of aggrandizement, rendered it necessary for him to draw the armies of Germany into France, as well to prevent the German princes from uniting with the house of Austria, as to support his tyrannical measures in France. As the emperor Alexander held in his hand the balance of Europe, it was of the utmost moment to confirm him in his present mean and dangerous line of policy. Buonaparte, therefore, determined to have a personal interview with the emperor of the north, as he assiduously styled the Russian autocrat. A meeting between those princes took place September 27, 1808, at Erfurth, a city in the north of Thuringia, belonging to the electorate of Mayence. Kings, princes, and other personages of rank crowded to pay homage to the French ruler. Great pomp of ceremony and splendour of entertainment distinguished this imperial convention. In one of the rides, which Napoleon and Alexander took after their morning conferences, it was proposed by the former, and acceded to by the latter, to visit the field of Jena. Whether the insolence on the one hand, or the meanness on the other were greater, is not easy to determine. Buonaparte flattered the grand duke Constantine with the hope of reigning on the ruins of the Ottoman empire; he dexterously contrived a negotiation, by which, under pre-

tence of favouring their Russian and Prussian majesties, he agreed to evacuate the Prussian territories as soon as the contributions graciously reduced two thirds should be paid; and persuaded the emperor Alexander that the Spanish insurrections were the natural consequence of the treaty of Tilsit.

As the king of Sweden persisted in his ridiculous opposition to Buonaparte, hostilities commenced between that country and Russia. While Swedish Finland submitted to his authority, Alexander raised his army on the Danube to 80,000 men, in order to push his conquests in that quarter. This impolitic war raged during 1809, and the following year, with no other consequence than the destruction of human lives. In 1811 the Turks, who were determined not to submit to the disgraceful conditions proposed by the Russians, made great exertions to recruit their armies. The early part of the campaign was not favourable to the Russians, since they were compelled to abandon the right bank of the Danube. When the confidence of the vizier induced him to convey the greatest part of his army to the left bank of the Danube, Kutusof, who had hitherto acted on the defensive, dispatched, October 14, 8000 men across the river to attack the Turkish camp near Rudshuck. The enemy was surprised, and his camp taken, while the divisions of the Turkish army were

entirely separated from each other. In the mean time general Gamber retook Silistria, and general Sass forced Ismail, Bey of Seres, who had entered Valachia, to recross the Danube. In consequence of these advantages of the Russians, the vizier proposed to renew the negotiations; but the war proceeding, his army surrendered December 8, after losing 10,000 men. Though both powers continued hostile demonstrations some months longer, peace was so obviously their policy, that a treaty was concluded August 14, which constituted the Pruth, from its entrance into Moldavia, to its junction with the Danube; and this river, to the Euxine, the boundaries of the two empires.

CHAP. XIV.

Invasion of Russia—Progress of the French—Zeal of the Russians—Fall of Smolensk—Battle of Borodino—Capture and Conflagration of Moscow—Firmness of the Emperor Alexander—Buonaparte's barbarity and difficulties—Success of the Russians—Destruction of the French Armies—Passage of the Berezina—Flight of Buonaparte—Loss of the French in the campaign—Laudable conduct of Alexander—Advance of the Russians into Germany—Battles of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Wurtschen—Armistice—Progress of the Allies—Total defeat of Buonaparte at Leipsic—Consequences of this Battle—Declaration of the Allied Sovereigns from Frankfort—Efforts of Buonaparte—Negotiations at Chatillon—Progress of the War—Capture of Paris—Fall of Buonaparte—Conclusion.

THE conclusion of the treaty with the Ottomans was accelerated by the dangers, which now threatened the existence of the Russian power. Though Alexander had for a time concurred in the views of the French ruler, his eyes were at last opened to the consequences of ministering to the ambition of his domineering ally. The war with England, as it interrupted a most lucrative trade with that country, had never been popular in Russia, and the emperor could

not be brought to a rigorous proscription of British commodities. Finland having been ceded to Russia in 1809, he refused the demand of France for its restoration, and shewed no satisfaction at Napoleon's arbitrary interference in the politics of the north. The differences which subsisted on these subjects, it appeared early in 1812 must be terminated by a terrible conflict. Buonaparte, whose successes had inspired him with a confidence that nothing was impossible to his arms, marched his troops to the Russian frontier. He concluded treaties of offensive alliance with Austria and Prussia, and seized Pomerania in order to influence the councils of Sweden. June 16, he appeared at the head of his armies, amounting to 400,000 men, drawn from almost every nation of the European continent. This force, the most formidable which had ever been assembled under one leader, it was supposed would intimidate the Russian emperor into a compliance with whatever terms Napoleon might dictate. But happily for Europe, Alexander resolved on resistance.

He had already left Petersburgh and joined his army, April 26, at Wilna; and when Buonaparte, who still made professions of friendship, renewed his demands for the exclusion of British goods from all the ports of Russia, he refused to adopt any measure which might injure the trade

of his dominions. As Buonaparte perceived that he could not terrify his late ally, he gave orders to pass the Niemen, and issued a brief address to his troops, in which he threatened to destroy the overbearing influence which Russia had for forty years exercised in the affairs of Europe. As soon as the French had commenced hostilities, Alexander published a declaration to his subjects, which, after stating his earnest desire, and repeated efforts to prevent a rupture, concludes as follows. "The hope of peace, without a contest, is gone. We have no other resource than to oppose our brave soldiers to the invader, and to invoke the Supreme Judge to bless the righteous cause. We have no occasion to remind our generals, officers, or troops, of their duty or honour. The blood of the Slavonians, so illustrious by their virtues and conquests, flows in their veins. Soldiers! you defend your faith, your country, and your liberty. Your emperor marches at your head, and the God of Justice is against the aggressor. Alexander."

Though the emperor had foreseen the contest, and made preparations for it, yet his troops were inferior in number to those of the enemy, by nearly one half. The mode of warfare, which it was deemed expedient to pursue, was that of gradually retiring, leaving a desert to the invaders. In pursuance of this plan, the Russian army, which, besides having corps

near Riga and Loutsk, extended from Telch to Bailistock, after a march of eleven days, began, July 7th, to concentrate on the banks of the Duna. In this retreat, the Russians, who sustained trifling loss, received the first assistance from their auxiliary, the cold, which destroyed several thousand horse of the French, and retarded their march. Prince Bagration, having the command of the Russian left wing, was intercepted in his march toward Wilna, and obliged to retire upon the Dnieper. In hopes of effecting a junction with this part of his army, the commander in chief, Barclay de Tolly, abandoned his entrenched camp at Drissa, and took up a position before Vitepsk, having left count Vigtenstien at Drisya to cover Petersburgh. Sharp conflicts took place at Ostrovna, between the French corps of Murat and Beauharnois, and the Russian corps under count Osterman. Barclay de Tolly prepared for a general battle, when learning that Bagration intended to make for Smolensk, he resolved to approach that city, where Bagration, after a perilous march, and a terrible conflict with the corps of Davoust at Mohilef, July 22nd, joined the grand army, August the 6th. During this time Oudinot, who designed to advance to Petersburgh, after three days obstinate fighting, was repulsed by Vigtenstien.

When the Russian army reached Polotzk,

Alexander, who had hitherto continued with it, issued two addresses, one to the inhabitants of Moscow, and another to the nation at large, exposing the designs of the invader, inflaming their zeal in defence of their country, and calling upon them to arm for the destruction of the foe. The whole empire seemed to rouse at the voice of its sovereign. Multitudes volunteered their services, others contributed large sums of money and diamonds, and many of the nobles raised, clothed, and mounted whole regiments at their own expence. When the emperor went to Moscow to direct the armaments, the inhabitants of that government engaged to furnish 100,000 men armed, clothed, and disciplined, as far as time would allow. Other governments sent forth their armed multitudes with equal alacrity, the regular levies meanwhile proceeding. An appeal to the nation from the holy synod appeared, in which the atrocities of Buonaparte were exhibited; and the Russians were urged to rise against him as a tyrant, who under the guise of friendship, entered countries with fire, sword, famine, pestilence, and death, in his train. An enthusiastic ardour was kindled in the minds of the people, equal to the most heroic deeds, and the sublimest sacrifices. Nothing was too dear for them to offer on the altar of their country and their religion.

While the emperor roused the spirit of his

subjects against the enemy of national independence, and called forth all the resources of his empire to overwhelm his legions, he renewed the treaty of peace with England, and in a personal interview with the crown prince of Sweden at Abo in Finland, August 28th, formed an alliance with that power.

Buonaparte, in pursuing the Russians, found it necessary to allow his troops ten days repose, not as he pretended, because the heat was so excessive, but because they were exhausted by want and fatigue. Removing from his position at Vitepsk, Buonaparte appeared before Smolensk on August 16th, and on the following day commenced a vigorous attack on that city. 30,000 men made a resolute defence, and the work of death proceeded at a dreadful rate on both sides, when Barclay de Tolly, resolving to abandon a post no longer tenable, ordered general Korf, as soon as the army had cleared the French lines, to destroy whatever might be serviceable to the enemy. The whole city was soon in a blaze, affording, to the French, said Buonaparte, the spectacle presented to the inhabitants of Naples during an eruption of Vesuvius.

Buonaparte still prosecuted his barren conquests. Kutusof, who now took the command of the Russian armies, having arrived at Borodino, resolved to wait the enemy's approach;

and preparations for a general engagement were made by both parties on the 6th of September. The contest began in the morning, and lasted the whole of the day. The French army was 140,000 strong, and the Russian little inferior. 1000 pieces of artillery from both armies replied to each other. The soldiers fought man to man, and the destruction was proportionate to so close, desperate, and protracted a conflict. The chiefs of both armies claimed the victory. Buonaparte, however, retired nine miles, leaving his adversary in possession of the field, 5000 prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon.

Kutusof, not being in a condition to risk a second engagement, because his enemy had been reinforced, and his own supplies had not arrived, came to the desperate resolution of sacrificing the ancient capital of the empire. This bold measure was approved by most of his officers, and nobly seconded by count Rastopchin, the military governor of Moscow. Having passed through the city, Kutusof turned to the right, and took up a position to the south, by which movement he preserved his army entire, opened a communication with the armies marching from the Danube, covered the fertile provinces of the empire, and completely intersected the enemy's line of operations. Every thing of value was removed from Moscow; it was deserted by its inhabitants, and a large de-

tachment was posted to the north of the city to cover the road to Petersburgh. The Russian commander appears to have had high confidence in the success of his measures. In a dispatch to the emperor, in explanation of his conduct, he said, "I boldly assure your most gracious majesty, that the entrance of the French into Moscow is not the conquest of Russia. The sacrifice of the city of our ancestors must wound all our hearts; but it is a city for an empire. The invader will be compelled to evacuate the capital of the tzars."

Buonaparte entered the city the 14th of September; and scarcely had he arrived in the palace of the tzars, when the flames burst forth in different quarters of the town, and continued to rage for five days. At the height of the conflagration, the capital seemed a sea of fire. Such a sacrifice was never before made to national independence. Three fourths of the city were entirely destroyed, 1600 churches, and 1000 palaces.

The fall of Moscow diffused a horror among the Russians; but shook not their determination to defend themselves to the last extremity. The emperor issued a declaration, assuring his subjects, that the commander in chief had recoiled, only to fall with accumulated force on the enemy; that Moscow deserted and rifled, offered a tomb rather than a dwelling to the invaders;

and that the enemy would soon be compelled by famine to attempt his escape through the inclosing armies of Russia. As a precautionary measure, he sent the whole of his naval force to winter in England, and made preparations to abandon even Petersburgh, being determined, he said, to drain the last drop of the cup of misery, rather than subject Russia to a foreign yoke. When the king of Sweden, in 1788, made some insulting proposals to Catherine, she exclaimed, "Were the king of Sweden at Moscow, I would then shew him what a woman like me could do, standing on the ruins of a mighty empire." Alexander, placed in more critical circumstances than she had imagined, actually displayed the magnanimity of which she could only boast.

The term of Buonaparte's prosperity had now arrived. A spirit of resistance, on which he had not calculated, pervaded all ranks, from the emperor on the throne, to the slave in the mines. Instead of the gold and plenty with which he animated his followers as the spires of Moscow shone at a distance, that city presented a heap of ruins, and smoaking ashes. After signalizing his sojourn in the desolated capital, by the murder of a hundred Russians, who, at the command of their superiors, had lighted the flames to stop the invaders of their country, famine forced him to think of a retreat. He at

first tried to negotiate. General Lauriston sent to the Russian head quarters, informed Kutusof that his master, desirous of preventing the further effusion of Russian blood, still wished to renew the friendship between the two empires. "As to the effusion of Russian blood," the chief replied, "every Russian is ready to shed his blood to support the independence of the empire; and his imperial majesty will not listen to peace, as long as a foreigner remains within the frontiers." To negotiate for peace being in vain, an attempt was made to procure an armistice. But Kutusof's reply was, that it was not time to grant peace, or an armistice, as the Russians were just opening the campaign. Buonaparte now determined to retire into the Polish provinces, where he had established his magazines, and hoped to recruit his armies; but he had delayed too long. A strong corps, of 45,000 men, under Murat, which he had dispatched toward Koluga to engage the main Russian army, while he effected his retreat with the rest of his troops, was defeated October 18th at Maloyarraslavitz, with the loss of 2500 killed, 1000 prisoners, 38 pieces of cannon, and 40 ammunition waggons. In consequence of this disaster, Napoleon next day quitted Moscow. The French hospitals fell into the hands of the Russians, and their attempts to blow up the Kremlin were frustrated. The calamities, which

began to threaten the troops under the immediate command of Buonaparte, were greatly aggravated by the successes of the Russians in other quarters. General Essen repulsed the French and Prussians who menaced Riga; count Vigtenstien, by two days hard fighting, drove marshal Gouvion St. Cyr from his entrenchments, and pursuing him to Polotzk, made himself master of that place October 20th. Tormozof, having checked the advance of the Austrians and Saxons in Volhynia, joined the army of the Danube, under admiral Tchitchagof, September 17th; and these generals, having cleared Volhynia, proceeded to Minsk to form a junction with Vigtenstien, and thus intercept the retreat of the grand French army.

This army, pressed on right and left by the accumulating forces of the Russians, proceeded towards Smolensk; at which, Buonaparte, with his imperial guard, arrived November 9th, leaving his generals to conduct his dispirited, and famished troops. The men expired under the pressure of want, and the swords of the Cossacks; the cavalry were dismounted that their horses might drag on the cannon; and ammunition waggons were blown up. In this state they were overtaken on the 7th by a Russian winter of unusual severity. On the 8th and 9th, the corps of Beauharnois was attacked at all points, while teams of horses perished at once in the

harness, and the men surrendered themselves in despair. 3000 men were made prisoners, and 62 pieces of cannon were taken by the Cossack Platof. On the 11th, 2000 men and 60 officers, surrounded by count Orlof Denizof's cavalry, laid down their arms. Victor, who was ordered to open a path for the retreat of the main army, by driving Vigtenstien across the Duna, was defeated by that officer on the 14th at Smolnya, after a desperate conflict, in which that place was taken and retaken six times.

Having blown up the fortifications of Smolensk, the French advanced to Krasnoi, at which, part of Kutusof's army had previously arrived. The corps of marshal Davoust was brought to action, and entirely turned. Buonaparte, who accompanied this division of his troops, fled at the beginning of the conflict, which terminated in the destruction of the corps, 4000 men being killed, and 9170, with 2 generals, 58 officers, and 70 pieces of cannon, falling into the hands of the victors. Next day, the 17th, Milaradovitch, greatly reinforced, attacked the rear of the French, under marshal Ney, which had been cut off from the main body, and attempted to pierce the Russian lines. After a horrible carnage, this division was entirely destroyed or dispersed, and the marshal, wounded, fled; leaving to the enemy, his colours, cannon, and baggage. 11,000 men, who formed

the rear guard, laid down their arms. Admiral Tchitchagof, meanwhile, having taken possession of Minsk, expelled the Polish general, Dombrowsky, from Borirsof, occupied all the passes of the Berezina, and opened a communication with Vigtenstien. Without cavalry, without artillery, assailed by intense cold, pursued by a victorious enemy, and his path obstructed by two armies, the invader of Russia was, in what he termed, "an extremely vexatious situation." Nothing was left but to force the Berezina. With this view, he dispatched Dombrowsky to the left of Borrisof, and marshals Oudinot and Victor to the right to oppose Vigtenstien, while he conducted himself the relics of his armies, and those reinforcements who had joined him, to the river. Vigtenstien, having intercepted the march of Victor, and seized two regiments of cavalry in excellent condition, overtook Napoleon in the act of crossing the Berezina. A horrible scene ensued; men, cavalry, artillery, and waggons of all kinds, pressed to the bridge; many were crushed or trampled to death; multitudes were drowned in the stream, and thousands fell by the weapons of the Russians, when the flying chief, to stop the pursuers, set fire to the bridge, which, laden with fugitives, sunk with a mighty crash into the flood. This affair cost the French upwards of 20,000 men with great quantities of artillery

stores, and all the plunder of the Russian cities.

The French continued their rout to Wilna, strewing the road with dead bodies, cannon, baggage, and arms. Abandoned by their leader, who, having devolved the command on the king of Naples, fled in disguise December 5th, marching by night, and halting by day, and harrassed by the Cossacks, they reached Wilna on the 10th. The Russians allowed them not to repose, but pursued them to the banks of the Niemen, taking in this space 22,000 prisoners, 150 pieces of cannon, and vast magazines, which the French had provided. Such was the close of this campaign, which was generally expected would have completed the subjugation of the European continent; but in which, the conqueror of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram, was routed by men whom he despised as barbarians; his legions entirely destroyed; and himself compelled to flee in a solitary sledge under a feigned name. The Russians are stated to have taken, in the course of the French retreat, 41 generals, 1298 inferior officers, 167,510 non-commissioned officers and privates, and 1131 pieces of artillery.

The conduct of Alexander, through the whole of this mighty struggle, was worthy of the highest admiration. Confident in the justice of his cause, the resources of his empire, and the

aid of Providence, he beheld the storm without dismay; and with a magnanimity, not surpassed by the most renowned patriots of ancient or modern times, made whatever sacrifices the preservation of his country required. When the torrent had spent its fury, and the prospect began to brighten, while he expressed unfeigned gratitude to the Author of Deliverance, he neglected nothing which might complete the overthrow of his malignant enemy.

Having succeeded in expelling the enemy of national independence, ruined, and disgraced from his own dominions, Alexander resolved to improve his successes for the salvation of Europe. He rewarded all the soldiers who had been in the late campaign with a silver medal, to be suspended by a blue ribbon; he ordered a new levy of eight men in every five hundred, excepting those provinces which had suffered by the invasion; and proceeding to Wilna, six months after he had quitted it, he issued various regulations for correcting the disorders which the presence of the enemy had spread in many districts, and preventing the infection from the distempered prisoners, and unburied carcases. He visited the hospitals attentively. When his troops passed the frontiers of Russia, he published a declaration of his intentions. In this document, he disclaimed all views of conquest, offered peace to those nations which should

abandon the French ruler, and called upon Europe to embrace the opportunity, which Providence afforded to re-establish an equilibrium of power.

The first symptoms of a disposition to receive the Russians as deliverers, appeared in the defection of 15,000 Prussians, under the command of D'York; and in an unlimited truce which the Austrians, under prince Schwartzenberg, concluded with the Russian general Sacken. These events were followed by a proclamation of his Prussian majesty, calling upon his subjects to exert themselves for their independence. Before the end of March, the Russian and Prussian troops spread themselves on the left bank of the Elbe, drove the French, under general Morand, from Luneburg, killing the general, and taking 2300 prisoners, and nine pieces of artillery, and frustrated the attempt of Beauharnois to surprize Berlin. Sweden openly declared for the allies, and by a treaty of subsidy with Great Britain, engaged to employ on the continent 30,000 men under the crown prince. About the middle of April, the allied armies concentrated themselves in the vicinity of Leipsic; the Prussians, under general Blucher, at Altenburg, and the Russians at Doelisch, under Vigtenstien, the veteran Kutusof having finished his career of glory.

Buonaparte, meanwhile, having silenced the discontents which his disasters excited among

the French, and disposed them to fresh sacrifices to his disappointed ambition, appeared at the head of a new army, consisting, besides the imperial guards, of twelve corps, respectively commanded by officers of tried merit. To prevent a junction between the division of the French army, under the viceroy of Italy, posted near Halle, and the main body in the vicinity of Weissenfels and Lutzen, Vigtenstien determined to attack the latter; and with this view, on the night between the 1st and 2nd of May, passed the defile of the Elester, near Pegau. On the same field where Gustavus the Great lost his life, the battle became general about noon, and was maintained with most destructive obstinacy for seven hours. The loss on each side is uncertain, but at least amounted to 12,000 men. Though the allies remained masters of the field, they felt their loss so severely, as to retire beyond the Elbe. Buonaparte, having taken the command of his army, 100,000 strong, planned an attack upon the front of the allies, while a division under Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, should endeavour to turn their right. Vigtenstein defeated the latter part of the plan, by anticipating the attack of those generals on the 19th; but on the 20th, the passage of the Spree being forced by the French, he was compelled, after a hard struggle of seven hours, to abandon his position on the banks of that river, and to retire to Wurtschen.

Here he was attacked again at day-break next morning, and his right wing being turned, found it necessary to retreat.

Though in these engagements Buonaparte had been successful, the advantage had been dearly purchased, the allies fought bravely, retired in good order upon their resources, and had reason to expect new confederates. Buonaparte, therefore, as he could only hope at most to retain his advantages, availed himself of the disposition of Austria to propose to the emperor Alexander, as a prelude to a congress for a general pacification, an armistice, which took place June 1st.

The congress assembled at Prague; but it soon appeared that Buonaparte would not agree to such terms as were likely to insure the tranquillity of Europe. Austria declared for the allies, and formed a treaty with Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia. During the armistice, which terminated August 17th, preparations for the renewal of hostilities proceeded with alacrity, and the allies took the field with high expectations of conquering a general and permanent peace. About the middle of August, the emperor Francis and Alexander, and the king of Prussia, met at Prague to concert offensive measures. It was agreed to assail the enemy in front and rear; the Austro-Russian army, under prince Schwartzenberg, to act from Bohemia;

the Prussian and Russian army, under Blucher, to move from Silesia. An army 90,000 strong, consisting chiefly of Russians and Swedes, commanded by the crown prince of Sweden, was destined to cover Berlin, and counteract the efforts of the French in the north of Germany.

Buonaparte had collected his armies in Dresden and its vicinity. Reinforcements from France had joined him daily, and Dresden, together with the fortified places in its neighbourhood, had been put in the best possible state of defence. It was now to be tried, whether Buonaparte, who had given law to all the nations of the European continent, could be made to relinquish his usurpations. For a time, his efforts were worthy of his former fame. On the 21st of August he attacked Blucher on the Bober, and obliged him to retire; and on the 27th, he repulsed the attempt of the allies to carry Dresden by assault. Next day he compelled them to retrograde into the mountains of Bohemia. In these affairs, the allies lost 10,000 men; and the famous general Moreau, who had one of his legs carried away, and the other shattered, while he conversed with the emperor Alexander. This success, however, was but momentary. A division of the French, under Vandamme and Bertrand, which had pre-occupied the pass of Osterwalde, after a desperate conflict on the 30th with the Russians under

count Osterman, was assailed the next day on all sides, and entirely routed; Vandamme, with six of his general officers, all his baggage, 60 pieces of artillery, and 10,000 prisoners, remaining with the victors. Blucher, having been forced on the 22nd to retire from a sanguinary conflict with marshal Macdonald, attacked the marshal on the 26th, drove him to the Katsbach. The bridges being broken, and the river swoln, the combat, which was renewed on the two following days, issued in the total defeat of the French, with the loss of 18,000 prisoners, 103 pieces of cannon, two eagles, and large quantities of provision and ammunition. The corps of several generals, amounting to 70,000 men, under the command of marshal Ney, who intended to surprize Berlin, was routed by the crown prince of Sweden at Dennewitz, September 8th. On this occasion, the French lost 18,000 men, 50 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition waggons.

After defeating attempts of Buonaparte, first to overthrow Blucher, and then Schwartzenberg, the allies resolved on a combined movement towards Leipsic, which should terminate the campaign. To this point, Schwartzenberg moved by Freyberg and Chemnitz with a large army of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians. Blucher crossed the Elbe, October 3, and fixed his head quarters at Kremberg, and next day the crown prince passed that river at Aeken. In consequence of

these movements, Buonaparte quitted Dresden, and at Rochlitz, twenty miles south of Leipsic, collected his armies, which amounted to 180,000 men. The crown prince and Blucher having formed a junction, passed the Saale, and the advance of the Bohemian army approached Altenberg just at the time, when in consequence of the treaty concluded between Austria and Bavaria, 55,000 Bavarians joined the allied cause. In preparing for the mighty struggle, on which were suspended the destinies of the civilized world, the hostile armies were actuated with very different sentiments. The French, though the recollection of the retreat from Moscow and the late reverses somewhat impaired the confidence which the genius of their chief, and twenty years of victory and conquest inspired, burnt, to retrieve their fame and re-establish their power of spoiling the subjected nations. The allies stung by the memory of oppression and insult, animated by recent victories, and the prospects of peace, and freedom, which opened upon them, were eager to bless the world, by overthrowing the enemy of its repose. It fell to the lot of the veteran Blucher, to begin this glorious contest. Advancing from Halle, October 14th, on the great road to Leipsick, he occupied the villages on both sides of it, where he found the French under marshals Mar-

mont and Ney. The possession of the villages was warmly contested, one of them being taken and retaken five times. Buonaparte witnessed the close of this battle, which night terminated with the loss on the part of the allies, of 6000 or 7000 men, and on that of the enemy, of 12,000 men with an eagle and 40 pieces of cannon. On the 16th the main army made an attack to the south of Leipsic. After great slaughter but little progress, the combatants remained in their different positions. Next day being spent principally in preparation, the allies moved on the 18th to the attack of Leipsic. The crown prince forced the enemy's right, in the course of which movement 22 pieces of Saxon artillery, two Saxon battalions, and two regiments of Westphalian hussars joined him, who were immediately employed against the enemy. After considerable resistance the great allied army which assailed on the south, drove the French from all points, and opened a communication with that of the crown prince. The result of this day's success was a loss to the enemy of 40,000 men, and 65 pieces of cannon, with the desertion of 17 German battalions, who joined the conquerors. Next day the emperor Alexander, rejecting a flag of truce from the king of Saxony, entreating him to spare the town, as an artifice to gain time, ordered a general assault,

and two hours after Buonaparte's escape, Leipsic was taken with little resistance. The king of Saxony and his court, with the rear guard of the French army, 30,000 strong, the sick and wounded, artillery, and stores, fell into the hands of the allies. The emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, met at the head of their respective armies, in the square of the city, amidst the acclamations of the people.

This victory was decisive. Buonaparte fled in disorder, and after a conflict at Hanau with the Bavarians under general Wrede, retreated to Mentz. The nations felt that their chains were broken. From the mouth of the Rhine to the extremities of Calabria, Dutch, Germans, Swiss, Tyrolese, and Italians, all aspired to independence.

The allied sovereigns conducted their victorious troops to the Rhine, in order to finish, what they had begun with such success. They assembled at Frankfort, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia and Bavaria, with many other German princes. Having resolved on the invasion of France, as the likeliest expedient to procure a lasting peace, to prevent any misapprehensions which this step might occasion in the minds, of their friends, as well as deprive Buonaparte of the advantage which it

might afford him in exciting the French to support his preposterous ambition, they issued December 1, a declaration explanatory of their principles and conduct. They made war, they said, not against France, but against the preponderance which the emperor Napoleon had so long and so unhappily exercised beyond the limits of his empire. They desired that France might be great, powerful and happy; but wished to be free, tranquil, and happy themselves. Having made offers of such a peace as might preserve Europe from the calamities which had afflicted it for twenty years, they were determined not to lay down their arms till that great object was secured. The allied armies now passed the frontiers of France, and the French were to feel the evils which they had successively diffused through all the nations of the continent. The armies of France were so completely destroyed that the allies spread themselves through Alsace and Franche Comté without meeting with any thing like resistance.

The rapidity of the French conquests was a matter of astonishment and alarm to all persons interested in the independence of nations, and apprehensive of the evils of universal monarchy. But the conquests of the French were lost in as many months as it took years to acquire them. In extending their power, they

were greatly assisted by the deceitful promises of liberty which they held out to the nations, and the abuses of the ancient governments; but they lost it through extravagant ambition, and insupportable oppressions. In the career of victory the French affected to emulate the Romans. That extraordinary people, however, knew when to limit and how to retain their conquests.

When Buonaparte returned in disgrace a second time to his capital, though he boasted of victories, he acknowledged that they had been followed by the same consequences as defeats. Addressing the senate, November 14th, he said, "All Europe is now against us. We should have every thing to fear; but for the power and energy of the nation. If circumstances appear great and critical, posterity will acknowledge they were not superior to France and me." Never was an anticipation more unfortunate. To meet the present difficulties, Buonaparte imposed additional taxes, ordered a new conscription of 300,000 men, and appointed commissioners from the senate with authority to organize the means of defence in all the military divisions. This commission suspended every other magistrate.

All the efforts of Buonaparte to rouse the spirit of the people by misrepresenting the intentions of the allies were ineffectual. The desire

of peace was so strong that he was obliged to profess an acquiescence in the moderate terms which his enemies proposed as the basis of negotiation, and an acknowledgement that he interposed not any obstacles to the re-establishment of peace. But he was not sincere. He laid the correspondence which had passed between his minister, and those of the allies before a committee of the senate, in expectation that they would find in it proofs of his pacific intentions, and of an aversion in the allies to reasonable terms of reconciliation. This artifice failed. The committee, aware of the inclinations of the people to peace, with a courageous honesty, worthy of the highest commendation, advised their ruler to declare solemnly that the French made war only for their independence, and the integrity of their territories. Though this advice was far from what Buonaparte wished, he found it expedient to yield in appearance at least to public opinion, and sent a minister to treat with the allies. Conferences were opened at Chatillon, February 4th, for the purpose of negotiating a general peace.

Offensive operations meanwhile proceeded between the belligerents. When the allied armies entered the French territories, not only were declarations issued by their generals, disclaiming all views of conquest, and expressing

an earnest desire of a peace which might be honourable for France and safe for the rest of Europe; but the emperor Alexander published an address to his troops, in which after reminding them of what their valour and discipline had accomplished, he stated that his wish was that peace might be restored to every nation, and that in all countries the welfare of the people, the service of God, arts and commerce might be promoted. He exhorted his soldiers to forget what they had suffered from the malignity of their enemy, and instead of imitating his crimes, offer him the hand of friendship, and the olive of peace. "In such a conquest over ourselves as well as our enemy," said this imperial peace maker; "the effulgence of Russian glory will be conspicuous. The religion that we cherish commands us to forgive our enemies, and to do good to those that persecute us. Soldiers, I am firmly persuaded, that by your proper behaviour in an enemy's country you will gain the affection of those whom you conquer by your valour. Remember that you will best promote the end which we have in view by temperance, discipline, and christian love."

The allies advanced into the interior of France, the grand army, which moved on the Seine entered Troyes, February 7th, and the Silesian army, under marshal Blucher, which directed

its march upon the Marne, obtained possession of Chalons on the 5th, and pushed its corps as far as Montmirail and Champaubert. Buonaparte having organized the national guard of Paris, and entrusted the regency to his consort, left his capital for the last time, January 25th, and soon took the command of his troops. His first attacks upon the allies being ineffectual, he collected his forces near Sezanne. On the 11th he attacked the corps under general D'York and baron Sacken, who marched upon Montmirail. After a sharp contest Sacken was obliged to retreat with considerable loss.

Marshal Blucher having learnt that marshal Marmont was at Etoges, determined to attack him, and on the 13th drove him from his position; but pursuing him next day, he was encountered by Buonaparte, who by a forced march from Chateau Thierry joined Marmont at Janvilliers. The situation of marshal Blucher at this time was extremely critical, the enemy having double the number of infantry, and treble the number of cavalry. But though assailed on all sides, he maintained a retiring combat for twelve miles, preserving his columns in firm unbroken order. In this desperate conflict, in which it was the intention of the enemy to destroy his whole corps, Blucher lost 3000 men, and seven pieces of cannon.

The grand allied army meanwhile having taken Sens, and sent light troops as far as Melun and Fontainbleau, recalled Buonaparte from the pursuit of marshal Blucher. He fell in with a corps of Vigtenstein's advanced guard on the 17th, and drove it back with great loss. This affair induced prince Schwartzenberg to withdraw the greater part of his army across the Seine. On the following day the posts, which he retained on that river, were attacked with great vigor by the enemy, who though thrice repulsed renewed the attack at night with success. Prince Schwartzenberg retired in consequence to Troyes.

After the action of the 14th, Blucher pursued his retreat without molestation to Chalons. But when he perceived that the enemy had abandoned the pursuit, he reunited the corps of his army, and began again to advance. On the 28th he crossed the Marne, without difficulty near Ferte-sous-Jouarre. The advance of the Silesian army obliged Buonaparte to desist from following prince Schwartzenberg. On this, the prince again moved forward, and took Bar sur Aube on the 27th, and drove the French from all their positions on the Aube, with the loss of between 3000 and 4000 men. March 3d, he defeated marshal Oudinot, between Bar-sur-Seine, and Bar-sur-Aube, taking

3000 prisoners, and 10 pieces of artillery and made himself again master of Troyes. To preserve a communication with marshal Blucher and threaten the rear of Buonaparte, he ordered count Platof to move upon the Sezane.

On the advance of Buonaparte, marshal Blucher retired upon his reinforcements, and on the 3rd formed a junction with the corps of generals Winzingerode and Bulow, taking a position behind Soissons. On the 5th Buonaparte, with the whole of his guards, and the corps of marshals Marmont and Mortier, commenced an attack upon the town which was defended by 10,000 Russians. The enemy having gained possession of the suburbs, an obstinate contest ensued till night. In the morning the Russians were left masters of the town; but Buonaparte having crossed the Aisne, directed his march upon Laon, and next day made a vigorous attack with his whole army 60,000 strong, upon the troops of marshal Blucher. Though the enemy was resisted at all points with great spirit the marshal toward night retired upon Laon. In this position he was again attacked on the 9th by Buonaparte, with all his force, and the contest was maintained for two days, with little intermission, when all the efforts of the enemy were baffled, and he was compelled to retire in disorder. Between 5000 and

6000 prisoners, with 48 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies. This was the last great battle fought by Buonaparte. He retired to Chavign; but Rheims having been taken by general St. Priest, he attacked that place on the 12th. Count St. Priest, was surrounded, and the allies lost the town with 2000 men. This closed the series of Buonaparte's victories.

Nothing was more advantageous to the allies than the temporary success of Buonaparte in retarding their advance upon Paris. Inspiring him with a vain confidence of retrieving his affairs, it induced him to reject the favourable terms, on which the allies offered him peace. His presumption completed his ruin.

The negotiations at Chatillon having been broken off, Buonaparte passed into the rear of the allies, with the groundless hope of drawing them to the Rhine, in order to protect their magazines and preserve their communication with Germany. As the allied generals soon penetrated his designs, they immediately united their armies 200,000 strong, and marched directly to Paris. On the 25th they drove back the corps of Marmont and Mortier, which they met not far from Vitry, hastening to the aid of Buonaparte, and near Fere Champenoise, a large convoy of provisions and ammunition, escorted by 5000 men, after a stout resistance, fell into

their hands. Arriving at Paris on the 29th the allies posted themselves from the wood of Vincennes on the left to Montmartre on the right. Prince Schwartzenberg sent a proclamation calling upon the citizens to hasten the peace of the world by concurring with the allies in establishing a salutary government in France. The proposition was rejected, and on the 30th Marmont and Mortier joined by the garrison of Paris took post on the heights of Belleville. A sanguinary contest ensued; but the allies forced all the posts of the enemy, and in the moment of victory, a flag of truce arriving from Paris proposed to accept of the offers, which had been already refused. This being agreeable to the victors, next morning the allied princes rode into Paris at the head of their troops. Buonaparte's reception in Moscow was very different from the greeting with which Alexander and his Prussian majesty met on entering victorious into Paris. Their progress was like that of a sovereign, returning among his subjects from the conquest of their enemies. They were hailed as deliverers. "Long live the emperor Alexander," "Long live our deliverer," "Long live the king of Prussia," were the loud and hearty acclamations with which the inhabitants of Paris welcomed their conquerors. The voice of the people was unanimous for peace, and a

change of rulers; and the emperor Alexander, in concert with his ally the king of Prussia, issued a declaration, expressing his purpose not to treat with Buonaparte or any of his family, to respect the integrity of France as it existed under its ancient kings, and sanction whatever constitution the French should adopt. A provisional government was in consequence instantly nominated; the dynasty of Buonaparte subverted; a new constitution formed; and Louis XVIII. recognized as the legitimate sovereign.

Buonaparte, meanwhile, apprized of the advance of the allies to Paris, endeavoured to repair his error by a rapid pursuit. But disappointed of supplies, with troops harassed by the enemy's cavalry and exhausted by privation and fatigue, he found that his enemies were masters in his capital, while he was at the distance of two days march. He turned aside therefore, to Fontainbleau to collect his forces; but deserted even by those troops, whom he had so often led to conquest, after an ineffectual attempt to prolong his power by proposing to resign in favour of his son, he renounced for himself, and his heirs, the throne of France, and accepted from the generosity of his enemies, his liberty, a residence, and a pension.

This was the close of a war, the most distinguished by a rapid succession of great vicis-

situdes, and so far as it is proper to judge from conjecture, by important consequences, of any recorded in history. Eighteen months ago Buonaparte, deemed worthy of the appellation Great by the French, possessed of almost all Spain, absolute master in Holland, Germany, Italy, and Poland, having an ascendancy in Austria, and a name armed with the terror of sixteen years of victory, gained in every part of the European continent, threatened from the palace of the tzars in Moscow, to create a duke of Smolensk and Petersburgh, and expunge Russia from the list of nations. After being driven from Russia as a fugitive, routed in the plains of Leipsic, and foiled in the centre of his dominions, he is now opposed by all Europe, deserted by France, and so humbled as voluntarily to renounce his authority, and receive gratuities from the liberality of his conquerors.

In this marvellous revolution, which has released so many oppressed nations, and promises to contribute so much to the welfare not only of the other nations of Europe, but of France itself, it is impossible for a christian mind not to recognize the procedure of the great disposer. Buonaparte, in attempting the invasion of Russia, in consuming so much time amidst the ruins of Moscow, in allowing his position to be turned at Dresden, in rejecting the favourable

terms of the allied sovereigns, and in abandoning his capital to the attack of the combined armies, discovered that infatuation with which providence visits the great of the world, when it wishes a signal triumph over the haughtiness of men. That the emperor Alexander, supposed to be of a yielding temper, should have opposed his adversary with such unshaken resolution when his overwhelming forces had taken possession of the ancient capital of his dominions, that the allied princes should have, amidst a tide of prosperity, pressed with harmony to their ultimate object, as well as have shown such forbearance, when their efforts were crowned with success far beyond their most sanguine hopes, are events of so peculiar an order as to indicate a remarkable interference of providence.

The conduct of the emperor Alexander through the whole series of these extraordinary transactions, it is difficult too highly to commend. Unbending firmness amidst great disasters, generosity in offering aid to the oppressed, and undeviating constancy in pursuing disinterested projects of vast utility, are indeed qualities which he has discovered in common with other select spirits; but when posterity shall search the records of history for an example of moderation amidst unusual successes, they will fix upon the

the behaviour of this prince when he led his victorious troops into the capital of France. May his life be prolonged and his mind disposed to accomplish as much for the liberty and happiness of his subjects, as he has accomplished for the independence and prosperity of the civilized world.

FINIS.

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