BOHN'S STANDARD LIBRARY.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

Lunyi pinx

THE

HISTORY OF RUSSIA,

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Compiled from the most Authentic Sources,

INCLUDING THE WORKS OF

KARAMSIN, TOOKE, AND SÉGUR.

BY

WALTER K. KELLY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
MDCCCLIV.

PREFACE.

THE literature of England is singularly deficient in the department of Russian history. Travellers have given us some insight into the actual condition of the empire; and for portions of its history under the present and the preceding reign we may turn with advantage to some recent works. But when we desire to study, from its infancy in the ninth century to its present stage of growth, the whole life of that anomalous member of the European confederacy, which pretends to exercise a despotic hegemony over the rest, our English guides give but scanty help, and often mislead on essential points.

Tooke's five ill-digested volumes long enjoyed a considerable reputation, which was partly adventitious, because for many years they had exclusive possession of the field, and partly deserved, in so far as they were made up of translations from works of merit, especially those of Levesque and Castéra. Ségur's single volume, of which there is an English translation, is valuable for its pregnant summary of that dreary portion of the early annals of Russia, which even Karamsin, the national historian, apologises for giving in detail. But Ségur's faults are many and capital—a painfully unnatural style; elaborate indirectness; a perverse ingenuity in giving dissertations when he should narrate; and above all, a preposterous idolatry of Peter the First. Of certain works by living Englishmen it becomes us to speak with reserve; but all our respect for the literary ability of their authors cannot restrain us from saying, that they too err with Ségur in misplaced admiration of the reforms effected by Peter. The reign of that monarch was the turning-point in the history of Russia. The empire is at this day what he and his successors, inheritors of his system as well as of his throne, have contributed to make it. We judge that system

by its results. If these are irredeemably bad, what praise is due to the source from which they flow?

An original history of Russia, derived to any great extent from primary Russian authorities, is certainly not to be looked for at this moment. We must content ourselves with making the best use of such secondary materials as already exist. Happily these are both copious and instructive, and need only to be selected with discrimination, and judiciously arranged. This is the task we have undertaken, with what success it is for our readers to decide. The authors whose works have been chiefly consulted or put under contribution for the present volume are as follows:

For the earlier portions—Ségur, Karamsin (whose eleven volumes reach only to the 16th century), Tooke, Leclerc, and Levesque.

For the period of the false Dmitris—Karamsin and Mérimée.

For that of the first two Romanofs—Tooke, Levesque, and Schnitzler.

For that of Peter I.—Levesque, Schlosser, Von Halem, Pelz, Ségur, Voltaire, Villebois, and Staehlin.

For the subsequent periods—Schlosser, Levesque, Mannstein, Villebois, and Castéra.

In writing Russian words, we have generally represented the native orthography not by French, German, or Polish, but by English equivalents: *e. g. Otchakof* not *Oczakow*, *Vorontzof* not *Woronzow*. In conformity, however, with a usage which we cannot approve, we have retained the form *Czar*, whereas the true pronunciation is accurately represented by *Tzar*.

The consonant *j*, wherever occurring in Russian words, is to be sounded as in French, or like the *s* in the English word *fusion*. The Germans employ *j* where English usage requires *y*, as *Jermoloff* for *Yermolof*. The German *ff* at the end of such names as Orlof, Romanof, Gortchakof, would indicate too much stress on the single consonant with which they end in Russian.

W. K. K.

London, July, 1854.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

PAGE

SYNOPTICAL VIEW 1

CHAPTER I.

Rurik—Oleg—Igor 7

CHAPTER II.

The Regent Olga—Sviatoslaf 16

CHAPTER III.

Yaropolk—Vladimir—Russia Christianised . 26

CHAPTER IV.

Sviatopolk—Yaroslaf—First Russian Code—Liberties of Novgorod 37

CHAPTER V.

General Survey of the Second Period, from 1054 to 1236 . 48

CHAPTER VI.

The Grand-Princes of the Second Period—Vladimir Monomachus—Andrew 57

CHAPTER VII.

Third Period, from 1237 to 1462 67

CHAPTER VIII.

Decline of the Tatar Power—Alexander Nevski—Ivan Kalita . 76

CHAPTER IX.

Decline of the Tatar Power—Dmitri Donskoi—Vassili Dmitrievitch 87

CHAPTER X. PAGE
Vassili IV.—The Russian Church in the Third Period . . 95

CHAPTER XI.
Beginning of the Fourth Period, from 1462 to 1613—Ivan III. the Great 105

CHAPTER XII.
Ivan III. continued 120

CHAPTER XIII.
Vassili IV. Ivanovitch—Ivan IV. the Terrible . . . 132

CHAPTER XIV.
Manners and Condition of the Russians in the Sixteenth Century 146

CHAPTER XV.
Feodor I.—Extinction of the Dynasty of Rurik—Boris Godunof—The False Dmitri 156

CHAPTER XVI.
Feodor Borissovitch—The False Dmitri 180

CHAPTER XVII.
Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski 200

CHAPTER XVIII.
Accession of the House of Romanof—Michael—Alexis—Feodor II. 213

CHAPTER XIX.
Ivan V. and Peter I. 226

CHAPTER XX.
Peter the First 234

CHAPTER XXI.
Peter's Schemes of Conquest—Conspiracy to murder him—He travels to acquire Knowledge—Rebellion and Extinction of the Strelitz—Peter the Author of a Spurious Civilisation . 243

CHAPTER XXII. PAGE

War with Sweden—Battle of Narva 260

CHAPTER XXIII.

Petersburg founded—Narva and Dorpat taken—Defeats at Gemauers and Fraustadt—Augustus loses the Crown of Poland 272

CHAPTER XXIV.

Charles XII. invades Russia—Battle of Poltava—Baltic Provinces conquered—War with Turkey—Capitulation of the Pruth 284

CHAPTER XXV.

Peter's Acquisitions in the North—Operations in Pomerania, &c.—Steinbock and his Army made Prisoners—Intrigues of Görtz—Naval Victory of Aland 297

CHAPTER XXVI.

Charles XII. liberated from Captivity—Political Aspect of Europe at that Period—Project of Peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden—Peter's Second Visit to Holland—Cabals of Alberoni and Görtz 308

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Czarevitch Alexis disinherited—Afterwards brought to Trial, condemned to Death, and poisoned by his Father . 319

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Burlesque of the Conclave—Institutions of the Year 1718—Peace of Nystädt—Peter's Financial Resources . . 337

CHAPTER XXIX.

Peter is surnamed the Great—The Patriarchate abolished—The Tchin instituted—Persian Campaign 354

CHAPTER XXX.

Death of Peter—Retrospect—His Political Testament . . 367

CHAPTER XXXI. PAGE

Personal Characteristics of Peter I. 377

CHAPTER XXXII.

Catharine I.—Peter II. 392

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Anna Ivanovna chosen Empress—Defeats an attempt to limit her Sovereign Power—Interferes successfully in Poland—The Persian Provinces resigned—War with Turkey—War-like Attitude of Sweden—Death of Anne—Characteristics of her Reign 404

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Ivan VI.—The Regent Anne—Elizaveta Petrovna—War with Sweden—Treaty of Abo 420

CHAPTER XXXV.

Marriage of Elizabeth's Heir—Growing Antipathy between the Courts of Russia and Prussia—The Seven Years' War—Death of Elizabeth—Her Character 433

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Accession of Peter III.—End of the Seven Years' War—Generous Acts of Peter III.—Meditated Expedition against Denmark 451

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Peter III. dethroned and murdered—Accession of Catharine II. 461

APPENDIX TO VOL. I. 479

SYNOPTICAL VIEW.

From time immemorial the more temperate portions of the vast territory, now ruled by the czar, were parcelled out amongst barbarous tribes, which owned no common bond of union, nor even a collective national appellation. It was in the ninth century of our era that the first step was taken towards combining those loose elements under the sway of a conquering race, who imposed their own name on the vanquished. From that point, therefore, we date the rise of the Russian empire. In its history we discern five great periods, two dynasties, five capitals, and twelve remarkable princes, exclusive of those of the fifth period, which is not yet ended.

Of these five prominent periods, the first, comprehending a space of a hundred and ninety-two years, from A.D. 862 to 1054, presents to our view the foundation of the empire, in Novgorod, by Rurik the Great, a leader of Varages, Varangians, or Vaeringar, from the Baltic sea; its enormous extension under the potent Oleg, who, as regent for Rurik's son Igor, gave to this rising state Kief as its capital, together with a large part of the present European Russia. Then follows the protracted reign of the weak Igor, an insignificant prince, though he was son of Rurik, pupil of the great Oleg, and husband of the celebrated Olga.

To this reign succeeds a second regency, that of St. Olga,

the widow of Igor. This princess, the first Christian Russian who exercised sovereign authority, was baptised at Constantinople. She is famous for the crafty and terrible revenge which she took for the murder of her husband, upon the Drevlians, whose subjugation she completed. Her administration is remarkable. To her the republic of Pskof was indebted for its liberties, which rendered it so flourishing during the space of six centuries. It was this princess who divided the north of Russia into various administrative districts. Down to the period of the annalists, her greatness continued to fill the memories and the hearts of the people.

She was the mother of Sviatoslaf, a rough, inflexible, impetuous warrior,—the Achilles, the Charles the Twelfth of that epoch. As Oleg had removed his capital from Novgorod to Kief, so did Sviatoslaf remove his to Bulgaria; each remove being an approach towards the coveted empire of the Greeks. But he was driven from it; and, in his retreat, his skull became the cup of the leader of the Petchenegans, on the same soil where, eight centuries later, Charles the Twelfth was destined to be overcome by Peter the Great, in consequence of similar obstinacy.

Subsequent to him, and to Yaropolk, a prince who was a mere cypher, this first period displays to us the highest Gothic glory of the Russian empire, under Vladimir the Great, and its conversion to Christianity in 988. Then succeeds Sviatopolk. Were it not for his fratricides, and the first invasion of Kief by the Poles, of which he was the prompter, this miscreant would pass almost unperceived between his father, the great Vladimir, and his brother Yaroslaf the legislator, the fifth eminent man of this dynasty, with whom the first period closed in 1054.

In the second period, from 1054 to 1236, comprising a hundred and eighty years, a period wholly engrossed by discord and internal strife, the empire was divided and subdivided, like a private property, among the descendants of Rurik.

Amidst a throng of these princes, who reciprocally contended for their appanages, and especially for the throne of Kief, we hardly distinguish an uninterrupted series of seventeen paramount princes, succeeding from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew, down to the obscure Yury, who was slain by the Tatars in 1237. Of the seventeen Grand-Princes, ranged in this singular order of succession, two only were men of historic note: Vladimir Monomachus, in 1114, and Andrew, about 1157.

The first of these restored to the empire a moment of unity, by the ascendant of his valour and his virtues, in spite of the efforts of the Polovtzy, nomad tribes of the south, whom he succeeded in crushing. The second, abandoning Kief, made Vladimir the capital of his empire. His policy raised him above the unfortunate times in which he lived. He is the only one who seemed to be aware of the cause of so much dissension, and who strove to annihilate it.

The third period opened in 1237, with the subjugation of Russia, in consequence of its intestine divisions. It continued for two hundred and twenty-five years, till 1462.

A multitude of Russian princes, the Grand-Prince, three of his sons, and their mother, were massacred by the Tatars; but two brothers of the Grand-Prince still survived, who successively filled his place. The eldest had five sons, all of whom in succession wielded the degraded sceptre. The third of these brothers, St. Alexander Nevsky, was a great man, in every sense of the word. He was a hero, victor over the Teutonic knights, the Swedes, and the Lithuanians, who had flung themselves upon the falling Russian empire; and he died a martyr to his patriotic devotedness, after having thrice bent his way to the extremity of Asia, to disarm the Tatar wrath, which was about to crush the remnant of his imprudent and unruly subjects.

Two of his sons, unworthy of him, ascended the throne, after two of their uncles. Mikhail of Tver, their cousin, succeeded to them about 1300. Then began a contest of twenty-eight

years, fraught with treason, baseness, and perfidy, between the princely branch of Tver and that of Moscow. But in 1328 the Grand-Princedom was secured by the latter, in the person of Ivan I., surnamed *Kalita*.

This prince is worthy of note, because with him recommenced, firstly, the reuniting of the appanages with the Grand-Princedom of Moscow, which was become the capital; secondly, the rallying of the appanaged princes round the Great-Prince; thirdly, the re-establishment of succession in the direct line; and, lastly, a system of concentration of power, by which the Russian empire was one day to be again raised up, and transformed into that stupendous mass which we now behold.

This direct succession, and this system, were intermitted but for an instant, to revive in 1362, in the great Dmitri Donskoi, the first conqueror of the Tatars, and to pass to his son and grandson, the two Vassili; finally, to produce in 1462, after the lapse of a century, the uncontested autocracy of Ivan III.

It was in 1462, and with that great Ivan, that the fourth Russian period began; it ended in 1613, and lasted only a hundred and fifty-three years.

The Russian republics of the north, and the Tatars, sank beneath his power, which he always employed opportunely, circumspectly, progressively, and with Machiavellic dexterity. By degrees, the chain with which the Tatars weighed down the Russians came wholly into the hands of this Grand-Prince, who bound with it both the victors and the vanquished, the one by means of the other, and remained sole and absolute master.

His grandson, Ivan IV., great in crime, carried to excess the concentration of this power, in which everything was swallowed up: manners, morality, patriotism, and the few privileges which, under Ivan III., the Russian nobility had either preserved or acquired, by serving him against the princes who held appanages, the Russian commonwealth, and

the Tatars. This madman killed the only one of his three sons who was able to wear his ponderous crown. The result was that, after having rested nominally on the head of his feeble successor, it passed to that of a descendant of a Tatar, his treacherous minister, whom it crushed, as it did all the Russians, Poles, and Swedes, who subsequently dared to seize or aspire to it.

Thus did this insane despotism destroy itself. It gave up the corrupted state to invasions from the West, in the same manner that, three centuries and a half before, internal dissensions had laid it open to invasion from the East. This similar effect of an opposite kind of excess lasted fifteen years; and it seemed as if the empire, brought to its last gasp, were to close its existence with its fourth period.

But it was re-invigorated at that crisis, by the election of a new dynasty: in 1613 the family of Romanof ascended the throne. With them begins the fifth great period of Russian history, to be followed perhaps in our own day by a sixth; for while we write this, the empire is hurrying towards a momentous crisis. The splendour of the fifth period begins towards the end of the seventeenth century, with the reign of Peter the Great.

To guide us to this illustrious man through the obscurity of eight centuries, we have, as already stated, a series of twelve remarkable princes. In the first period, the period of foundation and aggrandisement, we behold *Rurik*, the Founder; *Oleg*, the Conqueror; *Olga*, the Regent; *Vladimir*, the Christian; *Yaroslaf*, the Legislator.

In the second, the period of dissensions, the valiant and virtuous *Vladimir Monomachus*, and the politic *Andrew*.

In the third, that of complete slavery, the victorious and devoted *St. Alexander Nevsky*, the able *Ivan I.*, and *Dmitri Donskoi*, the first who vanquished the Tatars.

Lastly, in the fourth, that of deliverance and of despotism, *Ivan III.*, the Autocrat, and *Ivan IV.*, the Terrible.

But, independent of these twelve beacons, we descry other

directing points, landmarks, which also may afford us assistance in classing our observations, and analysing this vast mass of history.

We have remarked, that the present capital of Russia is the fifth which the empire has had. In 862, the conquering genius of Rurik placed the first in Novgorod. From 882, the still greater genius of Oleg, together with the allurement of a milder climate, and of the riches, the knowledge, and the comforts of Greek civilisation, fixed the second in the south, at Kief. In 1167, internal dissensions, the attacks of the Poles in the west, those of the nomad tribes in the south, and the policy of Andrew, drew back the third towards the east, and established it at Vladimir. The fourth, and most central, the great Moscow, which was to re-unite with it all the empire, rose in 1328, and subjugated the three others by the Machiavellism of Yury, and the talent of Ivan Kalita, its first princes, and by its position between Novgorod, the first metropolis, and Vladimir, the third. Lastly, about 1703, the genius of civilisation established the fifth, St. Petersburg, on the northern frontier, at the head of the Gulf of Finland, and on the very coast whence, eight hundred and forty years earlier, the barbarian Rurik, the creator of this empire, commenced his march for the purpose of founding it.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

RURIK—OLEG—IGOR.

HAVING thus sketched the outline of Russian history, let us proceed to its principal details; and, without pausing on the almost diluvian origin which is assigned to the primitive tribes; without repeating the names of Japhet, Russ, Slavan, or Scythes, from whom the Russians, the Slavonians, and the Scythians are supposed to be descended, let us state that the most anciently known inhabitants of Russia were, the Scythians, to the south; the Slavonians, in the centre; and the Finns, to the north. Of their earliest source nothing is known with certainty; but everything leads us to believe that the Russian Varangians were Normans.*

Till the time of Rurik, the history of these tribes is full of uncertainty: all that we can discern is, that, down to the ninth century, the extensive territory, which now constitutes European Russia, had often been inundated by great and opposite irruptions; those from Central Asia, and those from Scandinavia. If, however, we may judge from the last Tatar irruption, previous to 860, that of the Khozars (or Chazares), it will appear that the Asiatic invasions never penetrated, in a northern direction, beyond the spots where Kief and Kaluga are now situated.

As to the Norman irruptions, with the exception of that of Amala, king of the Goths, and son of the gods, who, about the year 250, carried with him, against the Roman empire, all the Slavonians of the country comprehended between Finland and the Borysthenes, they appear to have flowed off to the

* See Appendix.

right, towards the south-west; so that, from the Oka and the Upper Dniepr as far as the Baltic, all the Slavonian and Finnish tribes who dwelt in the centre and the north of European Russia, and thus were between the two irruptions, were able to live in tranquillity, to multiply, and even already, as was the case with the great Novgorod, to acquire riches by means of a considerable commerce.

At the time of which we have now to speak, this republican mother of a most despotic empire, had become so powerful that it was a common saying among its neighbours: "Who can dare to oppose God and Novgorod the great?" Its commerce extended to Persia and even to India, and from Constantinople to Vineta, a very commercial city on the mouth of the Oder. The nations around it were its tributaries, from Lithuania to the Ural Mountains, and from Bielo Ozero and the lake of Rostof to the White Sea. About the middle of the ninth century, however, anarchy arose in the republic, either from the abuse of liberty or the pride of wealth. In this state of things a geographical circumstance drew down war on Novgorod. Its most active commerce was carried on through the Baltic, through the midst of the Russian Varangians, Scandinavian warriors who were then masters of that sea. A passage was to be obtained only by tribute or by force: hostilities ensued, and the Novgorodians were rendered tributary.

They recovered their independence after a while, but did not retain it long. The weakness consequent upon internal dissensions induced them, in the year 862, to invite the three Varangian brothers, Rurik, Sinaf, and Truvor, either to rule over them, as an old chronicle alleges, or, much more probably, to serve as auxiliaries for their defence against foreign aggression. The brothers accepted the invitation, and established themselves on the three principal frontiers of the republic—Rurik at Old Ladoga, near the Volkhof; Sinaf at Bielo Ozero, which was then situated on the northern bank of the lake of the same name; and Truvor at Izborsk, near Pleskof. In these positions the Varangian princes were able to protect the republic from attacks from without; but along with the power to defend they had also the power to oppress, and consequently the will to use it. Encircling the commercial city they commanded all its outlets. Rather than re-

linquish all ideas of traffic, Novgorod preferred to submit, and Rurik took peaceable possession of it in 864, after the death of his two brothers without issue. He now assumed the title of Grand-Prince (Veliki Kniaz), and portioned out all the cities among his companions in arms. The country thenceforth became Russia; and from this epoch we must date that new name of the many Slavonian and Finnish tribes of European Russia, and also the origin of their slavery.

Most of the Russian historians reckon Oskhold and Dir, sovereigns of Kief, among the Varangians who accompanied Rurik to Novgorod. They relate that these two brothers, being dissatisfied with the Grand-Prince, set out in quest of fortune in the direction of Greece, at the head of a body of adventurers of their own nation. On their way they made themselves masters of Kief; and two years afterwards they attacked Constantinople; but they suffered a severe repulse, and with difficulty returned to Kief, bringing home no other fruit from their disastrous expedition than a strong desire to embrace that religion to which they probably ascribed the better fortune of their Greek foes. The Byzantine writers give the year 851 as the date of this enterprise, thus making it precede the reign of Rurik by eleven years; and this, according to Levesque, is confirmed by one ancient Russian chronicle. However this may be, it appears from an epistle of the patriarch Photius, written towards the end of 866, that the sovereigns of Kief had already embraced Christianity, and received a bishop and a priest from Constantinople.

After the death of his brothers, Rurik reigned fifteen years in Novgorod, and died in 879, leaving to his kinsman Oleg the regency, and the guardianship of his son Igor, then aged four years.

The dominion founded by Rurik was rapidly and prodigiously enlarged by his successor. Oleg appears to have possessed in a high degree the virtues and the vices most incident to the age in which he lived: a true specimen of barbaric greatness! brave, crafty, insatiable, adventurous, indefatigable; faithful, as with respect to Igor, his ward, and yet capable, on occasion, of the most savage treachery, as in his conduct to Askhold and Dir. After the capture of Smolensk in 882, he set his heart on the possession of Kief; but as its intrepid sovereigns and their Varan-

gian warriors were not likely to prove an easy conquest, he determined to employ stratagem. Leaving his army behind, and taking Igor with him, he descended the Dniepr with a few boats, in which some armed men were concealed, and landed below the high bank on which stood the ancient city of Kief. He then sent a message to Askhold and Dir, saying that some Varangian merchants, on their way to Greece by order of the prince of Novgorod, desired to see them as friends and men of the same race. In accordance with the simple habits of the times, the two princes went out without hesitation to meet the supposed merchants, and had no sooner reached the place of ambush than they were surrounded by Oleg's armed followers. "You are neither princes, nor of princely birth," he cried; "but I am a prince, and this is the son of Rurik." As in these words he pronounced their doom, Askhold and Dir were laid dead at his feet.

By this nefarious deed Oleg obtained undisputed possession of Kief. Transported with admiration of his conquest, "Let Kief," he exclaimed, "be the mother of all the Russian cities!" This it became in fact, for nearly three centuries; and he made it his capital; not that he might enjoy repose in it, but because it was nearer at hand to the Greek empire,—a prey which was greedily coveted by the barbarians under his command.

But to this pillage he did not lead them till he had well connected his two capitals by a chain of conquests. To establish this connexion he first subdued, or won over, all the Slavonian, Finnish, and Lithuanian tribes, which had till then been independent, or tributaries to the degenerated Khans of the eastern Khozars.

In Slavonia itself, where he was desirous of fixing his authority, he was cautious in the use of his power, and moderate in the tributes which he imposed. He tolerated nascent Christianity in Kief, and firmly established there his pupil Igor.

But, when he had completed the founding of his empire, he breathed into all the vanquished tribes, who became his subjects, the adventurous and ferocious avidity of the victors, which he had hitherto restrained. Putting himself at the head of both parties, inflaming their passions by his own,

and combining them in one and the same horrible thirst of blood, of glory, and of plunder, he passed with eighty thousand men, in two thousand barks, the cataracts of the Borysthenes, devastated the Greek empire by atrocious barbarities, and, like Mahomet, conveyed his fleet over a cape, or, as the chronicle affirms, mounted his vessels on wheels, navigated them by land with all sails set, to launch them again in the very port of Byzantium; he then fixed his shield on the gate of that capital as a trophy, and wrested from the emperor an ignominious treaty, and an enormous ransom. Thus, even the second sovereign of Russia made himself as formidable to the Greek emperor as his successors have been to the sultan of Constantinople.

Oleg's Varangian guard, who seem to have been also his council, were parties with him to this treaty, for their assent appears to have been requisite to give validity to an agreement affecting the amount of their gains as conquerors. These warriors swore to the treaty by their gods Perune and Voloss, and by their arms, placed before them on the ground: their shields, their rings, their naked swords, gold and steel, the things they loved and honoured most. The gorged barbarian then departed with his rich booty to Kief, to enjoy there an uncontested authority, and the title of Wise Man or Magician, unanimously conferred upon him by popular admiration.

Eight years after this event Oleg sent ambassadors to Constantinople to conclude a treaty of alliance and commerce between the two empires. This treaty, preserved in the old chronicle of Nestor, is the first written monument of Russian history, for all previous treaties were verbal. It is of value, as presenting to us some customs of the times in which it was negotiated, and as proving that the Russians had already laws. Those historians, therefore, are in an error, who attribute their first laws to a prince a century posterior to Oleg.

Here follow some of the articles that were signed by the sovereigns of Constantinople and of Kief respectively:

II. "If a Greek commit any outrage on a Russian, or a Russian on a Greek, and it be not sufficiently proved, the oath of the accuser shall be taken, and justice be done.

III. "If a Russian kill a Christian, or a Christian kill a

Russian, the assassin shall be put to death on the very spot where the crime was committed. If the murderer take to flight and be domiciliated, the portion of his fortune, which belongs to him *according to law*, shall be adjudged to the next of kin to the deceased; and the wife of the murderer shall obtain the other portion of the estate which, *by law*, should belong to him.

IV. "He who strikes another with a sword, or with any other weapon, shall pay three litres of gold, *according to the Russian law*. If he have not that sum, and he affirms it upon oath, he shall give the party injured all he has, to the garment he has on.

V. "If a Russian commit a theft on a Greek, or a Greek on a Russian, and he be taken in the fact and killed by the proprietor, no pursuit shall be had for avenging his death. But if the proprietor can seize him, bind him, and bring him to the judge, he shall take back the things stolen, and the thief shall pay him the triple of their value.

X. "If a Russian in the service of the emperor, or travelling in the dominions of that prince, shall happen to die without having disposed of his goods, and has none of his near relations about him, his property shall be sent to Russia to his heirs; and, if he have bequeathed them by testament, they shall be in like manner remitted to the legatee."

We see, then, that the Russian laws laid great stress on oaths, a characteristic always observable among people in a state of simplicity. They pronounced the sentence of death against the murderer, and in this respect were wiser than those ancient laws, which, by inflicting only a pecuniary mulct, left the rich at liberty to be guilty with impunity. Wives had a part of the estate of their husbands. The punishment did not involve the entire confiscation of goods, and the widow and orphan were not punished for the crime of which they were innocent. Robbery which attacks only property, was punished by the privation of property, and the law maintained a just proportion between the penalty and the crime. The citizens, secure in their possessions, were under no apprehension that the sovereign would seize upon their heritage, and might even dispose of their effects in favour of friendship. Lastly, since the Russians made testaments, the art of writing was not unknown to them.

The names of the ministers who negotiated the two treaties of peace between Greece and Russia are preserved. As none of these names are Slavonian, it appears that the Slaves had retained no share in the administration: the Varangians alone were in possession of all places of trust, and the ancient masters of the country had only to obey them.

Oleg governed for thirty-three years the dominions of which he was only the trustee. There were doubtless at that time neither laws, nor usages holding the place of laws, that could force him to surrender the sovereign authority to his ward. Besides, the Russians were averse to being governed by young princes; a dislike which for several centuries established among them the order of succession from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew. Properly speaking, says Karamsin, this prince is to be regarded as the founder of the empire's greatness, for to him it owes its finest and richest provinces. Rurik's sway extended from Esthonia, the Slave sources and the Volkhof, to Bielo Ozero, the mouth of the Oka and the city of Rostof; Oleg subjugated all the countries from Smolensk to the Sula, the Dniestr, and probably to the Carpathian Mountains.

It was not to be supposed that such a man should die like an ordinary mortal: a miraculous life must have a miraculous end. Nestor relates that Oleg had a favourite horse which he rode constantly till the soothsayers predicted that it would be the cause of his death. The animal was then put aside, and Oleg heard no more of it for some years. At last, recollecting the prediction, he inquired what had become of the horse, and was told that it had long been dead. Exulting, then, in the discomfiture of the soothsayers, he desired to see the bones, and being taken to the place where the skeleton lay, he set his foot on the skull, saying, "So this, then, is the creature destined to be my death." That instant a serpent that lay coiled up within the skull darted out and gave the prince a bite, of which he died.

Igor, the son of Rurik, was near forty years of age when he succeeded Oleg in 913. He ascended the throne under trying circumstances, for contemporaries and posterity expect great things of the successors of great princes, and have little indulgence for their short-comings. The death of the victor revived the courage of the vanquished, and the

Drevlians raised the standard of revolt against Kief; but Ivor soon quelled them, and punished them by augmenting their tribute. The Uglitches, who dwelt on the southern side of the Dniepr, contended longer for their liberty against the voyevode Sveneld, whom Igor had despatched against them. One of their principal towns, named Piresetchen, held out a siege of three years. At last they too were subdued and made tributary.

Meanwhile new enemies, formidable from their numbers and their thirst for pillage, showed themselves on the frontiers of Russia: these were the Petchenegans, famous in the Russian, Byzantine, and Hungarian annals, from the tenth to the twelfth century. They were a nomad people, of the Turcoman stock, whose only wealth consisted in their lances, bows and arrows, their flocks and herds, and their swift horses, which they managed with astonishing address. The only objects of their desires were fat pastures for their cattle, and rich neighbours to plunder. After their expulsion from the deserts of Saratof, the Petchenegans turned westward, extended their dominion from the Don to the Aluta, and divided their conquests into eight provinces, four of them to the east of the Dniepr, between the Russians and the Khozars, and four to the west of that river, in Moldavia, Transylvania, on the Bug, and about Galicia, in the neighbourhood of the Slave tribes dependent on Kief. The Petchenegans had thought of sacking Kief, but desisted from the attempt on seeing the formidable nature of the resistance they would have to encounter, and retired peaceably to Bessarabia or Moldavia. Thenceforth occupying the ground between the Greek and the Russian empires, subsidised by the one for its defence, and courted by the other from commercial motives, for the cataracts of the Dniepr and the mouths of the Danube were in the hands of those marauders, the Petchenegans were enabled for more than two hundred years to indulge their ruling propensity at the expense of their neighbours. Having concluded a treaty with Igor, they remained for five years without molesting Russia; at least Nestor does not speak of any war with them until 920, nor had tradition afforded him any clue to the result of that campaign.

The reign of Igor was hardly distinguished by any impor-

tant event until the year 941, when, in imitation of his guardian, he engaged in an expedition against Constantinople. If the chroniclers do not exaggerate, Igor entered the Black Sea with ten thousand barks, each carrying forty men. The imperial troops being at a distance, he had time to overrun and ravage Paphlagonia, Pontus, and Bithynia. Nestor speaks with deep abhorrence of the ferocity displayed by the Russians on this occasion; nothing to which they could apply fire or sword escaped their wanton lust of destruction, and their prisoners were invariably massacred in the most atrocious manner,—crucified, impaled, cut in pieces, buried alive, or tied to stakes to serve as butts for the archers. At last the Greek fleet encountered the Russian as it rode at anchor near the Pharos, prepared for battle and confident of victory. But the terrible Greek fire launched against the invaders struck them with such dismay that they fled in disorder to the coasts of Asia Minor. Descending there to pillage, they were again routed by the land forces, and escaped by night in their barks, to lose many of them in another severe naval defeat. By the confession of the Russian chronicles, Igor scarcely took back with him a third part of his army.

Instead of being discouraged by these disasters, Igor prepared to revenge them. In 944 he collected new forces, took the Petchenegans into his pay, exacting hostages for their fidelity, and again set out for Greece. But scarcely had he reached the mouths of the Danube when he was met by ambassadors from the emperor Romanus, with an offer to pay him the same tribute as had been exacted by Oleg. Igor halted and communicated this offer to his chief men, whose opinions on the matter are thus reported by Nestor: "If Cæsar makes such proposals," said they, "is it not better to get gold, silver, and precious stuffs, without fighting? Can we tell who will be the victor, and who the vanquished? And can we guess what may befal us at sea? It is not solid ground that is under our feet, but the depths of the waters, where all men run the same risks."

In accordance with these views Igor granted peace to the empire on the proposed conditions, and the following year he concluded with the emperor a treaty, which was in part a renewal of that made by Oleg. Of the fifty names attached

on the part of Russia to this second treaty, three are Slave, the rest Norman.

Igor, being now advanced in years, was naturally desirous of repose, but the insatiable cupidity of his comrades in arms forced him to go to war. From the complaints of his warriors it appears that the Russian, like the German princes, furnished their Faithful Band with clothing, arms, horses, and provisions. "We are naked," Igor's companions and guards said to him, "while the companions of Sveneld have beautiful arms and fine clothing. Come with us and levy contributions, that we may be in plenty with thee." It was customary with the Grand-Prince to leave Kief every year, in November, with an army, and not to return until April, after having visited his cities and received their tributes. When the prince's magazine was empty, and the annual contributions were not sufficient, it became necessary to find new enemies to subject to exactions, or to treat as enemies the tribes that had submitted. To the latter expedient Igor now resorted against the Drevlians. Marching into their country he surcharged them with onerous tributes, besides suffering his guards to plunder them with impunity. His easy success in this rapacious foray tempted him to his destruction. After quitting the country of his oppressed tributaries, the thought struck him that more might yet be squeezed out of them. With this view he sent on his army to Kief, probably because he did not wish to let his voyevodes or lieutenants share the fruit of his contemplated extortions, and went back with a small force among the Drevlians, who, driven to extremity, massacred him and the whole of his guard near their town of Korosten.

CHAPTER II.

THE REGENT OLGA—SVIATOSLAF.

SVIATOSLAF, Igor's only son, and the first prince who bore a Russian name, was very young at the death of his father in 945. He had for tutor the boyard Asmuld; Sveneld commanded the army; and Olga, the widow of Igor, aided by the counsels of these eminent men, undertook the regency.

Her first care was to revenge her husband's death on the Drevlians, who were now dreaming not only of impunity but of a great accession of power, to be obtained by the marriage of their prince Male with his mortal enemy Olga. The account given by Nestor of this passage in the regent's history is strongly tinctured with fable; but it is interesting as a record of traditions based upon the usages of the times in which they had birth.

"Twenty of the most considerable men among the Drevlians," says the chronicler, "came to Kief, and said to Olga: 'We have killed your husband, because he plundered and devoured like a wolf. But our princes are good, and make our country thrive. Come and marry our prince Male.' And Olga replied: 'Your proposal seems good to me; for after all I cannot bring my husband to life again. To-morrow I will entertain you before my people; return now to your barks, and when my people come to you to-morrow, say to them: We will not go on horseback or on foot, you must carry us in our barks; and my people will carry you on their shoulders.'

"Olga had a wide and deep pit dug in front of a house outside the city. Next day she went to that house, and sent for the ambassadors. And they said: 'We will not go on foot or on horseback; carry us in our barks.' The men of Kief replied: 'We are your slaves; our prince is slain, and our princess is willing to marry your prince.' The Drevlians, seated proudly in their barks, were carried before the house in which Olga was, and were flung into the pit with their barks. And Olga cried to them: 'How do you like your entertainment?' In vain they cried, 'Forgive us the death of Igor!' She ordered them all to be buried alive, and the pit was filled up.

"Then Olga sent to the Drevlians, and said: 'If you sincerely wish for me, send me men of the highest consideration, that I may repair to you with honour, and that the people of Kief may let me go.' The Drevlians, on hearing this message, chose the most considerable men of their country and sent them to her. On their arrival, Olga had a bath prepared, and sent word to them: 'Take a bath, and then come into my presence.' The bath was heated, the

Drevlians entered it and began to bathe; but the doors were then made fast, the house was set on fire by her orders, and they were all burnt alive.

"Again she sent word to the Drevlians: 'I am about to repair to you. Get ready a large quantity of hydromel in the place where you killed my husband, that I may weep over his tomb, and celebrate the trizna (the funeral banquet) in his honour.' The Drevlians hearing this, brought much honey and brewed it. Olga taking with her only a small number of friends lightly armed, came to the tomb and wept over it. Then she had a great mound raised over it, and when this was done, she ordered the trizna to be set out. Then the Drevlians began to drink, and Olga ordered her people to serve them. And the Drevlians said to Olga: 'Where are our friends whom we sent to you?' She replied: 'They are coming after me with the friends of my husband.' And when the Drevlians had drunk their fill, she ordered her friends to cut them to pieces, and they killed five thousand of them."

Returning to Kief, Olga called out her forces and began a campaign, taking her young son with her, that he might thus early be inured to arms. She laid waste all the country of the Drevlians, and sacked and destroyed their towns. At last she laid siege to their capital, Korosten—the name of which, signifying *wall of bark*, indicates what was the structure of the city, at least at its origin. It was, perhaps, built of more solid materials at the time of which we are speaking, but all the houses were still wooden. This suggested the last stratagem ascribed to Olga by the traditions which Nestor has followed. Finding she could not force the city to surrender, she sent this message to the inhabitants: "Why do you hold out so obstinately? All your other towns are in my power; the rest of your people are peacefully tilling their fields whilst you persist in dying of hunger. You have no more to fear from me; I have sufficiently revenged my husband." The Drevlians offered her a tribute of honey and furs, but Olga, with affected generosity, refused it, and said she would be content with three sparrows and a pigeon from each house. These being supplied with alacrity, the implacable widow let them all loose in the evening with lighted matches tied to their tails. The birds flew back to their

nests in the town, and consequently set it on fire in a thousand places. The inhabitants escaped the flames only to fall under the swords of the besiegers. The prince and all the principal men perished in the massacre; but few prisoners were made, and only the lowest of the populace were left alive to languish under heavy impositions.

After chastising the Drevlians the regent visited the northern part of her dominions, regulated the contributions, divided the lands into bailiwicks and communes, built towns and villages, and marked her route by many other measures that did honour to her administrative capacity. It was probably at this time that, by certain privileges bestowed on her native town of Pskof, she laid the foundation of its greatness, and enabled it to become the capital of an important province.

Though idolatry continued to be the prevailing religion of Russia, Christianity had constantly gained ground in Kief since the baptism of Askhold and Dir. The treaty concluded between Igor and the Greeks gives manifest proof that Christians were not only tolerated in the Russian capital, but were in all respects on a footing of equality with their Pagan countrymen. Olga became desirous of embracing their religion, and, in order to do so in a more august manner, she went to Constantinople to be instructed and baptised by the patriarch (A.D. 955). The imperial throne was then filled by Constantine Porphyrogeneta, who has himself left us a detailed account of the honours paid to the Russian princess on that occasion. It was the emperor himself who led Olga to the baptismal font and gave her the name of Helena.

Olga's example was followed by few of her subjects. "Would you have me be a laughing-stock to my friends?" was Sviatoslaf's reply to the pious exhortations of his mother. He prohibited none from being baptised who would; but he took no pains to conceal his contempt for Christians, whom he looked upon as cowards, grounding his opinion, perhaps, on the general character of the Greeks of his day.

It is not precisely known at what time Sviatoslaf took the reins of government in his own hand; but the most probable opinion is, that they were remitted to him by his

mother at her departure for Constantinople. Before we follow him in his battles we will consider him for a moment in his ordinary course of life, which was that of the ancient Scythians, of several of the Tatar hordes, and indeed of most nations in primitive times.

Though in the earlier years of his reign we do not find that he had any war to carry on, his first care was to collect an army, less formidable for its numbers than for the ferocious courage of its soldiers. Looking upon a palace as nothing better than a prison, he made the camp his only abode. His troops, in their frequent and rapid movements, were followed by no kind of baggage; and the prince refused to have any himself. Without any utensil for preparing his meals or boiling his victuals, he contented himself with cutting up the meat he ate, and broiling it himself upon the coals, just like one of Homer's heroes. But one thing which distinguished Sviatoslaf from them was, that he frequently lived only on horseflesh. By this manner of life, resembling that of the Kalmuks, he was enabled like them to carry on war at a distance without any embarrassment or concern for the subsistence of his army; since the same animal that carried the warrior afterwards served him for food. This hero, who kept so poor a table, was not more delicately lodged. He had no tent; but braving all the inclemency of the Russian sky, he lay on the bare ground, or at most with a piece of the coarsest felt beneath him, with a saddle for his pillow and a horsecloth for his covering. It was with no common devotion his soldiers followed a leader who shared every toil and privation equally with the meanest in the camp. The nobility of Sviatoslaf's character is testified by the chroniclers. Far from seeking the advantages of unforeseen attacks, his were always preceded by a formal declaration of war. Amidst the odious treachery of those barbarous times, the mind rests with a grateful sense of relief on this trait of chivalric honour.

The banks of the Oka, the Don, and the Volga were the first scenes of his triumphs. He subdued the Viatckhos, tributaries to the Khan of the Khozars, then turned his victorious arms against that once so mighty potentate, defeated him in a bloody battle, and took his capital, Sarkel or Bielovess, a city on the Don fortified by Greek engineers

(A.D. 964). Nestor gives us no details as to the subsequent operations of the prince in that direction, but contents himself with saying that Sviatoslaf subjugated also the Yasses and the Kassogs, the former being probably the Ossians or Ossitians of Daghestan, the latter the Circassians, whose country was called Kassakhi in the tenth century. At this epoch, too, the Russians became masters of all the possessions of the Khozars on the eastern coasts of the sea of Azof, and Sviatoslaf was able to secure these remote conquests by an easy communication between Tmutarakan and Kief by way of the Black Sea and the Dniepr. Thenceforth the Khozars appear no more in history.

Opportunity for a still more important conquest was furnished by the repeated incursions of the Hungarians upon the Greek territory, and the secret succours afforded them by the Bulgarians, the treacherous allies of the empire. Nicephorus Phocas implored against the latter the aid of Sviatoslaf, and purchased it by subsidies. There was no difficulty in engaging in such an enterprise a prince who was ever in quest of battles. Sviatoslaf entered the Danube with a fleet containing sixty thousand men, took all the towns belonging to the Bulgarians, and seeing himself thus master of ancient Mœsia, resolved to transfer thither the seat of his empire to the city of Pereiaslavetz, now Yamboly. Meanwhile he had nearly lost his family and his ancient capital.

The Petchenegans had taken advantage of the absence of the valorous Grand-Prince to invade Russia for the first time, and had laid siege in great force to Kief (A.D. 968), where the princess Olga was with her grandchildren. The only succour that could be looked for was from a Russian commander named Prititch, who was posted on the other side of the Dniepr; but his army was small, and he could have no communication with the town, which was nearly reduced by famine. At last a daring young warrior, who spoke the language of the besiegers, undertook to convey intelligence to Prititch. Leaving the city with a bridle in his hand, he went straight to a group of Petchenegans, and asked had they seen his horse. The Petchenegans thinking he was one of their own people, offered him no impediment, and did not discover their mistake till he had plunged into the river

and was swimming rapidly to the opposite bank. The arrows they shot after him missed their mark, and a boat sent out by his countrymen took him on board. Prititch, learning from the envoy that the Kievians were on the point of surrendering, resolved to run all hazards to save at least the family of his sovereign. At daybreak next morning the besiegers saw the Dniepr covered with Russian barks, advancing to the sound of trumpets, which were answered by loud shouts of joy from the town. Believing that it was the terrible Sviatoslaf coming in person to the relief of his capital, the Petchenegans were seized with a panic, and Kief was rescued. The prince of the Petchenegans perceived the small number of the enemy, but durst not encounter them. He requested an interview with the Russian voyevode, and asked him if he was the Grand-Prince. Prititch adroitly replied that he was only the commander of Sviatoslaf's vanguard, and that he himself was advancing with a formidable army. The two courteous enemies exchanged gifts at parting, like Glaucus and Diomede, on the prince's part his scimitar, his arrows, and his horse; on the voyevode's, his buckler, cuirass, and sword; and the Petchenegan raised the siege and retired with his troops.

Sviatoslaf hastened back from Bulgaria on hearing of the invasion of his own dominions, and restored peace to them by defeating the Petchenegans, and driving them back over the frontier. His mother died soon after at an advanced age,—a woman, says Karamsin, whom tradition has characterised as crafty and deceitful, the church as a saint, and history as a wise and able ruler. Her death removed what to Sviatoslaf seemed the only obstacle to the execution of his ill-advised scheme of transferring the seat of empire to the banks of the Danube. He told his boyars "that he preferred Pereiaslavetz as a residence to Kief; the Bulgarian capital was, in a manner, the centre of the riches of nature and of art; the Greeks imported thither gold, textile fabrics, wine and fruits; the Bohemians and the Hungarians silver and horses; and the Russians furs, wax, honey, and slaves."

Before he set out on his second expedition to Bulgaria (A.D. 970), he conferred on his son Yaropolk the government of Kief, gave the country of the Drevlians to Oleg his second son, and sent to Novgorod Vladimir, a natural son

born to him by Malusha, one of Olga's attendants. Thus Sviatoslaf was the first who introduced the custom of bestowing private appanages on the princes of the blood; a pernicious custom, which often brought Russia to the brink of ruin.

Having thus provided for the administration of his dominions, he began his march against the Bulgarians. It must be observed, that on coming to the assistance of Kief he had brought with him all his forces, and consequently abandoned the whole of his conquests, secure of regaining them at any time with ease. Such is the method pursued by barbarians in carrying on war; and all nations have once been barbarians.

The Bulgarians suffered Sviatoslaf to advance to the walls of Pereiaslavetz, and there rushed upon him with no less fury than courage. The Russians, repulsed, thinned, and already defeated, thought of nothing but selling their lives as dear as they could. Their force seemed now to increase with their efforts; the astonished conquerors fell back, were confused, dispersed, and surrendered to Sviatoslaf both the victory and their town; and he was once more master of Bulgaria.

In the mean time Nicephorus was assassinated by John Zimisces, who succeeded him. The new emperor saw what an error his predecessor had committed in alluring the Russians to the banks of the Danube; for the daring and warlike Sviatoslaf was a far more formidable neighbour than the Bulgarians. Zimisces consequently summoned Sviatoslaf to evacuate his conquest in pursuance of the treaty concluded with Nicephorus. The Russian prince haughtily refused compliance, and told the emperor's envoys that he would soon be in Constantinople, and would drive the Greeks into Asia. To this breach of treaty the Russians were incited by a patrician named Kalokir. It was he who had treated with them in the name of Nicephorus; and, having formed the intention to employ their arms in order to raise himself to the imperial throne, he thought their aid not dearly purchased by the relinquishment of Bulgaria.*

The Greek emperor prepared to open the campaign at the

* Script. Hist. Byzant.

return of spring; and Sviatoslaf, in order to be a match for him, joined to his own troops the subjected Petchenegans, Hungarians, and Bulgarians, and thus had the command, it is said, of three hundred thousand men. He made an incursion into Thrace, burnt and ravaged whatever he met, and set up his camp before Adrianople; but he was defeated by a stratagem of the commandant of that town.

The Russians, however, remained masters of Pereiaslavetz; and Zimisces marched against them himself the following year. The city was taken by assault; but eight thousand Russians threw themselves into the royal citadel. It was held to be impregnable; but the besiegers succeeded in setting it on fire. No resource being left to the wretches within, many of them leaped from the summit of the rock, the greater part perished in the flames, and the remainder were carried into captivity. The Russian prince had not shut himself up in Pereiaslavetz: afflicted though not desponding at the loss of the city, he kept the field with some troops, and exhibited a dreadful example of ferocity, by causing three hundred Bulgarians to be slain of whose fidelity he entertained some suspicions.

The emperor followed up his victory, and made himself master of several towns. Durostole on the Danube was the most considerable of those that yet remained, and it was easy to foresee that the Greeks would lose no time in commencing the siege of it.

Accordingly, after an obstinate combat, in which the Russians were at last repulsed, it was blockaded by land and by sea. The scarcity of provisions in the city was increasing from day to day; but the Russians, though continually more harassed, showed no abatement of courage: they made frequent sorties, which only added to their losses; and Sviatoslaf, in one of these fights, with difficulty escaped captivity.

His counsellors advised him to sue for peace; but he preferred death to any degree of submission. He ordered a general sortie to be made the next day; and having no hope but in victory, he forbade any return, and ordered the gates to be shut as soon as the soldiers were out of the town. His commands were executed: but, after the most obstinate resistance, the Russians were beaten, and Sviatoslaf was re-

duced to the necessity of applying for peace. This victory appeared so important and so difficult in the eyes of the Greeks, that they thought they could do no less than ascribe it to a miracle. They pretended that Theodore the martyr had fought for them on a white horse.

If we may rely upon Nestor, the Russians were always victorious; but more credit is due to the narrative of the Greeks, as better agreeing with the miserable end of Sviatoslaf. If he had been conqueror, would he have retreated into Russia badly attended? Would he have abandoned Bulgaria, the price of so much blood? Besides, what the Russian chronicle relates of the treaty of peace proves to a certainty that Sviatoslaf was vanquished, for all its stipulations are in favour of the empire alone.

By Nestor's account, Sviatoslaf, the victor, had only ten thousand men. According to the historians of Byzantium, Sviatoslaf, the vanquished, had three hundred thousand men before Adrianople, and again three hundred thousand in the battle near Durostole. It may be supposed that the Greeks were desirous of increasing their fame, by exaggerating the forces of their enemy, and that Sviatoslaf, who had brought few troops out of Russia, found his army increase on the way by the junction of all those barbarians whom the hope of plunder would allure to his standard. The same may be said of the divers nations that ruined the Roman empire: each of them seemed exceedingly numerous when engaged in action, because a crowd of other nations took part in its enterprise.

In short, whether victor or vanquished, Sviatoslaf, very badly attended, regained the road to his ancient territories. It was to no purpose that Sveneld, Igor's illustrious voyevode, represented to him the danger of going up the Borysthenes: he embarked. The Petchenegans, being informed by the Bulgarians of the route he had taken, waited for him near the rocks, by which the famous cataracts of that river are formed. The autumn being far advanced when he arrived near that spot, he was obliged to pass the winter there, and had to experience all the horrors of famine. On the return of spring he attempted to open himself a passage through the ranks of his enemies, but was defeated and killed; and his skull, ornamented with a circle of gold, was used as a

goblet by the prince of the Petchenegans. Only a small remnant of the Russian army escaped under the command of Sveneld, to bring to Kief the news of their intrepid prince's death.

Sviatoslaf's overthrow was, after all, a fortunate event for the Russian empire. Kief was already a sufficiently eccentric capital; had Sviatoslaf established the seat of government on the Danube, his successor would have gone still further; and Rurik, instead of being the founder of a mighty empire, would have been nothing more than the principal leader of one of those vast but transient irruptions of the northern barbarians, which often ravaged the world without leaving behind any permanent trace of their passage. But in the Greek emperor Zimisces, Sviatoslaf met with a hero as pertinacious as himself, and with far more talent, and the Russians, driven back within the limits of Russia, were compelled to establish themselves there.

CHAPTER III.

YAROPOLK—VLADIMIR—RUSSIA CHRISTIANISED.

After the death of Sviatoslaf, Yaropolk reigned in Kief, Oleg in the country of the Drevlians, and Vladimir in Novgorod. The monarchical power existed nowhere in the state; for it does not appear that Yaropolk had any authority over the appanages of his brothers. The effects of this partition of the empire were soon displayed in the civil war which broke out in 977. Its instigator was the celebrated voyevode Sveneld, the companion in arms of Igor and Sviatoslaf. He had to revenge on Oleg the murder of his son, slain by that prince, who had found him hunting on his territory; and to this end he induced Yaropolk to make war on Oleg, and re-unite the country of the Drevlians to the dominions of Kief. The armies of the two brothers met; that of Oleg was defeated, and he himself perished in his flight by the breaking down of a bridge thronged with fugitives. The victor forgot his triumph in grief for his brother's fate. He shed tears over the lifeless remains of Oleg, and

vented his remorse in passionate accusations against himself and Sveneld.

Vladimir, prince of Novgorod, now became alarmed for his own safety, and crossing the sea took refuge with the Varangians. Yaropolk sent his voyevodes to take possession of the territory abandoned by his brother, and thus became sovereign master of all Russia.

Meanwhile, though a fugitive, without domains and without an army, Vladimir never renounced the design of recovering and aggrandising his power. During the two years he remained among the Varangians, the countrymen of his ancestors, he participated in the daring enterprises of those Norman vikingar whose flags swept all the seas of Europe. At last, having assembled a large force of Varangian adventurers, he returned to Novgorod, and drove out Yaropolk's voyevodes, bidding them tell his brother that he should see him soon at Kief.

Rogvolod, a Varangian, who ruled in Polotsk, whether by right of conquest, or by grant from Rurik, had a daughter named Rogneda, of great beauty, already betrothed to Yaropolk. Vladimir, who was preparing to seize his brother's throne, resolved also to wrest from him his intended consort. Accordingly, he sent ambassadors to Polotsk to demand the hand of the princess; but she rejected him with disdain. "I will never," said she, "unboot the son of a slave;" for Vladimir's mother was, as we have said, one of Olga's attendants. It was at that time the custom for brides to pull off the boots of their spouses on the wedding night. The vindictive Vladimir, on receiving this insulting answer, marched against the prince of Polotsk, defeated him, killed him and his two sons, and forced the young princess to receive his hand, yet reeking with the blood of her family. After this horrible vengeance he advanced towards Kief, where Yaropolk shut himself up without venturing to risk a battle. A villain named Blude, a voyevode of Yaropolk's, loaded with his bounties, but already sold to Vladimir, contrived to lull his prince into a profound security. The town was naturally strong, and the inhabitants were faithful to their sovereign. The traitor Blude, perceiving this, found means to raise suspicions in the breast of his master against the citizens of Kief, and persuaded him to take flight, while

it was yet in his power, if he would avoid being delivered into the hands of his brother. The inhabitants, deserted by their prince, were obliged to admit his rival.

Yaropolk, pursued by his brother, was blockaded in his new retreat at Rodnia, which became a prey to the horrors of a famine so dire, that its memory has passed into a common Russian proverb. What was even worse, his ear was still beset by the wretch who had obtained his confidence for the sake of betraying it. He might have found an asylum among the Petchenegans; but he chose rather to repair to Kief and throw himself into the hands of Vladimir, by whose orders he was murdered in their father's palace. Such was the sad end of Sviatoslaf's eldest son after a reign of seven years, four of them as prince of Kief, and three as monarch of all Russia.

The wife of Yaropolk was a Greek nun of great beauty, taken captive by Sviatoslaf, and given by him to the eldest of his sons. She happened to be pregnant when Yaropolk was killed, and was compelled to share the bed of her husband's murderer. Vladimir immediately acknowledged the child in her womb: it was the miscreant Sviatopolk, who was born to visit on the sons of him who adopted him the guilt of his father's murderer.

Next to the Varangians, it was to Blude, the false friend of Yaropolk, that Vladimir was indebted for his nefarious successes. Accordingly, for three days he showed the traitor great honour, and accumulated the prime dignities on his head. But that term being elapsed: "I have fulfilled my promise," said he; "I have treated thee as my friend; thy honours exceed thy most sanguine wishes: to-day, as judge, I condemn the traitor and the assassin of his prince." Having uttered these words, he put Blude to death.

The Varangians had reinstated Vladimir on the throne of Novgorod, and had followed him against his brother: on this plea they thought they had the right to require that he should oblige the inhabitants of Kief to pay them a tribute. Vladimir, being at that time not sufficiently strong to venture upon offending them by a downright refusal, amused them by promises, until he had put himself in a condition to be afraid of them no longer. Upon this they narrowed their demands, and asked only permission to go and seek their for-

tune in Greece. He gladly complied with their request, retained the boldest of them in his service, and privily advertised the emperor of the departure of the rest, praying him to cause them to be arrested, and to disperse them in several parts of his dominions, that they might be incapacitated from causing danger either to Russia or to the empire.

After he had thus consolidated his power, Vladimir displayed great zeal for the honour of his pagan deities. He had a new statue of Perune, with a silver head, erected near his palace, and other idols he placed on the sacred hill. If remorse for fratricide had any share in his motives for propitiating the gods, at least there was nothing ascetic in his piety. Besides six wives, by whom he had those twelve sons among whom he partitioned the empire, this lascivious despot had in several towns establishments of concubines, amounting in all to eight hundred. He did violence with impunity to his female subjects, though this is the rock on which tyrannies usually split, and no wife or maid of any attraction was safe from the lust of this second Solomon, as Nestor calls him.

He loved war no less than women. He forced back to obedience all those tributary nations that had revolted after the death of Sviatoslaf, and he brought others under the yoke. He recovered from Metchislaf, king of Poland, Oleg's conquests in Gallicia, which had been lost again under the reign of the weak Yaropolk. He made himself master of the country of the Yatviagues, between Lithuania and Poland, and of all Livonia; and waged successful war on the people of eastern Bulgaria, whose country corresponded nearly to the present government of Kazan.

Vladimir resolved to return thanks to the gods for the success they had granted to his arms, by offering them a sacrifice of the prisoners of war. His courtiers, more cruel in their piety than even their prince, persuaded him that a victim selected from his own people would more worthily testify his gratitude for these signal dispensations of Heaven. The choice fell on a young Varangian, the son of a Christian, and brought up in that faith. The unhappy father refused the victim: the people, enraged at what they deemed an insult to their prince and their religion, stormed the house, and murdered both father and son. They have been canonised by the Russian church as its only martyrs.

It was about this time (984) that a curious and touching incident occurred, which is related in the continuation of Nestor's chronicle. Rogneda had forgiven Vladimir the murder of her father and her brothers, but could not forgive his infidelities. The Grand-Prince, having preferred other women to her, had turned the unfortunate princess out of his palace. One day, when he had gone to see her in her lonely abode on the banks of the Libeda, near Kief, he fell fast asleep, and Rogneda thought to seize that opportunity to stab him, but Vladimir woke in time to prevent the blow. Resolving to execute vengeance upon her with his own hand, he ordered her to put on her wedding attire, and await her death on a sumptuous bed in her handsomest apartment. She obeyed; her implacable judge entered the room, but there he was met by Rogneda's young son Isiaslaf, who, in obedience to his mother's instructions, presented Vladimir with a drawn sword, saying: "Thou are not alone, father! thy son will be witness to thy deed."—"Who thought of seeing thee here?" said Vladimir, throwing down the sword. Immediately quitting the place, he convoked his boyars and asked their advice. "Prince," they said, "spare the culprit for sake of this child, and give them for appanage the principality which was Rogvolod's." Vladimir consented, built a new city called Isiaslavle, in the present government of Vitebsk, and thither he sent Rogneda and her son.

Vladimir's rude greatness, and the rumours of his warlike exploits, awakened the attention of neighbouring states, and made them desirous of attaching him to the religion they severally professed. Four of them contended for his conversion. The conquering religion of Mahomet was recommended to him by the eastern Bulgarians; the description of its paradise and its lovely houris fired his voluptuous imagination; but he could not overcome his repugnance to circumcision and the interdiction of wine. "Wine," he said, "is the delight of the Russians; we cannot do without it." Catholicism, offered to him by the Germans, he disliked, because of its pope, an earthly deity, which appeared to him a monstrous thing; and Judaism, because it had no country, and he thought it neither rational to take advice from wanderers under the ban of Heaven, nor desirable to share their punishment.

But, at the same time, his attention was fixed on the Greek religion, which his ancestress Olga had followed, and which had recently been preached to him by a philosopher of Byzantium. He summoned his boyars, took their opinions, and deputed ten of them to examine the religions in question in the countries where they were professed. The envoys went forth and returned. Mahometanism and Catholicism they had seen in poor and barbarous provinces; but they had witnessed with rapturous admiration the solemnities of the Greek religion in its magnificent metropolis and adorned with all its pomp. Their report made a strong impression on Vladimir and on the boyars. "If the Greek religion was not the best," they said, "Olga your ancestress, the wisest of mortals, would never have thought of embracing it." The Grand-Prince resolved, therefore, to follow that example.

Vladimir might easily have been baptised in his own capital, where there had long been Christian churches and priests; but he disdained so simple a mode of proceeding as unworthy of his dignity. Only the parent church could furnish priests and bishops worthy to accomplish the conversion of himself and his whole people; but to ask them of the emperor seemed to him a sort of homage at which his haughty soul revolted. He conceived a project, therefore, worthy of his times, his country, and himself: namely, to make war on Greece, and by force of arms to extort instruction, priests, and the rite of baptism. He assembled a numerous army, and repaired by sea to the rich and powerful Greek city of Kherson, the ruins of which still exist near Sevastopol, and closely besieged it, telling the inhabitants that he was prepared to remain three years before their walls if their obstinacy was not sooner overcome.

However, after carrying on the siege for six months, Vladimir had made no progress: he was even threatened with being obliged to raise the siege, and was in great danger of never becoming a Christian. But a traitorous citizen, named Anastasius, who appears to have been a priest, tied a letter to an arrow, and shot it from the top of the ramparts. The Russians learnt by this paper, that behind their camp was a spring, from which the town derived its sole supply of fresh water by subterraneous pipes. Vla-

dimir ordered this source to be sought out: it was found; the water was diverted into other channels, and the horrors of thirst compelled the citizens to surrender.

In consequence of his victory, Vladimir could now receive baptism in the manner he desired. But this sacrament was not the sole object of his ambition: he aspired to a union by the ties of blood with the Cæsars of Byzantium. In his case, as in that of most of the princes who adopted Christianity, political reasons had at least an equal influence with devotion; and when Vladimir was baptised in 988, and married Anna, the sister of the Grecian sovereign, it was as much his intention by this match to acquire a claim upon the Greek empire, as by his baptism to have pretensions to the kingdom of heaven. Persuaded that his name excited too much awe to run any hazard of a refusal, he sent to the emperors Basilius and Constantine to demand their sister in marriage, threatening, if they dared to reject his proposal, that he would take Constantinople. After some deliberation, conditions were hazarded: it was required at least that the Russian prince should make the first advance by becoming a Christian. At length, being too weak to prolong the altercation, the Greek emperors conveyed to him the princess their sister, who was by no means flattered by the conquest she had made.

Vladimir then listened to some catechetical lectures, received the rite of baptism and the name of Basil, married the princess Anna, restored to his brothers-in-law the conquests he had recently made, and brought off no other reward of his victories than some archimandrites and popes, sacred vessels and church-books, images of saints and consecrated relics.

On his return to Kief his mind was wholly intent on overthrowing the idols which but lately were the object of his adoration. As Perune was the greatest of deities to the idolatrous Russians, it was him that Vladimir, after his conversion, resolved to treat with the greatest ignominy. He had him tied to the tail of a horse, dragged to the Borysthenes, and all the way twelve stout soldiers, with great cudgels, beat the deified log, which was afterwards thrown into the river.

Perune, though beaten and drowned at Kief, without

working one miracle, was not quite so patient at Novgorod. When the idol had been precipitated from a bridge into the Volkhof, it rose to the surface of the water, and, throwing a staff upon the bridge, cried out in a terrible voice, "Citizens, that is what I leave you in remembrance of me." The story is preserved in the chronicles of Novgorod; and, in consequence of this tradition, the young people of the town were wont, on the day which had been kept as the anniversary of the god, to run about the streets with sticks in their hands striking at one another unawares; but this custom has long ceased.

People in a low state of civilisation have too few ideas to acquire a strong attachment to any religion. The Russians very easily abandoned the worship of their idols; for, though Vladimir caused it to be published that those who persevered in idolatry should be regarded as enemies of Christ and of the prince, it does not appear that Russia underwent any persecutions, and yet it soon became Christian: of such force was the example of the sovereign. At Kief he one day issued a proclamation ordering all the inhabitants to repair the next morning to the banks of the river to be baptised; which they joyfully obeyed. "If it be not good to be baptised," said they, "the prince and the boyars would never submit to it."

With the zeal of a new convert, Vladimir now carried to excess the virtues of Christianity, as he had done before by the vices of Paganism. He wasted the revenues of the state in alms, in pious foundations, and in public repasts, to imitate the love-feasts of the primitive Christians. He no longer dared to shed the blood of criminals, or even of the enemies of his country. From this exaggeration, however, he was soon reclaimed.

Vladimir, in the sequel of his reign, had frequent wars to conduct, especially against the Petchenegans. In one of the incursions made by that people, the two armies were on the eve of an engagement, being separated only by the waters of the Sula, which falls into the Dniepr. The hostile prince advanced, and proposed to Vladimir to spare the blood of their subjects and decide the quarrel by single combat between two champions. The people whose soldier should be

vanquished should be bound to abstain for three years from taking arms against the other.

The Russian prince very faintly accepted the proposal, because he had no soldier robust enough to match the champion of the Petchenegans. When the day appointed for the combat was arrived, he was obliged to solicit a further delay. This he obtained, though without foreseeing what advantage was to be derived from it; a prey to uneasiness and vexation, he could scarcely call up one glimmering hope. He was in this agitation of mind, when an old man, who served in the army with four of his sons, came and told him he had still a fifth son at home, endowed with prodigious strength. The young man was sent for in haste. Being brought before the prince, he desired permission to make a public trial of his force. A powerful bull was irritated with red-hot irons: the youth stopped the animal in his furious course, knocked him down, and tore off his skin and flesh by handfuls. This experiment gave the prince just ground of hope. The time fixed for the duel arrived; the champions advanced between the two camps, and the Petchenegan laughed disdainfully on beholding the apparent weakness of his beardless adversary. But being presently attacked with no less impetuosity than vigour, and seized and crushed, as in a vice, between the arms of the young Russian, he was stretched lifeless in the dust. The Petchenegans, seeing their champion fall, were struck with terror and fled. The Russians, regardless of their compact, profited by this confusion, pursued them, and committed great slaughter.

The victorious champion, who was only a simple currier, was raised with his father to the rank of nobility, and gave his name to the town which the prince caused to be built on the spot where the duel was fought. It was called Pereïaslavl, or Victory-town.

It might be supposed that the Petchenegans, with whom the treaty had been so badly observed, would not have hesitated to infringe it in their turn. However, they did not again take up arms till three years were at an end: they then laid siege to Vassilef, a town built by Vladimir on the Stughna. He endeavoured to succour it; being defeated and wounded, it was only by hiding under a bridge that he saved his life (996). In the following year, Vladimir having gone

to Novgorod to collect an army, the Petchenegans took advantage of his absence to approach the capital and lay siege to Bielgorod. They invested it so closely that the famished inhabitants were on the point of surrendering, when, as the old chronicler tells us, they were saved by a ruse, which, to say the least of it, seems more ingenious than probable. One of their elders had two wells dug, and vats let down into them, the one filled with hydromel, the other with dough. This done, he invited some of the Petchenegan chief men to come to him, as if for the purpose of negotiating. The deputies were entertained at the mouths of the wells, and they, imagining that the ground produced of itself such good food and drink, went back and told their princes that the town could not be reduced by famine. Accordingly, the Petchenegans raised the siege.

Vladimir, whom fortune almost always accompanied, and who was rarely deserted by victory, had his last days embittered by domestic vexations. Yaroslaf his son, to whom in the distribution of his domains he had given Novgorod, refused to pay the tribute he owed him as his vassal, and applied to the Varangians for assistance against his father. The aged Vladimir, obliged to march against a rebellious son, died of grief upon the road (A.D. 1015), after having reigned forty-five years. If we recollect that he imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother Yaropolk, we shall not think his end unmerited.

This rough-hewn colossus, however, had great qualities: if he was not always able to repress his turbulent neighbours, he generally frustrated their incursions. He caused deserts to be cleared by colonies established for that purpose: he built towns, and while he was rendering his country more flourishing, he thought it his duty to provide for its embellishment, and invited from Greece architects and workmen eminent for their skill. By their means he raised convenient and substantial churches, palaces, and other buildings.* The young nobles were brought up in seminaries endowed

* The Russian towns at this period were all of wood; nevertheless many of them already indicated considerable opulence. The German annalist Dittmar, contemporary with Vladimir, says that Kief contained four hundred churches, and eight great markets. Adam of Bremen calls it a second Constantinople.

by the prince, to which his bounty had attracted able masters from Greece. Parents saw with horror these strokes aimed at ignorance, and the honours that were paid to foreign services. It was necessary to use violence in taking their children to place them in the new establishments, where they were to be taught reading and writing, unholy arts identified with sorcery.

Vladimir, who waded through the blood of his brother to the throne of Kief, received from his nation the surname of the Great, was advanced to the rank of a saint, and is recognised by the national church as *coequal with the Apostles.* He raised Russia to its highest degree of Gothic glory, but he undid everything by the partition of the empire among seven of his ten sons.

This fault, however, was so pertinaciously repeated by subsequent Grand-Princes, that we must look for the cause of it rather in the manners of the times, and the force of circumstances, than in the improvidence of its authors. These partitions were indispensable. A city was given to a prince to make provision for one part of his expenditure; another city for another part; there was no other means of providing for these objects.

And, besides this, as the military leaders, such as Rogvolod of Polotsk, Sveneld, and the dukes, who are mentioned in the early treaties with Byzantium, were possessed of fiefs, or governments, it was not natural that the princes of the blood should remain without them. It would even have been more dangerous to leave such large and distant possessions in the hands of men who were not related to the dynasty.

This may induce us to believe that the massacre of the family of Rogvolod by Vladimir, and the brutality by which that prince compelled the sole surviving heiress to marry him, arose from the circumstance of that family, which was only allied to the Ruriks, having already converted Polotsk into an hereditary fief.

Besides, what could have been done with the Russian princes of the blood? Were they to be forced to live at the court, and at the expense of the Grand-Prince, without any command, and merely as subjects of the first rank? But, at that time, this would have been contrary to the nature

of things; such a course is practicable only where long experience and advanced civilisation have made the general interest predominant. Could these princes be shut up in seraglios? There were none in Russia; their existence there is impossible. The climate stimulates too much to all kinds of activity; it is hostile to effeminacy, and to a contemplative life: what gratification could seraglios possibly afford? They were there looked upon as intolerable prisons. What, then, was to be done? Was the genealogical tree to be pruned in every generation, and the princes to be lopped from it like useless branches? But neither did the climate prompt to such extreme means; the spirit of Christianity, too, which was then in all its fervour, was repugnant to them. This spirit had a much more powerful influence over the thinking people of the North, than over the impassioned people of the South, and of that East whence it came, but where it could not remain.

CHAPTER IV.

SVIATOPOLK—YAROSLAF—FIRST RUSSIAN CODE—LIBERTIES OF NOVGOROD.

SVIATOPOLK, the successor of Vladimir, did, however, in 1015, conceive such atrocities. But, as a plurality of wives, and licentiousness of manners, had multiplied the princes of the blood;* as, also, the appanages, and the vastness of the territory, kept those princes at a wide distance from each other, his attempts on the lives of his brothers could not be simultaneously executed. Yaroslaf, one of the intended victims, escaped, and by him Sviatopolk was punished.

Vladimir's favourite son Boris, whom he had destined to be his successor, was at the time of his father's death engaged in an expedition against the Petchenegans at the head of an army of fifty thousand men. Had he been more enterprising or less scrupulous, and complied with the entreaties of his soldiers, he might easily have expelled Sviato-

* Witness Sviatopolk, who made no distinction between his bastards and his legitimate offspring.

polk from Kief. But he rejected the advice of his army, declaring it to be but just that the eldest brother should succeed to the paternal throne. The consequence of this generosity was, that the army forsook him, and the assassins commissioned by his brother despatched him in his tent. Two more of the brothers met a similar fate; and all the rest had the same to apprehend.

But Yaroslaf, the prince who had received Novgorod for his portion, aided by his subjects, hurled the fratricide from the throne. Sviatopolk then fled to his father-in-law Boleslas, king of Poland, and added to his crimes by laying open the heart of his country for the first time to the attacks of the Poles. Boleslas defeated Yaroslaf on the Bog, took Kief, and replaced his son-in-law on the throne (A.D. 1018). But then the monster, thinking his sway firmly established, attempted to rid himself of his allies by massacre,—a treachery which they sufficiently revenged by abandoning him to his own resources, after plundering his capital. Yaroslaf had meanwhile carried the news of his own defeat to Novgorod, and, discouraged by his misfortunes, was preparing to cross the sea and seek refuge with the Varangians, when the Novgorodians gave him a fresh proof of their attachment by destroying the ships that were to convey him away, and raising funds by voluntary contributions in order to engage auxiliaries for his service. Once more he marched against Sviatopolk, and defeated him in a desperate battle on the very spot where Boris had been murdered. The fratricide deserted his army before the fight was ended, to die of fear whilst flying from the avenging sword of Yaroslaf.

Of the nine earliest princes of this first dynasty, Yaroslaf was the fifth great man. His reign began by the sword; but it was not with the splendour of the sword that it was to shine. Yet, with a single blow, he destroyed the Petchenegans. It is known, too, that he made himself felt by Finland, Livonia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria: for a moment, he inspired even Byzantium with dread. But his expeditions in that quarter were generally entrusted to lieutenants: little glory was reaped from them; the last, in 1043, terminated disgracefully the wars of the Russians against the Greeks.*

* But for the civil wars by which the power of Russia was soon afterwards broken, says Karamsin, the world "might have seen the accomplishment of an ancient prophecy written by an unknown hand

After the Novgorodians had twice replaced Yaroslaf on the paramount throne, we see him again precipitated from it in 1026 by his brother Mstislaf: but this prince of Tmutarakan stopped him midway in his fall, and generously restored to him one-half of the empire, the immensity of which is sufficiently indicated by Novgorod and Tmutarakan,* the original appanages of these two princes.

Ten years of a singular good understanding succeeded to the short contest between the warrior and the legislator; after which the death of Mstislaf left Yaroslaf sole possessor of this shapeless and colossal empire. It was not, then, to the genius of war that he owed his power and his renown; it was to a genius of another kind. In Yaroslaf the Wise, Russia especially reveres its first legislator, the renovator of the liberty of Novgorod, the founder of a great number of cities.

It admires in this prince the disseminator of instruction and of civilisation. It was he who caused the Holy Scriptures to be translated into Slavonian: with his own hand he transcribed several copies of them. Russia is indebted to him for many schools, and, among others, for that in which three hundred young Novgorodians were educated. Its history still tells of the throng of Greek priests whom he invited, the only teachers that could then be given to the people.

It applauds his toleration of the Ingrian and Livonian idolaters; his enlightened protection of the women of Suzdal, who were accused of sorcery. These hapless females were about to become the victims of a people exasperated by famine, which it attributed to their magical incantations; he saved them; for his piety was as free from superstition and weakness, as it was possible to be in that age.

The Russian church owed to him a momentary freedom, which his children renounced. Undismayed by the thun-

in the tenth or eleventh century under the statue of Bellerophon, in the Tauric place, in Constantinople: it was to the effect that the Russians were one day to possess themselves of the capital of the Empire of the East."

* Novgorod, whose possessions bordered on the Baltic: Tmutarakan, the key to the confluence of the Sea of Azof with the Black Sea. See the inscription discovered in the isle of Taman, under Catherine II., and the dissertation by Muschin-Puschkin. See also Levesque, and Karamsin.

ders of the mother church, it was he who resolved that the appointment of Russian bishops, and their councils for the election of metropolitans, should be independent of the patriarch of Byzantium.

Already Russia rises from its long obscurity: Vladimir and Yaroslaf have made it European by their conquests towards the West, by religion, by the seeds of knowledge, and by their alliances; the daughters-in-law of Yaroslaf were Greek, German, and English princesses; his sister was queen of Poland; his three daughters were queens of Norway, Hungary, and France.

Yet a code for the empire was still wanting, and that, too, it received from Yaroslaf. It is chiefly in the codes of barbarians that we must look for their history. The earliest Russian code was written about the year 1018, and, in the first instance, for Novgorod alone.

From this, however, we are not to conclude that no laws existed before the time of Yaroslaf, a circumstance which is impossible, as, prior to the reign of Rurik, there were large commercial cities. Besides, there are traces of them in the treaties concluded by Igor and Oleg with Leo and Constantine. But we know that, before the conquest of Slavonia, it was divided into numerous hunting, pastoral, agricultural, and commercial tribes, each of which had its laws or its usages. The Russians came, commingled under their dominion all these tribes, and, likewise, their laws and customs, and blended with them something of their own Scandinavian laws.

It appears that neither the one nor the other were written; and as the first Grand-Princes did not perplex themselves with attempts to make them harmonise; as they thought of nothing but conquering, and estimated their power solely by their warriors, and the tributes which those warriors gained for them; this occasioned a confusion of the laws and customs, in which many of them were lost, and such sinister consequences, that Yaroslaf was compelled to frame an ordinance, to prevent the most grievous anarchy from ruining Novgorod, the only city that was left under his sway.

This event was, no doubt, the immediate cause of the code, and, particularly, of the very remarkable charter of the Novgorodian franchises.

The chronicle of that period says, that, in 1018, Novgorod, being driven to despair by the Varangians, did itself justice by slaughtering them; that the irritated prince avenged this violence by the massacre of the principal Novgorodians, whom he had inveigled into his palace; but that at this moment was spread the news of Sviatopolk's triple fratricide; that, then, Yaroslaf, threatened by his brother, and finding himself without guards, and deserted by his subjects, sought the latter, and threw himself weeping into their arms. Those arms they opened to receive him without rancour, employed them on his behalf, and by means of them twice raised him to the sovereignty of the empire.

Without some explanation, this fact is wholly improbable. That Yaroslaf may have softened the Novgorodians by his repentance, is possible; but that he should instantly have converted them into an army most devoted and persevering in his cause, is not credible, unless we suppose an interchange of benefits, a compact, in short, between the prince and his people. Besides, the epoch of the revolt, the vengeance, and the reconciliation, agrees with the date of the franchises which Yaroslaf conceded to the Novgorodians, and with that of his code.

This code is remarkable. It is despotism which promulgates it. "Respect this ordinance: it must be the rule of your conduct. Such is my will."*

Its two first enactments, according to Leclerc, or, according to Karamsin, its first, constitute the law the public avenger only in default of private vengeance. The law, therefore, came in aid only of the weak; the strong did justice for themselves. None but the relations of a man who had been slain had a right to avenge his death. The law did not even regulate judicial combats; this is being not merely barbarous, but absolutely savage.

This same law distinguishes several classes. If no avengers exist, it says, the murderer shall pay into the treasury of the state the double fine (eighty grivnast) for the murder of a

* Leclerc.

† The Russians had as yet little or no coined money; gold and silver circulated as bullion, and the common currency was pieces of skins called *yuni*. A grivna at this period was a certain number of kunis equal in value to half a pound of silver. However, as these pieces of skin had no intrinsic value, they underwent a continual depreciation as

boyar, or a thiun of the prince; forty grivnas for the murder of a free Russian, whether Varangian, or Slavonian, a soldier, or a scribe, a husbandman, a merchant, whether native or foreign, and perhaps, also, for the murder of a hired man, for the latter was still free.*

The life of a female was estimated at only half the worth of a man's;† a brutal law, and well worthy of that barbarous period in which strength was above all things respected.

For the murder of a slave, nothing was to be paid to the treasury; all that was required was, that the value of him should be paid to his owner, if he had been killed without a sufficient cause; that is to say, without the slave having insulted a freeman.

This value was estimated according to the occupation of the slave. An artisan, a schoolmaster, a nurse, the superintendent of a village, acting either for a Grand-Prince or for a boyar, was worth only twelve grivnas (see the first law); just as much as the insulted honour of a citizen (see the third), or the fine for killing a head of cattle (see, from Karamsin, the seventh). Others were valued as low as six, and even five grivnas. That these unfortunate beings were not free, is proved by the wills of several princes, who at their death emancipated a great number of them; but the objects of this posthumous beneficence could make no better use of their liberty than to sell themselves again.

Perpetual slavery, extending to their posterity, was the lot of all prisoners of war, and of all persons bought from foreigners; slavery, for a limited period, was the portion of those who sold themselves, of insolvent debtors, freemen who, without conditions, married a slave, servants out of employment, hired servants who did not fulfil their engagements; in a word, all the weak who made themselves the slaves of the strong, to obtain subsistence and protection.

The rapidity with which the pest of slavery must have been diffused will appear from two facts: that, on the one hand, a

silver became more abundant, until in the thirteenth century a silver grivna was equal to seven kuni grivnas of Novgorod.

* This seems to be proved by the last paragraph of the third article, according to Karamsin; and also by the fine for the murder of a female servant, which was eighteen grivnas, twelve of which were taken by the state.

† See, in Karamsin, the third paragraph of the first article.

debtor became a slave, and on the other, that the legal interest of money was forty per cent.

The second law* made the district responsible for the public safety within the bounds of its territory, when it could not give up to the prince the murderer, his wife, and his children: a law which was then useful, but which seems to bear out this remark, that the more widely civilisation is spread, the more its penal justice is brought to act on individuals; and that, in proportion as barbarism exists, the more is that justice compelled to swell the number of collective responsibilities.

The third law† rates the loss of a member almost as highly as that of life. This marks a hunting and warlike people. On the plucking out a part of the beard, it inflicts a fine four times greater than that which it decrees for the loss of a finger. This brings to recollection the importance which the Goths and Germans attached to their hair, and may serve as a proof of a common origin; as may, also, the penalty of loss of liberty for stealing a horse, which is a Saxon law. There existed, likewise, another enactment, which was wholly Jutlandic, both in its spirit and letter; that which prohibited the making use of a horse without the owner's consent. It must be added, that our ordeals by boiling water and red-hot iron are contained in this code.‡

The enumeration of the mulcts for blows seems to have been dictated by a delicacy like our own, with respect to the point of honour; insults are fined four times more heavily than wounds.

From the seventh law,§ which appears to compel a Koblegian or a Varangian, and not a Slavonian, to take an oath, it is difficult to draw any conclusion, except that, as in Lom-

* Of Yaroslaf, according to Karamsin; but Leclerc attributes it to Isiaslaf, his son.

† The second, according to Karamsin's arrangement.

‡ See Ewers, *das alteste Recht der Russen*, where he proves the resemblance of the ancient Russian law with that of the Germans. See, also, Struve, *Discourse to the Academy of Sciences*, in 1756, though recently refuted in Russia (Patriotic Annals, Jan., 1826), but without being able to explain the singular conformity of the Russian and Scandinavian laws, otherwise than by assigning to them a common and Germanic origin.

§ Translation by Leclerc.

bardy and France, each party followed its own usage; that this was the usage of the Varangians; that it could belong only to a decidedly warlike people, and not to a commercial people, among whom other sureties than words were requisite; that finally, the Varangians were greater barbarians than the Slavonians; for, when justice allows a denial on oath to be sufficient, the oppressed has no other resource than an appeal to arms: a custom which would be the parent of barbarism, if it were not its offspring.

The thirteenth law, according to Leclerc's arrangement, confirms the existence of the three classes, which the second had already indicated; the class of slaves and that of freemen, which it protects against that of the nobles and boyars, whose violence it seems to apprehend.

These freemen were the husbandmen or farmers, hired servants,* and country landholders; probably, those Odnovortzy, of whom there were still about thirty thousand remaining in the time of Peter the Great; but the majority of the freemen dwelt in the cities. They were divided into centuries, and they chose a chief, who was a kind of tribune. This civil and military magistrate of the people, who bore the denomination of Tyssiatchsky, had a guard, and was upon an equal footing with the most eminent boyars of the prince.

As to the nobles, they were doubtless descendants from the Varangian and Slavonian warriors of Rurik and his successors, who had large shares in the conquest; they were the voyevodes, or military leaders, the boyars, or direct counsellors of the princes, and the officers of their guards.

Among various regulations relative to inheritances, we observe (law the thirtieth), that the prince was the heir of such free men as died without male issue; but that, in no case, had he a claim to the succession of a boyar, or an officer of his guard: a circumstance which could not fail, in a short time, to produce a nobility exclusively possessed of property.

According to Karamsin, this code neither inflicted corporal punishments (except, indeed, slavery, which includes them all), nor made any difference in the compositions or fines be-

* See the twentieth law, in Karamsin's arrangement.

tween the Varangians and the Slavonians. But, in the first place, the code of Yaroslaf was not promulgated till after the amalgamation of the two people; and, secondly, as it appears that the prince's guard consisted entirely of Varangians, it will be seen in the first and thirteenth laws, that the latter were not without their privileges.

The sixteenth law* regulates the *maximum* of what a proprietor, or a possessor, whether of a fief or a freehold, may demand, by the week and by the day, from his farmers; for the peasant was not then a serf, but a cultivator.

In the various versions of these laws, there is no trace of taxation. The daring refusal of Yaroslaf to pay tribute to his father, the great Vladimir, is the only proof that appanages were bound in this way to the Great-Principality. It does not otherwise appear, that even the fiefs and estates paid imposts to the Grand-Prince; the lord or proprietor seems to have had, in his possessions, the same right of customs and tribute that the prince had in his own domain.

All that was not appanage, fief, or private property, belonged to the sovereign. The Grand-Prince, like the lord, subsisted on the fines which he imposed for offences, and on the tribute which he received from his estates: this tribute, as is now the case with Siberia, was paid in kind, where there were no other means of payment, and in money†, where the use of money had been introduced by commerce with Cherson, Byzantium, and Vineta.

The expression tribute is here used instead of revenue, because all this bore the aspect of conquest.

Under this point of view, it appears that the only mark of the lord's dependence—and this may well be called a tax—was military service, and that, too, with all its burdensome charges: the lord was bound to join the prince, armed, mounted, supplied with provisions, and numerously attended.

The judges went circuits: on the spot they empannelled twelve respectable jurors, who were sworn, as in Scandinavia,

* Leclerc's translation; he attributes it to Isiaslaf, the son and successor of Yaroslaf.

† Karamsin says that money was coined at Kief, in the time of Yaroslaf, which bore his effigy. See also Weydemeyer.

or in Denmark,* since the time of Lodbrog, a monarch of the eighth century.

Several other laws extended protection to movable and immovable property; they are so judiciously framed for the interests of commerce, that it is evident they were enacted with a particular reference to Novgorod.

This code sufficed for the enormous empire comprehended between the Volga and the Lower Danube, the Northern Dwina and the Niemen, the Black Sea and the Baltic.

It excites surprise to find in it so many contradictions, and such a disproportion between the penalties; but to what a variety of circumstances and different interests they were to be applied! Doubtless, its provisions were not all enacted at once, nor were the whole of them meant to extend to all classes.

It is, nevertheless, one of the most remarkable monuments of the Gothic age. This code, and the franchises granted to the Novgorodians, constitute the glory of Yaroslaf. A summary of these franchises will give an idea of those which existed in the Russian cities of that epoch, but with great modifications, resulting from the greater or less degree of power which each of the cities possessed.

The vast importance of that republic is strikingly manifested by the largess which Yaroslaf gave to the army that placed him on the throne of Kief. Here, as elsewhere, the degree of consideration enjoyed by the receiver, is indicated by the magnitude of the sum received: ten grivnas to each voyevode, ten grivnas to each Novgorodian, a single grivna to each Varangian or Russian. The Varangians must, indeed, have declined greatly in consequence since the preceding reign, when they sought to extort a ransom from the Kievians. That nation was now looked upon merely as a nursery of brave men, useful to the prince, but dangerous to the country: their influence in Russia seems to have ended with the re-establishment of the liberty of Novgorod, and with the reign of Yaroslaf.

But it is now time to explain this very predominant power of Novgorod, which we have seen thrice giving the whole of Russia to Vladimir and to Yaroslaf. Its republican

* See Karamsin, who cites Saxo-Grammaticus (vol. ii. p. 79).

existence, constantly more worthy of note down to the period of Ivan III. (1480), is a remarkable phenomenon in the midst of this land of slavery.

The geographical situation of that city, which at first occasioned its submission to the Varangians, became afterwards the cause of its strength.

In fact, the Novgorodians being, by that situation, out of the reach of the nomads of the south and east, and always attracted towards the north by their commerce, remained stationary, without going, like the rest of Russia, to be disseminated and lost in the south. This peace in the north, while the south was exhausting itself; the remoteness of the Grand-Princes, after Oleg had removed the capital to Kief; their circumspect conduct towards a city which they looked upon as their asylum; all contributed to give new vigour to Novgorod, and to restore to it its pristine independence.

In consequence, it soon became lord-paramount of Ingria, Carelia, a considerable part of Permia, of Pleskof, and of Torjock. On the north it was bounded by Archangel, on the south, by Tver. It had a Namestnick, who was usually a prince of the blood, the lieutenant of the Grand-Prince, general of the army, and even judge, but only when his intervention was sought for; a Posadnick, the burgomaster or mayor; a Tisiatski, or Tyssiatchsky, the boyar of the Commons, the tribune of the people, who watched over the proceedings of the Namestnick and Posadnick; boyars of the city council, or senate (all which offices were elective and temporary); Zitieloudie, or proprietors of the first class, out of which the boyars were chosen; and, lastly, the merchants and the people.

This republic, considered as an appanage of the Grand-Principality, and as a state within a state, entrusted with the defence of the northern and north-western frontiers, had its assemblies of the people, which were convoked by the sound of a famous bell, called vetchevoy: every citizen, without distinction, had the right of voting. The prince was not present at their deliberations. Here were decided war, peace, the election of magistrates, sometimes the choice of the bishop, and even that of the prince; at least, in a great majority of cases, the approbation of this assembly was necessary.

The prince was not acknowledged till he had sworn to govern agreeably to the ancient laws of the republic; to entrust the government of the provinces only to Novgorodian magistrates, approved of by the Posadnick; and to attempt no infringement on the exclusive right of the republic to sit in judgment on its own citizens, to tax itself, and to carry on its commerce with Germany.

He also engaged neither to give to his boyars, nor allow them to acquire, any of the villages dependent on Novgorod; not to encourage emigration from among the Novgorodians; not to cause any of them to be arrested for debt; and lastly, to oblige his own boyars and judges to travel at their own expense in the Novgorodian provinces, and to reject the evidence of slaves.

It was on such conditions that these haughty and restless republicans allowed the prince to administer justice, conjointly with judges chosen by themselves.

They paid him no taxes; they merely made him free gifts; they even pushed their pretensions so far as to regulate the hours which their sovereign was to dedicate to pleasure; they expelled several of their princes, and even of their bishops. This liberty, which too often degenerated into licentiousness, was maintained for four centuries, in spite of the distant power of the Grand-Princes. But, transferred from Kief to Vladimir and Moscow, that power, by degrees, acquired concentration as it drew nearer to the republic, and ended, at length, by overwhelming it.

Such were the concessions made by Yaroslaf to a people who had twice been able to send forth forty thousand men to raise him to the throne.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE SECOND PERIOD, FROM 1054 TO 1236.

Thus, as far back as the eleventh century, Russia had a paramount throne, an acknowledged dynasty, a European religion, a code! It advanced towards civilisation at the same pace as the rest of Europe; and nothing was wanting for it

but to persist in the same noble career, when it stopped short, tottered, and fell. Having, during the first period of its history, witnessed the growth of its rude and barbaric glory, let us seek, amidst the gloom of the second, and in its moral and political situation, the causes of its decline and of its fall.

The time for conquests was gone by. The misfortunes of Sviatoslaf, and his warlike excesses, had excited a disgust of them; under Vladimir and Yaroslaf, the natural frontiers had been acquired; in what remained, there was little temptation; and, besides, the victories of Boleslas king of Poland, and his capture of Kief, showed that the territories to the west offered no easy prey. Internal disturbances, which sprang from the partitions of the empire, subsequent to the reign of Sviatoslaf, called back the attention of the Russians to themselves. Their conversion did not allow of their marching to plunder Constantinople, which was become the metropolis of their religion. Compelled, thenceforth, to think rather of restraining their own subjects, than of conquering those of other monarchs, the Grand-Princes, softened by Christianity, and enlightened by the priests, were at length made aware that, to govern their people, it behoved them to give to that people laws, property, and instruction.

Such was their idea; their means we have seen; let us now behold the obstacles and the result.

The commerce of the empire with Asia and with the Greeks;* the military service of numbers of Russians at Constantinople; the expeditions, often crowned with success, which were directed towards that centre of civilisation by the Grand-Princes; the situation of Cherson, which, in many respects, may be compared with that of Marseilles; all these were causes productive of improvement. To these must be added, the journey of Olga to Constantinople, and her conversion; the numerous cities and schools founded by Vladimir and Yaroslaf; the laws promulgated by the latter; the many Greek priests and artisans of all kinds, whom they both attracted into Russia; the seventy years' duration of

* Yakut the Geographer: observe the effect of Asiatic civilisation on the great Bulgarians of the Volga, who, in the tenth century, from the time of Vladimir the Great, were agriculturists, manufacturers, and merchants, and dwelt in cities built of stone.

their reigns, and their ardent efforts to civilise their people; and, lastly, the slaves whom they brought back from their expeditions, who re-peopled the country, and, when they were Greeks, enlightened it: all these circumstances, no doubt, must have contributed to the instruction of the Russians, and begun to render them superior to their neighbours.

Of this we may form a judgment from what is said by contemporaries* with respect to Kief, which they denominate the Capua, the Constantinople of the North; the great wall of brick that surrounded it; its gilded gate, like that of Byzantium; its four hundred churches; its luxury; the rich and splendid dresses worn by its inhabitants; its hot-baths; the effeminacy of its manners, by which the Polish army was corrupted; lastly, its sumptuous feasts, at which were to be found the wines of the Greeks, their silver plate, and even the productions of the Indies. There can be no doubt, also, that the long possession, since the time of Oleg, had softened manners, formed ties, and rendered some duties sacred.

But barbarism, renewed by continual wars, stifled these germs of civilisation.

To conceive the difficulties which this empire had to encounter, we must figure to ourselves the capital of the Great-Princes in the midst of deserts, where unknown hordes suddenly disappeared from view, to rush forth again incessantly in irruptions as sudden. Surrounded by barbarians, they themselves being wholly barbarous, and reigning over barbarians, on whose obedience, from the few laws, cities, and properties they possessed, they had but an imperfect hold; these princes found it impossible to govern such distant provinces in any other manner than by traversing them with an army during one half of the year, or by committing extensive portions of them to lieutenants, able to keep in order and defend them. Hence, civil wars between the great vassals; such wars as raised Vladimir and Yaroslaf to the throne; and, as the result of these dissensions, the overturning of established fortunes, and their transference into the hands

* See Karamsin, and Dittmar of Merseburg, who died in 1018; and, at a later period, Plan-Carpin himself admiring the exquisite workmanship of the rich throne of the Khans, which was made by Russian goldsmiths.

of new men, the offspring of conflicts and revolutions; and, lastly, nascent civilisation perpetually exposed to interruption.

The introduction of Christianity, however, was one of the most direct steps which was taken towards that civilisation; and if the efforts of Olga, Vladimir, and Yaroslaf had not been thwarted, we are justified in believing that the period upon which we are about to enter would have been less stained with blood. During this second period, the genius of Christianity inspired with their noblest actions the numerous descendants of Rurik, among whom Russia was divided; of the best of them it made truly great men; of the wickedest it modified the manners, and sometimes arrested their guilty hands. Karamsin remarks, that in no family of barbarian princes were there ever seen more violent dissensions and fewer fratricides. Although diverted from their religious subtleties by the coarse rusticity which surrounded them, dependent on the sovereigns, and having everything to lose by this barbarism, the Greek priests, who were the lights of that dark age, often spoke the sublime language of Christianity.

But how was it possible to civilise barbarians surrounded by barbarians? Olga was not listened to; her son Sviatoslaf even resisted her. He could not brave the ridicule which has been at all times the most powerful of anti-religious weapons. This weapon was too weak against Vladimir; but he undertook too late his own reformation, and that of others.

There existed other obstacles to the civilisation of the Russians; they are to be found in the antipathy with which the despised Greeks and their new religion inspired the minds of the people, against the arts, the sciences, and the manners introduced by these foreigners.

We may believe, also, that the generation which was going off the stage, had the selfishness to wish that it might not be so much surpassed by that which was to replace it. Can those who have declined into the vale of years, bear to hear it asserted, that everything which has occupied their whole life is but ignorance, barbarism, triviality, and clownishness? Are they thus to lose the rights derived

from experience, the sole benefit, and that so dearly bought, which remains to the aged?

Add to this, that, in those barbarous times, the want of a system of tactics, and the nature of the weapons, gave all the advantage to mere physical strength; a circumstance which conferred on the exercises of the body a precedence over those of the mind.

The various sackings of Kief, also, from the time when the partitions of the empire commenced, destroyed to the very root the entire labours of Olga, Vladimir, and Yaroslaf.

Against a voluntary and general barbarism, the means of instruction are so feeble, that, far from dividing in order to spread them, the prince is compelled to unite them under his protection: it is necessary that he should first call round him the rising generation, that they may come to seek that instruction, which cannot seek them: this is the reason of civilisation being so long confined within the limits of a single city.

Now we shall see, in this second period of the Russian history, that Kief, taken in 980 by the Varangians of Vladimir, burned in 1015 by those of Yaroslaf, and plundered in 1018 by the Poles, was captured and re-captured by them in 1069 and 1077; and, lastly, that after having passed violently from hand to hand for more than a century, it was completely sacked in 1169, and nearly destroyed in 1201.

In the downfal of Kief, that mother of all the Russian cities, would have been comprehended that of civilisation, were not the human mind so adapted to its seeds, that, when once they are sown there, they become indestructible.

The Grand-Princedom, however, passed from Kief to Vladimir; the navigation of the Borysthenes, more and more impeded by the Polovtzy Tatars, and others, was forgotten. The Grand-Princes thus withdrew from their civilisers, the Greeks; while, on the other hand, the Greeks withdrew from them, repelled by the civil commotions of Russia.

This is the reason why, about the middle of the twelfth century (1168), the date of the fall of the second Russian capital, manners became more fierce, or, rather, manners were wholly changed; they were no longer those of Kief, softened by Byzantium, but those of central Russia, still Pagan and

barbarous, whither the seat of government had recoiled. Judicial combats were then added to the fire and water ordeals; political assassinations and civil wars were multiplied; and to all these elements of confusion was added a singular order of succession. Thus torn to pieces, the empire was laid open to the Poles, to the Hungarians, and especially to the Polovtzy Tatars, who assisted the Russian princes to devastate it: at length appeared the Mongol Tatars; split into fractions, the state resisted without concentrating its efforts, and was destroyed.

Then, while it was plunged in this abyss, and for several ages, the Tatar invasion poured forth on it the profuse stores of its barbarism, its treacheries, and all the vices of slavery. Robbery, "like a contagious disease, attacked every kind of property."* Oppression, with its hideous train of hatred, stratagems, dissimulation, gloomy and stern manners, poisonings, mutilations, and horrible executions, established its sway: it extended over the whole country; it penetrated into all hearts, and withered and brutalised them during two centuries.

Such a horrible tyranny rendered legitimate all means of escaping from it; then, everything was confounded: the distinction of good and evil ceased to exist; crime lost its shame, and punishment its infamy. The very name of honour vanished; fear alone held absolute dominion!

In the second period, upon which we are now entering, at the commencement of the twelfth century, Vladimir Monomachus, that Christian hero, could yet say, "Put not even the guilty to death, for the life of a Christian is sacred." But, at the close of the fourteenth century, when his spirit again revived in the great Dmitri Donskoi, we find that worthy descendant of the Christian hero of the Russians under the necessity of re-establishing capital punishments. Very soon, the justice of his successors became more ferocious, either from the Tatar manners having become predominant, or from necessity, in order to render punishment commensurate with crime.

All this evil had its source in the division of the empire into appanages,—an evil which, as we have seen, was in-

* Karamsin.

evitable with so many princes of the blood, in such a climate, and among such men; a system, in short, by which alone it was practicable to govern such numerous tribes, having no means of intercommunication, and dispersed over so wide a space.

During the first period of the Russian history, it has been seen, that the genius of the last two reigns checked the spread of that endemic distemper which was so pernicious to all the states founded by the men of the North. But, on the death of Yaroslaf, this debilitating fever seized on the empire, divided among his five sons. Of the second period, the first twenty-four years, which comprise the reign of Isiaslaf, the son and successor of Yaroslaf, were deeply contaminated by its pestilential influence; several civil wars broke out, and that prince was twice driven from his throne by his relatives; and twice re-established by Boleslas II. king of Poland. On his death, another principle of decomposition was superadded to that of the appanages; the order of hereditary succession, which, though transiently interrupted by the prolongation of Oleg's regency, had, since the time of Rurik, always passed from father to son, then underwent a change. With the consent even of the children of Isiaslaf, Vsevolod, his brother, became his heir, and the order of succession from brother to brother was established.

This is said to have been founded on a custom, for which the only precedent quoted is the regency of Oleg; without sufficiently considering that so antiquated a proceeding, and one which had not occurred a second time in the course of a hundred and sixty-five years, could not be in accordance with the national manners.

The Russians may be supposed to have obeyed a natural instinct, which seems repugnant to the submission of an uncle to his nephew; or, rather, to have wished, by this means, to avoid minorities, or to prevent quarrels between the young princes, who would have more respect for an elderly prince, who was their uncle. The fact is, that, in those simple and rude times, this mode of succession, at once so singular and so pernicious, appears to have originated in a scrupulous and overstrained respect for the right of primogeniture. The appellation of *elder* was held in such reverence, that, down to the close of the fifteenth century, it was

sufficient to designate the possessor of paramount authority. Thus we shall see that the direct succession was not re-established till the Grand-Princes of Moscow had secured, beforehand, the recognition of their sons and grandsons, as the seniors of all the other princes. "I acknowledge thee as my elder," was their symbol of submission.

To the same deference for the right of eldership we must also attribute the succession from uncle to nephew, a consequence of the heirship between brothers. The brothers having succeeded each other according to their order of birth, and the last of them being extinct, it was not to his son that the sceptre devolved, but to his nephew; that is to say, to the son of the eldest brother who had possessed the throne.

From this truly singular mode of succession resulted two fatal consequences. In the first place, a still further parcelling out of the empire into appanages, and new occasions of civil war. It was quite natural that, during his life, a Grand-Prince should strengthen his children against an uncle, who, it was certain, would ere long favour his own offspring at the expense of his nephews.

This system of parcelling out did not spare even the domain of the crown. It appears that Yaroslaf the Legislator left it so powerful, in comparison with the appanages, that he might well believe its paramount influence to be secure and incontestable. But this vast domain was soon subdivided, like the rest of the empire.

This fault was committed by the Grand-Princes themselves; whether it was that they were indifferent as to preserving unmutilated a domain, which, after their decease, was to pass to another branch; or, more probably, that they were interested in leaving it weak against their children, by whom it was not to be inherited; or that they knew not from what other source to provide them with appanages.

The second result of this order of heirship was, the progressive weakening of the power of the Grand-Princes; not only from the want of a solid point of support, in consequence of the domains being thus broken into fragments, but also from the want of an invariable system of government. In fact, always strangers to the Grand-Principality, the princes arrived there from their appanages, with their boyars, men devoted to them, whom they glutted at the

expense of the old possessors.* The frequent transference of the sceptre, perpetually disappointing the hopes of the subjects, accustomed them not to attach themselves to any branch of the Ruriks.

On the other hand, as the Grand-Princes did not ascend the throne till they were somewhat advanced in years, the reigns were shorter; a circumstance which interrupted all plans, and perpetually gave rise to new revolutions, or new systems of government: for the system of government could not be transmitted from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew, as from father to son.

This order of succession was, therefore, during the second period, one of the main causes of the progressive weakness of the Grand-Princes and of the state: so certain is this, that, in the third period, and in spite of the additional calamities produced by the Tatar invasion, we shall see the state again revive with the paramount authority, by the re-establishment of the direct succession in one of the branches of this multitude of princes.

As to the Russian nobility, we must remark, that, amidst all the quarrels which, in the second period, arose respecting appanages, there is no allusion to them, but only to the princes. The reason of this is, that the continually conquering movement of the first period, the manners, the mutability of all secondary fortunes in the midst of these revolutions of appanages; in fine, the scarcity of cities, residences, and strong places, had prevented the voyevodes from perpetuating themselves in their commands, as those military leaders had done everywhere else, at that period. Afterwards, when cities began to be founded, the princes were multiplied also, and divided them among themselves; no one even imagined that they could belong to anybody but those princes; so absolute and exclusive appears to have been, at all times, the devotion to the family of Rurik.

To belong to that race was enough: whether the princes

* Among a thousand other instances, see what the Russian historian says with respect to Yury of Suzdal, who thrice usurped the throne of Kief. His favourites, and a swarm of adventurers, who flocked to seek their fortune in his train, trampled as they pleased on the citizens of that capital, and plundered and insulted them. The princes often carried off all the boyars of a city, &c.

were good or bad, the Russians accepted them all. They allowed themselves to be transferred from hand to hand, divided and subdivided, given and resumed, just as the princes thought proper. The family of Rurik looked upon the state as its property. Listen to one of them, named Oleg, who was summoned, in 1096 or 1097, to the congress of Kief by his kinsmen, and was informed that, at the meeting, the bishops, the ancient boyars, and the most distinguished citizens, were to be consulted. "I am a prince," replied he, "and am not made to take advice from monks and the mob." We shall witness many other examples of the submissiveness of the people, and of the pride of the Ruriks.

This congress, however, which was convoked in 1096, that of the sons of Yaroslaf .the Legislator, in 1059, for the deliverance of their uncle, and those which were subsequently held, indicate to us the form of government during this second period. It was an assemblage of appanaged princes descended from Rurik,* who recognised the sovereign of Kief as Grand-Prince and Lord-Paramount. These princes often held a congress, in which important affairs were decided, appanages distributed, and high offences judged. "The fault which costs the boyar his head," said one of them,† "costs the prince his appanage."

CHAPTER VI.

THE GRAND-PRINCES OF THE SECOND PERIOD—VLADIMIR MONOMACHUS—ANDREW.

Now that all these causes of barbarism—the order of succession from brother to brother, partitions, intestine dissensions, and the exclusive authority of the Ruriks—are appreciated, and that a glimpse has been given of the mode of government, let us revert to the history of the main facts, for the understanding of which it was necessary to premise these general considerations.

* About the year 1150 there were more than seventy-one, all sovereigns.

† Sviatoslaf, in 1176.

Isiaslaf, the son of Yaroslaf the Great, began the second disastrous period, by twenty-four years of civil war, two depositions, two appeals to foreign intervention for the purpose of effecting his restoration, and by a change in the mode of succession to the throne, which he left to his brother Vsevolod, without any opposition being offered by his two sons.

But what boots it to dwell on the name of Isiaslaf; or that of a Vsevolod, his successor, who reigned fifteen years; or of a Sviatopolk, the nephew of Vsevolod, and son of his eldest brother, who succeeded him, and for twenty years occupied a throne, which was much more an object of envy from the wealth and luxury of Kief, than from the contested power which it conferred? What can we learn from these annals, except that they are filled with outrages, usurpations, violated treaties, and pillagings, either between the Russian princes, or between them and the Polovtzy Tatars, the Poles, or the Hungarians? Of these facts, therefore, the major part of which is unworthy of being remembered, we shall select only such as may show us the colour of the times, and give us a leading and general idea of that epoch.*

Now, as early as the opening years of the reign of Vsevolod, about 1084, there rises to view the noble form of his son, Vladimir Monomachus, the hero of the second period of the Russian history. His first actions were distant campaigns for the redress of injuries. A tutelary genius amidst the crowd of princes possessing appanages, he was incessantly employed in succouring the weak against the unjust aggressor. In their frightful incursions, the Polovtzy always found him the foremost to arrest their progress. The only fact with which he can be reproached is, that he once allowed himself to violate his faith with these robbers, who never kept theirs; that he availed himself of treachery against the treacherous, and gave them up to the slaughter, while they were slumbering amidst the fruits of their rapine, among which Vladimir

* The national historian of Russia himself is our warrant for so cursory a treatment of this ignoble period: "Un écrivain étranger ne trouverait aucune jouissance dans la peinture de ces funestes époques, stériles en actions glorieuses, et signalées par des guerres civiles de peu d'importance, entre les nombreux souverains, dont les ombres, teintes du sang de leurs sujets infortunés, passent sous ses yeux dans l'obscurité des siècles."—Karamsin, trad. par St. Thomas et Jauffret, ii. 84.

doubtless reckoned the treaty they had recently extorted from him.

But by how many great actions did he not atone for this great error! When, in 1093, his father died in his arms, on the throne of Kief, which he bequeathed to him, and of which all good citizens implored his acceptance, he refused it. Absurd as was the established order of succession, he respected it, and transmitted the sceptre to his cousin Sviatopolk. "His father," said he, "was the senior of mine; he reigned first in the capital. I wish to preserve Russia from the horrors of a civil war."

He did more; during twenty years he persisted in this generous conduct. Remaining a faithful vassal of Sviatopolk, whose guard consisted of only eight hundred warriors, he perpetually hastened to his aid in the unjust wars and imprudent combats in which, notwithstanding Vladimir's remonstrances and reproaches, the rash monarch involved himself. In fighting for this sovereign, Vladimir lost in the waves a beloved brother, whom he vainly endeavoured to save at the risk of his own life; and he lost even his appanage of Tchernigof, which the flagitious Oleg, his kinsman, claimed as his inheritance, and succeeded in wresting from him.

This Oleg would neither submit to the amovability of fiefs, nor to the congress of 1097, in which the princes divided the appanages between them: he had sworn on the cross to be satisfied with his share, but he, and David his brother, again appealed to the Polovtzy. They perpetually laid open Russia to those robbers; their whole existence was nothing but a tissue of treasons.

Thanks to the influence of Christianity, the feudal contests of the Russian princes, not less blood-stained than those of other barbarians, had yet been rarely stained hitherto with any blood but that which flowed in battle. For nearly a century, Sviatopolk, the fratricide, had remained a solitary monster in an age of discord, by which he had been held in abomination. Towards the close of the eleventh century, however, the detestable race of the traitor Oleg, with whom nothing was sacred, renewed these monstrosities; his brother David, to whom the public peace, restored by the congress of 1097, was insupportable, framed a plot, slandered Vladi-

mir, and tore out the eyes of one of his kinsmen, whose appanage he coveted.

But this crime, so common in Greece, was unprecedented in Russia, and excited the utmost abhorrence. A new congress of the Russian princes was assembled under a vast tent, and there, too, the genius of Vladimir Monomachus was predominant. "Thou pretendest that thou hast cause of complaint," said they to David; "thou art now seated on the same carpet with thy brothers. Speak; which of us dost thou accuse?" David, disconcerted, kept silence, and the princes quitted the tent. They mounted their horses; and held a council, all of them completely armed, as was the custom under alarming circumstances. Then separating, each of them went to consult his boyars; and David, condemned, and cast out with horror, was deprived of his appanage. Nevertheless, from the pity of his kinsmen he received four towns and four hundred grivnas for his subsistence; so much did these descendants of Rurik respect his blood, even when it was most impure; so much had Christianity softened them since the time of Vladimir the Great, who abolished the penalty of death, and of Isiaslaf his grandson, who again suppressed it, after it had been restored by Yaroslaf his father.

At length, the death of the infamous Oleg, the last congress in which the influence of Monomachus shone so greatly, his generosity, and his active valour, suspended the civil dissensions, and put an end to new wars against the Poles and the Polovtzy. During the thirty-five years of the reigns of Vsevolod and Sviatopolk, Vladimir, who had refused the sovereignty of Russia, had been its tutelary genius.

But, in 1113 Sviatopolk died, Kief fell into utter confusion, and massacred its Jewish inhabitants, and Monomachus, who was always appealed to whenever the want of order and justice was experienced, was again called to the throne; but this hero of duty again rejected the sceptre; he declared that the son of his enemy, the offspring of the perfidious Oleg, had an hereditary title to it. His high renown, however, his age, and the existing circumstances, triumphed: a unanimous assent and resolve, and the revolt of the Kievians, compelled him to reign. For it is remarkable, that he was elected by a general and solemn assembly of the

citizens of Kief; this, however, does not establish the rights of the people, there being then nothing fixed: a great man could make infringements in everything, and procure them to be made. Besides, this prince refused to avail himself of the election, which proves that he did not consider it valid.

At length, however, he yielded; and order was quickly restored by the expulsion of the Jews from the whole of the Russian territory. Vladimir protected their retreat, and made their exile be respected: it lasted for six centuries, until the conquest of Poland, where their race was numerous, led to its partial and gradual abolition.

At the same time, the lot of those who were slaves by contract, or for debt, and even that of the perpetual slaves, was ameliorated; the passions, restrained in the interior of the state, were now turned towards external objects, and the civil wars were succeeded by useful wars against the enemies of the country.

In conclusion, this great man left to Russia better laws, and to his children the remembrance of his actions, of which, on his death-bed, he traced the picture, and offered it to them as a model.

"My dear children," said he, "praise God, love men; for it is neither fasting, nor solitude, nor monastic vows, that can give you eternal life; it is beneficence alone.

"Be fathers to the orphan; be yourselves judges for the widow. Put to death neither the innocent nor the guilty, for nothing is more sacred than the life and soul of a Christian.

"Keep not the priests at a distance from you; do good to them, that they may offer up prayers to God for you.

"Violate not the oath which you have sworn on the cross. My brothers said to me, 'Assist us to expel the sons of Rotislaf, and seize upon their provinces, or renounce our alliance.' But I answered, 'I cannot forget that I have kissed the cross.'

"Bear in mind that a man ought to be always employed: look carefully into your domestic concerns, and fly from drunkenness and debauchery.

"Love your wives, but do not suffer them to have any power over you.

"Endeavour constantly to obtain knowledge. Without

having quitted his palace, my father spoke five languages; a thing which captivates for us the admiration of foreigners.

"In war, be vigilant; be an example to your voyevodes: never retire to rest without having posted your guards: never take off your arms while you are within the enemy's reach; and, to avoid ever being surprised, be early on horseback.

"When you travel through your provinces, do not allow your attendants to do the least injury to the inhabitants; entertain always, at your own expense, the master of the house in which you take up your abode.

"If you find yourself affected by some ailment, make three prostrations down to the ground before the Lord; and let the sun never find you in bed. As soon as the first gleams of day appeared, my father, and all the virtuous men by whom he was surrounded, did thus—they glorified the Lord; they then seated themselves to deliberate, or to administer justice to the people, or they went to the chase, and in the middle of the day they slept; which God permits to man, as well as to the beasts and the birds.

"For my part, I accustomed myself to do everything that I might have ordered my servants to do: night and day, summer and winter, I was perpetually moving about; I wished to see everything with my own eyes. Never did I abandon the poor or the widow to the oppressions of the powerful. I made it my duty to inspect the churches and the sacred ceremonies of religion, as well as the management of my property, my stables, and the vultures and hawks of my hunting establishment.

"I have made eighty-three campaigns and many expeditions; I concluded nineteen treaties with the Polovtzy; I took captive a hundred of their princes, whom I set free again; and I put two hundred to death by throwing them into rivers.

"No one has ever travelled more rapidly than I have done. Setting out in the morning from Tchernigof, I arrived at Kief before the hour of vespers.

"In my youth, what falls from my horse did I not experience! wounding my feet and my hands, and breaking my head against the trees; but the Lord watched over me.

"In hunting, amidst the thickest forests, how many times

have I myself caught wild horses, and bound them together! How many times have I been thrown down by buffaloes, wounded by the antlers of stags, and trodden under the feet of elks! A furious wild boar rent my sword from my baldrick; my saddle was torn to pieces by a bear; this terrible beast rushed upon my courser, which he threw down upon me; but the Lord protected me.

"O my children, fear neither death nor wild beasts; trust in Providence; it far surpasses all human precautions."

Vladimir Monomachus was married three times, and had five children, who survived him. Mstislaf, the eldest, who succeeded him as Grand-Prince, was the son of Gyda, daughter of Harold, the last Saxon king of England. Mstislaf inherited all his father's virtues. Had he lived as long, he might have secured the repose of Russia; but after his brief reign of six years we again behold the dissevering force of feudalism in full operation, and the pernicious law of succession appealed to by the descendants of the wicked Oleg; again we behold all the princes armed and arrayed against each other as in a state of nature. In the thirty-eight years that elapsed between the reign of Mstislaf and that of Andrew of Suzdal, appanages were indefinitely multiplied. In this short interval, eleven princes, chiefly descendants of Oleg and Vladimir, renewed, with various success, the contest of their fathers: they besieged the barbaric throne, and scrambled with each other for its rude dominion.

At length, towards the middle of the twelfth century, by means of partition on partition, and civil war on civil war, the Grand-Principality had dwindled to little more than the city of Kief. Its paramount sovereignty was nothing but a vain title; and yet, whether it arose from the influence of a name, or that it was still looked upon as the Capua, the Babylon of the Russians, the metropolis of their religion, the emporium of their commerce, the source of their civilisation, it is certain that all the anarchy of the princes continued to be obstinately bent against Kief: the eye becomes bewildered in gazing upon the confusion.

In the midst of it, however, some traces are visible of the struggle between the descendants of Vladimir Monomachus and those of Oleg. The latter, still reprobated by the people,

looked for support to the nomad barbarians of the south; the former sought it from the love of their people and from the Hungarians, who were, at least, equal to the Russians in civilisation. It would appear as if these lineages, like those of Cain and Abel, always retained the distinguishing marks of their origin.

But, at length, one of the appanaged princes, Igor of Suzdal, obtained the ascendancy in this chaos, and for a short time even inspired a hope that he would reduce it to order. Like the founder of the third French dynasty, his strength lay in his patrimony. The principality of Suzdal included the present governments of Yaroslaf, Kostroma, Vladimir, Moscow, and a part of Novgorod, Tver, Nijni Novgorod, Tula, and Kaluga. But this vast country, the centre of Russia, was, in the eyes of the prince who reigned over it, nothing more than a cheerless place of banishment. He could see there, he declared, only an inclement climate, uncultivated deserts, gloomy forests, and a people plunged in ignorance. Kief alone could charm him; he made himself master of it, or rather, Kief made itself master of him; and there he soon after died, more the victim of sensual pleasures than of the weight of years.

The host of appanaged princes instantly started up again; again they rushed to seize upon the throne of Kief, carried it by assault, and passed and repassed on it with such rapidity, that the eye is baffled in its attempt to follow them.

One alone, whose youth was that of Achilles, withdrew from this ambitious crowd: it was Andrew, the heir of Suzdal. He viewed that great appanage with very different eyes from his father. "Here," said he, "still abide simplicity of manners, the obedience of the people, and the devoted fidelity of the boyars; while at Kief, a city which is on the frontier of the Hungarians, the Poles, and the Polovtzy, all is pillage, murder, civil and foreign war." Thus, while he left the rest of the princes to tear each other to pieces, and exhaust themselves round Kief, he regarded it with contempt, and kept himself apart in his patrimony. There he appeared to reflect deeply on the calamities of his country. It was especially in the divergent position of Kief, and in the partitions of the empire, that he discovered the cause of them. For this reason he refused all grants of territory in his own

vast domain, even in favour of his nearest relations, and commenced a war of extermination against appanages. For this reason it was that he rendered his Vladimir worthy of being the Russian capital; that he aggrandised Moscow, a creation of his father; founded around him a number of cities, peopled them with the Bulgarians of the Volga, whom he had subjugated,* and drew into Central Russia, by the attraction of peace, the population of the south, which fled from the horrors of all kinds of war.

At length, in 1168, after having been repulsed by the proud and fickle Novgorod, he led his army against Kief; and this second capital of the Russians, taken by storm, despoiled, and degraded, resigned the supremacy to Vladimir.

In the following year, however, the numerous troops of Andrew, commanded by one of his sons, having under him seventy-one princes of the blood, were again foiled before Novgorod, where reigned a son of the prince of Kief. Novgorod was at the climax of its power: as the emporium of the commerce of Persia and India with Germany, it had been recently admitted into the Hanseatic league. But, though it twice successfully resisted all the forces of Andrew, it yielded to his policy; and the first capital of the Russians, like the second, acknowledged a third city as the metropolis.

Andrew had triumphed in this part of his double combat; but in that of the appanages, custom, backed by too powerful interests, prevailed against him. Opposed to a single Grand-Prince, whose interest it was to destroy the system, there was a throng of princes, all sovereigns, who must necessarily be anxious for its continuance; and not only those princes, but also their guards, and the whole of the boyars, that multitude of adventurers retained by each of the descendants of Rurik, all of whom subsisted on this usage and its attendant defects.

The whole of them, therefore, revolted. It was in vain that the brothers and nephews of Andrew, to whom he had

* Andrew did not personally make war after his accession to the throne. This, perhaps, is the reason why, from the date of his reign, the chronicles give the name of *court* to that which they previously denominated the *guard* of the prince.

refused appanages, were banished, and forced to fly as far as Byzantium; the rest of Russia, divided among his kinsmen, had the upper hand. Kief and Novgorod escaped from his grasp; his armies of fifty thousand men were baffled by an inveterately rooted custom; it was victorious, and all the policy of Andrew availed only to secure for him an empty homage. Finally, in his own patrimony, which, at least, he was desirous to preserve entire and undivided, he was cruelly assassinated by his subjects, and died hated and unavenged.

The fall of this Grand-Prince, and of his plan of attaining order and strength by the concentration of power, took place in 1174. This great effort was made too soon, as appears from the triumphant resistance which custom opposed to it; and too late with reference to the Tatar invasion, which occurred fifty-four years subsequently. For, even supposing a succession of able princes, and a series of well-directed efforts, half a century would not have been sufficient to give to Russia, by the centralisation of power, all the energy of which she was susceptible, and which, indeed, was indispensable for her safety. All history proves that such a concentration of power in a feudal state, and in the face of such formidable and hostile interests, has ever been a task of difficult and tedious accomplishment.

Far from persisting in carrying this great conception into effect, the first successor of Andrew weakly allowed to be broken up into appanages the vast domain of Suzdal, which, by its temporary union in one hand, had become the nucleus of empire. The second suffered the Grand-Principality to be disputed with him, by one of the princes to whom he had given an appanage out of his own domain. The third went still further: he ingenuously declared that he did not require any homage from the princes holding appanages, and that to God alone were they accountable for their conduct.

Thus, the result of this third change of the capital was, to transport the frenzy of civil war into the middle of Russia, to break it up into appanages, and to remove the centre of government not only from Greece, its commerce, and its civilisation, but also from the most European of the Russian provinces. The latter, seeking to obtain some point of support within reach, were not slow in becoming

Hungarian, Polish, and Lithuanian. Finally, this change of residence completed the decomposition of the north of Europe, at the very moment when Central Asia, united in one mass, and under a single chief, was ready to pour down, with overwhelming weight, upon that unfortunate country.

CHAPTER VII.

THIRD PERIOD, FROM 1237 TO 1462.

A GREAT conqueror had now arisen in the vicinity of Russia, at the precise instant when that unhappy country had no other means of defence than the fragments of a power worn out and rent to pieces by discord.

In consequence of this, nothing more was required to crush her than a single lieutenant of Genghis-Khan, and two efforts, one of which was made in 1221, through the defiles of Caucasus, the other, in 1237, on the side of eastern Bulgaria (the country of Kasan). The first, which was merely an incursion, cost the victor only one battle; the second, some insignificant combats, but many sieges.

Let us, in the first place, investigate the causes of this invasion, of its rapid success, and of the long duration of this last triumph of Asia; we will then trace the slow and gradual progress of the Russians towards independence.

The principal causes of this great invasion of Europe by Asia are to be found in the genius of Genghis-Khan, who united the Mongols* and Tatars, and in the manners of those two people.

That ambitious prince could attain greatness by war alone; he was a barbarian; he held command over shepherds, who, like their flocks, were compelled to be migratory; how, in those vast deserts, would it have been possible to keep them dependent on him, elsewhere than in camps? How could he retain them united in camps, otherwise than by continual conquests; without which, these shepherd tribes were under the necessity of separating into a multitude of

* Mogols, according to De Guignes and Karamsin; and Mongols, according to Malte-Brun, Depping, and Levesque.

hordes, to find the means of subsistence? War, perpetual war, therefore, could alone satiate his desires, and give a relish to his power. When he had devoured the whole of Asia, Europe was required.

To say that the Russians had interfered in defence of the Polovtzy, and had murdered the Tatar envoys, who came to propose an insidious alliance, would be to assign a puerile cause for this mighty invasion. Lured, like all their predecessors, by the riches of Byzantium, would these greedy barbarians have passed by Russia without giving her a thought? Would not Kief, which was almost in their road, and the Greek luxury of the Russians, have been sufficient to attract them? They had heard of them, in 1221, from the Polovtzy, and in 1237 from the Silver Bulgarians,* whose plundering excursions had made them too well acquainted with the wealth of the Russians. Besides, the Polovtzy and the Bulgarians of the Volga were at war with the Tatars, and the conquest of these by the latter naturally led to that of Kief and Vladimir.

As to the causes of the rapid success of the Tatars, we must, in the first place, observe, that the circumstance of their pastoral habits preventing them from becoming attached to any country, could not fail to forward the vast and ambitious projects of Genghis-Khan. This kind of life renders a people fit for the profession of arms, and keeps them ever ready for action. The nomad nations are armies; irregular, indeed, but easily put in motion, prompt, and always on foot; whatever they leave behind them can be guarded by old men, women, and children. To such nations war is not an event; for long marches produce but little change in the habits of a wandering people: their houses, their provisions, march along with them; and this is of some importance in uncultivated plains and uninhabited forests. The Tatars, therefore, had over the Russians the advantage which standing armies have over hasty levies.

Here, however, we must call to recollection the existence of the permanent guards of the Russian princes, to which must be added those of the cities, though the latter had doubtless less military experience than the former; but the national

* Or Bulgarians of the Volga.

authors give us to understand, that the permanence of these guards had induced a habit of wholly committing to them all that related to war, and that the people were become unfit for bearing arms.

Add to this, that here, as was the case wherever the Normans established themselves with their military government, there could be no warriors but free men and proprietors; and even from these we must deduct the traders and the clergy. Now, continual wars had so much increased the number of monks, hired servants, and slaves, and so much diminished that of free men and landholders, that there remained scarcely warriors enough to make head against the Polovtzy.

Amidst a ruin and depopulation which was so general, even the guard of the prince must necessarily lose much of its original strength. It has been seen, that about the year 1100, the guard of the Grand-Prince consisted of only eight hundred men, and that he lost it. Hence it happened that, with the exception of one battle and some trivial skirmishes in the field, the Tatars encountered no resistance except from the cities, in which all who had fled to them for refuge—peasants, priests, and populace, were converted into warriors by despair.

Even this did not take place till the second invasion: to the first, we see the inhabitants of those cities opposing nothing but processions of priests and suppliants, whom the barbarians amused themselves by trampling under their horses' feet.

Another cause of the nature of this second war, a war wholly of sieges, was, that in barbarous times, when tactics were unknown, an impetuous cavalry must have had the superiority in an open country: now, the Tatars being always in the saddle, and being masters of the provinces which produced the finest horses, were the best horsemen in the world. The Russians, on the contrary, were infantry; their guards being overwhelmed, and the rest badly armed and undisciplined, could not keep their ground, except in cities, against such furious cavalry.

The annalists boast much of the obstinate defence made by the cities, the greater part of which suffered themselves to be taken by assault, and destroyed, rather than surrender. The

example of the sacking of one city did not deter another from exposing itself to the same fate. In this is supposed to be manifest the same tenacious firmness even to death, which now forms a distinguishing feature in the Russian character. But the truth was, that as the Tatars gloried in being equally faithless and pitiless, no treaty could be made with, nor any quarter expected from them. It was their maxim, that "the vanquished can never be the friends of the victors; the death of the former is necessary for the safety of the latter."

Now, with the reduction which had taken place in the warlike class of the Russians, let us contrast the enormous magnitude of the Tatar armies. Plan-Carpin, the ambassador sent to Baty by the Pope, saw that Khan surrounded by six hundred thousand warriors, of whom a hundred and fifty thousand were Tatars. There was, at that period, no art which could counterbalance such an astounding disproportion of force. Rubruquis,* who was the envoy from St. Louis to Mangu-Khan, gives us as vast an idea of them.

There were also other causes which gave the superiority to the Tatars. Among the Gauls, as among all barbarians, it was by cries repeated from village to village that intelligence was transmitted; the more thickly the country was peopled, the more speedily was the news conveyed. In Russia, where the dwellings were separated by deserts, this kind of communication was perpetually interrupted, so that a prince was often surprised in his capital by the enemy; this was a great advantage on the side of an assailant always ready, and so rapid in his movements.

There is reason to believe, likewise, that the Mongols, who were situated so near the mines of Nertshinck, and had become masters of the Ural and the Caucasus, were provided with better arms than the Russians; accordingly, the annalists speak with horror of the long and steeled arrows of those Tatars, of their huge scimitars, their pikes with hooks, and

* This monk was bold to think that he could convert Mangu; but the Khan replied to him: "The Mongols are not ignorant of the existence of a God, and they love him with all their hearts: there are as many, and more ways of being saved, than there are fingers on your hands; and, if God has given you the Bible, he has given us the Magi," &c.

those terrible battering-rams which in one day overthrew the walls of Kief, their strongest city.

Another circumstance which we must figure to ourselves is, the sudden organisation of these wandering hordes in divisions of ten thousand men, regiments of a thousand, companies of a hundred, and detachments of ten. We must also admire the annual assemblage of all the chiefs in the presence of Genghis; his sole means of knowing them, keeping them in a sort of connexion, and impressing their minds with his authority, throughout so vast an extent: for it was in the midst of deserts that the splendour of his genius burst forth; it is there, especially, that we witness what can be accomplished by the influence of one man over so many men and events, and even in spite of nature.

Fanaticism had its share. In one of these general assemblies, a prophet had predicted to Genghis-Khan that he would be master of the world. We must also remark, that, among the Mongols, the three highest crimes were adultery, witchcraft, and cowardice; and that, in fine, men who had such fiery passions, who were so ignorant, and who were bound to risk their lives under pain of death, could not fail to be formidable soldiers.

Besides, it is not very astonishing that the disunited Russians should have been overthrown by the Mongols, united to the Tatars. To sum up the whole, the genius of Genghis, the impulse given by him, the confidence which he bequeathed, and the enthusiasm inspired by forty years of victory, are striking causes of success.

These nomad hordes pushed their conquests as far as into Hungary, and beyond Poland; but a dearly-bought victory in Silesia, and the poverty of Brandenburg, having disgusted them, they confined themselves to Russia.

Yet, with the assistance of the Polovtzy, the Alans might have defended the entrance of European Russia against the Tatars, who, in the first instance, attacked it by the south-west of the Caspian, and the defiles of Caucasus; but, deceived by offers of friendship, and by the remembrance of a common origin, the Polovtzy abandoned the Alans. As soon as the latter were crushed, and the Caucasus was penetrated, the war fell in turn on the Polovtzy, who, driven to the

Dniepr, implored aid from the princes of Kief and Galitsch.

Those princes were aware of their true interest, and united with the Polovtzy. It was then that the Tatar envoys were killed, who came to offer to the Russians the same friendship with which they had lured the Polovtzy. The league of the Russians was imperfect: by a feigned retreat, they were drawn to the banks of the Kalka, near the mouth of the Don. There the prince of Galitsch was desirous of vanquishing without the help of the prince of Kief, who, on his part, allowed him to be defeated, and was slaughtered in his turn: all the south of Russia was ravaged, after which the Tatars withdrew.

This sketch of their first expedition, in 1221, shows with what prudent and deceptive policy these Tatars prepared for a war which they were to carry on with all the fury of barbarism: what Montesquieu says of the character of Attila well portrays the Tatar character, which, patient and subtle in policy, is implacable and furious in war.

There are yet two additional reasons to be assigned for the general conquest of Russia, in 1237, by Baty, grandson of Genghis, and Khan of the Kaptchak. In the first place, famine, a plague, the earthquake of 1230, and a paroxysm of intestine dissension, had weakened the Russians; while, on the contrary, the pacific reign of Zuzi-Khan, had prepared the Kaptchak; secondly, the Grand-Prince of Vladimir (Yury, or George) was an idiot, who never thought of forming an alliance with the Bulgarians, and allowed himself to be beaten in detail. As he was solely occupied in adorning the churches, perpetuating mendicity by alms, and fattening the monks, he believed that God would do the rest.

The infamy of the Russian princes, who, at the outset, deserted each other; who, as we shall see in the sequel, next employed themselves in mutually completing the work of their own destruction; and ended with choosing Baty as the arbiter of their quarrels; this, and the establishment, on the Russian frontier, of the great Tatar empire of Kaptchak,*

* Kaptchak, or the Golden Horde, a Khannat, which, according to Levesque, was comprehended between the Volga, the Yaik, and the Don; and, according to De Guignes, extended much farther towards the north-east of the Caspian. It is even believed, that the Sir, or ancient Jaxartes, was its boundary.

which extended from the north of the Caspian to the banks of the Don, were causes not only of the successes of the Tatars, but also of the duration of their supremacy in Russia.

The Khans of Kaptchak, Astrakhan, Kasan, and the Crimea, long drew from the wandering hordes a swarm of soldiers, ready to engage in any enterprise, having little to lose, everything to gain, and nothing to leave behind them. Their number was kept up by the slaves whom they captured; they enrolled their vanquished enemies under their standards, and thus made their conquests supply the means of conquering. In Russia, however, the difference of religion, climate, and manners became an obstacle. They could govern it only from a distance, and as paramount sovereigns. It was necessary for them to have armies there, to oppose the Lithuanians, the Swedes, and the Livonians, their common enemies; for those three people, combined with the Hungarians and the Poles, had risen at once against Russia, and rushed upon that fallen prey. But the Tatars not being men to be retained in a country, the climate of which was repugnant to all their habits, they left the Russian princes there to reign and to fight for them. This addition of European wars, which began in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, weakened the Russians, and thus contributed to the continuance of the Tatar yoke.

Here might be enumerated the famines, which were a consequence of the Tatar invasion and of Russian improvidence; and next, the endless dissensions between the Russian princes and in the republics; but all these causes of the long endurance of slavery were equally the causes of the conquest.

From the spot where Kasan now stands, to as far as Vladimir, the seat of the Russian empire, the Tatars destroyed everything; such was their custom. Why should a pastoral and migratory people have spared the cities? Pasturage was all they stood in need of.* This solitude flattered

* See, in 1223, the assembly of the Mongol chiefs, several of whom proposed to Genghis-Khan to massacre all the inhabitants of the conquered countries, in order to convert those vast and populous regions into pasturage. (De Guignes, vol. iii. 4to.)

their pride and ensured their safety. Could they allow to be left in their rear a population which might have become an army; armies being then the same thing as the population? Like all similar barbarians, they made war upon walls; for to such tribes, walls are enemies; at home, because they are in opposition to their manners; among their neighbours, because they are an obstacle to their violence.

The deserts which these Tatars made, and which would have stopped the progress of any other than a nomad people, were no impediment to them. Their horses found pasture in them, and horses were everything in their eyes. But the principal end which the Tatars had in view, in thus spreading destruction, was to root their power deeply by terror; for, as soon as they had produced the desired effect, they treated with honour the Russian princes who applied to them, though, at the same time, they enfeebled them by insidious partitions. They founded Sarai,* and then Kasan, and thus established themselves in the vicinity of their conquest.

After Baty, Burgai caused a general census of the Russians to be made. He sent governors (baskaks) with forces into each principality, imposed taxes, and placed a governor-general on the frontier. He prohibited, under pain of death, the plundering of the monasteries; exempted the priests from all tribute; and did not fear to augment their temporal power, that he might secure in his interest their spiritual power, which they knew better how to make use of. In the disgracing of the princes of Kief and of Vladimir, who had recognised the Pope, the Tatar displayed his care to defend the Greek religion which he did not profess, but of which he knew the ascendancy over these tributary tribes, and which he considered as a barrier between Russia and the rest of Europe.

The weakening of the feudal tie in Russia had facilitated the conquest; the policy of the Khans completed the unloosing of that tie. They themselves collected the tribute of each district; they received the homage and the appeals of every prince; and, when they committed the fault of re-establishing a Grand-Prince, they allowed several rivals to

* Capital of the Kaptchak: according to Abulgasi, a Tatar prince and historian, it was situated on the Volga, north of Astrakhan.

lay claim to this paramount sway, made them wait their decision, and sometimes retained them at their Horde for two whole years. At the same time, they prevented the settling of any order of succession. In a word, they made themselves lords paramount; for, at the outset, they adopted the plan of not permitting any prince, great or small, to assume the government of his states before he had journeyed to the Great Horde to solicit the investiture.

The effect of these journeys, to accomplish which a year was barely sufficient, was to leave the principalities without Russian chiefs, and under the authority of the Tatar baskaks; to prove the supremacy of the Grand-Khans; to make known to these Mongols with what kind of men they had to deal; to ruin the competitors by the customary presents; and, lastly, as accusers of the princes were never wanting among their kinsfolk and rivals, to make them dread the terrible vengeance of the Khans, in case of their having to reproach themselves with so much as a sigh for independence.

Several princes were summoned to the Great Horde, tried, and executed. But these Tatars, who thus cruelly punished the insubordination of the Russian princes, joined with them in their foreign wars. They even served them in their civil wars; and this was the manner in which they did so: a Russian prince journeyed to the Horde to impeach the Grand-Prince, in whose place he prayed to be substituted; and he returned with a Tatar army, which permitted him to reign over ashes and blood.

The granting of these succours was not always dictated by policy. The Tatars, like the Huns, ravaged without conquering; it was tribute and slaves that they required. Had they wished to govern their conquests, they could not have plundered them; a habit which it was impossible for them to relinquish. The tribute was for the Khan, the plunder for the Horde; it was necessary, from time to time, to satisfy this craving for prey; for the mass of the Tatar empire was composed of such incoherent parts, that war, which destroys everything, was its only means of preservation; it was indispensable to its existence, because it bound together the whole of these scattered tribes, by directing all their interests, and all their passions, towards one object.

As it is only by convulsions that a body verging on dissolution can manifest its strength, so was it only in the violent state of war that this empire resumed its collective form. What other vehicle than a burning and impetuous fever, stimulated by all the most fervid passions, could have circulated with rapidity enough to animate and move at once all the gigantic members of this enormous empire? Nothing but the renown of a victor, the cry of war, was sufficiently powerful to make itself simultaneously heard through all the parts of a dominion which were so remote from each other, and dissevered by vast deserts.

Accordingly, no sooner did that war-cry cease to be loudly heard; no sooner did the Khans, exhausted or glutted with blood, and fixed by luxury in cities which could not, like the tent of Genghis, be removed to a distance, seek to enjoy at home the repose of which they had robbed the world, than their sway was narrowed to their slaves and the cities, and the insubordination of the hordes convinced them how little consistence there was in an empire composed of so many wandering nations, and of such various and conflicting interests.

CHAPTER VIII.

DECLINE OF THE TATAR POWER—ALEXANDER NEVSKI—IVAN KALITA.

We have seen Asia, when rallied, surprise and subjugate disunited Russia; we are now about to see Asia falling to pieces in its turn, and Russia, after having successively banded together all its people, at length avenging its injuries. But, in reverting back to the right path, it imitated the progress of Nature, who so slowly and methodically composes that which she so rapidly decomposes.

Habitual war, and the consequent recognition of no other law, no other virtue, than force; the want of order in the succession to the Khanship; the facility with which the chiefs of wandering hordes could revolt; the indispensable

necessity, in a too extensive empire, of entrusting large portions of it to lieutenants; the rebellion and the conquests of the Nogays, in 1259; the ravages of Timur, in 1380: all these causes contributed to the disunion and enfeebling of the Kaptchak, which may be dated, particularly, from the middle of the fourteenth century, after the reign of Usbek, more than a century posterior to its foundation. We speak here only of the empire of the Kaptchak, one of the five divisions of the great empire of Genghis-Khan. The latter subsisted but forty years in its complete state. Of its brief duration we need seek no other cause than its immense extension; for a man may, indeed, devastate the world, but it can be governed by God alone.

The first successors of Genghis-Khan, however, claimed nothing less than the possession of the whole earth, which he had bequeathed to them by will.* For the conquest of Europe they assigned eighteen years. But, of these arrogant beings, Octay, the first after Genghis, died by poison; an event which probably contributed to postpone the impending invasion of Constantinople, Vienna, Dresden, and Berlin. The second, Gaiuk, or Kaiuk, held the throne but transiently; Mangu, the third, sustained reverses; and Kublai, the fourth of these pretended sovereigns of the world, could not even make himself master in his own territories.†

We have seen the causes of the Tatar invasion, its success, and its permanence, and also the first principles of the dissolution of the Tatar empire. We are now to trace the progress of the Russians towards their independence.

In the first place, we remark that the Grand-Princes, and even the princes holding appanages, were obliged to journey to the abode of the Mongol Khan to obtain the right of governing. As these journeys took up a year, the authority of the princes at home, during so long an absence, remained weak, fluctuating, and uncertain. But ere long, the Kaptchak, or Golden Horde, threw off its dependence on the Mongol Khan, and the Russian princes had then to travel only to Sarai to solicit the crown.

On the other hand, nearly at the same epoch, and in the

* See Plan-Carpin. † See Abulgasi.

Kaptchak itself, thus severed from the great Mongol empire, another dismemberment took place. Nogay, one of its warriors, a conqueror from the north of the Black Sea, rendered himself independent. As early as 1262, or 1266, his revolt against the Golden Horde affording to the Russians some hope of recovering their freedom, they massacred the Tatars who resided among them. No long time after, in 1281, a Grand-Prince, Dmitri, even opposed these Nogays to the Kaptchaks, and re-established himself by their influence.

These beginnings of division among the conquerors, however, weakened them at the expense of Russia alone, which served as their field of battle, and the prize of their victories.

But that which excites surprise is, that there still existed a Grand-Prince at that epoch. While Baty and Burgai were completing the conquest of Russia, chance so ordered it, that Alexander Nevsky, one of the sons of the Grand-Prince of Vladimir, and consequently prince of Novgorod, was a great warrior and statesman. He rebuilt and repeopled numerous Russian cities; heroically defeated his European enemies, the Teutonic knights and the Lithuanians; recovered the Neva from the Swedes;* and won the good-will of the Tatars, whom he considered as too formidable to be attacked.

By the same chance it happened that, at the very time when Alexander gained the esteem of the Khan, the prince of Kief drew upon himself the hatred of the Tatars and Russians, by submitting to the Pope; and Andrew, prince of Vladimir, marrying the sister of this prince of Kief, and refusing to pay the Khan his tribute, involved himself in the same disgrace with his brother-in-law. All these principalities the Khan gave to Alexander Nevsky; some authors are of opinion that he even aided him to seize upon them.

But the Russians were not disposed to submit either to the Tatar yoke, or to the sceptre of the Grand-Prince; so that Alexander's whole life was spent in vanquishing his people, in punishing or pardoning their revolts, or in hurrying to entreat forgiveness for them at the feet of the Khan,

* Hence his surname, Nevsky.

whom they were perpetually insulting. At Rostof, Vladimir, Suzdal, and other towns, the Tatar collectors were massacred, forced to adopt the Christian faith, or hunted out of the city. No sooner were these acts known at Horde, than the Khan commanded not only the Grand-Prince, but all the other Russian princes, to appear before him; adding, that they should come each at the head of his troops, for that the Khan intended to make a campaign, in which he required the assistance of the Russians. It was manifest, however, that he only wanted to deprive Russia of her armed defenders, in order to be the better able to penetrate into the empire. Alexander, who had already made trial of the consideration he had acquired in the mind of the Khan, now conceived the perilous resolution of repairing alone to the Horde, there, by submissiveness and prudence, to avert the wrath impending over Russia. Twelve months was Alexander obliged to tarry in the Horde before he could appease the wrath of the Usbek. At length, after having obtained his dismissal, and a promise that the Khan would forgive what had happened, and forego his purpose of raising an army, he died suddenly on his road home, in the year 1262, under circumstances that render it extremely probable that poison had been administered to him in the camp of the Khan, shortly before his departure. His father had already experienced a similar fate, falling sick and dying on the journey back from the Horde; and after him it likewise befel some of his successors. It may easily be believed, indeed, that the rough, uncleanly, and irregular manner of life in use among the Tatars, to which the Russian princes were not accustomed, as well as the affronts and humiliations of various kinds experienced by them in the Horde, must have deeply affected them, and had a detrimental influence on their health; but these considerations by no means account for the fact that so many of them died on the return journey. Alexander's ascendancy at home was becoming too great to be endured by the conquerors. He died the victim of his patriotism, but remained immortal in the hearts of his subjects, who canonised him; his virtues restored in the minds of the Russians the paramount supremacy of Vladimir.

This Grand-Principality was, it is true, long a subject of discord held out to the ambition of the Russian princes, and,

while they contended for it with their own sword and that of the Tatars, the Khan ruled it with sovereign sway. If it chanced that one of these princes ventured to attack the Grand-Prince, without having appealed to the Tatars, and even in spite of them, it was because success would procure for him riches, with which he might conciliate the Tatar governors and the Khan himself; but this success was uncertain; and the Russian princes at length perceiving that a journey to the Horde decided the possession of the crown, war became thenceforth useless. Very soon, therefore, it was only at the Horde, and to acquire an ascendancy in the mind of the Khan, that they contended with each other; fewer civil wars occurred, the Tatars were more rarely called in, and Russia had time to breathe.

The Khans committed a serious fault in preserving a Grand-Prince; it was a still more striking one, and a consequence of the first, to place in his hands a sovereignty disproportioned to those by which he was surrounded, to select him for too long a time from the same branch, and to give him armies to establish himself, and the means of seducing even themselves by the most costly presents. The consequence of this was, that the appanaged princes dared not enter so readily into a contest with the Grand-Princes, who were already more powerful than themselves, and were so formidably supported. Not daring to contend with them, they turned their arms against each other, and thus enhanced by their own weakness the strength of the Grand-Princes.

Nevertheless, till 1324, that is, for a century posterior to the Tatar invasion, the power of the Grand-Princes was doubtful; but then, amidst the crowd of pretenders to the Grand-Princedom, two rival branches made themselves conspicuous, and the other princes of the blood resigned to them an arena, in which the scantiness of their own resources no longer permitted them to appear.

One of these branches was that of the princes of Tver; the other that of the princes of Moscow.

The princes of Tver (about 1300) succeeded to the Grand-Principality of Vladimir, which devolved to them in the order of the succession; they resided at Tver. If we consider the position of Moscow between Tver and Vladimir, and the

fickleness of the Novgorodians, we shall perceive why it was impossible that the Grand-Princes of Tver could ever extend their power beyond the limits of their patrimony. In fact, the prince of Moscow, whom the situation of his appanage made the rival of the Grand-Prince of Tver, and who could cut off all communication between Tver and Vladimir, had only to win over Novgorod, in order to reduce the Grand-Prince within the bounds of Tver; and this was what actually happened.

Moscow, however, as being the weakest, must have fallen, but that one of its princes, Yury, married, in 1313, the sister of Usbek-Khan. It was then that, after having excited the hatred of the Novgorodians, in persisting to subdue them by means of the Tatars, Mikhail of Tver drew down upon his head all the wrath of Usbek, by defeating Yury, and taking prisoners his wife, who was the Khan's sister, and Kavadgi, a Tatar general, who came to put the prince of Moscow in possession of the Grand-Princedom.

For Usbek, after having preferred and supported the rights of Mikhail of Tver to the Grand-Principality, had changed his mind in favour of Yury of Moscow, who was become his brother-in-law. The enmity of Usbek, however, remained suspended, until his sister, the wife of Yury, and the prisoner of Mikhail, expired at Tver. Yury then hastened to the Horde, and accused Mikhail of having poisoned the princess. The offended pride of Usbek lent itself to this base calumny; he entrusted the investigation of the affair to Kavadgi; Mikhail appeared to the summons; the vanquished passed sentence on his vanquisher, whom he caused to be put to death; and the infamous Yury of Moscow was appointed Grand-Prince in the place of his murdered rival (1320). His triumph was short: being accused of withholding the tribute due to the Khan, he journeyed to the Horde, and was assassinated by the son of his victim, who was himself immediately executed by Usbek. This vengeance restored the Grand-Principality to the branch of Tver, in the person of prince Alexander, Michael's second son. It remained in it for three years; but then, in 1328, this madman caused all the Tatars at Tver to be massacred. To the brother of Yury, Ivan I., surnamed Kalita,* prince of Moscow, Usbek imme-

* Or the Purse.

diately gave Vladimir and Novgorod, the double possession of which always distinguished the Grand-Princedom. This concession formed, in the hands of Ivan, a mass, the connexion of which Tver, weakened as it was, did but little diminish. Consequently, with this power, and the troops that Usbek added to it, Ivan speedily compelled all the Russian princes to combine, under his orders, against the prince of Tver; who, after having undergone various misfortunes, was executed with his son at the Horde.

Here begin the two hundred and seventy years of the reign of the branch of Moscow. This first union of the Russians, under Ivan I., denominated Kalita, constitutes an epoch; it exhibits the ascendancy of this second Grand-Prince of Moscow over his subjects; an ascendancy the increase of which we shall witness under his successors; and for which, at the outset, this branch of the Ruriks was indebted to the support they received from the Tatars. For, as a word from the Khan decided the possession of the throne, that one of the two rival branches of Moscow and Tver was sure to triumph which displayed the most shrewd and consistent policy towards the Horde. It was not that of the princes of Tver which thus acted. On the contrary, they sometimes solicited the protection of the Khans, and sometimes fought against them; we have ever seen one of them ordering the massacre of the Tatars in his principality.

The princes of Moscow pursued a different system; they, no doubt, detested the yoke of the Khans as much as their rivals did; but they were aware that, before they could cope with the Tatars, the Russians must be united, and that it was impossible to subject and unite the latter without the assistance of the former. They therefore espoused the daughters of the Khans, manifested the utmost submission to the Horde, and appeared to be wholly devoted to its interests.

Now this policy, which, at the commencement of the Mongol invasion, acquired for Alexander Nevsky the empire of all Russia, gave it, seventy-four years later, still more completely to Ivan I.: for the sway of the Tatars was then more recognised; the Russians were more docile to their yoke; and the cities, which composed the Grand-Principality, were more powerful in themselves, and also by comparison

with the rest of Russia, which became daily more and more exhausted.

The wealth of Ivan I. was another cause of the extension of his power.

The complaints of the prince of Tver, in 1323, prove that Yury I., Grand-Prince of Moscow, when he undertook to execute the vengeance of his brother-in-law Usbek, against Tver, was also entrusted with the collecting of the tributes; which, however, he retained, instead of sending them to the Horde. Ivan Kalita, his son and successor, profited by this example. Thus it was, that by making themselves lieutenants of the Khan, the Muscovite Grand-Princes first became the collectors, and finally the possessors, of the taxes throughout the whole of Russia; and thus they succeeded to all the rights of conquest enjoyed by the Tatars, and to their despotism.

There can be no doubt that one of the most copious sources of power to those sovereigns was the periodical census and the perpetual imposts, so alien to feudalism, and especially to a feudalism of princes: these imposts and censuses nothing but the Tatar conquest could have established, and they were inherited by the Grand-Princes. Already, in the first half of the fourteenth century, these taxes had rendered Ivan Kalita rich enough to purchase entire domains and appanages,* the protection of Usbek-Khan, and the preference of the primate, who removed his residence from Vladimir to Moscow, by which means the latter city became the capital of the empire.

It was by virture of his authority as collector for the Tatars that Ivan Kalita practised extortion upon his subjects. In 1377, we see him requiring a double tribute from the Novgorodians, under pretext that such was the will of the Khan. Armed against the Russians with the dread inspired by the Tatar name, and against the Tatars with the money of the Russians; intoxicating the Khan and his courtiers with gold and adulation in his frequent journeys to the Horde; he was enabled, as lord-paramount, to bring about the first union of all the appanaged princes against his com-

* In the governments of Novgorod, Vladimir, Kostroma, and Rostof, and the cities of Duglitch, Bielozersk, and Galitch.—See Karamsin, and an act of Dmitri Donskoi.

petitor, the prince of Tver, whom he drove from Pskof and from Russia, being aided by the primate with the thunder of the Church, then heard in the empire for the first time. The nobility imitated the clergy. Impelled either by fear, or cupidity, several boyars of other princes rallied round this Grand-Prince, preferring the fiefs of so rich and so potent a lord-paramount to those of the petty princes whom they abandoned.

Ivan Kalita pushed forward with horrible vigour in his ambitious career. "Woe, woe to the princes of Rostof!" exclaims Nicon, "because their power was destroyed, and everything was concentrated in Moscow." In fact, from the Kremlin,* which he fortified, Ivan proclaimed himself the arbiter of his kinsfolk; he reigned in their principalities by the medium of his boyars; he arrogated to himself the right of being the sole distributor of fiefs, judge, and legislator; and if the princes resisted, and dared to wage against him a *war of the public good*,† he hurried to the Horde, with purse in hand, and denunciation on his lips; and the short-sighted Usbek, deceived by this ambitious monitor, was impolitic enough to disembarrass him of the most dangerous of his competitors, whom he consigned to frightful torments. The prince of Tver and his son were the most remarkable victims of this atrocious policy.

Meanwhile, Lithuania, which, from the period of the first overwhelming of Russia by the Tatars, had emancipated itself from its yoke, was now become a conquering state. About 1320, Guedimin, its leader, seized on the Russian appanages of the south and west, which had long ceased to be dependent upon the Grand-Principality of Vladimir. Kief, Galitch, Volhynia, became sometimes Lithuanian,

* Kremlin, originally Kremnik, from kremen, fire-stone. See Karamsin, and the Chronicle of Troitski. The Kremlin is situated on a very rocky hill.

† From 1333 to 1339, the princes who held appanages espoused the cause of the prince of Tver against the Grand-Prince of Moscow, whom they called a tyrant. In 1339, the Grand-Prince of Moscow returned to the Horde, and so terrified Usbek-Khan by his denunciations against the prince of Tver and other princes, that the Khan immediately summoned them to the Horde, in order to restrain, or get rid of them. See Karamsin.

sometimes Polish or Hungarian: driven to despair, their inhabitants emigrated; they formed the two military republics of the Zaporogue and Don Cossacks. Rallying around them the unfortunate of all countries, they were destined to become one day strong enough to make head against the Turks and Tatars, between whom they were situated; and thus to embarrass the communication between those two people, whom a common religion, origin, and interest conspired to unite.

The Grand-Principality was, on the other hand, repeopled by unfortunate fugitives from the southern Russian provinces, who sought refuge at Moscow.* The empire, it is true, lost in extension; but it was thus rendered more proportionate to the revived power of its Grand-Prince, who had also fewer competitors in it: those who remained could not, in point of resources, be compared with the Grand-Principality. After all, it was much better that the latter should one day have to recover some provinces from a foreign foe, than from its domestic enemies: it was suffering an external evil instead of an internal one, which is the worst of all.

Thus, the Machiavellism of Ivan prospered. It is true that, by the confidence with which he inspired the Horde, and the terrible war which he waged against his kinsmen, he restored to Russia a tranquillity to which she had long been a stranger. A dawning of order and justice reappeared under a sceptre acquired and preserved by such horrible acts of injustice; the depredations to which Russia had been a prey were repressed; commerce again flourished; great marts and new fairs were established, in which were displayed the productions of the East, of Greece, and of Italy; and the treasury of the prince was swelled still further by the profit arising from the customs.†

Such were the rapid effects of the first steps which Ivan

* See the emigration of Rodion, and of seventeen hundred Kievian boyar followers, who, about 1304 or 1333, sought an asylum at Moscow.

† See Kamenevitch (translated by Karamsin), describing the great mart of Mologa on the Volga, where the commerce of Asia and of Europe met in the seventy inns of its Slavonian suburb; and where seven thousand two hundred pounds' weight of silver were collected for the treasury of the prince.

took to execute the system of concentration of power; this great political impulse was so vigorously given, that it was perpetuated in his son Semen, or Simeon the Proud, to whom Ivan left wherewithal to purchase the Grand-Princedom from the Horde, and in whom he revived the direct succession. Accordingly, Simeon effected, against Novgorod, a second union of all the Russian princes. It is to be remarked, that he was obliged to cede one half of the taxes to his brothers; but, at the same time, he reserved to himself the whole authority, which soon gives to its possessor the mastery of the revenue.

Simeon having died without children, in 1353, after a reign of twelve years, Ivan II., his brother, purchased the sovereignty with the wealth of Kalita. After the six years' reign of Ivan II., this system and this order of succession were, indeed, transiently interrupted in the person of a prince, alien to the branch of Moscow; but we shall soon see the great Dmitri Donskoi establish them as fixed principles; that prince did not neglect to increase the wealth* of his grandfather Ivan. The people had given to Ivan the surname of The Purse; as much, perhaps, with allusion to his treasures, as to the purse, filled with alms for the poor, which is said to have been always carried before him. At a later period, the constantly progressive riches of the Grand-Princes of Moscow enabled them to enfeoff directly from the crown lands three hundred thousand boyar followers; and next, to keep up a body of regular troops, sufficiently strong to reduce their enemies and their subjects.†

This system of concentration of power which Ivan Kalita commenced, by means of his wealth, by the union of the sceptre with the tiara, and by restoring the direct order of succession; his horrible but skilful Machiavellism against the

* See the treaty of Dmitri Donskoi with Vladimir his uncle, who promised to pay to him the tribute of his appanage, which bore the name of the Khan's tribute; and the second treaty with the same Vladimir, by which the latter prince engaged that his boyars should pay to Dmitri the same tax which the Grand-Prince might think proper to impose on his own boyars.

† It was thus that, in France, in 1445, Charles VII. took advantage of the exactions of the English, and of the terror which they inspired, to render perpetual the temporary taxes, and to keep up a permanent corps of twenty-five thousand men.

princes holding appanages; finally, the fifty years' repose which, thanks to his policy, and to their dissensions, the Tatars permitted Russia to enjoy; these are the circumstances which entitle Ivan to be considered as standing next after Alexander Nevsky among the most remarkable Grand-Princes of the third period. It was he who had the sagacity on this stubborn soil to open and to trace so deeply the path which led to monarchical unity, and to point out its direction so clearly to his successors, that they had nothing to do but to persevere in it, as the only safe road which it was then possible for Russia to follow.

This concentration of power brought about great changes from 1320 to 1329; as, at that epoch, all the Russian princes in concert solicited from the Horde the recal of the Tatar governors. It was then that, more firmly fixed, the throne of the Grand-Princes became the rallying-point of the Russians: along with the consciousness of their strength, it inspired them with a public spirit, which emboldened them. This good understanding was, in reality, an effect of the ascendancy which a direct and sustained succession, in a single branch of the Ruriks, had already given to it over all the others.

CHAPTER IX.

DECLINE OF THE TATAR POWER—DMITRI DONSKOI—VASSILI DMITRIEVITCH.

In fact, sometimes natural justice, sometimes Oriental negligence and cupidity, often the fear of being disobeyed, and lastly, and especially, the power and riches of the princes of Moscow, whose presents always surpassed those of the other princes; all these motives had induced the Khans to allow the succession to the Grand-Principality to descend regularly from father to son in the branch of Moscow.* This

* Usbek, it is true, with Machiavellian policy, designated all the children of Ivan I. as his successors; but, in 1340, he allowed Simeon, the oldest and ablest of them, to make himself sole master of the throne. Ianisbek-Khan nominated Ivan II., the brother of Simeon, after his death and that of his children, to the exclusion of a prince of the branch of Tver or Nevsky. A prince Dmitri, of the Nevskoi

natural order of succession Dmitri Donskoi, in 1359, established by a treaty, in which his kinsmen consented to renounce the mode of succession from brother to brother. It was the most remarkable among them, Vladimir the Brave, who was the first to sign this act. In several other conventions, Vladimir acknowledged himself the vassal and lieutenant, not merely of Dmitri, but also of Vassili his son, and even of the son of Vassili, when he was only five years of age. This example, set by a prince who, of all the possessors of appanages, was the most renowned for his prudence and his valour, was followed by the others. Thus, like the Capets, kings of France, did Ivan I., and particularly Dmitri Donskoi, begin the monarchy by restoring the direct succession, in causing, while they lived, their eldest sons to be recognised as their successors. Afterwards we see Vassili, son of Dmitri, persevering in this practice, and Vassili the Blind, his grandson, raising up his tottering throne, and preparing the autocracy of the fourth Russian period, by associating with himself his next heir, the great Ivan III.

It is easy to conceive the infallible effect of this order of succession, and with what promptitude it must necessarily have extended and consolidated the power of the Grand-Princes. In fact, the ideas of the father being transmitted to the son by education, their policy was more consistently followed up, and their ambition had a more direct object; for no one labours for a brother or nephew as for his own children. The nobles could not fail to attach themselves more devotedly to a prince whose son and heir, growing up amongst them, would know only them, and would recompense their services in the persons of their children; for the necessary consequence of the succession of power in the same branch, was the succession of favours and dignities in the same families.

Even before Dmitri had established the principle, the

branch, who had been made Grand-Prince by a whim of Naurus-Khan, was deposed in 1362 by Murath-Khan, who chose Dmitri Donskoi, grandson of Ivan I., and son of Ivan II. Taktamuisch also gave the throne to Vassili II., the eldest son of Donskoi (1389). Lastly, Ulu-Mahomet nominated Vassili III., son of Vassili II., and father of the Great Ivan III., whom this long succession rendered so powerful that he completely crushed the Horde.

boyars saw the advantages which this order of succession held out to them. Here, as elsewhere, the fact preceded the law. This was the reason of their restoring the direct line in the grandson of Ivan Kalita; it was they who made him Grand-Prince at the age of twelve years, and who subjected the other princes to him. In like manner, about 1430, they maintained this order of succession in Vassili the Blind. Contemporary annalists declare that these ancient boyars of the Grand-Principality detested the descent from brother to brother; for, in that system, each prince of the lateral branch arrived from his appanage with other boyars, whom he always preferred, and whom he could not satisfy and establish but at the expense of the old. On the other hand, the most important and transmissible places, the most valuable favours, an hereditary and more certain protection, and greater hopes, attracted a military nobility around the Grand-Princes. In a very short time, their elevation to the level of the humbled petty princes flattered their vanity, and completed their junction with the principal authority. This circumstance explains the last words of Dmitri Donskoi to his boyars, when he recommended his son to their protection. "Under my reign," said he, "you were not boyars, but really Russian princes." In fact (to cite only some examples), we see that his armies were as often commanded by boyars as by princes, and that, from this epoch, it was no longer a prince of the blood, but a boyar of the Grand-Prince, who was his lieutenant at Novgorod.

Nay, more, when the succession from father to son was once established, there were, at the very beginning, two minorities (those of Dmitri, and of Vassili, his grandson), during which the boyars composed the council of regency, governed the state, and were the equals, and even the superiors, of the princes who held appanages. This will explain why, in 1392, the boyars of Boris, the last prince of Suzdal, gave up him and his appanage to Vassili Dmitrievitch of Moscow. The motive is to be found only in their interest; as the Grand-Prince of Moscow entrusted them with the government of the appanages, and thus substituted the nobles in the place of the princes.

A very remarkable circumstance, with respect to Dmitri Donskoi, is, on the one hand, the energy with which he sub-

dued those princes, and, on the other, his circumspect treatment of his boyars. According to Karamsin, it is more especially to their pride and jealousy of the tyssiatchsky of Moscow (the boyar of the city, *or of the Commune*, a sort of civil and military tribune, elected by the people), that we are to attribute the abolition of that office by Donskoi. During the preceding reign, another tyssiatchsky of Moscow, who claimed precedence of even the boyars of the Grand-Prince, had been murdered by them.

When this hereditary protection afforded by the Grand-Princes of the Moscow branch was once fairly established, the nobles of each appanage, who constituted its army, had thenceforth an asylum, and, as it were, a tribunal for redress, to which they could appeal whenever they were dissatisfied with their prince. It was this which made Tver fall before Ivan Kalita; for the sovereign prince of that first and last rival of Moscow having preferred to his boyars the people of Pskof, who had defended him, the former withdrew to Moscow.

The power of Ivan Kalita being once raised by the Tatars' aid, and by the re-establishment of the direct line of succession, and thoroughly developed by his son and grandson, Simeon the Proud and Dmitri Donskoi, it followed, as a natural consequence, that he who was most able to reward and to punish drew round him, and retained, the whole of the nobles. These constituted the sole strength of the appanaged princes; their defection, therefore, completed the subjugation of the princes. Dmitri Donskoi was, therefore, in reality sovereign, as is proved by his treaties with the princes who held appanages, all of whom he reduced to be his vassals. And, accordingly, notwithstanding the appanages which he gave to his sons, and the dissensions which arose out of that error—an error as yet, perhaps, unavoidable—the attachment of the nobles, for which we have just assigned a reason, always replaced the legitimate heir on the throne.

Already, so early as about 1366, the Russian princes could no longer venture to contend against their lord-paramount by any other means than by denunciations to the Horde; but to what Khan could they be addressed? Discord had created several: what result was to be hoped from them? Divided

among themselves, the Tatar armies had ceased to be an available force. The journeys to the Golden Horde, which had originally contributed to keep the Russian princes in awe, now served to afford them an insight into the weakness of their enemies. The Grand-Princes returned from the Horde with the confidence that they might usurp with impunity; and their competitors with envoys and letters, which even they themselves well knew would be of no avail. It was, then, obvious in Russia, that the only protecting power was at Moscow: to have recourse to its support was a matter of necessity. The petty princes could obtain it only by the sacrifice of their independence; and thus all of them became vassals to the Grand-Prince Dmitri.

Never did a great man arise more opportunely than this Dmitri. It was a propitious circumstance, that the dissensions of the Tatars gave them full occupation during the eighteen years subsequent to the first three of his reign:* this, in the first place, allowed him time to extinguish the devastating fury of Olguerd the Lithuanian, son of Guedimin, father of Jagellon, and conqueror of all Lithuania, Volhynia, Smolensk, Kief, and even of the Taurida; secondly, to unite several principalities with his throne; and, lastly, to compel the other princes, and even the prince of Tver, to acknowledge his paramount authority.

The contest with the latter was terrible: four times did Dmitri overcome Mikhail, and four times did the prince of Tver, aided by his son-in-law, the great Olguerd, prince of Lithuania, rise again victorious. In this obstinate conflict, Moscow itself was twice besieged, and must have fallen, had it not been for its stone walls, the recent work of the first regency of the Muscovite boyars. But, at length, Olguerd died; and Dmitri, who, but three years before, could appear only on his knees at the Horde, now dared to refuse the Khan his tribute, and to put to death the insolent ambassador who had been sent to claim it.

We have seen that, fifty years earlier, a similar instance of temerity caused the branch of Tver to fall beneath that of Moscow; but times were changed. The triple alliance of the primate, the boyars, and the Grand-Prince, had now

* From 1362 to 1380.

restored to the Russians a confidence in their own strength: they had acquired boldness from a conviction of the power of their Grand-Prince, and from the dissensions of the Tatars. Some bands of the latter, wandering in Muscovy in search of plunder, were defeated; at last the Tatars have fled before the Russians! they are become their slaves, the delusion of their invincibility is no more!

The burst of fury which the Khan exhibited on learning the murder of his representative, accordingly served as a signal for the confederation of all the Russian princes against the prince of Tver. He was compelled to submit to the Grand-Prince, and to join with him against the Horde.

Russia now began to feel that there were three important things which were indispensably necessary to her; the establishment of the direct succession, the concentration of the supreme power, and the union of all parties against the Tatars. The movement in this direction was taken very opportunely; for it happened simultaneously that Mamai-Khan was also disembarrassed of his civil wars (1380), and he hastened with all his forces into Russia to re-establish his slighted authority; but he found the Grand-Prince Dmitri confronting him on the Don, at the head of the combined Russian princes and an army of two hundred thousand men. Dmitri put it to the choice of his troops whether they would go to encounter the foe, who were encamped at no great distance on the opposite shore of the river, or remain on this side and wait the attack? With one voice they declared for going over to the assault. The Grand-Prince immediately transported his battalions across the river, and then turned the vessels adrift, in order to cut off all hopes of escaping by retreat, and inspire his men with a more desperate valour against an enemy who was three times stronger in numbers. The fight began. The Russians defended themselves valiantly against the furious attacks of the Tatars; the hosts of combatants pressed in such numbers to the field of battle, that multitudes of them were trampled under foot by the tumult of men and horses. The Tatars, continually relieved by fresh bodies of soldiers as any part was fatigued by the conflict, seemed at length to have victory on their side. Nothing but the impossibility of getting over the river, and the firm persuasion that death would directly transport them from the hands of the infidel enemy into the

mansions of bliss, restrained the Russians from a general flight. But all at once, at the very moment when everything seemed to be lost, a detachment of the Grand-Prince's army, which he had stationed as a reserve, and which till now had remained inactive and unobserved, came up in full force, fell upon the rear of the Tatars, and threw them into such amazement and terror that they fled, and left the Russians masters of the field. This momentous victory, however, cost them dear; thousands lay dead upon the ground, and the whole army was occupied eight days in burying the bodies of the dead Russians: those of the Tatars were left uninterred upon the ground. It was in memory of this achievement that Dmitri received his honourable surname of Donskoi.

Subsequently, however, and even during this reign, there were many civil wars in Russia; Moscow was several times burned by the Tatars. Two years after the victory of the Don, Taktamuisch, a lieutenant of Tamerlane, who was become master of the Kaptchak, surprised and ravaged the Grand-Principality, and rendered it tributary; and Tver once more raised its head. Seventy years later we still find two Russian princes disputing at the Golden Horde for the possession of the Grand-Principality. But the two principles destructive of the Tatar empire,—namely, its own dissensions and the power of the Grand-Princes,—gradually acquired the predominance, and ended by sweeping everything before them. We see the Khans, even after their victories, uniformly concentrating authority in the hands of the Grand-Princes of Moscow, and annihilating themselves by engaging more and more in internal divisions. Donskoi, meanwhile, had so firmly founded the authority of the Grand-Princes,—he took such prudent steps on his death-bed, in 1389, and left such an illustrious example, that he seemed to have bequeathed, not his greatness of mind, but his skill and his good fortune to his successor Vassili.

Pliant and patient with his European and Asiatic neighbours, Vassili III. Dmitrievitch was haughty, and even ferocious and inexorable, to his kinsmen and to his unruly subjects. In his proceedings, circumspect at first, but persevering and inflexible, we discover the aristocratic policy of the council of boyars and priests to which his father had confided his youth.

His triple object was, firstly, to repress the Lithuanians;

and as he was the son-in-law of the Lithuanian prince, he combated him rather by policy than by arms; secondly, to liberate Russia from the yoke of the Tatars; and it was by their means that, following the example of his ancestors, he continued the system of re-uniting the appanages to the Grand-Principality; for that was his third purpose, which he deemed it prudent to achieve before he thought of the second. Like his predecessors, therefore, he journeyed, in 1392, to offer homage to the Horde for his sceptre, propitiate it by presents, and purchase from it the investiture of seven appanages, of which he had despoiled his kinsmen; their own boyars put them into his hands, and those princes were, consequently, under the necessity of mingling in the ranks of his courtiers, or of dying in captivity or in exile.

Eighteen years afterwards, when, having lost his old counsellors, and being too eager to enfranchise himself, Vassili drew on his head the wrath of the Khans, by his refusal of the tribute, he promptly reverted to the policy of his fathers, and returned again to the Horde, to ensure its favour by renewed homage. In reward for this supple policy, whole provinces dependent on Novgorod, the principalities of Suzdal and of Tchernigof were united to the Grand-Principality; and thenceforth the paramount throne was raised to a disproportionate height above the petty thrones by which it was surrounded.

Wars, horrible punishments, and Machiavellian policy, all were employed by Vassili Dmitrievitch to render the proud Novgorod the tributary of Moscow; and as his power grew with that of the primate, he strove to subject the republic to the civil jurisdiction of that priest.

At length, in 1425, ending as he began, he closed a reign of thirty-six years, by requiring all the Russian princes to swear that they would hold no correspondence with the Tatars and Lithuanians; he compelled them to acknowledge his son Vassili III., then only five years old, as their lord-paramount, and whoever dared to refuse he expelled from his appanage.

It was in the reign of Vassili Dmitrievitch that money began to be coined in Russia. Before this time the chronicles make frequent mention, first of grivnas, and afterwards of rubles; but by these words were understood a certain

weight of silver. Foreign commerce, therefore, was carried on after the manner of the East by barter, or by exchange against gold or silver taken by weight. For petty transactions the current money was bits of marten skins called *mortki*, and still smaller scraps of fur, consisting of squirrels' heads, or even the ears only, called *polushki*, worth some fraction of a farthing. Moscow and Tver were the first towns that employed a Tatar coin, named *denga*, from the word *tanga*, which means mark. At first the legend was only in the Tatar language; then Tatar on one side, Russian on the other; and finally Russian only. Polish and German coins were abundant in Novgorod in the beginning of the fifteenth century; but in 1420 the city established its own mint. Its coin, which represented a throned prince, was for a long time current at about twice the value of that of Moscow or Tver.

CHAPTER X.

VASSILI IV.—THE RUSSIAN CHURCH IN THE THIRD PERIOD.

SUCH as we have described was the political march of the Grand-Princes from the time of Ivan Kalita. In 1398, however, the state was more than ever in danger of being irretrievably destroyed, and these princes of Moscow, proud as they might be of their Machiavellian skill, had reason to thank the Russian good-fortune for the salvation of their empire.

On its right and on its left arose at once two conquerors, who seemed ready to devour it. On the east, there was Tamerlane; on the west, Vitovt the Lithuanian. The first, with his four hundred thousand warriors, had already conquered the rebellious Kaptchak, and touched on the Russian frontier: already the second was at Kaluga and at Viazma; he had surprised Smolensk, and penetrated to Novgorod; and trembling Muscovy expected to be crushed between these two colossuses, when, all at once, they both turned aside, bent their course to the south, met, and came into collision. Russia, which they had so closely compressed, now breathed again; she arose astonished: on her left she

beheld Vitovt, her European oppressor, beaten down before Kutlui, the lieutenant of Tamerlane. She turned her still terrified gaze towards the victorious east, but the terrible Mongol had vanished in the deepest recesses of Asia; he seemed to have appeared solely to inflict a mortal blow on the rebellious Kaptchak, that Horde which was fattened with Russian blood and gold. It was thus that discord, passing from the Russians to the Tatars, prepared for the north of Europe a triumph over Asia, the termination of which it is impossible to foresee.

At the same time, and by an equally propitious fortune, subsequently to Jagellon and Vitovt, Lithuania and Poland came to blows; these other enemies of Russia rent each other to pieces: like the Tatars, they exhausted their own strength; their sterile dynasties were interrupted; a democracy of nobles gained the upper hand; and the sceptre became more and more elective; while that of the Grand-Princes, in spite of the faults of Vassili the Blind, the son of Vassili, struck deep root, by means of its divine right, and of its direct succession, and became more flourishing by the length of the reigns.

This longevity of the Muscovite Grand-Princes was another very remarkable cause of the prodigious growth of their power. The reigns of Ivan Kalita, and his lineal descendants, Simeon the Proud, Ivan II., Dmitri Donskoi, Vassili his son, and Vassili Vassilievitch his grandson, were of thirteen, twelve, six, twenty-seven, thirty-six, and thirty-seven years; this was enough to found the paramount sway of the Grand-Princes of Moscow. In the succeeding period we shall see this longevity increasing, like the power, in their successors Ivan the Great, Vassili, and Ivan the Terrible, whose reigns were of forty-three, twenty-eight, and forty-nine years. So that in 1425, when the reign arrived of Vassili Vassilievitch, the last prince of the third period, so rooted was the custom of acknowledging as Grand-Prince no one but the eldest son of the Grand-Prince, that this Vassili succeeded his father when he was ten years old; and although he was several times dethroned, the habit of respect and of fidelity always replaced him on the throne. After such protracted reigns, the rights of the sovereign were marked out, the path traced for his successor, and the habits of his subjects formed.

Nevertheless, on the birth of this Vassili Vassilievitch, a miracle was deemed useful, to ratify more fully his right to the throne of his father; the new-born prince was proclaimed Grand-Prince by a voice from heaven. The precaution, however, appears to have been quite supererogatory; the first event of this reign is a proof of its being so: it stands alone in history.

Yury, the uncle of the young sovereign, making an appeal to the ancient order of succession, laid claim to the throne. An excommunication by the primate, which he at first despised, but which an unexpected pestilence rendered efficacious, suspended the enforcement of his pretensions. They were renewed, however, as the contagion diminished; and Vassili and his uncle proceeded to dispute for their rights before the Horde. But the Khan was so completely influenced by the address of the boyars who accompanied the Grand-Prince, and so carried away by the general impulse, that he unwisely declared for the lineal heir, released him from all tribute to the Horde, and even decreed that the uncle should hold the bridle of his nephew's horse, on the entrance of the latter into his capital. But from this decision the ambitious Yury appealed to arms; Moscow, taken by surprise, fell into his hands, and his nephew Vassili was exiled to an appanage.

Would it not appear as if the lineal succession were again overthrown, and that a long and furious war would be required to restore it? Not so; the manners of the time, and respect for the lineal order—that custom founded on the general interest, and already existing for eighty years, were sufficient to secure its triumph; and that, too, in the course of a few days, without a single sword being drawn, or a drop of blood shed. Public opinion, disarmed as it was, yet stronger than a victor, neutralised his victory: priests, people, nobles, all disavowed him; all, even the son of the usurper, abandoned his cause. The entire population of the great Moscow followed the lineal heir into his banishment; the conqueror, struck with dismay, remained alone; and, vanquished by this terrific insulation, he descended from his solitary throne, and restored it to the legitimate heir.

The errors of Vassili, however, subsequently precipitated

him twice from the throne, first into the fetters of the Tatars, and next into those of the son of Yury, who put out his eyes in retaliation; but legitimacy always triumphed by its inherent strength, even in spite of this blind, imprudent, and unfortunate Grand-Prince, whom it perpetually raised up again. The son of Yury was, indeed, speedily deserted by his nobles; they replaced Vassili the Blind on the throne. The usurper was vanquished, pursued, despoiled; he died of poison administered by his own followers, and Novgorod, which had given him an asylum, was compelled to ransom itself.

Thus, the Tatar yoke was broken; the humiliation of the possessors of appanages was consummated; that of the Russian republics of Novgorod, Pskof, and Viatka was commenced; the paramount sway was established; and the lineal succession, which began *de facto* under Ivan Kalita, acquired the force of a right under Dmitri Donskoi, was rendered, both *de facto* and *de jure*, incontestable at the close of the long reign of Vassili the Blind, when the force of public opinion had obstinately overthrown his last competitor, and when he associated with him his son, the great Ivan III., in the government of the empire.

Among the means which co-operated in this great work of autocracy, the reader can hardly have failed to recognise the powerful and persevering hand of the priests. It remains for us, then, to seek in the spirit of the history of the Russian Church one more cause of the elevation of the Grand-Princes of Moscow.

In those times of ignorance, the Greek religion and its priests could not be otherwise than one of the most powerful means of instruction and of government. An edict of Vladimir, issued about the year 1000, is said to have granted immense privileges to the Russian clergy; modern historians, however, attach no faith to this story. But of what importance to us is the truth? it would prove nothing but the blindness of a prince, and would be of no avail to establish a right against nature.

If we look at this question only with a reference to manners, or to obtain an insight into the respective positions of the different orders of the state, in either case the fact is

enough without the right. Now, it is certain that, as far back as the year 1200, the Russian clergy were covered with the spoils of their flocks; that, in numerous cases, they sentenced to death, and without appeal; that the monks, like the nobles elsewhere, had a number of fortified dwellings, of which they were the formidable defenders; that their primate had a court, boyars, guards, and an Asiatic luxury; that there were public ceremonies at which the proudest sovereigns walked before him, humbly holding the bridle of the ass on which this pontiff rode; and that in all state affairs the primate was the first who was consulted—a very natural circumstance, as many of these heads of the clergy came from Greece, and were looked upon as lights amidst the surrounding darkness.

Another fact is, that in the civil commotions the Russian priests were often mediators, ambassadors—even umpires; a part which they were also called upon to perform in virtue of their ministry, consecrated to charity and peace.

The Tatar invasion added to their power: in the desperate resistance of the Russian cities, the Khans witnessed the mighty influence which the clergy possessed over the minds of the people; it was for this reason that Baty, Burgai, and their successors, treated them with respect, and even exonerated them from all tribute. Thenceforth, being the only persons who were allowed to be rich and at peace,* they bought or coveted everything; Russia was covered with monasteries, in which males and females were blended; and, as all other subjects were horribly oppressed, all flocked to these convents: nobles, merchants, even princes, were anxious to become monks. Such was, besides, the superstition of the age, that the majority of the Grand-Princes of the first race expired in the monkish habit.

In 1339, an archbishop of Novgorod having been taken

* See the firman of Usbek, in 1313; he declares, that "the Church is the sole judge of the Church in all cases, and of all who live on its domains. That he renounces the tribute due to him from the lands of the clergy, as well as all his other rights, such as those of customs, plough-money, tolls, farm-tax, and relays for his service. That whoever shall contravene this safeguard shall be punished with death; and not only for the forcible carrying off of sacred property, but even if they dare merely to condemn, or to blame, the Greek religion."

prisoner by the Lithuanians, the republic was on the point of ransoming him at the cost of a province, of three cities, and even of its independence.

An earthquake, frightful plagues, particularly that of 1352, and, at a later period, the fear of the end of the world, which an ancient prediction announced for this epoch, consummated the work attributed to Vladimir: the major part of the dying bequeathed their property to monasteries.

The legislation of the Russians was, likewise, such as to give them a tendency to this unworthy conduct: among men who could buy off earthly justice by pecuniary sacrifices, it was no unnatural conclusion that heavenly justice might be bought off by donations. And then, at Byzantium, as at Rome, it had become an established dogma, that a man might gain the riches of heaven by disappointing his heirs, and bequeathing his earthly riches to the men of God; which, assuredly, was closing existence with one of the most selfish acts of his whole life.

As to the toleration displayed by the Khans, we know not whether it ought to be attributed solely to their policy, or rather to their religious apathy, and to their being accustomed to rule people of different religions; one thing is certain, that several Russian bishops resided in the court of these pagan princes; and that the Tatars were believers in the efficacy of all prayers, whatever might be their form, and wished that they should be offered up for them. In truth, their faith, nomadic like themselves, without any external practices, without any point of union, with scarcely anything to allure and attach the senses of so lively a people, could not be an object of much importance. How then could this religion, so vague that it hardly deserves the name of one, have been intolerant? The interest of their priests might have rendered it so; but it does not appear that, among these wandering nations, the priests were ever able to become a corporate body, or to acquire the spirit of one.

At a later period, Mahometanism, which these Tatars embraced, did not, however exclusive it may be, render them less tolerant; and it is remarkable that, far from penetrating into European Russia, that religion stopped short on its frontier. Such of the Asiatic conquerors as entered this part of our globe to establish themselves there became converts

to Christianity. Would it not seem as if these two religions had finally and invariably divided the different parts of the world according to its great geographical divisions? Let us here remark, availing ourselves of the light thrown on the subject by the profound genius of Montesquieu, that the causes of polygamy, and of the slavery of women and men in the East, are all equally so of the partition which Mahometanism and Christianity have made of Asia and of Europe. Now, almost all these causes are connected with the climate; and the reason is, that a religion having, still more than the laws, its roots in the manners, the climate must have considerable influence over it. Neither could the doctrine of fatalism, which springs from indolence, as well as leads to it, possibly take root in a rigorous, niggardly, variable climate, which stimulates and requires active labour. This was another reason for the distribution of religion according to temperature. It has been objected, that Christianity itself came from Asia; but this confirms still more forcibly the preceding assertion, since it was compelled to quit that continent.

However that may be, Usbek, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, became a Mahometan. He thought that, either from tolerance, apathy, or pride, his predecessors had been negligent in rallying under the same creed the vanquished slaves, who were not to be despised. It is said that he was desirous to divest them of the too obvious marks of dissimilarity and opposition.

This Khan seems to have been deeply impressed with the power of the Russian clergy at this epoch; of this we may judge by the attentions which he lavished on the primate when he visited his Horde. But the Christian must naturally have been distrustful of a Mahometan prince who reduced all his hordes under the law of the Prophet. In fact, about 1327, a rumour was all at once spread abroad, that Schevkal,* a kinsman of Usbek, and his ambassador at Tver, had gone thither to massacre the family of the Grand-Prince, to set himself on the throne, and to raise the standard of the Prophet.

The general massacre of the Tatars in that principality

* Stchelkhan, according to Levesque.

must have convinced Usbek of the emptiness of his projects. Perhaps his wars with Persia induced him to postpone the execution of them till another time; perhaps, even, they were falsely attributed to him; as he contented himself with ravaging Russia and changing its Grand-Prince. To ascertain the truth of the fact is now both impossible and useless; suffice it, that the belief in it proves the active disquietude of Christianity at coming in contact with a hostile religion, equally exclusive with itself. The dread of Tatar intolerance, therefore, had the effect of rallying the priests round the sole power which was able to protect them. They felt that the Grand-Prince could defend them against Mahometanism and Catholicism only by means of the united force of the Russians, and that force they exerted themselves to place within his grasp.

This policy dates more particularly from the period when Kief was under the yoke of the Nogays and the Lithuanians.* Kief had preserved its pretensions to the paramount authority; the primate still resided there: about 1290, it became uninhabitable; the pontiff then established himself at Vladimir, and subsequently at Moscow. The head of the Church formed a junction with the head of the State, and the religious power with the civil power. After that period it was obvious, from the more consistent and undeviating march of the Grand-Princes, that their progress was directed by the constantly adroit and able policy of the priests.

Besides, notwithstanding the general prevalence of superstition, the priests could not escape from the disastrous consequences of civil dissensions; and as they were as little enabled to turn them to advantage, it became their interest to form an alliance with the power most interested in putting a stop to such excesses.

We see, in fact, that the Metropolitan Photius became the Grand-Prince of Moscow's firmest support, because that throne was his sole protection against the encroachments of the nobles upon the domains of the clergy. The same interest united him with that Grand-Prince against Vitovt, the Lithuanian, who, by means of a very remarkable council of bishops,† had liberated the Church of Kief, which he had

* From 1299 to 1320.

† See Karamsin, vol. v. p. 274.

conquered, from the supremacy of Moscow, as well as from that of Byzantium.

Listen, also, in 1328, to the prophetic accents of the Metropolitan Peter, choosing Moscow as his residence, and requiring of Ivan Kalita to build a cathedral there. "My bones," said he to him, "shall rest in this city; here will the primates fix their abode; it will overthrow all its enemies. You and your successors will become great and famous." In 1332, this pontiff persevered in this close alliance, in spite of the terrible Lithuanian Guedimin, into whose hands he had fallen.

After the death of Ivan II., in 1359, one of the appanaged princes obtained the Grand-Principality from the Horde; but the primate, who was obliged to go to crown him at Vladimir, refused to reside with him. The prelate returned to concert, with the Muscovite boyars, the means of restoring the sovereignty to the grandson of Ivan Kalita, the lineal heir of the princes of Moscow, who was then only twelve years of age. He went still further; for, proceeding in the work of legitimacy and concentration, he hurled the thunders of the Church against those princes who refused to acknowledge the supremacy of this child.

In 1415, it was also a monk of Moscow, a dependent on the primate, who predicted the birth of Vassili the Blind, the grandson of the hero of the Don. This monk published throughout the empire, that he had heard a voice from heaven miraculously proclaim, as Grand-Prince of all Russia, the young lineal heir of the throne of Moscow, at the very moment in which he saw the light.

Lastly, in 1447, in a remarkable letter from the Russian bishops to the usurper Dmitri,* observe how they maintain Vassili to be the only sovereign by the grace of God, and how they threaten Dmitri with the wrath of Heaven for his revolts; "but for which," they add, "Russia would have been emancipated from the Tatar yoke."

Previously, in 1425, the primate of that day had proclaimed the accession of this same Vassili, aged only ten years, and summoned his uncles to acknowledge him as their sovereign.

Yet, in 1429, this young prince was near being expelled

* See Karamsin, vol. v. p. 403.

from the throne by his uncle Yury of Galitch. The pernicious and absurd order of succession, from brother to brother, was on the point of being restored, when the same primate stopped Yury by that excommunication which, as we have before seen, derived additional weight from an opportune pestilence; for, in Russia, it was necessary that the moral force of anathemas should be backed by physical force, without which the excommunication was impotent, as was shown by Pskof in 1337, and Nijni Novgorod in 1365. Everything, therefore, prompted the clergy to lean for support on the Grand-Princes, and to enlarge the protecting power of Moscow with all that they could aggregate to it. Faithful to this policy, the primates had, consequently, a considerable share in the elevation of the Grand-Princes and the deliverance of their country.

Here terminates the third period of this history: in the fourth, we shall behold Russia emancipating herself from her foreign masters to become the slave of her own princes. Four centuries of calamity, arising from the partition of power, had demonstrated the indispensable necessity of concentrating that power; this single idea, which the Grand-Princes of the branch of Moscow faithfully transmitted to each other, sufficed to raise up the prostrate empire; such mighty efficacy has a firm and consistent will. This idea predominated for two hundred and sixty years; but, spreading in proportion as it encountered fewer obstacles, it went beyond the mark, and produced the most atrocious despotism that imagination can conceive.

The fourth period will exhibit to us the final emancipation of Russia from the Tatar yoke; but when will the mark be effaced which that vile servitude imprinted on the character of the Russian people? National pride and the sense of personal honour were crushed out of their hearts by that calamity, and cunning and greed, the especial vices of slaves, became their leading characteristics. "From Vassili Yaroslavitch," says Karamsin, "to Ivan Kalita (1272-1328), the most disastrous period of our history, the aspect of Russia was that of a gloomy forest rather than an empire. Might took the place of right, and pillage, authorised by impunity, was exercised alike by Russians and Tatars. There was no safety for travellers on the roads, or for families in their

homes; and robbery, like a contagious malady, infested all properties. When the gloom of these horrible disorders began to disperse, and law, that soul of social order, awoke from its lethargy, it was necessary to have recourse to a severity unknown to the ancient Russians. The good and generous Monomachus said to his children, 'Put not even the guilty to death, for the soul of a Christian is sacred;' and yet Dmitri, Mamai's victor, whose soul was not less noble than that of the vanquisher of the Polovtzy, restored the punishment of death as the sole means of appalling crime. Pecuniary fines had formerly sufficed to check robbery among our ancestors, but in the fourteenth century this offence was punished with the gibbet. To the Russians of Yaroslaf's age blows were unknown except in the heat of a quarrel. The Tatar yoke introduced corporal punishments among us; for a first theft the culprit was branded; and in the reign of Vassili the Blind flogging with the knout began to be inflicted even upon persons of the highest station for offences against the state; but what efficacy could the shame of such punishments have in a country where a branded man was not excluded from society? If we have seen crimes in our ancient history, the times of which we are now speaking present much more odious traits of ferocity in princes and people—ferocity aggravated by the sense of oppression and abject fear. Circumstances always serve to explain the moral qualities of a people. However, as the effect is often more lasting than the cause, the descendants, living under different circumstances, retain some traces of the virtues or vices of their ancestors; and it may be that *the character of the Russians exhibits to this day some of the blots with which the barbarity of the Mongols defiled it.*"

CHAPTER XI.

BEGINNING OF THE FOURTH PERIOD, FROM 1462 TO 1613—IVAN III. THE GREAT.

THE spirit of the history of the whole of this fourth period—the period of despotism—stands fully displayed in its first

reign, that of Ivan III. This prince ascended the throne in 1462, at the age of twenty-two; he reigned forty-three years. The three succeeding reigns present the continuation, and the horrible abuse, of the system of Ivan III. and the downfal of his race, the effect of that system, which itself was but an expansion of that of his ancestors.

The life of Ivan the Great, like all great lives, had one uniform object; in him the pursuit of autocracy was an exclusive passion, but free from the rashness, confusion, and violence usually attendant on such a condition of mind. From the age of twenty-three he proved himself capable of regulating its march, and subjecting it to the slow movements of a policy at once insidious even to perfidy, and circumspect even to cowardice, but ever invariable.

Ivan III. wished to be independent out of his domains, and autocrat within; he had, therefore, numerous enemies among his neighbours and his subjects; but he succeeded in uniting, by turns, all these enemies against a single one, and thus successively subdued the one by the other.

It was necessary for him to subdue Kasan and the Golden Horde, to which he was yet tributary; the great communities, or Russian republics, of Novgorod, Pskof, and Viatka, which affected a sovereignty almost equal to his own; and the princes, his kinsmen, proud of the appanages which they still retained, and determined to live in them as masters. At the same time he had to repress Lithuania, which was always ready to offer to all these hostile powers the protection of a sovereignty, long the fortunate rival of that of Moscow, which it had straitened on the west, south, and north, by successively seducing from it its great vassals.

Such were his adversaries. For allies, he made use, at home, of his nobles, princes, and subjects of southern and central Russia, who were inured to slavery, against his northern subjects, who were yet free; afterwards, he employed his nobles and his old and new slaves against the princes of his blood. Lastly, his omnipotence sufficed him against his boyars, when he stood no longer in fear of them; after the humiliation of his other enemies, and the creation of a swarm of petty nobles, his immediate vassals.

As to the Golden Horde and Lithuania, his external adversaries, he sought enemies for them in Persia, in Sweden,

in Hungary, at Vienna, and even at Rome; but the celebrated Stephen, Hospodar of Wallachia, and Menghli-Ghirei, Khan of the Crimea, who were placed between and in dread of the Golden Horde, Turkey, and Lithuania, were the foes of his foes, and his own natural allies. These he distinguished above all others; his Machiavellian policy, while it incessantly deceived them, still contrived to retain them on the side of Russia, and in perpetual hostility with Lithuania, till he found the favourable moment for striking it in his turn.

Such were the allies and the opponents of Ivan III. At the beginning of his reign he acknowledged all their rights; he cajoled all the hostile powers which he wished to destroy; he flattered all their pretensions, and even patiently submitted to the abuse of them.

From the time of his accession, however, the fourfold contest which he was to sustain against the Lithuanians, the possessors of appanages, the Russian republics, and the Tatars, began with the latter; but, remark with what precautions! If he does not pay *the tribute of the Khan*, if he does not go to pick up his crown at the feet of that sovereign, do not imagine that his young pride haughtily rejects the shameful necessities imposed upon him by a half-vanquished barbarian. No; he merely eludes them, and, while he furtively withholds the tribute, he humbly acknowledges himself a tributary. By-and-by the Tatar residents, their retinue, their merchants, who were yet established even in the Kremlin, were at length excluded from it. Who would not suppose that, in a powerful sovereign, this so much desired enfranchisement was the effect of a noble burst of indignation? Not so. On the contrary, it was by insidious pretexts, and by meanly purchasing the protection of a Tatar woman, that the Grand-Prince surreptitiously obtained from the Khan the order that these Mongols should no longer dwell as masters in the very abode of the Russian sovereign.

At a later period, all that the high spirit of his wife, the daughter of the emperor of Byzantium, could obtain from the autocrat, was, that he would avoid going to meet the Mongol envoy; that he would no longer degrade himself by spreading under the hoofs of this barbarian's steed a carpet of sable fur; that he would not go to prostrate himself at his

feet; that he would refuse to hear on his knees the letter of the Khan; and would not submit to present the cup of koumiss to the envoy of his master, and shamefully lick from the neck of the barbarian's horse the drops of the beverage which might fall upon it.

And yet, as early as the first years of his reign, eastern Bulgaria, and Kasan, the first and largest Tatar city, had yielded to his arms; nay more, before that triumph and after, the Golden Horde, which had thrice risen in a body against him, had thrice fallen again, and the remnant of it, closely pursued, had at length been destroyed, even in its haunt.

Behold, then, Asia vanquished, and Muscovy liberated! History will, doubtless, henceforth represent the prince under whom this mighty revolution was effected in no other light than that of a formidable warrior, a glorious conqueror in his triumphal car! But history dares not; not even native history, captive, and submissive, like everything that springs from the Russian soil; far, indeed, from thus representing this prince, she depicts him displaying, in an age of combats, nothing but a feigned desire to combat. Sometimes, he announced his departure for Kasan with his armies, which he afterwards left to others the task of conducting; sometimes, he at length set off himself, only to stop on the road on the slightest pretext, not blushing to let his warriors march without him, and constantly recommending to them to shun all decisive engagements.

Yet more remains behind; in 1469, after assembling all Russia, and exhausting all the resources of war, when his army was marching to certain triumph, he stopped short! To so many arms, all fully prepared, the vain hope of some negotiations made him prefer having recourse to policy; but indignant Russia rushed forward in spite of its prince: the general, who, in obedience to his orders, endeavoured to hold it back, was left alone. Ivan learned that the Russian warriors had chosen another leader, and, finally, that, maugre his pusillanimity, they had triumphed over the inhabitants of Kasan. It was not till then, not till the fortunate and unpunished daring of his subjects had thoroughly convinced him of the weakness of Kasan, that he urged against it all the princes engaged in his service, and even his guard; but

he himself continued at Moscow, still seriously alarmed by the last convulsions of the feeble enemy, though, to give the final blow to that enemy, he had despatched the colossal forces of the whole of Russia!

It was thus that he attacked; how, then, did he defend himself? How did it happen that the Golden Horde, which so long bore sway, was thrice repulsed, and at length irretrievably destroyed? What were the combats of this new Dmitri Donskoi, or, at least, those at which this Louis XIV. was present? What was the Actium of this Augustus? How vanquish so often, without a victory? History does not record even one. On the first invasion of Russia by the Horde, he hardly dared to give orders for his own defence; Russia was saved by the Tatars of the Crimea alone. With respect to the second (1468), he relied solely upon numbers, and collected forces so disproportionate to the danger, that it was dissipated by the mere rumour of their march. "In the eyes of the Khan," says the annalist, "our army moved and shone like the waves of a majestic sea illumined by the rays of the sun." It was merely by this display that Ivan contented himself with a second time vanquishing his enemy, whose flight was not even disturbed by the wary autocrat.

On the third invasion by the Golden Horde, in 1480, when he had subdued the most dangerous of the Russian republics; when he had succeeded in rallying his brothers to the general cause; when Lithuania, held in check by the Khan of the Crimea, was sufficiently occupied in providing for its own safety; in short, when all Russia, ardent and in arms, advanced proudly as far as the Oka to meet the Tatars, he alone was discouraged!—he deemed himself conquered! He alarmed the capital by the flight of the czaritza, whom he sent to find an asylum in a remote part of the north. He stopped on the approach of the enemy, deserted his army, and retired to the distant Moscow to hide his terrors; he even recalled his son to that city. At the moment when all might be lost, he seemed resolved to risk nothing that was connected with his person.

But the priests, the people, even that son, were indignant, and broke forth into murmurs: "Why had he overburdened them with taxes, without payingthe Khan his tribute? And

when he had brought the enemy into the heart of the country, why did he refuse to fight for it?" He convoked the bishops and boyars, for the purpose, as he said, of asking their advice; but they replied,* "Does it become mortals to dread death! It is in vain to fly from fear: march boldly against the enemy; such is our advice!" His son, far from obeying him, declared "that he would unshrinkingly wait the coming of the Tatars; that he would rather die at his post than follow the example of his father."

Thus driven back towards his army by the general clamour, the pusillanimous autocrat returned to his troops to cool the ardour which glowed in their breasts; the fear which possessed a single individual fettered the courage of all. Moscow learned that its sovereign, trembling behind a river (the Lugra), which divided him from the danger, was chaffering for a remnant of disgrace, that he was negotiating his own dishonour! Perhaps he was about to degrade himself and Russia so flagrantly as to kiss the stirrup of the Mongol! Then it was that the primate addressed him: "Moved by our tears, you set out once more to combat the enemy of the Christians, and now you implore peace from that infidel who scorns your prayer! Ah, prince, to what counsels have you lent your ear? Is it not, to throw away your shield, and shamefully take flight? From what a height of grandeur are you not descending! Would you give up Russia to fire and sword, and the churches to plunder? And whither would you fly? Can you soar like the eagle? Will you fix your nest amidst the stars? The Lord will cast you down even from that asylum! No! you will not desert us; you will blush at the name of fugitive, and traitor to your country!"

But neither these animating exhortations, nor the fresh reinforcements which thronged from all quarters, nor the insulated situation of his enemy, whom the Lithuanian prince could not second, nothing, in short, had power to move that most personal of all feelings, autocratic selfishness! Disarmed of his Machiavellian policy, in which his genius entirely consisted; in the midst of two hundred thousand warriors, Ivan believed himself powerless; without a blow struck, he

* By the mouth of Vassian, Archbishop of Rostof. See Karamsin, vol. vi. p. 183.

imagined himself destitute of resource; and when the ice of a premature winter had obliterated the river which served as a barrier between the two armies, he was seized with consternation, determined to fall back, and could not even retreat but with a disorderly flight!

Now at length, it may be supposed, we shall behold a tyrant stripped of all his delusive qualities, reduced to his instrinsic value, and consigned in this shameful nudity to the contempt of his people, whom he deserted. Not so. However low he might have fallen, the immense interval which separated him from the people, and even from his nobles, was not yet traversed: the demigod had not yet touched the earth: in him was still respected his whole ancestral line, and such vast innate authority! What Muscovite could dare to conceive the possibility of dispensing with this son of Rurik, this descendant of St. Vladimir? Dastardly as was the soul of this prince, it seemed to be the only one by which Russia could be animated: it might be supposed to be the exclusive condition of the national existence, and that this immense body could not resign it without suicide.

Such a degree of servility seems wonderful; and yet we shall see it increased! This strong, this rooted faith, was rewarded by a miracle! At the very moment when Russia, in dismay, believed that she had again fallen, and for ever, into the chains of the Tatars, she learned, all at once, that a similar terror had scattered the army of her ferocious dominators; that, during the premeditated inaction of Ivan, his lieutenant of Svenigorod, and his allies, were on the march; that one of those allies, the Khan of the Crimea, united to that voyevode, had, by attacking the Golden Horde in its capital, compelled the menacing army to bend its course homeward; while the others, a hetman of the Cossacks, and the murza of the Nogays, stationed on the route taken by the Mongols, had surprised them during their disorderly retrograde march, and had totally destroyed them.

The mystery was now dispelled! Ivan had prepared everything, had foreseen everything. Regarded by his people as a second Providence, his pusillanimity was now looked upon as wisdom; his cowardice as prudence; his flight as skill. He had wished to make his enemies their own destroyers:

without risking, like Dmitri Donskoi, the fate of Russia on a battle, he had by a diversion, in spite of herself and for ever, delivered her from the Asiatic yoke; the hour, the place, all had been prescribed. Placed, like the Divinity, out of the sphere of those whom he protected, he had contemned even their contempt, and, unmoved by the clamour of his subjects, had waited the appointed hour!

Thus it was that time, fortune, and Menghli-Ghirei ensured the triumph of Ivan over his first adversaries; but his good fortune did not intoxicate him. Having attained his purpose, he despised not the means by which he had attained it. Though, with the authority of a master, he gave sovereigns to Kasan, he chose them from the family of the Khan of the Crimea, his faithful ally. His court and his states were peopled with refugee or converted Tatar princes. His attitude, however, was materially changed. The Turks of Caffa had plundered some Russian merchants. In the pusillanimous Grand-Prince of 1480, who could recognise the Czar of 1492, writing in the following terms to Sultan Bajazet?—"Whence arise these acts of violence? Are you aware of them, or are you not? One word more: Mahomet, your father, was a great prince; he designed to send ambassadors to compliment me; God opposed the execution of this project. Why should we not now see the accomplishment of it?" This same Ivan, who was lately so terrified in the presence of the Tatar, expressly recommended to his ambassador at Constantinople, in 1498, "to be careful not to do anything to compromise the dignity of his master; to compliment the Sultan standing, and not on his knees; to address his speech only to that sovereign himself, and to yield precedence to no other ambassador."

It is true that, at the period in question, Ivan had triumphantly terminated another contest. Novgorod the Great, Pskof, and Viatka had been subjugated. During the first seven years of his reign, and of his war against Kasan, pestilence and famine, the fit allies of tyranny, had enfeebled those Russian republics; and the dread of the end of the world, which was predicted to happen at that time,* had, by

* In 1465, according to the Greek chronology, the seventh thousand years was completed, and that was believed to be the epoch of the end of the world.

turning from earth the passions of Ivan's subjects, afforded a more free and secure scope to his own.

The insolent Viatka had, however, declared itself neutral between Kasan and Moscow, and the prince had dissembled his anger, for Novgorod had also shown itself rebellious: the fall of Kasan had alarmed that great republic, and already it had exclaimed to the Pskovians, "Take arms! march with us to destroy the despotic power of Moscow!" It was necessary, therefore, to neglect Viatka, to gain Pskof and its twelve cities, and to combine all against Novgorod. That having once fallen, all the rest would follow.

Novgorod, rather an ally than a subject of Moscow, reigned over all the north of Russia, whose exclusive commerce it possessed, and which it had to protect against the Swedes, the Livonian knights, and Lithuania. But, since the time of Ivan Kalita, immersed in luxury, it had oftener ransomed than defended its frontiers and its liberties. Of the latter, some had already slipped from its grasp; but, in 1471, emboldened by the presumed pusillanimity of the Grand-Prince, it determined to resume them. It was stimulated to this step by Marfa, the rich and powerful widow of a Posadnick, who is said to have been enamoured of a Lithuanian. The idea pleased her of bestowing her country on that of her lover. She was an ambitious woman; and in the ambition of females, the passions are almost always exerted to the advantage of a man. She opened her palace, and lavished her treasures on the citizens of Novgorod. They drove out the officers of the Grand-Prince, and seized on his domains; and, when the surrender of Kasan allowed Ivan to return towards Novgorod and make his threatening voice heard there, they broke out into revolt, and gave themselves, by a treaty, to Casimir prince of Lithuania.

Here, amidst his other affairs with the Tartars, Sweden, Livonia, Pskof, and the princes, his kinsfolk, it is curious to observe the politic system pursued by Ivan against this formidable republic. Let us especially notice his equally firm and flexible determination; enthusiastic in its purpose, yet at the same time cool and persevering in its means; sometimes resorting to humility and Machiavellism, sometimes to pride and terror, but also to patience, kindness, and gene-

rosity. These considerations, coupled with the faults of his antagonists, and the imperious circumstances of the period, give to the establishment of Ivan the Third's tyranny a semblance of moderation and even of public utility.

Making allies of all that came in his way, he succeeded in arming against the ultra-democracy of Novgorod the pride of the nobles; against its excessive opulence, the greediness of the princes who were still possessed of appanages; against its treason and apostacy, the fanaticism of the people; and Novgorod, attacked at once by three armies, which were followed by swarms of plunderers, resisted obstinately within, faint-heartedly without, and was finally overpowered.

Ivan affected a moderation which he considered to be still indispensable. Being not yet sufficiently secured against his ambitious relatives to allow of his seizing on so rich a prey without giving them a share of it, he seemed to content himself with a ransom and the restitution of some domains: but he ruined Novgorod by devastation and plunder; and, in the act of submission of that republic, the obscurity of some ambiguous words reserved to him the authority of legislator and of supreme judge. This was the side by which he seized the prey, and by which he gradually drew it towards him, that he might at length wholly devour it.

At the outset, he availed himself of the stupefaction produced by this first blow, and of an insult offered by the Permians, to deprive the great city of those tributaries. Thenceforth Moscow was enriched by the commerce of that people with Germany, which had been formerly so much coveted by Ivan Kalita. Then, on receiving intelligence of an aggression of the Livonian knights, and under pretence of affording succour to the great city, and to Pskof, he despatched thither his ambassadors and troops, to fight and negotiate in his name; to render him present everywhere; and thus to take from those republics, which were also drained by his army, the right of making peace and war.

At the same time, he fomented the dissensions between the principal citizens of Novgorod and the lower class; and when he had succeeded in having all complaints addressed to himself, he went among them, to impoverish the rich by the presents and magnificent receptions which his presence re-

quired, to dazzle the people by the new splendour of his Oriental court, and to seduce them by the partiality of his justice.

Then it was that he sent to Moscow, loaded with chains, the nobles of Novgorod who had formerly been his enemies. He had procured their denunciation by the people, whose blind jealousy exulted to see violated, in the persons of these eminent men, the ancient law of the republic, "that none of its citizens should ever be tried or punished out of the limits of its own territory." Thus it was that, craftily mingling stratagem with force, and justice with violence, Ivan disunited all his adversaries, made himself judge in all causes, and gained the hearts of all the multitude, the transports of which followed him even to Moscow.

These republicans seemed thenceforward desirous of appealing to no other dispenser of justice than the Grand-Prince; their complaints were carried to the foot of his throne; and he, the better able to avail himself of the opportunity, because it was of his own making, immediately summoned all these imprudent men to appear before his tribunal. "Never," say the annalists—"never, since Rurik, had such an event happened; never had the Grand-Princes of Kief and Vladimir seen the Novgorodians come and submit to them as their judges. Ivan alone could reduce Novgorod to that degree of humiliation."

But the autocrat had succeeded in clothing all these usurpations in seductive garbs. In all his encroachments he seemed to be entirely above personal hatred. Marfa herself was not molested; his grudge was not against persons, for their existence is transitory, and their cries might excite emotion, or betray his course; it was against things, for they are more durable, are silent; and, besides, include or command persons. Making good subservient to evil, he employed seven years in weaning these republicans from their customs, by the generous moderation and equity of his sentences; and when, by this slow, gradual, and almost imperceptible progression, he thought that he had led these blinded men far enough astray from their ancient usages, and had made them forget their ancient liberties, then, on every thoughtless movement to which he had given rise, and

on every imprudence he had excited, he grounded a claim of right.

At length, the name of sovereign, which was given to him during an audience, by the inadvertence or treason of an envoy of the republic, sufficed to make him instantly claim all the rights of an absolute master, which custom then attached to that title.* He required, therefore, that the republic should take an oath to him as its legislator and its judge; that it should receive his boyars, with all their arbitrary vexations, encroachments, and ruinous oppressions; that it should yield to them the revered palace of Yaroslaf, the sacred temple of Novgorodian liberty; their forum, where, for more than five centuries, their public assemblies had been held; and, lastly, that each citizen should abdicate his share of the sovereignty for the benefit of a single individual.

This sudden explosion of tyranny was responded to by a counter explosion of indignation and independence. The veil dropped from the eyes of Novgorod; the cherished voice of its liberty, its *vetchvoi kolokol*, or great bell, uttered a last peal of alarm; it summoned the citizens to that forum from which there was now an intention of expelling them for ever. Novgorod arose with one accord, and exclaimed, "Ivan is, in fact, our lord, but he shall never be our sovereign; the tribunal of his deputies may sit at Goroditch, but never at Novgorod; Novgorod is, and always shall be, its own judge." Then, in their transports of rage, these unfortunate men completed the alienation of the nobles, by the massacre of several of them, whom they believed to be accomplices of tyranny. Their imprudent envoy, whom they loudly disavowed, was compelled to appear before them; they tried, clamorously condemned, and tore him into a thousand pieces; and a second time they gave themselves up to Lithuania, whose prince they invoked to their aid.

When the perfectly foreseen intelligence of this righteous insurrection reached the ears of the crafty despot, he feigned a painful surprise; he uttered groans: if he were to be believed, it was he, this impostor, who had been treacherously

* The envoy addressed Ivan by the title of *Gosudar*, liege lord, instead of *Gospodin*, master, which had been usual until then.

deceived. He accused the invaded of having spread a snare for the invader; "it was they who sought him for their sovereign; and when, yielding to their wishes, he had assumed that title, they disavowed him; they had the impudence to give him the lie formally in the face of all Russia; they had dared to shed the blood of their compatriots who remained faithful, and to betray Heaven and the holy land of the Russians, by calling into its limits a foreign religion and domination."

The tyrant addressed these hypocritical complaints to his priests, to his nobles, to his people; to all the powers of heaven and earth, which he was arraying against these hapless republicans. Pskof and Tver alone appear to have hesitated; but, under the form of a contingent, he swept away the whole of their military resources; for he never undertook more than one thing at a time, and, with friends as with foes, he had the art of combining the efforts of all against a single opponent.

Surrounded by so many enemies, Novgorod was terrified, and endeavoured to obtain conditions. "I will reign at Novgorod as I do at Moscow," at length exclaimed the despot: "I must have domains on your territory; you must give up your Posadnick, and the bell which summons you to the national council!" Yet, always fraudulent, he, in the same breath, promised to respect a liberty which he deprived of every means of defence.

On hearing this terrible declaration, the unfortunate citizens were thrown into the most violent agitation. Several times did they furiously seize their arms, and as often did they sink again into helpless despondency. Meanwhile, they were closely watched by the crafty autocrat. For a whole month, though the sword was in his hand, he remained immovable; for he did not amuse himself with glory. His patient strength knew how to wait; he had collected such abundance of warlike means only to avoid war: and all this innumerable army of combatants only to prevent a combat. It was by consternation that he was desirous to vanquish; and, contracting by degrees the circle of fire and sword, which he had drawn round the republic, he overbore and terrified it by his formidable presence. His all-powerful

arm, though so long raised, did not suffer fatigue; its weight sank but gradually on these unhappy beings; and, by the infallible effect of this slow and inevitable compression, without striking a blow, it at length compelled their despair to give place to resignation.

The system of circumspection thus displayed in the contest was equally pursued after the victory; the melancholy recollection of which was not stained with blood. Marfa and seven of the principal Novgorodians were the only persons who were sent prisoners to Moscow, and had their property confiscated; but, on the 15th of January, 1478, the national assemblies ceased, and the citizens took the oath of slavery. On the 18th the boyars entered voluntarily into the service of the victor; and the possessions of the clergy, united to the domain of the prince, served to endow the three hundred thousand boyar-followers, the immediate vassals of his own creation, by whom the autocracy of Moscow over all the rest was to be permanently secured. He exacted the surrender of a great part of the territories belonging to the city, and he is said to have conveyed to Moscow three hundred cart-loads of gold, silver, and precious stones, besides a vast quantity of furs, cloths, and other valuables.

In the following years the plan was followed up; the fate of the Russian republics was sealed (1479). Viatka, a Novgorodian colony, which was animated by the same spirit, was subjugated with the same precautions. The Grand-Prince had appeared inattentive to its rebellions—insensible to its insults, as long as Kasan and Novgorod resisted; but when those states were reduced to submission he burst forth, and it was by another display of irresistible force that, without a combat, he annihilated this republic also. The blood of three guilty persons was sufficient to satisfy his long-concentrated irritation; but he left there nothing but slaves.

The colony being destroyed, he returned to repeat his blows on the parent city. From 1479 to 1528, at each convulsion of the protracted agony of the great but now expiring Novgorod, the yoke increased in weight; till, exhausted of its republican population, which was wholly transplanted to the slavish soil of Moscow, it was re-peopled by Muscovites.

The restless and capricious ultra-democracy of Novgorod formed a state within a state; its existence was no less in-

compatible than that of the appanages with the existence of the Grand-Prince. Political necessity, therefore, impelled Ivan to this great encroachment. As to the pretext, whether Marfa was excited by ambition, patriotism, or love, to seek, in a foreign prince, a protector less dangerous than the sovereign of Moscow, her motive is of little consequence; the Machiavellism of Ivan, in first fraudulently pilfering, and then violently seizing upon, all the liberties of the republic, did but too well justify the efforts of that celebrated woman.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the most fatal blow which Ivan gave to Novgorod was an involuntary one. Till 1492, that commercial mart had been singularly populous, rich, and powerful; and it is truly worthy of attention that, notwithstanding its barbarism, and so many foreign wars and internal dissensions, the fruits of its popular government, still the commercial prosperity of that capricious city continued to increase: so much, even in its most disorderly form, is liberty favourable to commerce. It would seem as if, amidst all their excesses, a free people preserve, in this respect, the instinct of their true interest; while absolute power, in such cases, is perpetually falling into errors.

As long as Novgorod was free, the Hanseatic cities, notwithstanding her frequent intestine commotions, continued to traffic there with a confidence which was never misplaced; but, in the early days of her servitude, a burst of despotic anger destroyed the source of her prosperity. Ivan the Third, so skilful in extending and securing his power, committed a fault which, during seven centuries, the popular assemblies of the mad and inconstant republic had never committed. Having been insulted by a Hanseatic city, he ordered to be put in chains, at Novgorod, all the merchants of all the cities of that union, and confiscated the whole of their property. From that moment confidence was no more, the commerce of the North took another route, and the great Novgorod, which, for many centuries, was able to muster a force of forty thousand men, and which is said to have been peopled by four hundred thousand souls, is now nothing more than an insignificant borough.

CHAPTER XII.

IVAN III. CONTINUED.

On that vast field, meanwhile, from which every other species of ambition had been swept away, the Grand-Prince, and the princes possessed of appanages (feudalism and autocracy), were alone left standing, and now confronted each other; there was no longer any intermediary between them, nothing to divert their attention to another quarter: accordingly, they were not slow to come into hostile collision.

But in this third grand contest there was nothing unforeseen; the autocrat had long been prepared for it; it began in his heart at the moment of his accession. The enfranchisement from the Tatar yoke was, however, more pressing; that prelude was necessary, and the enslaving of the Russian republics was more easy.

Accordingly, in this third contest, he had hitherto proceeded with a still more circumspect tardiness; for here the question related to individuals of a nature similar to his own, and always less easily circumvented than large bodies. It was for this reason that, during twenty-three years, his Machiavellian patience recognised the rights of all those princes, and even their independence; all that he could venture to do, in spite of their complaints, was to keep his conquests without giving them any share, and to retain the inheritance of two of his brothers, who left no heirs. When, however, in 1480, his two other brothers revolted, and withdrew into Lithuania, plundering everything in their way; as he had not yet finished with the Horde and the republics, he humbled himself to the very earth, and brought the fugitives back by the most abject supplications, and the most important concessions. But at length, in 1485, Novgorod was crushed, the Golden Horde was destroyed, the Livonian knights were vanquished, and the impotence of Lithuania was obvious. The time was, therefore, come; and as everything was prepared for it, the attack was immediately commenced on the prince of Tver.

As a consequence of the invariable policy of the Grand-Princes, Ivan III., guided by Vassili, his father, had formally espoused, at the age of twelve years, the princess of Tver; at

eighteen, he had a son by this marriage, who was afterwards married to the daughter of Stephen, hospodar of Moldavia, and by that son he had a grandson. But, in 1485, having lost his first consort, he was wedded again, to a Greek princess. His son died;* the ties that connected Ivan with Tver were thus broken, and since then, for a long period, he had held that first and last rival of Moscow, in a manner surrounded and besieged by his conquests.

In this instance, his aggressive system was exactly the same that he had acted upon against Novgorod. He began by terrifying the prince of Tver with his ambition; and, when he had led him to call Lithuania to his assistance, he raised the cry of treason; he armed, and dismayed his victim by the formidable aspect of all his irritated power. His feigned moderation was to be propitiated only by concessions, which deprived his feeble adversary of every means of resisting him in future. Then, avoiding the ostentatious show of dangerous power, which he had learned to render useless, it was by an underhand war, by concealed violences, that he achieved this conquest; he stirred up a host of disputes between the Muscovites and the Tverians, and manifested such partiality against the latter, that they abandoned so wearisome a cause in disgust. All came and ranged themselves under the protection of Moscow; while their prince, driven to despair, had no asylum left but Lithuania, where he died without posterity.

Tver being united with Moscow, all speedily thronged to that centre of attraction. The period of circumspect management was gone by; Ivan strode rapidly onward to his object: he spoke, and the sovereigns of Rostof and Yaroslaf dared not be anything more than governors of those principalities. A burst of his anger sufficed to strike such terror into the prince of Vereia, that he fled into Lithuania, and the autocrat punished his fear and his flight by compelling

* In 1490. His malady began with shooting pains in the legs. Mistr Leo, a Jew physician, undertook the cure, pledging his head for its success. Six weeks after the prince's death Ivan had the unlucky physician publicly executed. Another physician named Anthony, a German, suffered the same penalty in 1425, for having by violent remedies accelerated the death of a Tatar prince. He was given up to the relations of the deceased, and butchered by them.

the dying father of the fugitive to disinherit him of several cities, which Ivan appropriated to himself.

Two brothers of the despot, however, still lived; but one of them, struck with dismay, submitted, and very soon his appanage was reunited by will to the Grand-Principality; the other, though of a more stirring nature, was unsuspicious: at the court of the Grand-Prince he was indulging in effusions of the heart which he imagined to be reciprocal, when, all at once, he was arrested, and loaded with chains, under the burden of which he expired, with no other revenge than the remorse of his murderer; a tardy remorse, which a synod of bishops stifled by an iniquitous and cowardly absolution.

Now, at length, the feudal hydra was vanquished; all the princes of the same blood as Ivan, whom, on his accession to the throne, he had found almost as much sovereigns as himself, were either expatriated, or dead, or so completely subdued that they aspired to no other honour than that of being the most officious of his servants. They were beaten down by so strong a hand, that, thenceforth, confounded with the higher class of nobility, not one of them dared so much as call to mind their common origin with their haughty ruler.

Thus far, Tatars, Russian republics, princes holding appanages, everything, abroad as well as at home, had given way; but this triple advantage was gained by Ivan in spite of the efforts of Casimir of Poland, the constant ally of all his enemies. For thirty years this fourth contest was only a war of diplomacy and kidnapping, in which each monarch, enticing to himself the malcontent subjects of his adversary, and becoming the underhand protector of their revolts, attacked his enemy only indirectly, and, as we may say, by dint of allies.

For Casimir, his allies were sometimes the Livonian knights, sometimes the Golden Horde, and perpetually the Russian petty princes and republics, whom he excited against the Muscovite sovereign, but whose existence he compromised and destroyed, by abandoning them to their own strength in the moment of danger. On the part of the far more able Russian prince, they were the celebrated Stephen, first hospodar of Moldavia, whom he attached to himself by marriage, Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, Maximilian

of Austria, and, especially, Menghli-Ghirei, the Khan of the Crimea, of whom, notwithstanding his own many proofs of bad faith, he succeeded in making so faithful an ally.

In this war of two princes embarrassed by enemies whom they stirred up against each other, and by untractable subjects, all the advantage was on the side of Ivan. As early as about 1492, the petty principalities which Vitovt had detached from Russia had already been successively reunited to it. The first enticed or compelled the others, without the circumspect Ivan seeming to have any concern in this feudal movement. But, about this epoch, Casimir died; he was succeeded by the weak Alexander, but only in Lithuania; that duchy separated itself from Poland: and power was there more widely diffused, while at Moscow it was becoming centralised; the insidious autocrat then declared himself. Here, as in his three previous contests, we see the moment, so long prepared beforehand, in which success had become almost infallible, and in which everything superabounded for the explosion; he therefore marched with open force, but in such a vast proportion, that he had less to combat than to overwhelm.

And, notwithstanding this, he did not yet finish; here, as in other instances, and though completely armed, he paused before the semblance of a battle. If he profited by the immensity of his armaments, the powerful diversions of the Khan of the Crimea, the simultaneous aggression of the hospodar of Moldavia, and the weakness of Alexander, who was deserted by his brothers, it was without daring to strike a decisive blow: he preferred to expect everything from his enemy, to ally himself with all his faults, and to lead him, like Novgorod, and like Tver, by successive concessions, to be the instrument of his own destruction.

With this view, and to secure himself in the principalities which he had surreptitiously reconquered, he accepted as his son-in-law the Lithuanian prince, that very Alexander who had recently attempted to poison him; but he did not the less continue the ally of that prince's enemies, whom he excited to aggressions upon Lithuania, while, at the same time, he prohibited Alexander from resisting them otherwise than by complaints. The princess, his daughter, whom he seemed to have given to Alexander as a pledge of peace, was

only an additional enemy, whom he had artfully introduced into the heart of his adversary's states. She carried thither the Greek religion, which was that of all the Russians who were still subject to Lithuania. By them she was looked up to as their avowed protectress, whilst they were persecuted by her husband, as zealous a Catholic as he was a contemptible politician.

Ivan added fuel to this smouldering fire; and when the conflagration of a religious war at length burst forth, claiming Heaven as his ally, and gathering courage from the cries of his fellow-religionists, who implored his aid, he at last, about 1500, ventured, by a victory, to resume, as far as the walls of Kief and Smolensk, a part of the conquests which were made from his ancestors by Guedimin and Vitovt.

Thus was all accomplished at once, almost without combats, and by the same patient, persevering Machiavellism, advancing slowly and gradually, and not putting out its strength till it had rendered the enemy so weak, and its own power so strong, that the mere display of the latter was sufficient to annihilate all opposition.

We behold a triple revolution of men, of things, and of manners, at length consummated. But, for a long period, Ivan, the sole centre of this sphere, had been looked upon by the Russians as the source of all things. But having so many internal enemies, whence did he derive this autocratic ascendancy? By what illusions did he fascinate such numerous hostile gazers? How happened it, that all power capable of resisting his orders was thenceforth to appear disorder? Exposed singly to so many domestic foes, whom he curbed, how was the pusillanimous Ivan enabled at length to overlook them from such an elevation that, even according to their own avowal, he seemed to be *their terrestrial deity?*

A last glance thrown on some particular details of this great life will explain to us the phenomenon. From the first years of his reign, what a long series of efforts concurred to the accomplishment of his purpose! Stratagems, intrigues, fallacious promises, even an oath to apostatise, from which he was released by the heads of his religion; nothing was thought too much that could forward his designs. He was desirous to obtain the Pope's assent, that Sophia, the last princess of the Greek imperial family, who, being dispossessed of Byzantium by the Turks, had taken refuge at Rome, should

come to adorn his throne, to consolidate it with all her rights, and to environ it with all her fascinations.

Constantinople is, in the eyes of the Russians, the sacred source of the faith which they profess; its emperors long gave to them their primates; it is thence that they derive their written characters,* their vapour baths, a part of their manners and usages, the saints to whose images they pay an idolatrous worship, and, lastly, the supreme religion. They had been brought to them, in a former age, by a Greek princess; it was she who had made their Vladimir that master of their destiny on earth, their holy protector in heaven. Now that Byzantium was become captive to the Turks, the dexterous Ivan wished that a second Greek princess should come to render Moscow the heir of that Byzantium; that she should bring, as her dowry to its Grand-Prince, the two-headed eagle,† that symbol of autocracy, and the title of Czar, which, as the Russians tell us, is identical with that of *supreme authority*.‡ He wished that she should introduce into his palace the haughty hierarchy of the sumptuous court of Constantine, and its pompous ceremonies; in a word, that despotism of divine right by which devotedness to the prince would be strengthened and even sanctified in Russia. This theocratic power, together with the iron yoke which Ivan inherited from the Tatars, and the entirely military constitution which was soon to be added by a great man, were destined to complete the most extraordinary concurrence of circumstances that ever formed princes to despotism and nations to slavery.

* Their mode of writing dates from the year 865: it came from Moravia. The Russian alphabet was then invented there, by a philosopher named Constantine. This learned man had been sent from Byzantium to translate the Scriptures into the language of the country. In the time of Vladimir, about 981, there were to be seen at Kief inscriptions engraven in this character.

† Until after the marriage of Ivan III. with Sophia the cognisance of the Grand-Princes had always been a figure of St. George killing the Dragon.

‡ This title occasionally appears even earlier in Russian history. It is not a corruption of the word *Cæsar*, as many have supposed, but is an old Oriental word which the Russians acquired through the Slavonic translation of the Bible, and which they bestowed at first on the Greek emperors, and afterwards on the Tatar Khans. In Persia it signifies throne, supreme authority, and we find it in the termination of the names of the kings of Assyria and Babylon, such as Phalassar, Nabonassar, &c.—Karamsin.

Nor was this all: by his union with that imperial scion, the skilful and powerful hand of Ivan seems to have turned back the face of his empire from east to west. He brought the weight of the Russian throne into the balance of Europe. Russia, which, during nearly three centuries, had been detached from civilisation, was again to be linked with it by the ties of policy, and by those of arts and sciences. It was the Greeks, expelled from Constantinople, and sheltered in Italy, who conveyed those arts to Moscow, in the train of their sovereign. In fact, by a singular conformity of circumstances, those Greeks, vanquished in their turn near the ancient and Homeric conquests of their ancestors, had come like Æneas and his Trojans of old to dignify Italy also, by taking refuge there with their household gods.

This was the reason why the crafty Ivan seemed willing to sacrifice even his religion to obtain this high alliance from the Pope, who was then the protector of the Greek princess. See how triumphantly he caused to be conducted through his states this sovereign, who came to deify his power! Hear the language of his nobles and his priests: "God," said they, "sends him this illustrious spouse, an offset of that imperial tree, the shadow of which was formerly spread over all orthodox Christian brothers. Fortunate alliance; which brings to mind that of the Great Vladimir, and which will make another Byzantium of Moscow, and give to its Grand-Princes all the rights of the Greek emperors!"

Thenceforth, a sumptuous train was requisite to the new autocrat. The novel pageantries of Constantinople came to fascinate the eyes of these barbarians. At the same time, his people saw him raise the massy walls of the Kremlin, the awe-inspiring abode, the formidable fortress of autocracy; and also that first church of stone, included within its circuit, which the Muscovite architects had thrice endeavoured to construct, and which had thrice fallen on those unskilful artificers. Nothing was neglected by Ivan; founders, engineers, architects, miners, and minters, were invited from Germany, and from Italy, and, following the footsteps of a civilised princess, they ventured to penetrate into those almost unknown countries. Pre-eminent among these foreigners was the architect and engineer Aristotle of Bologna, who built the Kremlin, and founded cannon, which

was used for the first time, and with immediate success, in 1482 at the siege of Felling in Livonia. The Swedes did not use cannon till thirteen years later. The mines of Petchora were discovered in 1491; and Russia, for the first time, saw silver and copper money, the produce of its own territory, coined in its capital.

We may imagine what a strikingly impressive effect must, at that period, have been produced by a throne which was raised to such a prodigious height that religion itself, everywhere else so dominant, served as one of its supporters,—a throne whose summit, just beginning to emerge from the obscure night in which all these tribes were still stagnating, like a luminous point in the darkness, shone to their wondering eyes with all the splendour of the most gorgeous civil and religious ceremonies, and with the first rays of European civilisation.

Observe with what care this Louis XIV. of barbarism turned these advantages to account. Proclaiming his divine right, it is in the midst of this pomp that we hear him exclaim, "The high and holy Trinity, from which we have received the government of all Russia;" to which, according to his prompting, the interpreter of that Trinity responds, "The empire which you hold from God himself."

When, subsequently, the republicans of Pskof dared to communicate with him otherwise than by a respectful embassy, he instantly astounded them by his indignation; nor did he allow himself to be appeased, till after he had long bent them under the weight of his wrath, that he might be certain they would never again lose the servile feeling thus deeply and protractedly impressed. In like manner, he would not grant his protection to the Livonian knights till, instead of requesting, they had supplicated for it. In his diplomatic instructions, we see him eager to ally himself with the enlightened courts of Europe, but pursuing that object with all the precautions of the most susceptible pride; he seemed to fear that European civilisation might treat him as an upstart, an Oriental barbarian, the tributary of a Horde.

It was for this reason that he, who so carefully studied the policy of Europe, and deemed it of such high importance to bring his throne in contact with other thrones, did yet, for a mere omission of formalities, refuse to receive the Austrian

envoy, and even drove him from his presence. He forced the emperor to treat with him as his equal; and if his subjects may be believed, he even denied his daughter to the king of the Romans, Vienna not having consented to all the concessions which he required.

As to the Margrave of Baden, the union of his daughter with that German prince appeared to him a derogatory alliance. When Maximilian endeavoured to flatter his ambition with the title of king, Ivan haughtily declared to him "that he would not degrade himself by receiving titles from any prince on earth, and that he held his crown from God alone!"

Through him it was that the Russian boyars lost their ancient right of quitting the service of the Grand-Prince to enter that of the other princes who still possessed appanages. And what boyar, what Russian prince of the blood, could thenceforth have such an opinion of his own greatness as not to humble himself before the dazzling splendour of this sovereign majesty? Already blended together, and oblivious of personal dignity, all crowded around him, and, like the nobles of Byzantium, esteemed it an honour to be admitted into his domestic establishment. Accordingly, they soon were absorbed in it entirely, and had no other existence than in the servile offices of which he delighted to multiply. From this epoch it was that they began to consider as hereditary those civil, military, and domestic ranks, and to contend with each other for precedence; but did they dare to avail themselves of it in contravention of his orders, then, depriving their vanity of this last resource, he declared to them "that they ought to submit without a murmur to the will of their sovereign, and that when the question related to his service every office was good."

After the death of his eldest son, however, the issue of his first marriage, these nobles are said to have pushed their intrigues even to the foot of Ivan's throne, to secure the inheritance of it to the son of the regretted prince; it is said, too, that these worthy ancestors of the boyars of Peter the Great slandered their Greek czaritza, the mother of a second son, out of hatred to the commencement of civilisation which she protected, and the foreigners whom she had introduced. One fact is certain, that Ivan being misled to be-

lieve that Sophia intended to poison his daughter-in-law and his grandson Dmitri, at first disgraced that princess, and caused Dmitri to be solemnly crowned as his successor; but afterwards, on better information, he restored Sophia to his favour, and with a view to preserve his innovations, he made her son his heir, to the exclusion of his grandson, whom he consigned to perpetual imprisonment. Ivan would not leave behind him this leaven of discord; in this circumstance, as was done at a later period, and more cruelly, by the regenerator of Russia, he sacrificed everything to reasons of state. It was on this occasion that Pskof ventured to expostulate, in behalf of the elder branch, against the heir whom he had chosen. "Am I not, then, at liberty to act as I please?" he haughtily replied. "I will give Russia to whom I think proper, and I command you to obey." And he had the envoys thrown into prison.

As to the boyars who had taken part in these intrigues, their rank, hitherto respected, did not shield them: whether accusers or accused, they were successively victims of the prince's credulity, or of his vengeance. Russia, dumb with astonishment, witnessed, for the first time, the fall of several of those illustrious heads: a word from Ivan sufficed to strike them off as easily as though they had belonged to the meanest of his subjects.

Is it therefore astonishing that all should have bent down before this autocrat, whose able hand, rending the veil which concealed Russia from Europe, had forced it to pay homage to his power; whose policy possessed the art of obtaining the services of all, without ever serving any; and who had added to Russia nineteen thousand square miles and four millions of subjects, by extending it from Kief to Kasan, and as far as Siberia and Norwegian Lapland? Personally, it is true that he conquered nothing; but, on the other hand, free from the infatuation of warrior-kings, he knew how to pause opportunely, to acquire as much, to retain more, and to close his career under happier auspices.

He was the first to borrow the arts of civilisation; but for himself only, as the means of riches and power, and much less to enlighten than to dazzle his subjects. To him as their second legislator, the Russians are indebted for a reform in the manners of their clergy, over whom he presided in their

councils; a first attempt at a general seizure of the property of that order; and, in spite of their furious cries, the suppression, by means of ridicule and exile alone, of a heresy which the saints of the day wished to exterminate by fire.

This Jewish heresy consisted in expecting the advent of the Messiah; denying and cursing Christ and the Holy Virgin; spitting on the images of the saints, and tearing them with the teeth; disbelieving Paradise and the resurrection of the dead; and putting faith in a cabalistical book given to Adam by God himself. From that book Solomon was imagined to have derived his wisdom; and Moses, Joseph, Elias, and Daniel, their power over the elements and monsters, their skill in the interpretation of dreams, and their faculty of looking into futurity. Zosimus, the primate, is said to have been the head of these heretics. "We see," exclaimed at that period St. Joseph of Volok, "we see a son of Satan seated on the throne of the holy prelates; we see a devouring wolf under the garb of a simple shepherd! They are no more, they have flown to the bosom of Christ, those daring eagles of religion, those godly bishops who would have pitilessly torn out with their talons every eye that was bold enough to look askance on the divinity of the Saviour! Now, in the garden of the Church, we hear nothing but the hiss of a horrible reptile, which vomits forth blasphemy against the Lord, and against his blessed mother." But Ivan did not allow himself to be led away by these insane declamations; he contented himself with causing the heresy to be anathematised, banishing the heretics, and nominating another primate. He himself, by virtue of his supremacy over the Church, and his divine right to the throne, undertook the inauguration of the new primate; thus it was that he turned everything to the advantage of his own authority.

A system of policy and administration at length began to preside over the destiny of Russia; everything was classified and fell into its place; the roads and their stations, the police, the army, were more regularly organised; the taxes more uniformly and better assessed. In the thousands of boyar-followers, new possessors of military fiefs, a kind of spahis, such as are still seen in Turkey, we recognise the institution of a petty feudal nobility, but without a gradation of rank,

and dependent solely on the throne, the strength of which it constituted.

A new code appeared; it regulated and taxed the liberty which the peasants possessed of changing their lords;* it determined the limits of slavery; and, though it was forced to confide the dispensing of justice to the nobles, and to those boyar-followers, the new proprietors, it joined to them the elders, the chief men, and the civil functionary of the place.

As to the rest; in this barbarous code everything partakes of the keenness of the sword, which is brought into action in every part of it. Single combat decides upon the majority of criminal offences; in cases of suspicion, where reputation is not spotless, torture is called in to enlighten justice. A first theft (the spoliation of a church or the kidnapping of a slave excepted) was punished with the knout and confiscation of all the criminal's property, half of which went to the injured person. The poor culprit was given up to his accuser to be dealt with at discretion. A second robbery was punished with death without any formality, when five or six *honest* citizens deposed on oath that the offender was a known thief. The penalties of Ivan's code are confiscation, the knout, slavery, and death, the level of his despotism; it is since his reign that the Russians have astonished Europe by their blind servility. Foreigners, as well as his subjects, denominate him Ivan the Great. The Russia of Oleg, of Vladimir, and of Yaroslaf, existed no longer; it is the Russia of Ivan III., reformed by Peter the Great, that still exists.

Ivan III. died in 1505, at the age of sixty-seven, after a reign of forty-three years and a half. His son Vassili succeeded him without opposition. Four years afterwards a violent death terminated the cruel captivity of his grandson Dmitri.

* The law of Ivan III. allowed the peasants, or free labourers, to pass from one village to another, that is, to change their lords; but only in the eight days before and after St. George's day. The abolition of this privilege by Boris Godunof, made the Russian peasant a slave, as he is at this day.

CHAPTER XIII.

VASSILI IV. IVANOVITCH—IVAN IV. THE TERRIBLE.

VASSILI'S reign of twenty-eight years was virtually but the prolongation of that of Ivan III., whose principles he followed in his domestic and foreign policy with equal inflexibility. Less celebrated for the fortune of his arms than for his successful cunning and intrigue, he maintained the dignity of the empire bequeathed to him by his father, and enlarged its extent.

His first warlike effort had an inauspicious result. In 1508 he sent a great army, under his brother Dmitri, to punish the refractory people of Kasan, who had murdered the Russian voyevode placed among them with an authority similar to that of the British residents at the subsidised courts of India. This expedition was remarkable for the imprudence and the alternate defeat of the two rival armies; but the last and heaviest blow was that sustained by the Russians, who were utterly routed with great slaughter. The victors, uniting with the Tatars of the Crimea, invaded Russia, and carried their ravages up to the gates of Moscow, which they filled with dismay. Vassili, true to his father's temporising policy, did not shrink from the disgrace of purchasing the safety of his capital by the payment of a large ransom, and by putting his seal to a treaty by which he engaged to become tributary to Makhmet-Khan. Satisfied with having thus humbled their foe, the Tatars retired, carrying with them 300,000 prisoners, whom they exposed for sale at Caffa, in the Crimea, where they were purchased as slaves by the Turks.

Vassili's vengeance was delayed by pressing engagements at home, and by a war of ten years with Poland, which terminated in the recovery of Smolensk from that power (1523). He then assembled an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and sent it against Kasan in two divisions, one by land, the other by water. The latter division was almost annihilated by the Tcheremisses before it reached its destination; and the land army, deprived of its supplies, and decimated by famine and sword, returned in a wretched plight to Moscow.

For six years Vassili patiently digested this further disgrace; at last, in 1530, he sent a third expedition against Kasan. It would probably have shared the fate of its predecessors if the Kasanians had been as watchful by night as they were valiant by day; but their negligence enabled some of the Russians to creep unseen up to the palisades, smear them with resin and sulphur, and set them on fire. In a moment the fortress was wrapped in flames, the Russians burst in and massacred sixty thousand of the astounded Tatars. There remained only twelve thousand inhabitants in the heart of the city, which might easily have been taken; but prince Belski, Vassili's nephew, bribed it is said by the Kasanians, consented to enter into a treaty of peace with that handful of men.

The only other events of interest in Vassili's reign were the annexation of Vereia, the last of the appanages, and the extinction of the republic of Pskof, the last abode of Russian liberty. He died in 1533, leaving the empire further enlarged and consolidated by his wary management.

Then began the reign of the infant Ivan IV. The hideous scene opened with the saturnalia of that court which the two preceding autocrats had suddenly called into existence, in the midst of coarse and brutal ignorance. Its nobles were barbarians, either upstarts or fallen from their pristine state. A great number of them were of the blood of Rurik. Formerly, the whole empire was the theatre of their ambition; its partition into appanages, their end; civil war, their means: but, now that all was concentrated in the prince, their sole arena was his court; their end, the precarious power derived from favouritism; their means, intrigue; they were without rules, without manners accordant to their novel situation; they knew no other restraint than an iron despotism, whose rude and ponderous mass had fallen into the hands of a female of blighted character, the mother of an infant who was only three years of age.

Helena was the second regent of the Russians. Since the time of Olga, no similar instance had before occurred. Muscovite manners would have dictated that the widow of Vassili should be dead to the world; that a convent and a new name should have hidden her sorrows from public view; and the grandees were indignant to see the sceptre

of Rurik in the hands of that Lithuanian widow, and of her paramour, whom she dared to impose on them as a master.

For four years, however, the impure couple kept their ground by means of despotism. That weapon, so illegitimate that it fits any hand that dares to wield it, gave an answer to all; to the indignation of the three uncles of Ivan, it replied by a lingering death in horrible dungeons; to their partisans, — by torture, the cord, and the axe; to those grandees who emigrated to Lithuania and Crimea, whence they brought back war,—by war and victory.

But, at length, crime did justice on crime; tortures were avenged by poison; the regent died suddenly, and the great boyars, of whom the majority were descended from princes of the blood, who formerly held appanages, seized upon the guardianship of that same despotism of which their ancestors had been the victims. In the foremost rank of these barbarians stood the Shuiski, the chief of whom was president of the supreme council of boyars. From father to son they had long been treated as the enemies of the Grand-Prince and of the state; their turn was now come to treat the state and its Grand-Prince as enemies. Their mischievous ambition was limited, however, by the crowd of other pretensions by which they were surrounded. They could only dilapidate the resources of the public, and of individuals, by their exactions; and avenge the fall of their ancestors by the humiliations which they lavished on the heir of the Grand-Princes. They suffered the Tatars to harry the empire with impunity, while they themselves desolated it by their rapine and their proscriptions, which they did not even deign to cover with the name of their royal ward; for the youthful Ivan was spared no more than his subjects. His treasury was plundered, his domains encroached upon; the great boyars, masters of his palace, seemed hardly to endure his presence there; it was their delight to degrade him. Shuiski, in his clownish insolence, was seen to loll on Ivan's bed and burden the lap of the descendant of so many sovereigns with the unworthy weight of his feet.

The influence, however, of the Belski, and of the primate, which was all at once increased by a Tatar invasion, awakened the patriotism of the nobles, restored some degree of order, and gave to the youthful Ivan a moment of dignity. But

when the danger was over, the Shuiski re-appeared; they surprised Moscow in the dead of the night (Jan., 1542), and made themselves masters of the palace; they pushed their brutal irruption even to the bed of their young master, and roused him suddenly from sleep to fill his mind with maddening terror. From his very side they dragged the primate and prince Belski, the former to be ill-treated and deposed; the latter to be murdered in prison. Ivan's supplications they disdained, and drowned by their vociferations; if he ordered, they took a pleasure in disobeying; if they saw him regret his mother, who had been their victim, they scoffed at his filial piety. The friendship he manifested towards Feodor Voronzof was enough to bring down their hatred on the latter. In a council one day they fell upon him like madmen, loaded him with blows, and rent with their feet the garments of the primate, who, touched by the entreaties of the Grand-Prince, implored them to spare the young boyar whom they wished to sacrifice.

It was amidst these horrors that young Ivan reached his fourteenth year. The scene then changed, but in the personages only. This revolution was brought about by the Glinski, who were kinsfolk of Ivan. All at once, in a hunting-party, an angry word, which they suggested to the Grand-Prince, thunderstruck Andrew Shuiski, the most insolent of the three brothers, and the whole train rushed immediately on him, seized, and threw him to the dogs, by which he was devoured (1543).

But his tyranny survived him; it was continued in the name of the prince. The Glinski pushed Ivan forward at their head in the same path of blood and plunder. They allowed him to misuse his recently acquired liberty. He squandered it in roaming without a purpose through his provinces, which were compelled to defray the charges; they were ruined by his costly presence, and astonished by his caprices. There, his unworthy kinsmen prompted him to punish without cause, and to reward beyond measure; glutting some with what was confiscated from others. They taught him not to think himself master, except when he was smiting, and when he was causing to be tortured before his eyes the suppliants by whose entreaties he was wearied. These infamous beings made use of his youthful hand to

massacre their enemies. They applauded his cruelty, when he amused himself with tormenting wild animals, and throwing down tame ones from the summit of his palace; when, in his disorderly rambles, he dashed old people to the ground, and trampled under the feet of his horses the women and children of Moscow.

These ebullitions of the youth of a tyrant had lasted three years, when, one day, he awoke in Moscow surrounded by the flames of a horrible conflagration and the clamours of revolt (1547). Ivan was only seventeen. Terror had been the first feeling of his infancy; long oppressed by its weight, he had lately taken delight in throwing it off upon the whole of his people; and now, from all points, that terror was rebounding back upon him in burning brands, threatening cries, and the blood of the Glinski, whom the furious populace had torn in pieces.

Amidst this universal disorder, Sylvester, a monk, one of those inspired personages who then traversed Russia, and who, like the Jewish prophets, or the dervishes, dared to stand up even against sovereigns, appeared in the presence of the frightened young despot. He approached him, the Gospel in his hand, his eye full of menace, his finger raised, and with a solemn voice he pointed out to him, in the surrounding flames, and blood, and furious cries, and the limbs of his dismembered kinsfolk, the wrath of Heaven, which his passions had at length aroused. To these terrific menaces he added the infallible effect of certain appearances then deemed supernatural; and thus mastering the mind of Ivan, he wrought a real miracle: the tiger was humanised! Alexis Adashef seconded Sylvester; they encircled the young tyrant with priests and able and prudent boyars; and, assisted by the young and virtuous Anastasia, Ivan's first and recently-married bride, they, during thirteen years, made Russia enjoy an unexpected felicity.

Everything was now pacified and reduced to order; regularity was introduced into the army; the strelitz, a permanent militia of fusiliers, were created; seven thousand Germans were hired and kept up; a more just and equal assessment of the military fiefs, services, and contingents was accomplished; all proprietors of estates that required three hundred pounds' weight of seed corn were obliged to furnish a

horseman completely armed, or an equivalent in money; a rate of pay for the soldiery was established, and was even doubled, to encourage such of the boyar-followers as should furnish a larger contingent than was imposed by law; and by these means the forces of the empire were so much increased, that they were thenceforth estimated at three hundred thousand men. The presence of the prince with his armies at once re-established order in them, and stimulated to exertion. Kasan was once more reduced; the kingdom of Astrakhan was conquered; fortresses were constructed to keep the Tatars in check; and eighty thousand Turks, whom Selim II. had sent against Astrakhan, perished in the deserts by which it was surrounded. Meanwhile, the grand idea of the reign of Peter the Great, that of opening to Russia the commerce of Europe, by conquering the Ingrian and Livonian ports, was almost realised; the Don Cossacks were united with the empire; and the groundwork was laid for the conquest of Siberia by Yermak, one of those roving people.

So much for what relates to war; as to the rest, we see the project of enlightening Russia conceived; a hundred and twenty artists requested from Charles the Fifth; the first printing-office established; Archangel founded; an alliance formed with England;* and the north of the empire thrown open to the commerce of Europe.

At the same time, the abolition of prerogative and precedence among the nobility was begun; the greediness of the clergy in monopolising landed property was restrained; they were improved in their morals, and in their observances, which were still deeply embued with paganism; and the tolerant spirit of Adashef prohibited the cruelties with which superstition inspired them. To crown the whole, the laws were revised in a new code. Till then justice had been

* In the reign of Edward VI., 1553, three ships were sent out under Willoughby and Chancellor, to look for a north-east passage to China and India. Willoughby and the crews of two of the ships were frozen to death, but Chancellor arrived safely in the White Sea, and anchored in the bay of the Dvina, near the spot where Archangel was founded in consequence of that event. The English navigators met with a most hospitable reception from the Russian sovereign and people, and the report they brought home gave such satisfaction in London, that a Company of Merchants Trading with Russia was immediately formed.

administered by the governors, who paid themselves out of fees levied at their own discretion. In 1556 Adashef and Sylvester abolished all these fees, caused justice to be gratuitously administered by the oldest and most eminent persons of each place, and, finally, established a general assessment, which was collected by the officers of the Exchequer.

The auspicious ascendancy of Adashef lasted thirteen years. All the glory of the fifty years' reign of Ivan IV. is circumscribed within this brief space. Ivan himself, in 1560, bore witness to it, while he cursed it; for, at that calamitous epoch, the death of the mild Anastasia, and a violent disease which had previously attacked the despot, seem to have alienated his mental faculties.

A salutary terror had kept down his ferocity; another terror again let it loose. Infamous informers instilled their venom into his mind; to the ministers whom they wished to supplant, they attributed the death of the czaritza, and the insubordination of the boyars, which they affirmed to be on the eve of breaking out; and with that weakness which is inherent in cruelty, the superstitious Ivan persuaded himself that nothing but witchcraft could have enabled Adashef and Sylvester to retain for so long a period their paramount sway over his mind. In a letter, which still exists, all the benefits which Russia attributed to him are urged against them by this madman, as if they were a protracted series of crimes—for the barbarian could write! his letters and many of his speeches are even remarkable. Like most insane persons, this frantic being now and then manifested scintillations of talent, of which he made a parade in sophisms, priding himself on his knowledge, and often reasoning with considerable acuteness.

In his actions, consummate craftiness may also be seen occasionally prevailing. In 1566, being on the eve of engaging in a dangerous war, he convoked an assembly of the states-general, consisting of three hundred and thirty-nine members—priests, nobles, citizens, and traders. He laid before them his negotiations with Poland, on the subject of Livonia; pointed out to them the importance of preserving that outlet for the Russian commerce; and succeeded in obtaining a declaration from the bishops, that

it did not become them to dare to advise their czar; from the nobles, that they were ready to shed for him the last drop of their blood; from the citizens and traders, that all their wealth belonged to him.

But, already, the modern Seneca and Burrhus of this Nero of the North had experienced a fate similar to that of the two prudent ministers of the Nero of Rome; thenceforth, drunk with blood, bewildered with terror, the life of the Muscovite tyrant was nothing but a long crime, a furious lunacy; its origin, however, may be perceived, and we may detect its ruling principle amidst the wanderings of a heated and irregular imagination. It was the despot instinct of hereditary, innate, divine right, disturbed by fear; it was seventeen years of terror, received and repaid with interest in his childhood and his early youth, that gained the upper hand of thirteen years' efforts against nature. We behold a young tiger, which efforts have been made to tame, and which reverts with horrible ardour to its original propensities.

Even as early as 1552, at the capture of Kasan, his natural disposition had broken out. Apostrophising the nobles who surrounded him, he then exclaimed: "At length, God has preserved me from you!" In the following year he had an interview with Vassian, ex-bishop of Kolomna, who had stood high in favour with Vassili IV., and whose heart was full of malice against the boyars, by whom he had been deservedly deposed. From this wicked old man Ivan received advice which he never forgot. "If you would become truly an absolute monarch," said Vassian, "never seek a counsellor wiser than yourself: never receive advice from any man. Command, and never obey; then you will be a real sovereign, and a terror to the boyars. Bear in mind that the counsellor of the wisest prince always ends by being his ruler." These words fell upon no indifferent ear. Ivan kissed the old man's hand, earnestly exclaiming, "My own father could not have given me more wholesome advice."

Adashef, however, had kept him within bounds for seven more years; but, in 1560, that first terror, with which the nobles had impressed his childhood, awoke, like a terrific phantom, in his mind, and thenceforth was ever

present to his thoughts. Very soon, the power of Sigismond, who united Lithuania to Poland, and contended with him for Livonia, and that of Stephen Battori, the successor of Sigismond, whose vigorous hand was felt by Ivan, exasperated his trembling and senseless rage: and the suspicion that his subjects connived with those princes increased his frenzy.

In this burning and unintermitting fever of twenty-six years, the Russians reckon six violent paroxysms; in the first, which was occasioned by the flight of prince Kurbsky* into Poland, he accused that prince of a design to render himself sovereign of Yaroslaf: he could not conceive how his subject, without bringing down the vengeance of Heaven upon his soul, could have dared to secure his head from him. The boyars were reproached with the offences which they committed during his minority; the remembrance of those events bewildered him; the impression made by them was indelible; and the madman, always having before his mental vision a vast and perpetual conspiracy of the nobles against his power, retired to Alexandrovsky, a fortress encompassed by a gloomy forest, the fit haunt of tyranny. The imagination of the moralist poet, in his description of the despot of Tyre, falls short of this reality.

The despot of Alexandrovsky, whose fear made his whole empire tremble, at length denounced by letter (1565) to the clergy and the people the crimes of which the grandees had been guilty during his minority, and the new projects, which his frenzy attributed to them, against his own life and that of his son, and ended by declaring, that his wounded heart resigned the government of a state which was so thronged with traitors. On hearing this read, the people, whom at the same time the crafty despot had won by his flatteries, were astonished and aghast, and thought themselves lost: "Who thenceforth would defend them?" The priests and the nobles, either in consequence of the fear with which the people inspired them, or of the universal spirit of servility, exclaimed, "That their czar had over them an imprescriptible right of life and death; that he might, therefore, punish them at his pleasure; but that

* See the letters of Ivan and of prince Kurbsky.

the state could not exist without a master; that Ivan was their legitimate sovereign, whom God had given to them, the head of the Church. Without him, who could preserve the purity of religion—who could save millions of souls from eternal perdition?" All hastened to offer him their heads; they struck with them the dust at his feet, hoping to move him by their lamentations, and bring him back by their prayers.

The dastards obtained this misfortune. Ivan appeared again in Moscow; but, at sight of him, everybody was struck with astonishment. Their surprise is described by their historians. "Only a month," say they, "had elapsed since the absence of Ivan, yet they hardly knew him again. His large and robust body, his ample chest, his broad shoulders, had shrunk; his head, which had been shaded by thick locks, was become bald; the thin and scattered remains of a beard which was lately the ornament of his face now disfigured it. His eyes were dull, and his features, marked with a ravenous ferocity, were deformed." The acts of his mind corresponded with the disordered appearance of his person. Not satisfied with forming an entirely new household, court, and guard, he deserted the palace of his fathers to construct, in Moscow itself, another fortress; he then drove out all the inhabitants of the adjacent streets, and posted his satellites there. To those satellites he soon after gave twelve thousand of the estates nearest to his capital, of which, in the depth of winter, he despoiled the rightful possessors.

Still uneasy, after so many precautions, the fear of God, joined to that of man—for this monster felt every kind of fear—prompted him to fly from Moscow, to return to Alexandrovsky, and to assume the monkish habit with three hundred of his minions. At the same time, he abandoned to the trembling boyars the government of the empire; he derisively named them *the boyars of the commons;* he himself retaining only the military power, the power of striking. And, nevertheless, his pusillanimity, which extended to everything, covered the Russian banners with disgrace, which had hitherto been victorious over the Tatars and the Turks. In this third portion of his reign, Moscow and several hundred thousand Muscovites were again burned by the Tatars in the year 1571.

The madman, who had said to the Russians, "I am your God, as God is mine; whose throne, like that of the Omnipotent, is surrounded by winged archangels, and who sends forth armies of three hundred thousand men and two hundred cannon against his enemies," he trembled at the threats of the Khan of the Crimea. An incursion of the Siberians terrified him; nor could he discard his fears till he learned that Yermak, a robber, and six hundred Cossacks, his accomplices, paid by a trader, and flying from the rigour of the Russian laws, had sufficed to reduce this new empire under his dominion.* But what he dreaded above all things was the anger of Battori; he sent to that prince his dastardly submissions, his abject supplications; and even offered himself, in the person of his envoys, to the insults and blows by which the king of Poland might please to dishonour Russia and its czar.

Sweden, meanwhile, wrested Esthonia from this vile tyrant, while Battori deprived him of Livonia. Since 1556, those provinces, which were on the point of being conquered by the talent of Adashef, had taken refuge, the one under the Swedish sceptre, the other in the arms of Sigismond Augustus of Poland; and Kettler, the last Grand-Master of the Livonian knights, had reserved to himself only Courland and Semigallia. It was then (1581) that, to the new supplications of the czar, who grovelled before him, Battori† deigned to reply only by branding him as a forger who falsified the articles of treaties, and a monster who tortured his subjects. "Where are you, then, God of the Russians, as you compel your unfortunate slaves to call you?" This insulting letter he closed with a challenge to single combat; but Ivan, whose ambassadors he had recently dismissed, answered him only by fresh prostrations.

When, at length, to use the words of the Russian historian, "this cowardly prince, whose mind was degraded by

* This Yermak displayed, to the life, that likeness which has so often been asserted to exist between the conqueror and the malefactor. A despised Cossack, a detestable captain of robbers, while his genius was cramped in his own country; and an admired conqueror, as soon as he was at liberty to astonish mankind, by performing abroad, and on a large scale, the same actions which had degraded him when he had committed them at home, and by piecemeal.

† See the correspondence of the two princes.

tyranny," had collected together three hundred thousand men, he did not dare to command them; if he marched, it was under cover of the jesuit Possevin, the envoy of Rome, whose intervention with Battori he had fraudulently procured, by holding out to him as a bait the conversion of the Russians to Catholicism.

This long effort, however, against the Livonian knights, is worthy of remark; its purpose, then avowed,* was to give Russia outlets upon the Baltic, and the means of communicating with Europe. Its result was to make these maritime provinces fall into more formidable hands; but though this masterly idea belongs to Ivan's ministry, and the deplorable issue of it to Ivan himself, it is to this effort particularly that must be attributed the admiration, so often highly censured, which the greatest prince of the Russians expressed for their greatest monster.

At length, the germ of that terror with which the early years of the tyrant had been impregnated, expanding still more and more, he sometimes conjured up phantoms of revolted voyevodes, ready to give up to the Tatars, and then he flew far from his armies, which he dreaded; and, at other times, he pictured to himself his boyars on the point of raising the whole empire in rebellion, to overthrow him, and to crush him with its collected weight. Then neither citadels nor fortified convents seemed, in his eyes, to have power to save him; only an island beyond the seas appeared to offer a safe asylum; and he did not blush to request that asylum from Elizabeth of England!

Everything in Russia was bent down to earth; and, yet, the abject submission with which Ivan IV. was surrounded did not tranquillise him; his brain, shaken by the violent emotions of his infancy, and by his tyrant conscience, made ever present to him the phantom of a war *of the public good.* The strelitz did not suffice him; he formed a new guard of six thousand select men;† in a word, of spies, informers, and assassins, ready to massacre all the grandees whom he might

* Karamsin, vol. ix. p. 439.

† The Opritchinikis. As types of their office they bore a dog's head and a broom suspended from their saddle-bow—the former to signify that they worried the enemies of the czar, the latter to indicate that they swept them off the face of the earth.

suspect to have the slightest memory of ancient independence. He chose these executioners from the lowest class, in order to be sure that envy would make them participate in the hatred which he felt. He gave them the property of their victims; and thus transferred eminence and nobility from those who, having long possessed them, had any prejudices or pretensions whatever, to entirely new men, without principles or predilections; who were but too happy to bend to anything that was required of them, so that they might accumulate riches.

In his first fit of rage, several great boyars, of the family of Rurik, were put to death by beheading, poisoning, or impaling; their wives and children were driven, naked, into forests, where they expired under the scourge. In a second paroxysm, he marched as a conqueror against the subjugated Novgorod; and, imagining that he imitated, or perhaps surpassed, the victory of his grandfather, he butchered with his own hand a throng of the unfortunate inhabitants, whom he had heaped together in a vast enclosure; and when, at last, his strength failed to second his fury, he gave up the remainder to his select guard, to his slaves, to his dogs, and to the opened ice of the Volkof, in which, for more than a month, those hapless beings were daily engulphed by hundreds. Then, declaring that his justice was satisfied, he retired; seriously recommending himself to the prayers of the survivors, who took special care not to neglect obedience to the orders of their terrestrial deity.

Tver and Pskof, also, experienced his presence; Moscow, at length, saw him again, and on the same day the public square was covered by red hot brasiers, enormous cauldrons of brass, and eighty gibbets. Five hundred of the most illustrious nobles, already torn by tortures, were dragged thither; some were massacred amidst the joyful acclamations of his savage satellites; but the major part of them expired under the protracted agony of being slashed with knives by the courtiers of the Muscovite monster.

Neither were women spared any more than men; Ivan ordered them to be hanged at their own doors; and he prohibited their husbands from going out or in without passing under the corpses of their companions, till they rotted and dropped in pieces upon them. Elsewhere, husbands, or

children, were fastened dead to the places which they had occupied at the domestic table, and their wives, or mothers, were compelled to sit, for days, opposite to the dear and lifeless remains.

To the dogs and the bears, which this raging madman delighted to let loose upon the people, was left the task of clearing the public square from the mutilated bodies which encumbered it.* Every day he invented new modes of punishment, which his tyranny, jaded by so many excesses, still looked upon as insufficient. Very soon, he required fratricides, parricides! Basmanof was compelled to kill his father; Prozorovsky, his brother. The monster next drowned eight hundred women; and, rummaging with atrocious cupidity the abodes of his victims, he, by dint of shocking tortures, compelled their remaining relations to point out the places in which their wealth was hidden. These confiscations, joined to monopolies, taxes, and conquests, accumulated in his palace the riches of the empire and of the Tatars. To this he joined those of the Livonians, whom he plundered, though he could not conquer them.

In his long and fruitless wars against the Livonian knights, his transient successes were marked by frightful executions. The courageous resistance which the enemy opposed to him was, in his eyes, a revolt, and he ordered his prisoners to be thrown into boiling cauldrons, or spitted on lances, and roasted at fires which he himself stirred up.

Setting himself above all laws, this lustful being married seven wives; even his daughter-in-law was forced to fly from his death-bed, terrified by his lasciviousness. He was eager to procure an eighth wife from the court of his friend Elizabeth of England, and the daughter of the Earl of Huntington was offered to the inspection of the Russian ambassador at her own desire and the queen's. The daughter of Henry VIII. was not shocked to hear at the same moment of the czar's wish to be married, and of the birth of a prince borne to him by his seventh living wife; but before the English match was concluded Mary Hastings took fright, and begged Elizabeth to spare her the perilous honour. To complete Ivan's usurpation, he assumed the manner of one who

* According to the annals of Pskof, there were sixty thousand victims at Novgorod alone.

was inspired, and all those external signs which our bounded imagination attributes to the Divinity; he made himself god in the minds of his people. All that came from his hand, blows, wounds, even the most degrading treatment, was received with resignation—nay, with adoration. In the blind and servile submission of the Russian people God and the czar were identified: their proverbial sayings bear witness to this; and to the influence of things and men was joined that of words, the power of which is more durable than is commonly imagined.

Finally, in a humble supplication, which was addressed to him by the most faithful of his subjects, his frenzy again saw a conspiracy of the boyars, of which the eldest of his three sons, and the only one who was capable of succeeding him, was to be the leader: transported with rage, the madman felled to the earth, with a mortal blow from his iron-bound staff, this hope of his race, to expire himself soon after (1584), consumed by regret without remorse, and giving orders for new executions.

CHAPTER XIV.

MANNERS AND CONDITION OF THE RUSSIANS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BEFORE we pass from the contemplation of Ivan's reign of terror to that of the nine-and-twenty wretched years which formed its appropriate sequel, we may pause to glance at the moral aspect of the Russians at that epoch.

Despotism and servitude are deeply rooted in Russia. There is always a principal cause of the distinctive character of a nation. The benefit which results from an institution always leads the people to adopt its spirit, to make a bad use of it, or conform to its abuses. Spain was subjugated by a hostile religion; it was by religion that Spain achieved its liberation, and fanaticism still rules in Spain. A foreign despotism, that of united Central Asia, fettered Russia, which was enfeebled by anarchy; it was by the concentration of power that Russia recovered its independence, and, thence,

despotism established itself in Russia, without encountering any obstacle.

But there are other particular causes of despotism in that empire. Extension and want of population are hostile to the compactness of the mass; in conjunction with the climate, they hinder large and continuous assemblages; they render men conscious of the weakness caused by being insulated; they perpetuate blind and credulous ignorance, by cutting off the communication of ideas; they confine observation within narrow limits, and thus the judgment cannot be exercised for want of objects of comparison; and the result is, the existence of only a scanty number of ideas, which, however, have a stronger hold on the mind, from the habit of constant recurrence to them. Thus the Russians of that period, having none of those connexions which enlighten, were unable to form for themselves a public opinion; they were obliged to take it from the court of the Grand-Prince; there was their oracle, their despot. All these causes, so favourable to despotism, had, from immemorial time, destined the Russians to slavery.

After what has been already said, it will excite little astonishment that the Russians of those days were inclined to dissimulation. They had been led to it by long servitude, and by the practice of concealing what they had gained, that it might not be wrested from them by their masters. They were selfish and cheating, because they were poor, because the major part of them had to purchase their liberty, and because all means appeared good by which they could obtain wherewithal to acquire so natural a right. The priests, the only teachers of that age, were too coarse-minded to inspire morality. The people, therefore, had no education, not even that which example affords; for the nobles, at all times the models of the people, being surrounded, even from their cradles, by slaves, were not more civilised than the rest.

To form an adequate idea of the ignorance of the Russians under Ivan IV., we must see them seriously entertaining the idea that, because, in the sixteenth century, traders came to St. Nicholas and to Archangel to purchase their grain, timber, hemp, and caviare, therefore their country was the granary and the dockyard of Europe, and that, without their aid, the Europeans would die of hunger and of cold! We

must also see them imagining themselves the best-informed people on earth, at the moment when astronomy, anatomy, and most of the sciences appeared to them to be *diabolical* arts; when not even three of their priests knew Greek; when their only mode of reckoning was by balls strung upon strings; and when the skins of beasts were still their current money! It was here that a noble substituted in place of himself one of his servants, to receive the corporal chastisement awarded to perjury; and that, in the presence of the czar, and even to himself, persons could venture to say "Thou liest," without conceiving that they were offering an insult; for insults were punished by fines, blows, and banishment; judicial duels had not yet introduced those other duels, which honour elsewhere required. The latter, even between foreigners in Russia, were punished as capital offences.

For such rude beings the penalties were equally rude, and, as manners and honour had no influence, the punishments were horrible. Peculation was punished by whipping and public branding; but from the hands of the executioner the criminal returned to his office; this dishonoured the office, and divested the punishment of dishonour; or, rather, it implies a general want of honour.

The custom of the Grand-Princes choosing their consorts from among the collected daughters of the nobility; the slavery of prisoners of war; the long afternoon slumbers; the taste for plumpness of person; the dead silence in the presence of the czar,—so dead, that, a foreigner tells us, if the eyes were closed in the midst of the most numerous court, the spectator might have supposed himself in a desert; the bazaars; the practice of boxing;* the hiring of mourners at funerals; the length of the vestments, which is suitable to Asiatics, whose mild climate invites them to an indolence that is favoured by this mode of dress; the long beards; the monkish habit which Ivan, as well as several of his predecessors, assumed in their dying moments; and, lastly, the composition of its court, at once so unpolished and so sump-

* The Russians were formerly as renowned for pugilism as the English have been in later times. The practice was encouraged by the government, as tending to keep up the courage of the people and harden them to bear pain.

tuous; all this proves that this nation had borrowed from the Greeks and Tatars only that which was most easily acquired—usages, prejudices, and vices.

These same usages excluded women from society. Like the Greek and Oriental, women lived retired in a separate portion of the house; they had no authority in the household; their sole occupation was to spin and sew. This seclusion of the sex may account for the unnatural lusts which marked another point of conformity between the manners of the Russians and those of the Greeks. There existed at that period no such thing as society, at least in our acceptation of the word; for women, its connecting link, were banished from it. But, as reading and writing were unknown, there was a necessity for communicating by word of mouth. Every day, at noon, therefore, the people met in the public squares: it was there that business was transacted, that intelligence was spread, and that the education of youth was completed. This custom, also, the uneasy tyranny of Ivan IV. destroyed. He secretly introduced into these meetings his nefarious informers. Before the reign of this maniac, the Russians were accustomed to say, "If I break my word, may shame be my portion." But the monster extinguished the few remaining sparks of the rude honour of the days of old.*

Thus everything in Russian history brings us back to the history of despotism. By a horrible consequence of the principle of this hateful government, it was an established rule, that all the individuals of a family were involved in the punishment of a single member of it. By another consequence, every subject who went beyond the frontier, became a traitor, who was daring to remove himself out of reach of the prince—out of the sphere of that terror which was the inspiring soul of the government; he was a fugitive slave, a rebel! Nay, much more than that; for was not his quitting that sacred territory an offence against his God, since he then breathed the infection of those hostile religions by which Russia was surrounded, and mingled with miscreants whose mere touch was contamination?

* Many writers have repeated the erroneous statement that there is no word in the Russian language to signify honour. Both the word and the idea are indigenous in Russia; the former is *Tchest.*

Religious superstition, and the superstition of power, were therefore the public opinion of that age; it drove back into the bounds of despotism every one who wished to quit them; there was no asylum from it; it was all-present. A father was as despotic in his wooden hut as the czar in the empire. The fetter was general; and, from the great to the small, from the grandsire to his latest born descendant, all formed one vast, connected chain of tyrants and of slaves.

There was, in fact, a law which allowed fathers to scourge their children with rods, and to sell them four times. The children were, therefore, the slaves of their fathers. Each being was born a slave; slavery showed itself everywhere. The Russian wives were more enslaved than the Asiatic; their slavery, no doubt, was less strict, but it was more barbarous; no law protected them from the violence of their husbands, who, like savages, often put in force against them, the right of the strongest, as the caprice of temper, or passion, or drunkenness inspired them. It is even said that Russian wives were unhappy if their husbands never beat them: it seems they welcome ill-usage as proof that they were not regarded with indifference.

In the Russian laws of that epoch, against wives who murdered their husbands, we find the same cruelty that marked the Roman laws against slaves who killed their masters. Similarity of situation induced similarity of precaution. The culprit was buried alive up to the neck, and a close guard was set round her to see that no one supplied her with food, or the means of ending her sufferings. In this state of torture some have been known to linger a week before they were released by death.

From the slavery of the women may be inferred that of the men; for the slavery of the one sex implies that of the other.

Another law authorised persons to sell themselves. All those who were ruined by the civil wars, and by the Tatars, were, in truth, under the imperious necessity of selling themselves, in order to subsist. Yet this law, while it proves slavery, proves also a sort of liberty; for a man must have possessed his liberty before he could be able thus to dispose of it.

Now, should we be told, "There exists a country in which

prisoners of war are slaves; where insolvent debtors are given to their creditors; where the poor man may sell himself to the rich; and where fathers have the right of selling their children three or four times; to which must be added, that only one class there can possess landed property, which class is, by its nature, by usage, and by necessity, devoted to the profession of arms;" should we not conclude that, within a given lapse of time, such a country must be composed of only nobles and serfs? And if it should be replied, that such a country existed, and that, nevertheless, during six centuries, it had always a third estate, could we doubt that the vague existence of that order must have been indebted for its preservation to local circumstances, to the interests of the princes, to the weakness of the nobles, and to the system of binding the slave to the soil not having been yet introduced?

In fact, this people, originally free, by its division into tribes, till towards the end of the ninth century, was also free in the time of Vladimir the Great, by its being united in cities, of which several were commercial; by the enormous extent of the country, and the small number of conquerors; and because the Varangian leaders had not conquered with the view of plundering and proceeding onward, but to establish themselves, and in many cities, as in Novgorod, it was as allies and protectors that they were received.

We know, also, that in many of those cities the advantage of civilisation was on the side of the vanquished. Besides, by the simple manners of those times, the prince and his subjects were on numerous occasions brought in contact with each other; as at common festivals, the public repasts, to which all were admitted, and the deliberations, in which all bore a part, because all had an interest in them. The traders were held in estimation there; for, in a country without industry, and without any means of communication, they were the great connecting link, especially with foreigners. It was, besides, necessary to have recourse to them for everything that was wanting; accordingly, they always constituted a body in the state. We see them appearing prominently in treaties, in elections, in the assemblies of the cities, in those of the nation even; they were indispensable, in consequence of their numbers, their connexions, and their wealth.

We have remarked the duration, for six centuries, of the warlike and commercial republic of Novgorod. Pskof, the paramount ruler of twelve cities, and Viatka, were equally free; it even appears that, like them, each city that was founded before the Tatar dominion, had its boyars, denominated Boyars of the Commons; its tyssiatchsky, a military leader appointed by the citizens, taking precedence of all the boyars of the princes, and even of those of the Grand-Princes; lastly, its trial by jury; and, above all, its vetché-bell, or assembling of the people; the voice of the supreme national power, often seditious, and always dear to the Slavonians. By an ancient law of Pskof, the husbandmen of its territory were constituted, in perpetuity, its tributaries and labourers; for, with the exception of some odnodvortzy (country landholders), it seems that there were no landed proprietors, except military persons, traders, and citizens.

The peasants of the lowest class, however, were not bound down to the soil, but had the privilege of hiring themselves to whom they pleased, either for life or for a term.

This is highly worthy of notice; in this mainly consists the difference between the feudal times of the Russian people and those of the rest of Europe. The right of the strongest was then everywhere predominant. In Europe, the nobles having gained the upper hand of the cities and princes, the necessity of some kind of order gave rise there to the feudal hierarchy, and the inhabitants of the towns and of the country were slaves. Among the Russians, the princes having remained masters of powerful cities, and the country free from feudal manors, the plebeians were protected; there was no bondage to the soil, no serfs, but farmers and hired servants; and in cities, a tribunal to make their contracts be respected.

Now, from the liberty and the protection afforded by the cities, we must conclude, that the peasants continually deserted their fields, where they were at the mercy of all the individuals of the military class, to be hired in the cities, and to seek their fortune there; that, consequently, those cities were exceedingly populous, and were sometimes summoned to the councils and elections of princes; and that, in the commercial cities especially, the commercial class must have often enjoyed the pre-eminence. How, then, happened

it that liberty was not the result? for, in all ages, cities have been its cradle and its asylum.

Too far apart from each other in that immense space, they acted without concert: when we are speaking of Russia, the words *distance*, *extension*, *dispersion*, perpetually present themselves, and are always applicable. Besides, the country being in general extremely flat, it affords few of those positions of difficult access in which liberty delights. Those cities, with their ramparts of earth and resinous timber, could not have been very secure places of refuge. In the thirteenth century, we see them almost all burned by the Tatars; again, under Ivan IV., most of those which the Poles besieged they compelled to surrender by setting fire to their ramparts. Such cities, strong enough against the nobles, were weak against their princes, and could not subsist without them.

It must be remembered, that the great number of those princes, and the scarcity of cities, had caused each of the latter to become an appanage, and that the faithful band by which each appanaged prince was surrounded, composed for him a permanent and formidable body-guard. Could the municipal government long subsist in the presence of those princes?

Add to this, a perpetual state of hostility, and the continual danger to which each city was exposed; whence originated the preponderance of the military government, which, next to the theocratic, is the most absolute of all. Hence resulted the loss of their primitive liberty to those cities which were not, like Novgorod, rendered secure from civil wars by their power, and from the nomad wars by their northern situation. Concentrated in this great Novgorod, the ancient liberty of the Slavonians flourished there for six centuries and a half, in despite of the Russian princes, of their guards, and of the Tatars. It was under Ivan III. that the original despotism of the Grand-Princes of the family of Rurik, reinforced by the civil and superstitious despotism derived from Greece, inherited also the savage and Asiatic despotism of the Tatars; everything, even the great Novgorod, completely sank beneath and was levelled under the weight of this triple despotism.

At length, on this soil, several times conquered in mass, and a thousand times in detail, we find, at the opening of

the sixteenth century, after Ivan III., nothing but a victor and the vanquished; or, in other words, a master and slaves. Order even, the only bearable side of servitude, did not exist; so much did the chances of force and of circumstances decide everything. It was not till about the year 1600 that the bondage of the peasant to the soil was introduced there, at the moment when it ceased in the rest of Europe. This crowning misery it was necessary to endure, to escape at length from the chaos; for there was no salvation to be obtained but by concentrating all tyrannies into one. Thus only could the army, the taxes—in a word, all the means of government, be combined in the hands which had the strongest interest in the maintenance of order and of public tranquillity. Tranquillity was the first thing needed; whilst it lasted, it must produce increase of population, the means of intercourse, knowledge, wealth, and all that naturally and inevitably brings forward the liberty of the people, and at last fixes it on a firm basis.

It was the usurper Godunof, then the prime minister of Feodor, son and successor of Ivan the Terrible, who crushed Russia with this final chain.* In a very short time, there were no longer even hired servants; commerce fell into the hands of the slaves of the nobles, and the cities were filled with serfs.

Surprise has been manifested, that, in this land of slavery, bondage to the soil was so lately introduced; but the country having been rather under a feudality of princes than of nobles, it must have been the interest of the princes, against the nobles, not to render them proprietors of their peasants. Besides, this institution could not be transmitted thither by the Greeks, who were unacquainted with it when the Russians imitated them, and still less by the nomad tribes, when the latter subjugated Russia. When, however, the public and private interest had raised and firmly fixed a single throne on the ruins of the princes holding appanages, and of the higher class of nobility who replaced those princes, the sovereign, who had a hold over the nobles and cities by their property, knew not how to reach the lower class of the community, which was so widely dispersed; he was obliged to

* See Tatischef.—The Law of 1592 or 1593; the Edict of 1597;—Karamsin, Divof, Weydemeyer.

render each proprietor responsible for the peasants whom he employed. But those proprietors could not be answerable for men who had voluntarily entered their service, nor have them forthcoming when the wants of the state required them: at the beginning of the fifteenth century, we witness the paternal administration of a prince of Tver, attracting into his states the population of the neighbouring principalities.

Thus, a continual fluctuation of the people prevented the recruiting service and the taxes from being established on a fixed basis: with such mutability, the creation, by Ivan III., of three hundred thousand subordinate landholders, from the mass of boyar-followers, subject to military service, and the assessment of a tax on their ploughs, would have produced but a very uncertain result. Accordingly, when, after Ivan III., the Grand-Prince was possessed of an army, and had no longer any fear of the nobles, it became his interest to introduce the bondage of the peasant to the soil. Well-informed Russians add, that Boris Godunof, embarrassed in his usurpation by the remains of the great families, felt that the petty nobility, being envious, greedy, and less united, would be more pliant; that one of the means which he employed to gain over the poor proprietors, of which the nobility was composed, was to secure to them the husbandmen, of whom hitherto the rich had easily deprived them; and that this was an additional cause of making the peasant a bond-slave irremovable from the soil.

Another motive is also assigned for this barbarous institution. The natives of the south were always free; that circumstance, and the climate, drew thither the peasants of the north. It appears that the armies, when they withdrew from Kasan and Astrakhan, left behind them numbers of soldiers: from the concourse of people to the cities, from these desertions or migrations, and from the vagabond habits which prevailed, arose the depopulation of the rural districts, robbery, and famine. Great evils were put a stop to by a lesser evil; bondage to the soil rendered the proprietors responsible for their peasants, and brought back the latter to their agricultural labours.

CHAPTER XV.

FEODOR I. — EXTINCTION OF THE DYNASTY OF RURIK — BORIS GODUNOF — THE FALSE DMITRI.

FEODOR, the eldest surviving son of Ivan the Terrible, succeeded him in 1584, at the age of twenty-seven. The character of the new czar was in singular contrast with that of his father. Feeble and sickly in body, pliant, timid, and superstitiously devout, Feodor would have been a sexton, not a sovereign, had he been free to follow his natural bent, for his greatest delight was to haunt the churches and ring the bells. His incapacity was so complete that Ivan had been forced to bequeath him, together with the autocratic sway of which he was so jealous, to a council of boyars; but that precaution was unavailing, for he had already sealed the doom of his dynasty. Ivan did not perceive that what had preserved himself during his minority was the existence of a higher class of nobility. Had Shuiski, the oppressor of his childhood, not feared pretensions equal to his own, he would have seized the crown. In reducing all around him to one level, Ivan overthrew everything that could obstruct the designs of a prime minister. The immense interval of terror between the throne and the subjects was a field open to the ambition of a vizir who might remain alone in it with the prince. The members of Feodor's council immediately contended for that position, and in such a strife the victory could only belong to the most crafty and wicked of them all. This was Boris Godunof, the descendant of a Tatar, and brother-in-law of Feodor, the last sovereign of the race of Rurik.

No man was fitter than Boris to become mayor of the palace to that *fainéant* monarch. Active, indefatigable, more enlightened than any of his countrymen, versed in affairs and in the knowledge of men, he possessed all the qualities requisite to constitute a great minister. He concealed his ambition under a cloak of piety and boundless attachment to his country and sovereign. By his grave demeanour and noble presence he extorted respect from the jealous boyars; and when the czar showed himself to the people, accompanied by his minister, every one felt that it was not on the throne they were to look for the master of the empire.

Between this able and unscrupulous man and the object of his criminal desire, there stood only an imbecile czar, who could not live, and the czar's brother and sole heir, the unfortunate Dmitri, who was but a child. All others who might compete with Boris he removed by calumny, banishment, or assassination;* and he had only one more crime to commit in order to grasp the crown.† Having long meditated that crime, he had from the first taken care to facilitate it by removing Dmitri, with his mother and his maternal uncles, to Uglitch, a town which Ivan had bestowed as an appanage on his younger son, but without intending that it should be made for him a place of exile. For a while Boris entertained the design of bastardising Dmitri, on the ground that he was the son of Ivan's seventh wife, such a union being contrary to the canons of the Church. A third marriage was with difficulty permitted, but a fourth was absolutely void as condemned by religion. Boris forbade that Dmitri should be prayed for, or his name mentioned in the liturgy; but afterwards he reflected that the marriage of the dowager czaritza, though really illegal, had been sanctioned or tolerated by the ecclesiastical authorities; they could not annul it now without thereby incurring a perilous loss of credit. The very act would be a confession of shameful weakness and error, and Boris had too much need of the Church's favour to force upon it that humiliation. Besides, even though Dmitri were declared illegitimate, public opinion would not the less continue to regard him as the true czarevitch and sole successor of Feodor. Boris had recourse to a surer expedient.

He began by exciting odium against his destined victim,

* Boris was sparing of public executions, but most of those who incurred his enmity were poisoned by domestic traitors or strangled in prison.

† A Russian chronicler, who was certainly not acquainted with the legends of Scotland, depicts Godunof as another Macbeth, urged to crime by the predictions of soothsayers. "He assembled several soothsayers or astrologers, in the dead of the night, and desired them to cast his horoscope. Their answer to him was, 'The crown is thy destiny.' But then they were suddenly mute, as if dismayed by what they foresaw besides. Boris insisted on their completing their prediction, and they told him he should reign, but only for seven years. He embraced them in a transport of joy, exclaiming: 'Though it be but for seven days, no matter, so I reign!'"

by publishing, through the mouths of his creatures, alarming reports of the boy's cruel and perverse disposition. It was everywhere said openly in Moscow that the little czarevitch was the living image of his father; that he manifested a precocious delight in blood and the sight of tortures; and that his favourite amusement consisted in tormenting and killing domestic animals. These stories were intended to inspire the people with aversion for Dmitri; another was devised to alarm the grandees. It was related that the czarevitch, playing on the ice one day with other children, gave orders that twenty images of men should be made of snow. To each of these he gave the name of one of the leading men in the state, and the largest of them he called Boris Godunof. Then, armed with a wooden sword, he began to hack and hew at them all. He cut off the head of Godunof's image; others he stabbed, or lopped off their feet and hands, exclaiming, "That is what you shall have when I am czar." We have no means of judging whether or not there was any foundation for these tales; nor is the question material. It is enough to know that they were encouraged by Godunof; for they were repeated without the least restraint in the capital, where no man durst have whispered a word which he thought capable, by any chance, of giving offence to the dreaded regent.

When the minds of the Russians had in this way been sufficiently prepared for the catastrophe, the blow was struck. In the afternoon of the 15th of May, 1591 (O.S.), Dmitri, who was then ten years old, was playing with four other boys, his attendants, in the court-yard of his palace at Uglitch, a large enclosure containing several detached dwellings irregularly placed. There were near him also his governess, Vassilissa Volokhof, his nurse, and a servant-woman; but it seems that all the persons about him lost sight of him for a moment. According to the unanimous testimony of the three women and the pages, he had a knife in his hand, and amused himself with sticking it in the ground, or cutting a piece of wood. Suddenly the nurse saw him writhing on the ground, bathed in blood. He had a *large* wound in his throat, and died without uttering a word. The czaritza, hearing the nurse's shrieks, ran to the spot, and in the first outburst of her frantic grief she fell upon the

governess, who ought to have watched the boy, and beat her with a billet of wood, accusing her of having let in the murderers of her son. At the same time she denounced as the assassin one Mikhail Bitiagofski, a creature of Boris, whom the latter had placed in the palace of Uglitch, as paymaster and comptroller, or, in other words, as a spy upon the czaritza and her brothers. Mikhail Nagoi, one of the latter, was roused by the uproar from the table where he was drinking after dinner. Coming out in a state of intoxication, he too beat the governess, and gave orders to ring the tocsin. The court-yard was instantly thronged with townspeople and servants, who had hurried to the spot with forks and hatchets, thinking the palace was on fire. Among the rest, Bitiagofski arrived with his son and some of his subordinates. Trying to appease the tumult, he shouted that the boy had killed himself by falling on his knife in a fit of epilepsy, to which he was known to be subject. "There is the murderer!" cried the czaritza. The crowd rushed at him with uplifted weapons; he fled to one of the houses in the court-yard, and barred himself in; but in a moment the door was broken open, and he and his son were massacred. Every one who ventured to say a word in his behalf, or who was known to belong to him, was hacked to pieces. The governess lay bathed in blood, and half lifeless, on the ground, with bare head and dishevelled hair, for the servants of the Nagois had torn off her cap, thus inflicting on her what, in the estimation of the Russians of those days, was a more ignominious outrage than the blows she had received. One of her serfs picked up her cap, and put it on her head; he was instantly murdered for his compassion. The frantic multitude, still hunting down and slaying fresh victims, carried the bleeding corpse of the czarevitch to the neighbouring church, where Daniel Volokhof, the governess's son, was sacrificed before it, under his mother's eyes. He was known to be connected with Bitiagofski; and that was deemed proof enough that he was his accomplice. The priests of the church with great difficulty rescued Vassilissa and Bitiagofski's daughters from the hands of the mob; but they were all imprisoned under close guard in one of the buildings belonging to the cathedral.

Thus far the facts we have related appear unquestionably

authentic; popular rumours, collected and intensified by chroniclers who wrote long after the death of Dmitri, have added to them a great number of details, palpably fictitious, and all assuming the character of direct proof of Godunof's guilt. The real evidence against him is by no means so complete, and is only sufficient to establish a very strong probability. Nor was the case rendered less obscure by the result of a mock inquest held at Uglitch, by order of Boris, four days after Dmitri's death. The two grandees who were deputed to investigate the matter were Andrew Klechnin, notoriously one of Godunof's creatures, and prince Vassili Shuiski, who passed for his enemy. Shuiski's elder brother Andrew had been put to death by the regent, and he himself had been for some years in disgrace. But he and his younger brother Dmitri had already been permitted to effect their reconciliation with Godunof, and the latter had given his sister-in-law in marriage to Dmitri. The regent knew Vassili well, and was not deceived in the choice he made of him, whilst at the same time it seemed to testify entire freedom from fear and partiality on his own part. After an inquiry conducted in secret, without any examination of the body, any comparison of the wound with the weapon said to have inflicted it, or the observance of any one requisite for the discovery of the truth, the commissioners reported that the czarevitch had died in the manner before declared by Bitiagofski, that is to say, by a wound accidentally inflicted on himself during a fit of epilepsy.

The patriarch and the bishops unanimously adopted this report, and further declared that Mikhail Nagoi, the wicked astrologers his accomplices, and the citizens of Uglitch, deserved death for their treason in murdering the czar's officers; but this, they added, was a matter that concerned the secular jurisdiction. A number of persons thus prejudged were put on their trial before the Council of Boyars; the brothers of the dowager czaritza among the rest. Some of the witnesses deposed that Mikhail and Gregory Nagoi, in their fraudulent desire to prove the murder of the czarevitch, had produced knives, sabres, and other weapons, smeared with the blood of a fowl, and pretended that they had found them in the hands of the officers massacred at Uglitch. Especially it was testified that one of the brothers had given

the chief magistrate of Uglitch a *Tatar dagger*, known to belong to Gregory, with directions that he should lay it on the corpse of Bitiagofski, or of one of his companions. This charge was faintly denied by Gregory, but was confessed by Mikhail under torture. Such a confession proves nothing; the accusation may have been true or false, but in any case it points to a conclusion the reverse of that for which it was adduced. It curiously supplies that capital omission in the inquest which we have before mentioned—the comparison of the wound with the weapon said to have caused it—and it corroborates the vague but undisputed statement that the wound was a large one: that is to say, such as might have been made by a *sabre* or a *Tatar dagger* (*nagaiskii noj*), which is a long, broad-bladed, two-edged weapon, but not by a *little knife* (*nojik*) such as the czarevitch was represented as playing with. The balance of evidence, therefore, is against the probability that Dmitri's death was accidental.

The Council of Boyars decided otherwise. The dowager czaritza was compelled to take the veil; and her brothers were sent to remote prisons. The inhabitants of Uglitch were treated as rebels with atrocious severity. More than two hundred of them were put to death; others had their tongues cut out or were thrown into dungeons. All the rest of them whom terror had not already dispersed, were sent to Siberia; and a flourishing town that had numbered 30,000 inhabitants was converted into a desert. The wrath of the regent extended even to inanimate objects. The palace of the czarevitch was rased to the ground, and the church-bell that had summoned the inhabitants of Uglitch to rest was banished with them. According to Karamsin, it was still to be seen, at the end of the last century, in the capital of Siberia. This excessive violence was no less impolitic than inhuman; it confirmed the suspicions it was intended to avert. Boris alone had had a manifest interest in the czarevitch's death, and all men in their hearts pronounced him the murderer. Macbeth stabbed the sleeping grooms in his simulated rage; just so, it was whispered, Boris had exterminated the witnesses he had been unable to suborn, and had destroyed a whole city in order to efface even the mute memorial of his guilt. Thenceforth the Muscovites looked

upon him only as an assassin, and saw nothing but crimes even in his most laudable acts.

Soon after the horrible tragedy of Uglitch, a tremendous fire broke out in Moscow and consumed a great portion of the city. Boris had whole streets rebuilt at his own cost, distributed succours among the victims of the disaster, and exempted them from taxes. His bounty was eagerly accepted, but its very recipients secretly accused him of having set fire to the capital, that he might create the opportunity, of which he availed himself, to attribute the deed to the partisans of the Nagois, whom he subjected to fresh persecutions.

In the same year Kassim Gherei, Khan of Crimea, suddenly invaded Russia with a formidable army, and appeared unexpectedly at the gates of Moscow. The Russian commanders were at their wit's end, the army without order or efficiency, the people sunk in helpless despair. When Feodor was applied to he answered, with his usual apathy, that "the saints who protected Russia would fight for her." Boris alone preserved his presence of mind in this extremity. In the space of a few days he had Moscow surrounded with palisades and redoubts, lined with numerous forces and formidable artillery. He reanimated the courage of the troops, and by his prodigious activity supplied all that was wanting in the emergency. The Tatars, repulsed in a first attack, durst not attempt a second, but after some days' deliberation resolved to retire. Their retreat became a frightful rout, and hardly a third of their immense army reached home again. Russia was saved by Boris, but Feodor alone was grateful. The people accused the regent of having called in the Tatars "in order," they said, "that the country's danger might make us forget the death of Dmitri."

In the following year, 1592, the unexpected pregnancy of the czaritza Irene was announced. She was delivered of a daughter, and Boris was immediately suspected of having substituted a female child for the male which his sister had brought forth. The infant lived but a few days, and then it was said he had poisoned it. The long-expected death of the czar, happen when it might, was sure to be attributed to the same cause. But Godunof's ambition, though inordinate, was patient. He suffered the weak Feodor to live;

and reigning gloriously in his name, he purposed to make himself indispensable to Russia, so that when the throne should become vacant he should be called to it by the unanimous voice of the nation. Especially he took care to secure to himself the powerful aid of the clergy. In the same year in which he killed the sole heir to the throne, he availed himself of the sordid ambition of a Greek bishop, who was become the slave of the Turks, to purchase from him the right of establishing in Russia a patriarch, who was destined, at a future period, to repay him diadem for diadem.

In the mean while, the grandees whom he could not deceive, were either driven away or crushed by terror; the petty nobles were gained over by chaining down the serfs to the soil in 1592 or 1593; the inhabitants of the cities, by a continued affectation of popularity; criminals, by indulgence; and the whole nation, by the splendour of an able administration and policy. Smolensk was fortified; Archangel built; the Tatars, defeated for the last time under the walls of Moscow, were chased back into their deserts, and were confined within them by strong places constructed around their haunts. Other fortresses arose, under the shadow of the Caucasus; Siberia was finally reconquered by the Russian manners, arts, and arms. The Swedes were driven into Narva; and a diplomatic intercourse was opened with the European powers. Lithuania, and even Poland itself, is said to have momentarily consented to submit to the sceptre which was swayed by Godunof. The spirit of sectarianism alone appears to have dissolved this important union, which was then voluntary, but which, two centuries later, was to be the work of compulsion.

It was at the moment that the glory of Boris shone in its brightest lustre, that, after seven hundred and thirty-six years of existence, the dynasty of Rurik became extinct, in the person of Feodor, its fifty-second sovereign, and with the sixteenth century (1598). Other branches still existed, but the tyranny of Ivan had pressed heavily upon all his race. So completely had he insulated the throne by terror, that none but the minister of that terror dared to aspire to it.

The deputies of Russia were assembled; let us listen to their annalists. "The election begins; the people look up

to the nobles, the nobles to the grandees, the grandees to the patriarch; he speaks, he names Boris; and instantaneously, and as one man, all re-echo that formidable name!"

Godunof, on his side, grasped with so firm a hand all the links of power, that he felt a pleasure in obstinately refusing a sceptre which he so ardently desired. The grandees and the people besieged him with their supplications; he escaped from them, and took refuge in a monastery, where the throng of slaves again fruitlessly surrounded him. This political farce, which others of his kind have hardly been able to play for a few minutes, he ventured to keep up for more than a month. He knew that, from the cell to which he had hypocritically retired, a single breath of his would suffice to impel the multitude as he pleased.

And so it was: people, nobles, priests, all obeyed the impulse; he appeared to direct, by unseen threads, every movement of those thousands; always invisible, he made them come, or go, speak, or be silent, with one accord, and as he willed, as though they had been a single body of which he was the soul. To the walls of his monastic retreat the impostor attracted that herd of slaves, repelled them, drew them on again, without fearing to disgust them; nor did he yield at length, till for six weeks he had kept all Russia in suspense, on its knees, in tears,* and with clasped hands holding forth to him the relics of the saints, the image of the Redeemer, to whom it compared him, and that antique crown, which during fourteen years he had coveted, and towards which he had won his way by so many crimes.

The usurpation of Boris began, or rather it continued: it sustained itself by dint of prodigalities, idle shows, and those striking effects of charlatanism which have such influence over the minds of a rude and ignorant people. The satisfied tyrant at first imagined that he might stop in the career of crime. He sought to enlighten his subjects with European knowledge; but this the priests opposed. His usurped power was devoid of independence; emanating from evil, it was strong only for purposes of evil. The consciousness of his crimes appalled him; he hoped to quiet his alarms by new acts of violence, which redoubled these alarms, and he

* A chronicler says, that "those who had no tears at their command wetted their eyes with their spittle."—Karamsin, x., note.

completed the demoralisation of everything by the dread he felt and inspired.

Boris had always pursued with diabolical art the policy of undermining the grandees, which was begun by Ivan III. He had even improved on that policy, and compassed the extinction of many of the great families by withholding from its members permission to marry. He now had cause, in common with all usurpers, to be doubly mistrustful of those who had so lately been his own equals; in their ruin he saw his own safety: their riches would enable him to win the petty nobles, whose pretensions could never come in competition with his own; and also the love of the populace, which the majority of tyrants have sought, and too often obtained. Among his victims may be remarked the Romanofs. Being allied to the Ruriks, they were the family which gave most uneasiness to the usurper. The head of this eminent house was preserved from the punishment of the axe only by that of the tonsure. Ere long, we shall see this monk, after having risen to the primacy, rendering himself illustrious by his patriotic devotedness, and his virtues meriting for his son the sceptre of an empire which had been preserved by them from foreign domination.

All was, in the mean time, brutified by fear: in the midst of banquets, in the most peaceable ceremonies, the proudest grandees of the empire, the descendants of so many princes, on the least sign being given by this Tatar, were seen to rush, like executioners, upon any one of their number whom he pointed out as his enemy. Slavery was carried to its highest pitch of intensity by this usurper; with that slavery which Ivan employed to crush the princes and the Russian republic, which Ivan IV. extended to the higher class of nobility and the cities, Boris fettered the country also, by binding down the peasantry to the soil. The immediate result disappointed his expectations. The peasants fled by thousands to escape slavery, and easily found an asylum with proprietors who wanted hands to cultivate their estates. A new edict was issued in 1597, prescribing the most vigorous measures for the discovery of fugitive serfs. Hence arose an insupportable inquisition, as hateful to the landowners as to the peasants themselves. From that moment, despotism was omnipresent; every village, every house, had its despotism

equally with the throne, on which, in their turn, all these despotisms were dependent. The Russian nation was no longer anything but a hierarchy of slaves. Thenceforth, there was no intercourse; none of those public meetings in which the youthful part of society at least orally acquired knowledge; no compacts to protect the weak, no asylum for them. Russia became sad and sullen: the minstrels, who had been wont to traverse the country, now disappeared; their songs of war and the chase, and even of love, were heard no longer. It is only in the chronicles of the time that we discover the traces of those perished manners, those forgotten songs: on meeting with them, the national historian is surprised and affected, and mournfully exclaims, "that, in these recollections, the Russia of the present day, mute and enslaved, finds but the image of an object which no longer exists, the echo of a voice which no longer vibrates on her ear."

All these usurpations of Boris were not slow in producing the natural results, which caused the tyrant himself to die of grief on his tottering throne. He was doomed, in the first place, to witness a calamitous emigration of the peasants, in order to preserve their freedom among the Cossacks; then a horrible famine; and shortly after, an atrocious *jacquerie*, victorious at first, but ultimately vanquished. These were the fruits of his criminal attack upon the liberties of the people. As to the murder of Dmitri, he imagined that he beheld the shade of his victim rising from the tomb, to take vengeance upon him. In conclusion, he left Russia depopulated, exhausted, laid open on every side, and a prey to all the horrors which arise from the breaking up of society. What crimes, what torments, what woes, to procure a six years' reign upon a throne which, two months after his decease, was to overwhelm his son in its fall!

The famine mentioned in the last paragraph began in 1601; it was accompanied as usual with pestilence, and both continued their dreadful ravages for three years. Boris was unsparing in his efforts to allay the calamity; he caused immense quantities of provisions, besides money, to be daily distributed in Moscow; but the consequence was that multitudes flocked from all the provinces to the capital, and the mischief was increased by concentration. At last the state treasury was

exhausted, whilst the famine was still unabated. It is said that half a million of people died in Moscow. The dead lay by thousands in the streets and highways, many with their mouths full of hay, straw, or the filthiest offal, which they had endeavoured to eat. Moscow was become a city of cannibals. In many houses the fattest person was killed to serve as food for the rest. Parents devoured their own children, children their parents, or sold them for bread. Petreius saw a woman, in the open street, tearing with her teeth the flesh of a living child she carried in her arms; and Margeret relates that four women, having decoyed a peasant into their house under pretence of buying wood from him, killed him and his horse, and dragged the two carcases into their ice-pit* to serve them for food.

When the manifold discontents of the Russians had been exasperated to the highest pitch by three years of this horrible visitation, and by the countless secondary evils that flowed from it; and when the whole empire was full of that vague disquiet which commonly foreruns revolution, a surprising rumour, brought from the frontiers of Lithuania, spread through all the provinces with incredible rapidity. The czarevitch Dmitri had not been murdered after all, but was alive in Poland! His cause was espoused by the principal lords of the republic, and he was preparing to assert his hereditary rights. Various accounts represented him as having been previously seen at different places in the Russian territory disguised as a monk, or playing a distinguished part in the military expeditions of the Zaporogue Cossacks. These accounts were contradictory in several particulars, but all agreed as to the main point, that Dmitri was alive, and was about to call the usurper to a terrible reckoning.

About the middle of the year 1603, prince Adam Wisznio-wiecki, of Brahm, in Lithuania, being irritated by some act of negligence on the part of a young man who had not long been in his service, gave him a box on the ear and called him son of a ——. The young man replied, with tears in his eyes, "If you knew who I am, prince, you would not treat me so, nor call me by that name."—"Who are you, then? and whence do you come?"—"I am the czarevitch Dmitri, son of Ivan Vassilievitch." He then recounted the particu-

* The usual receptacle for meat, fish, &c., in Russia.

lars of his miraculous escape from the assassin employed by Boris Godunof. He stated that his physician, Simon, having been tampered with by Boris, had feigned to comply with the regent's designs against the life of the heir-presumptive, but only that he might the more effectually frustrate them. On the *night* appointed for the murder, Simon put the son of a serf into his young master's bed, and it was that substituted boy whom the murderers despatched. Convinced of the inutility of appealing to Feodor against the minister who held his mind enthralled, Simon fled with Dmitri from Uglitch, and committed him to the care of a loyal gentleman, who for his better protection made him enter a monastery. The gentleman and the physician were both dead; but in confirmation of his story, the pretender exhibited a Russian seal, bearing the arms and the name of the czarevitch, and a gold cross adorned with jewels of great value, which he said was the baptismal gift of his godfather, prince Ivan Mstislavski.

This tale, delivered with great persuasiveness of manner, found ready credence on the part of the Polish prince; the costly diamond cross seemed to him an evidence not to be resisted, for how could such a jewel have come into the young man's hands if he were not really the czarevitch? Wisznio-wiecki immediately tendered his illustrious guest the command of his wealth and influence, presented him with clothes, horses, carriages, and a retinue suitable to his supposed birth, and took him to the residence of his brother, prince Constantine, at Jalojicz. There a Russian fugitive, named Pietrovski, in the service of the chancellor of Lithuania, volunteered a declaration that he had formerly been in attendance on the czarevitch Dmitri, and that he recognised by certain remarkable tokens his undoubted identity with the young man then before him. The real Dmitri, if alive in 1603, would have been about twenty-two years old; that was the apparent age of the stranger. The latter had a wart on the forehead, another under the right eye, and one arm a little longer than the other; and Ivan's son was said to have been marked in the very same way.

There was an end to all doubts. The Polish nobles thronged to prince Constantine's mansion to be presented to the rightful czar of all the Russias, to offer their services to him, and invite him to the most sumptuous entertainments.

His deportment was such as fully became his alleged birth. Perfectly at his ease among the noble palatines; gracious, affable, but always preserving his dignity, he accepted their services with the air of one who confers a favour, and with assurances that he would one day reward them. He spoke Polish as well as Russian, perhaps with more facility; knew a few words of Latin, and wrote with a bold and rapid hand, which was enough in those days to prove that he had received a liberal education. Moreover, he was minutely versed in the history of Russia, and in the genealogies of all the great families, their several interests, rivalries, and various fortunes. In short, he had thoroughly learned his part as pretender, and played it admirably. Adroitly flattering the prejudices of his entertainers, he led them to attribute to him, rather than confessed, a certain partiality for Polish manners and usages, and seemed to set light by the institutions of Russia, and even by the superstitions of the Greek church. In fine, and this was no small merit in the eyes of a warlike nobility, he was a most accomplished horseman, indefatigable in field sports, and excelled in all exercises that required vigour or agility.

Boris was not slow to hear of the appearance of this formidable pretender on the frontier, and the reception he met with in Poland. What made the danger more pressing was, that whilst the palatines were feasting the self-styled Dmitri, a Russian monk, named Gregory, or Grishka Otrepief, was going about among the disaffected Don and Zaporogue Cossacks announcing to them the speedy arrival of the czarevitch, and urging them to take up arms in his behalf. Boris made haste to get his rival into his hands, but nothing could be more injudicious than the way in which he set about effecting his purpose. In offering the brothers Wiszniowiecki money and lands if they would give up the impostor to him, he took the surest means of confirming their belief that their guest was really the person whose name he assumed. The indignant palatines dismissed the agents of Boris without deigning to make them any reply, and carried Dmitri for greater security into the interior of Poland, where he was received with royal honours by George Mniszek, palatine of Sandomir, father-in-law of prince Constantine. At Sandomir another witness was found to identify Dmitri. This was an

old soldier who had been a prisoner in Russia, and who declared that he perfectly recognised in the adult the features of the child he had often seen at Uglitch. But what contributed more than anything else to advance the pretender's fortunes was the interest he had now excited in the mind of Rangoni, the papal nuncio, whose influence was paramount with the weak and fanatic Sigismond, king of Poland. A compact was entered into, through the medium of the jesuits, between the nuncio and Dmitri, by virtue of which the latter was to bring over Russia to the church of Rome, and Rangoni was to support him with all his influence in Poland and throughout Europe.

Dmitri now privately abjured the Greek faith in presence of the nuncio, and signed a contract of marriage with Marina, the youngest daughter of Mniszek, by which he settled upon her the towns of Novgorod and Pskof, and engaged to pay her father a million of Polish florins as soon as he should have ascended the throne. Soon afterwards he signed another deed, by which he ceded the city of Smolensk and all Severia to Mniszek and the king of Poland, to be divided between them. These engagements, as well as his abjuration, were to be kept secret for the present, and Dmitri continued outwardly to observe the forms of the Greek ritual. He was next presented by the nuncio in a solemn audience to Sigismond, who saluted him as prince of Moscow, assigned him a pension of 40,000 florins, and authorised him "to accept the counsels and services of the subjects of the Polish crown." The pension was an illusory aid, for it was to be paid by Mniszek, Sigismond's nearly insolvent debtor, nor would the king take up arms in the pretender's cause in violation of the truce of twenty years which had been concluded with Russia; but it was a great thing that he had recognised Dmitri as the rightful czar, and had permitted him to accept the *counsels and services* of the Poles—that is to say, to levy troops and prepare an expedition against Boris. Dmitri immediately hastened to the frontier, and prepared to enter Severia, where his Cossack partisans had already begun hostilities against the government in their own desultory manner.

For a long time Boris was reluctant to appear, by the magnitude of his preparations, to confess his sense of impending danger, and lend importance to his rival's claims. Affecting

to regard him with contempt, he thought to ruin him utterly in the opinion of his Polish protectors and the Russian people by identifying him with the apostate monk Grishka Otrepief. This man, whose parentage was well known, was the nephew of a person high in the confidence of Boris, and was notorious for his profligate and vagabond life. We have already mentioned him as a missionary on behalf of the pretender among the Cossacks; but his own uncle loudly declared that he and the spurious Dmitri were one and the same. This opinion has been adopted by Karamsin and most modern historians; Mérimée, on the other hand, maintains that it rests only on the assertion of Boris and his partisans, and that it is inconsistent with known facts and dates, as well as with the positive testimony of Margeret and others who knew both the monk and his master. We have said that while the latter was revealing himself to the Polish nobles, the former was busy among the Cossacks; but this seemingly decisive fact is invalidated by a statement made by Karamsin. He says, without naming his authority, that while the real Otrepief was figuring as Dmitri in Lithuania and Poland, his confederate Leonidas, another monk, had assumed the name he discarded, and was acting as his agent on the Ukraine. If we assume, with Karamsin, that Otrepief was himself the false Dmitri, nothing could have been better adapted to his purpose than this ingenious artifice; in the absence, however, of any proof that it was put in practice, we must be content to leave the main question unsolved. It is a question, indeed, more curious than important, since the well-authenticated death of the real Dmitri leaves us no room to doubt that the person, whoever he was, who afterwards assumed his name, was an impostor.

Whilst Boris was fulminating his proclamations, and the patriarch his anathemas against "the rascally disrobed monk, the apostate, rebel, and magician, who wished to introduce the Latin heresy into Russia, and to build Catholic churches in the orthodox land," the object of their invective was replying to them with more successful rhetoric, and gathering recruits under his banners. On the 31st of October, 1604, he entered the Russian territory, and marched on Moravsk, a small fortified town of the present government of Tchernigof. His little force consisted of about eleven hundred Polish

lances and their followers, making together upwards of three thousand horse, five hundred foot of the same nation, and some thousand Russian refugees. This was a very small force with which to undertake the conquest of a vast empire, but it swelled rapidly on its march. Town after town joyfully submitted to Dmitri, and the inhabitants, along with bread and salt, the customary tokens of allegiance, brought him their governors and other officers set over them by Boris, and put them bound and gagged into his hands. Dmitri liberated all these prisoners, and treated them in a manner not less politic than humane. Many other functionaries voluntarily deserted to him, and it was not until he arrived, on the 23rd of November, before the walls of Novgorod-Severski that he saw the face of an enemy. Peter Basmanof had thrown himself into that town with a corps of five hundred strelitz from Moscow, had set fire to the lower town, and retired into the citadel. A flag was sent to summon him to surrender in the name of the Czar and Grand-Prince Dmitri. Standing on the ramparts with a lighted match in his hand he replied to the envoy: "The Grand-Prince and Czar is at Moscow, and your Dmitri is a robber who shall be impaled, and his accomplices with him. Be off if you value your life." Repeated efforts were made to suborn Basmanof, but all in vain; an attempt was made to storm the fortress, and was repulsed; three weeks were spent by the Polish engineers in preparing means for burning the palisades which their cannons were too light to destroy; but the garrison was aware of the project, and encountered it with such spirit that the besiegers were forced to abandon it. Their losses were considerable; their supplies were wasting away, and this long delay before a petty fortress spread discouragement amongst Dmitri's troops, and gave time to those of Boris to muster and advance.

Dmitri alone did not share the despondency of his followers, and his steadfastness was soon rewarded by an unexpected piece of good fortune. A train of waggons loaded with casks of honey fell into the hands of his partisans, and in these casks was found a sum of 80,000 ducats, which Boris was sending to the commandants of the towns that still adhered to him. At the same time the important fortress of Putivle declared in favour of Dmitri; and in less than three

days this example was followed by Rylsk, Sievsk, Voroneje, and forty other places of more or less strength. The siege of Novgorod was now prosecuted with renewed spirit, though with no marked success. Basmanof, however, being aware that an army was on its march from Moscow, adroitly concluded a truce of a fortnight, engaging to surrender at the end of that time if he was not succoured.

Godunof probably now perceived the error he had committed in affecting to despise the "rascally monk;" the construction put by the people and the soldiery upon his conduct had been the reverse of that on which he had calculated; for their belief was, that Godunof was really afraid to oppose the true son of Ivan. Boris might still have repaired this first error if he had put himself at the head of his troops and marched in person against the impostor. But his health was broken; he was no longer the man who, as regent, had inspired the drooping hearts of the Russians with his own courage, and saved Moscow from the Tatar invaders. As if his coward conscience would not suffer him to march even against the shade of Dmitri, he committed his fortunes to the hands of the boyars whom he suspected; and while he issued the most peremptory orders that all who were capable of bearing arms should repair with all speed to Briansk, he seemed himself afraid to quit the capital. By the utmost exertion of his authority, and a rigorous inquisition backed by confiscations and the knout, fifty thousand men were brought together at Briansk in the course of six weeks. In 1598 a less space of time had sufficed to assemble half a million of fighting men at the mere word of a still popular czar.

On the 25th and 28th of December there was some skirmishing between the outposts, but neither Dmitri nor Mstislavski, Godunof's general, was in haste to bring on a general action. The former expected to see the hostile army pass over to him *en masse;* and the latter thought that the enemy, who were hardly fifteen thousand strong, would disperse without fighting. Neither expectation being fulfilled, Dmitri marched out of his entrenched camp at daybreak on the 31st, and daringly took up his position in order of battle in an open plain, extremely unfavourable to an army so inferior in numbers. His principal force consisted of six or seven hundred Polish

knights cased in complete mail, and their *pocholiki*, or esquires, who were armed almost as well as their masters. Putting himself at the head of this choice corps, Dmitri harangued his soldiers with inspiring energy. "Almighty God!" he cried aloud, "if my cause is unjust, may thy wrath fall on me alone! But thou knowest my right, and will make my arm invincible!" He then gave the word to charge. The Russian right wing was broken at the first shock by the Polish lancers, and driven in upon the centre; the whole Muscovite army was disordered, and the soldiers fled, throwing down their arms and shouting, "The czarevitch! the czarevitch!" Prince Mstislavski, a brave soldier though a bad general, strove in vain to rally his dismayed cavalry, who sought to excuse their disgrace by imputing their own fears to their horses, saying that the latter were afraid to face the Poles, for they looked like a troop of wild beasts, every man of them having a shaggy bearskin over his armour. Mstislavski fell from his horse, bleeding from fifteen wounds, and was with difficulty rescued and borne off from the field. If Dmitri had followed up his advantage, the route of the Muscovites would have been complete; but, meanwhile, Basmanof made a sortie, and set fire to the camp. Dmitri was obliged to put an end to the battle in order to repel this attack, and Godunof's generals were enabled to effect their retreat under cover of the woods.

Brilliant as the victory was, it brought Dmitri nothing but barren glory. Badly as the Russians had fought, they had shown no disposition to forsake the cause of Boris for his own. They had not surrendered but fled, and very few deserters had passed over to him. He knew that without the voluntary submission of the Russians neither the Poles nor the Cossacks would be able to overthrow Boris; and there was another and more numerous army on its march from Moscow, which might resume hostilities in a few days. While he was in this untoward predicament, there arrived a peremptory order from Sigismond, commanding the Poles to return home forthwith. Apparently this order had been extorted from the king of Poland by the threats of Boris's agents, and would not have been issued if the victory of Novgorod had been known at the court of Cracow; but the inconceivable prolongation of the siege of a petty fortress,

and the immense preparations which the czar was said to be making, had greatly diminished the probability of the pretender's success. All the palatines and the principal Polish gentlemen, including even Mniszek, obeyed the command of their sovereign a fortnight after the battle of Novgorod, and only four hundred Poles remained with Dmitri. To continue the siege of Novgorod was no longer possible; to shut himself up in one of the fortified towns that had declared in his favour appeared to him more dangerous than to hazard another battle. A desperate stroke might be successful, and the second army might be less faithful to Boris than the first. Dmitri felt besides that there is no safety for a pretender but in bold action, and that he is lost the moment he appears to doubt his own fortune. Determined, therefore, to risk everything, he broke up his camp, and after passing some days at Sievsk to refresh his troops, he took the field again with hardly fifteen thousand men, most of them Cossacks.

Mstislavski was disabled by his wounds; Basmanof, the only other commander who had earned the approbation of Boris, was summoned to Moscow to be loaded with extraordinary honours, which were a tacit reproach to others, and excited the jealousy of the higher nobility to a dangerous degree. Whether it was that Boris feared to exasperate that jealousy, or that he detained his best officer for the defence of his capital and his person in case of extremity, he committed a capital fault in depriving his army of the only man fit to lead it, and another in giving the command to Vassili Shuiski, who, like Mstislavski, was personally brave, but otherwise incompetent. No one knew better than Shuiski that the so-called Dmitri was an impostor, and he had no thought of promoting his success; but though he fought for Boris, he never forgot the wrongs he had sustained at his hands; in short, he was willing to defend the czar against the pretender, but not to make him too secure.

On the 20th of January, 1605, Shuiski and the other generals drew out their united forces, amounting to seventy thousand men, on the plain of Dobrynitchi. Dmitri did not hesitate to attack them with less than a quarter of their numbers. As at the battle of Novgorod, he prayed aloud, harangued his army, and divided it into three corps. Eight thousand mounted Zaporogues formed the main body; four

thousand Cossack infantry were posted on a hill with the artillery; the vanguard, led by Dmitri in person, consisted of the four hundred Poles and two thousand mounted Russians. Gallantly charging the enemy's centre, he routed and chased their cavalry, bore down the foreign legion in spite of their stout resistance, and fell upon the Muscovite infantry and artillery. He was received with a general discharge from fourteen cannons and sixteen thousand muskets. The hurried and ill-directed fire emptied but a dozen saddles, and when the smoke was cleared away Dmitri's lances were seen flashing in the midst of a great gap rent in the enemy's line. Had the Zaporogues seconded their intrepid commander, he would probably have achieved a complete victory; but they stood stock still, bribed, it is said, by Boris. Meanwhile, Walther von Rosen and the French captain Margeret rallied the foreign legion, and gave the Russians time to follow their example. The Zaporogues wheeled round and quitted the field without striking a blow. The day was lost for Dmitri; he fled; his horse was wounded, and the pursuit was hot. Fortunately for him it was checked for a moment by his four thousand Cossack infantry, who kept their ground without flinching against the whole Muscovite army, and were killed to a man, defending their cannons to the last. But in spite of this diversion not one of the fugitives would have reached Sievsk alive, had not Shuiski and the other voyevodes manifestly favoured the pretender's flight, their interest forbidding them to relieve Boris from all cause for fear. They gave orders to stop the pursuit, saying, "The fowl is in the pot,"* a common phrase which was understood by the soldiers as meaning that Dmitri was slain or taken. Beaten he was; he had lost by death or treachery seven-eighths of his army and all his artillery and baggage; but all this was really nothing whilst he retained the prestige of his name.

Whilst Dmitri was continuing his flight to Putivle, which from its strength and its vicinity to the frontier offered him a secure asylum, the czar's voyevodes remained at Dobrynitchi, busying themselves only with executions. They hanged all their prisoners, except a few whom they sent to Moscow, tortured and shot the inhabitants of the province of

* "*Popalsia kur vo shtshi*:" literally, "The fowl has fallen into the cabbage soup."

Komarnitsk, and by these stupid cruelties augmented the rancour of the people against Boris, and their attachment to Dmitri, who behaved with invariable clemency even to his enemy's most zealous servants. Instead of marching instantly to exterminate the remains of the rebels, Shuiski dismissed a part of his troops immediately after his victory, under pretence of economising his scanty provisions; and when he moved it was only to make a show of besieging Rilsk, where Dmitri had halted for a while, but which he had already left. After remaining inactively before that town for a fortnight, he drew off his troops into winter quarters, and sent word to the czar that no more could be done for that season. This was not what Boris had expected, and his anger against the voyevodes was now the greater for the short-lived joy with which the victory of Dobrynitchi had inspired him. He had been profuse of thanks, rewards, and promises to the army and its leaders, and had urged them to complete the work so well begun, assuring them that he was ready *to share his last shirt* with his faithful servants. His displeasure was now extreme, and he expressed it in a manner which excited deep and general resentment. From that moment several dignitaries of the army were visibly disposed in favour of the impostor, and a growing desire was manifested to get rid of Boris. By way, however, of ostensibly obeying the peremptory orders of their sovereign, Shuiski and Mstislavski marched out of camp, but only to engage in futile and illusory operations. Leaving Dmitri undisturbed in Putivle, where fresh adherents were daily rallying round him, they sat down with all their forces before the little town of Kromy, which was defended only by wooden fortifications, and a garrison of six hundred Don Cossacks, under the valiant Hetman Korella, whom the chroniclers denominate "a mighty magician." The besiegers set fire with incendiary arrows to the palisades of Kromy, but were greatly amazed to find a wide ditch and an earthen rampart behind them. Abandoning the hope of carrying the place by a *coup de main*, they contented themselves with bombarding it; but the garrison were perfectly protected by their casemates, and often made vigorous sorties by means of long burrows carried out from the great ditch. Whenever a Muscovite post showed any negligence, a band of Cossacks would rise out of the ground,

cut it to pieces, and vanish like foxes in their earths. Thus, incessantly harassed by an invisible enemy, an army of eighty thousand men, fully supplied with artillery, lay for two months before that petty fortress, rather as besieged than as besiegers.

Meanwhile Dmitri made good use of his opportunities. He issued letters and manifestoes, which were received with avidity throughout the country; his agents wrought upon the disaffection of the army; and several men of rank, and a great number of soldiers, left the camp at Kromy and repaired to Putivle to offer their services to the pretender. Alarmed by the success of these intrigues and by the inertness of his army, Boris sought other means to get rid of his rival. Three monks arrived at Putivle with letters from the Patriarch Job and from the czar, the latter of whom promised the townspeople a plenary amnesty and magnificent rewards if they would deliver up the impostor to him, alive or dead. The inhabitants of Putivle being all devoted to Dmitri, the monks had no sooner begun to make overtures among them than they were arrested. Being put to the torture, two of them resolutely kept silence; but the third confessed that the youngest of them had a subtle poison concealed in the sole of his boot, to be administered by order of Boris to the czarevitch, with the connivance of two boyars, who had traitorously insinuated themselves into his confidence. The exposure of such attempts as these was more serviceable to the pretender's cause than a victory in the field. After punishing the traitors, Dmitri wrote to the patriarch Job and to Boris, vaunting the special protection which Heaven vouchsafed to him, the true czar, and reproaching them with the vile means to which they had recourse so awkwardly. To Boris he said with poignant irony, that he was graciously disposed to extend mercy towards him. "Let him descend from the throne he has usurped, and seek in the solitude of the cloisters to reconcile himself with Heaven; in that case I will forget his crimes, and even assure him of my sovereign protection."

To be addressed in words like these must have smitten the haughty spirit of Boris with mortal anguish; for he felt that the power to punish such an indignity had passed away from him. An impalpable force had neutralised all the efforts of his strong will and subtle genius,—all the resources of his ab-

solute authority. Like a magician mocked and undone by his own familiars, he felt himself the victim of the universal perfidy he had spread around him. Outwardly his state was still unchanged; he was still the autocrat, whom his slaves approached only with trembling and adulation. The business of the council proceeded as usual; the court, pre-eminent among those of Europe for its gorgeous splendour, was as magnificent as ever. But every heart was full of feelings which the face belied. Some disguised their terror; others their secret joy; and Boris above all had to make superhuman efforts to hide his despair. In this awful conflict with destiny he won the last prize in his career of ambition,—to die as he had lived, a monarch. On the 13th of April, 1605, he presided at the council-board as usual; received some distinguished foreigners; dined with them in "the gilded hall;" but immediately after dinner he was seized with sudden illness, and blood burst from his nose, ears, and mouth. In the brief interval between his being attacked and sinking into insensibility, he was consecrated a monk by the name of Bogolep;* and two hours afterwards he expired in the fifty-third year of his age, after a reign of six years. Popular belief ascribed his death to poison, administered by his own hand; but we can be at no loss to account for it without adopting the improbable supposition of suicide. So long as the czar lived, and the army had not actually revolted, the pretender's aspiring fortunes were not secured from all chance of failure. The existence of Boris was the only safeguard of his family. Would so cool a calculator have thrown away a chance however faint? Would a man of such energy and resolution, so noted for the depth and tenderness of his domestic affections, have wilfully hastened the triumph of his foe, and basely abandoned his wife and children to inevitable destruction—to destruction only rendered inevitable by his own act?†

* *i. e.* Agreeable to God.

† "Why should I play the Roman fool, and die
On my own sword?"

We have already alluded to the obvious analogy between the Boris of history and the ideal Macbeth. The chief difference between them consists in the far greater strength of character belonging to the former.

CHAPTER XVI.

FEODOR BORISSOVITCH—THE FALSE DMITRI.

THE death of Boris had been so sudden and unforeseen, that Dmitri's partisans in Moscow were unprepared to act on the instant; the accession of Feodor, the son of the deceased czar, aged about sixteen, was therefore proclaimed without opposition, and the oath of allegiance to him was taken by all orders, from the patriarch and the grand boyars to the burghers and workpeople. Shuiski and Mstislavski were recalled to the capital to aid the young czar with their counsels; and Basmanof was sent to take the command of the army, and administer the oath of fidelity to the soldiers. That ceremony was accomplished without difficulty, for, notwithstanding the prevalence of disaffection, no one dared to take the first step in open rebellion; but hardly six weeks elapsed before Feodor was deposed and strangled without a sword drawn or a shot fired in his defence.

When Basmanof quitted Moscow, his loyalty appeared as incontestable as his courage and capacity; and possibly it was not until he had learned from personal observation how much the voyevodes and the army were disposed in favour of Dmitri, that he conceived the idea of betraying his trust. Be that as it may, it is certain that soon after his arrival at Kromy he began to negotiate secretly with Dmitri. Seeing the weakness of the throne, and fearing the ambition of the numerous family of the Godunofs, he doubtless thought it better for himself in the first place, and perhaps for Russia too, to commit the sceptre to the bold hands of an impostor even, whose courage and enterprising spirit extorted his involuntary admiration. Besides, he could not but foresee that should he save Feodor's crown, the claims of the czar's preserver would always be eclipsed by those of the least of the Godunofs; whereas an adventurer without family would bestow the first place in his favour on the general who should have opened to him the gates of Moscow.

On the 7th of May the troops were all under arms. Basmanof harangued them, and proclaimed Dmitri czar of

Moscow. The greater number responded with enthusiastic acclamations; the troops under the command of Ivan Godunof, Feodor's uncle, threatened resistance, but were overawed by superior numbers, and he himself was arrested and put in chains. The next day prince Vassili Galitzin hastened to Putivle to tender the submission of the army to the czar Dmitri, and as a pledge thereof to deliver the prisoner Ivan Godunof into his hands. Dmitri received his new subjects with his usual affability, and sent orders to Basmanof to make ready to march to the capital.

Meanwhile Feodor still occupied the Kremlin, and Moscow obeyed him. A great city well fortified, and containing a large garrison and a vast population, was not to be carried by a *coup de main;* it seemed also imprudent to appear before it with an army whose steadfastness in its new faith remained still to be proved. Dmitri wished to sound the dispositions of the inhabitants; but his letters were intercepted, and the bearers put to death by the Godunofs, who commanded in Feodor's name. Not dismayed by these examples, two officers, Pushkin and Plestcheief, arrived on the 1st of June at Krasnoe Selo, a large town near Moscow, where many wealthy merchants of the capital resided. The two envoys assembled the chief men of the place, and read to them a letter from Dmitri promising an amnesty in case of immediate submission, and threatening merciless vengeance in the opposite event. Struck by the confident tone assumed by Dmitri, the inhabitants of Krasnoe Selo marched *en masse* with his envoys into Moscow, and convoking the people to the great square, called upon them to acknowledge and proclaim their lawful sovereign Dmitri, the son of Ivan. They were seconded by the majority of the boyars of the council, and by many grandees whom Boris had exiled, and who had returned after his death to the capital. The people, who had long been wrought upon by Dmitri's emissaries, rent the air with acclamations, and in a moment the revolution was consummated. Petreius relates, that the Muscovites called upon Vassili Shuiski, who had presided over the inquest at Uglitch, to declare whether or not it was true that Dmitri had been killed. Shuiski was not the man to make himself a martyr for the cause of truth, or for that of the Godunofs, and he declared without hesitation that the body which had

been exhibited to him was not that of the czarevitch, but of a pope's son who had been murdered instead of him. Satisfied with this declaration, the populace burst into the Kremlin, seized Feodor, his sister Xenia, and his mother, and removed them to the house which Boris had occupied before his accession to the throne. There they were kept prisoners till their fate should have been decided by the new sovereign, but otherwise they were treated with respect. All the rest of the Godunofs were sent off in chains to Dmitri's camp.

These events being promptly made known to the new czar, he sent prince Vassili Galitzin and Massalski to the capital as his plenipotentiaries. Their first act was to depose the patriarch Job, and shut him up in a monastery, though he had already professed his willingness to crown with his own hands the man he had so recently anathematised as a renegade monk. Then followed the murder of Feodor and his mother, whose bodies were carried without ceremony to a monastery beyond the city walls, along with the remains of Boris, which were no longer allowed to rest in the sepulchre of the czars. It was given out that the victims had poisoned themselves; but Petreius declares that when their bodies were exposed in public, he himself saw on their necks the marks of the cords with which they had been strangled. It is possible, as Dmitri's most recent biographer remarks, that this deed was not directly commanded by himself. Most of the chroniclers allege that it was so; but their assertions rest only upon vague presumptions. The zeal of Dmitri's agents, says Mérimée, "doubtless had no need of positive instructions. The sequel of this young adventurer's history shows that, far from being cruel, he was good-natured and generous to a degree, which was very rare in those days even among the most civilised nations. I am more inclined to believe that men who, within a month, had taken two oaths, and successively betrayed Boris and Feodor, eagerly seized, without orders, the opportunity to remove enemies out of their new master's way, and objects of remorse and dread out of their own." The only member of the Godunof family who was put to death by the avowed order of Dmitri was Semen, the head of the secret police under Boris, and he was probably sacrificed to the vengeance of the Russian nobility,

by whom he was universally detested. The other members of the family were banished to Siberia, or to various fortresses; and if we consider that in those times it was no unusual thing to exterminate a whole family for the crime of its head, it must be owned that Dmitri manifested a moderation at which his enemies themselves had reason to be surprised.

Dmitri was not in haste to approach his capital, and there was wisdom in his delay. Mérimée hazards a conjecture that he had studied Machiavelli, whose *Principe* had already been translated into Polish, for his conduct since the defection of the army at Kromy seems as though it had been strictly regulated by the precepts of that profound politician. All the requisite acts of severity had been rapidly accomplished, and all his enemies removed, before his entry into Moscow, so that he had only favours to distribute when he took possession of his throne. On the 20th of June he complied with the earnest entreaties of his longing subjects, and entered the capital in great pomp, amidst the enthusiastic greetings of an immense multitude that thronged the streets, the windows, and the housetops. Never was a beloved monarch received with a more joyous welcome. But when the procession began to defile across the great square before the Kremlin, there arose a sudden whirlwind, so violent that the horsemen could with difficulty keep their saddles; the air was filled with thick clouds of dust, and the czar and his *cortége* were for a moment hidden from the multitude. Struck by the omen, the superstitious Muscovites crossed themselves, and whispered, "God keep us from harm." But the wind fell, and the untoward incident was forgotten. Soon after a shock was given to the feelings of the devout. At the moment when Dmitri dismounted to kiss the relics with which the clergy advanced to meet him, his Lithuanians struck up a flourish of military music that drowned the chant of *Te Deum*. Again, when the czar entered the cathedral he was accompanied by several "Pagans," as the Russians called all foreigners who were not of the Greek Church. Moscow had never before witnessed such a profanation of its holy places. In another church, however, which he visited after the cathedral, the czar's conduct was beheld with sympathy and admiration. There

he knelt in tears before the tomb of Ivan, and kissing it with a well simulated transport, exclaimed, "O father! thy orphan reigns; and this he owes to thy holy prayers!" His emotion was contagious; all present wept with him, repeating one to another, "He is indeed the son of the Terrible."

Unlike his putative father, however, Dmitri made haste to shower benefits on his subjects. Not only the Nagois, his pretended relations, but all those whom Boris had disgraced, were restored to their honours and fortunes. Even the Godunof family experienced his generosity, and several of its members were appointed voyevodes of remote provinces. The salaries of the public functionaries and the pay of the army were doubled; and the new czar announced that he would pay all the debts of the crown contracted by his father Ivan IV.—an act of truly royal munificence, as it seemed in those times, and one which had not been thought of by Feodor or Boris. Dmitri also remitted many taxes previously imposed on trade and on law processes; sternly discountenanced all venality; severely punished corrupt judges; and made it his practice to sit every Wednesday and Saturday in the portico of his palace to receive the petitions of the humblest of his subjects and redress their grievances. He modified the iniquitous enactments of Boris respecting the peasants, and inaugurated a more humane system of legislation, which still regulates, in theory at least, however it be evaded in practice, the mutual relations of the Russian lord and his serf. Whilst he authorised the lord to reclaim his fugitive serf, he was careful to restrain, under severe penalties, all fraudulent claims of ownership. Every man was to be deemed free until his bondage had been judicially established; and the onus of proof lay upon the master who claimed him. Moreover, affirming the principle that the lord's right of property was inseparable from the serf's right of maintenance, the czar enfranchised all the peasants who had been abandoned by their lords during the late famine. It often happened that freemen who had engaged in service for a limited time on hire, were afterwards retained as serfs against their will. Dmitri made this abuse highly penal, and enacted that for the future the right of ownership in serfs should be authen-

ticated by enrolment, after sufficient proof given, in registers kept by the government.

Dmitri had been a month in Moscow, and it began to excite some surprise that he had not yet seen his mother, though the convent to which Boris had compelled her to retire was but 500 versts distant from the capital. The interval was spent in preparing the czaritza for the part she was required to play; and this task, it appears, was voluntarily undertaken by her brother the Nagois, who succeeded in impressing her with the advantages which would accrue to their family from favouring the imposture. At last it was known that the illustrious nun was about to quit her convent at Vyska, and that her son was to meet her at Toininsk. He set out from Moscow with great pomp, accompanied by a great multitude, who looked forward to the approaching interview with the most eager curiosity. A sumptuous tent had been erected near Toininsk, and there it was that Dmitri received Ivan's widow. They remained alone together for a little while, but what passed between them was never known; presently they came out of the tent and threw themselves into one another's arms with every token of the liveliest affection. A unanimous shout of joy burst from the sympathising multitude; if any had doubted before, none doubted now; not one who looked upon that touching scene but would have sworn that the czar was truly the son of her who was seen weeping on his bosom. Dmitri led the princess to the carriage which was to convey her to Moscow, and walked beside it bareheaded the greater part of the way. At the outskirts of the city he mounted his horse and galloped in advance, to await his mother at the gate of the convent of St. Cyril in the Kremlin, which he had chosen for her temporary residence, until he should have built a magnificent convent expressly for her. He had made every provision for her reception, with the honours due to the mother of the sovereign. She had a revenue assigned her, and a household befitting a dowager czaritza. He went to see her every day, and invariably treated her with manifestations of profound respect and filial affection. He consulted her on affairs of state, and her name was associated with his own in the ukases he issued. The incredulous were put to confusion;

who could dare to question the testimony of the consecrated czaritza? A few days after her arrival Dmitri was crowned in the cathedral with the ceremonies observed in the coronations of Feodor and Boris. The day was marked, however, by one novel incident, which had a bad effect. A Polish jesuit congratulated the monarch in a Latin oration, not a word of which the Russians understood, but they made no doubt that it was full of horrible blasphemies against their religion; for they all knew that Latin was the language of the papists.

Of nothing ought Dmitri to have been more careful than to avoid prematurely provoking against himself the keen jealousy and inextinguishable hatred with which the Russians regarded Poland, and everything associated with the Polish name. But the impostor's rapid and marvellous success, co-operating with his youth and his natural intrepidity, had filled him with an insane confidence in his star, that scorned all prudential considerations. While he astonished the boyars of his council by his immense superiority to them all in capacity and knowledge of state affairs, he offended them beyond forgiveness by his unsparing sarcasms, and by incessantly sounding the praises of the Poles and other foreigners in their ears. "Go and travel," he used to say to them; "observe the ways of civilised nations, for you are no better than savages." This was in substance good advice; but it was unseasonably, and therefore unwisely, given. To mark his trust in his Russian subjects, Dmitri dismissed his Polish body-guards; but he could not forget that they had stood by him when his fortunes seemed desperate, at the moment when Mniszek and the other palatines had forsaken him. He recompensed them with profuse liberality; they had free access to him at all times, and he never addressed them but as "comrades." He chose two Poles, named Butshinsky, for his private secretaries; whilst the only Russian whom he treated with the same degree of familiarity and confidence was Basmanof, a man disliked by the grandees as an upstart. Flattered by the preference thus shown them, the Poles behaved towards the Russians with an arrogance that intensely exasperated their wounded pride.

The idea of the czar's anti-national tendencies once admitted, found abundant confirmation in his personal habits.

They were such as shocked all established rules of decorum. He was fond of riding a furious stallion, and would leap on the animal's back without help, like the Cossacks; whereas, etiquette required that a czar should be lifted into his saddle, and ride slowly and gravely along. It was in that unseemly manner he rode to church, instead of in his carriage like his predecessors. He often neglected to salute the images of the saints. He ate veal, which was deemed an unclean meat; dined without having his table blessed and sprinkled with holy water, and sometimes had the impiety to rise from it without washing his hands. If he had got drunk at table with his buffoons like Ivan IV., none would have taken it amiss; but the foreign fashion of having music at meals, which he introduced, was not to be excused. Contrary to the universal custom in Russia, he never indulged in a siesta after dinner, but chose that time for walking about the city alone, or with one companion, to the astonishment of the Muscovites, who had only been used to see their sovereign surrounded with all the pomp of their barbaric courts. The clergy failed not to remark that in addressing them he often used the phrases "*your* religion, *your* ritual," whence they concluded that he had a different religion of his own, which could be none other than the Latin heresy. One day at a sitting of the council he was told that something he had just proposed was prohibited by the seventh general council of the Church. "Well, what matter?" said he; "very likely it is allowed by the eighth." It may be that he uttered these imprudent words in ignorance of the fact that the seventh general council is the last which is acknowledged by the Greek Church; the expression, however, was regarded as an abominable blasphemy, and an involuntary confession of catholicism. But what excited the most violent disgust was the news that the czar was about to marry Marina Mniszek—that a heretic woman, an *unbaptised* Pole, was to be raised to the throne of orthodox Russia!

Dmitri was prompted both by nature and circumstances to aspire to the glory of conquest. His grand project was the same as that of Stephen Batthori—namely, to combine all the forces of the Slave race, and launch them against the Turks and Tatars. A vast aggrandisement of his dominions, unparalleled glory, and the consolidation of his

authority, were the fruits he hoped to reap from this vast enterprise. But it presented many dangers, the most considerable of which were not the hazards of war. In order to form the coalition of which he aspired to be the leader, Dmitri was obliged to act with great circumspection with regard to the king of Poland and the pope, especially the latter. In Poland he had given a pledge for the conversion of his subjects, and had himself become a Catholic; but though he had probably no more intention of fulfilling this engagement than that which he had entered into with Sigismond for the surrender of a part of his territories, it was necessary that he should keep on good terms with both his old patrons, and particularly that he should amuse the pope by his pretended zeal for the interests of the Church of Rome, whilst at the same time he carefully concealed his change of creed from his own subjects, who were but too much disposed to doubt his orthodoxy. This involved him in a difficult and embarrassing correspondence with Rome, where it was hardly possible to form a conception of the obstacles he had to encounter. Besides this, his military preparations entailed very great expense, for which the treasures of the Kremlin were inadequate, largely diminished as they had already been by his profusion. Under these circumstances he had recourse to what seemed to him the readiest means of raising money. Like Charles Martel, he assumed to himself the right of making the clergy bear part of the cost of an expedition which had for its object the glory and triumph of Christianity. He required an exact account of the revenues of numerous monasteries throughout his empire, and plainly declared that he would not suffer so many idle monks to live in affluence when a portion of Christendom was to be delivered from Mussulman bondage. Reforms and confiscations began; several convents were suppressed, and the rest had good reason to expect a very great reduction of their temporalities. Nor was this all; the czar proceeded to acts of arbitrary spoliation. Desiring to have all the people of his household, especially his foreign musicians, lodged near him, he turned the monks out of the neighbouring monasteries of Arbate and Tchertol, which he caused to be comprised within the precincts of the palace.

This was his ruin. His other offences and irregularities might have been endured; the enmity of other classes he

might have assuaged or curbed; but when he laid his sacrilegious hand upon the Ark of the Lord, that is to say, upon the coffers of the clergy, he raised up against himself legions of implacable foes whose malice baffled resistance, for they fought with the impalpable but deadly weapons of calumny and superstition. The priests and monks became the industrious propagators of every false or exaggerated rumour that could poison the minds of the people against the czar. They compared him to Julian the Apostate; and all the truly royal qualities which they could not but recognise in Dmitri, they turned to his vilification, as so many points of resemblance to the persecutor of the Christians. They instigated a conspiracy to dethrone him, which was joined by several boyars, among whom were some of those who had been the first to desert the cause of Boris. In reality, the majority of the nobles who had sided with Dmitri had done so without caring whether or not he was the rightful heir of Ivan the Terrible. They accepted him as a ready instrument for their deliverance from a despot whom they themselves durst not attack; and they expected to make of him a King Log, under whose nominal rule each of them might have free scope for the prosecution of his own ambitious schemes. The new czar had disappointed their selfish calculations. They found in him a master as absolute as Boris, but fortunately milder, less suspicious, and less prudent. He had at once dismissed the host of spies whom his predecessor had maintained with such care; and it seemed an easy thing, with the help of the clergy and the fanatic mob, to push so unwary a monarch from the throne before he was yet firmly seated upon it.

Foremost among the conspirators was Vassili Shuiski, who, claiming to be the nearest collateral heir of the Ruriks, was more interested than any one else in creating a vacancy of the throne. Shuiski was a bold and perfectly unscrupulous intriguer, but timid in action. By his advice the execution of the plot was deferred until the arrival of Marina and her Polish retinue should have provoked a new exasperation of national and religious rancour, and stirred up the whole Muscovite people against the enemy of the faith. It is said too, that, in the interest of the crown which he hoped to wear, he wished to await the return to Russia of the pearls and diamonds amassed by Ivan and Boris, which

Dmitri had sent as presents to his betrothed. This delay led to the discovery of the conspiracy, and the arrest of Vassili Shuiski and his two brothers. The latter were banished to Siberia; the former was bastinadoed and condemned to lose his head; but his sentence was commuted for banishment at the very moment he knelt on the scaffold with the axe lifted above him. Having given a solemn promise never again to take part in any rebellion against his sovereign, Vassili Shuiski began his journey to Siberia; but was overtaken on the road by a courier, and brought back to the capital, where he and his brothers received a complete pardon. His rank and his possessions were restored to him, and he even took his place again in the council of the empire. With a duplicity which cost him no effort, he now conducted himself to all outward appearance in such a manner as to disarm suspicion, whilst being regarded by the malcontents as a martyr, he continued to direct their movements with more authority than ever.

Dmitri had hoped to promote a reconciliation between the Muscovites and the Poles, by announcing that it was to the intercessions of the latter, preferred through the medium of the dowager czaritza, that he had granted Shuiski's pardon. But the truth was, that the czar's Polish advisers strongly urged him not to spare that convicted conspirator. "No," he replied to those who thus remonstrated with him; "I have sworn not to shed Christian blood, and I will keep my oath. There are two ways of governing an empire; tyranny and generosity. I choose the latter. I will not be a tyrant. I will not spare money; I will scatter it on all hands." This, says Mérimée, is almost the identical language of Cæsar to his confidants, when he had made himself master of Italy in a few days.* Neither Cæsar nor Demetrius disarmed their enemies by clemency; but posterity will not confound them with the herd of ignoble tyrants who have died in their beds.

* "Tentemus hoc modo si possumus omnium voluntatem recuperare et diuturna victoria uti: quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt, neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Sullam, quem imitaturus non sum. Hæc nova sit ratio vincendi: ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus."—Cæsar's letter to Oppius and Balbus, Cic. ad Att. 9.

In the beginning of 1606 Dmitri was threatened with a civil war on the part of a new pretender, whom his own success had prompted to imitate his imposture. A young man, who called himself Peter Feodorovitch, but whose real name is unknown, appeared among the Cossacks of the Volga and announced himself as the son of the czar Feodor and his consort Irene, the sister of Boris. He had been taken from his mother, he said, immediately after his birth, and placed with some Cossacks, whilst a female infant had been substituted for him, and recognised by the credulous Feodor; but she died in her cradle. Upon the faith of this story some three or four thousand Cossacks took up arms, and began to pillage in the name of the lawful czarevitch. Dmitri wrote to his new pretender, telling him that if he would come to Moscow and prove his parentage, he should receive a pension befitting his rank; but that if he knew himself to be an impostor, he would do wisely to retire at once while he might with safety. This hint, backed by military movements, made Peter and his marauders disperse in the steppes, whence we shall presently see them reappear.

It was not until the 12th of May that the new czaritza arrived in Moscow, accompanied by a special embassy from Sigismond, and with a retinue so numerous that it was like an invading army. In spite of the czar's impatience and his reiterated letters, the march from Cracow had occupied nearly three months. The entry into the Russian capital was made with all possible magnificence, and lacked no outward demonstration of gladness and loyalty. Marina was conducted to the convent occupied by the dowager czaritza, where she was to remain until her coronation, and the people were told that during her residence there she was receiving instruction from her pious mother-in-law in the practices of the orthodox faith. But the people were in no mood to be cajoled by such transparent flatteries. The first sight of the vast train of armed Poles that came with the *unbaptised* czaritza irritated the rankling jealousy of the Muscovites. These uninvited guests, armed cap-a-pié, and lance in hand, marched to the sound of their national airs, as if they were taking possession of a conquered city. "Is it the custom in your country," said the Russians to the foreign merchants domiciled among them, "to go to a wedding cased in steel, as if

you were going to a battle?" It was still worse when the Poles alighted at their quarters, and began to unpack their baggage. They had all come with the expectation of making a campaign against the Tatars, and they were seen unloading whole arsenals from their waggons. The people looked on with anger and suspicion; and the conspirators easily persuaded them that the czar had sent for his Polish allies, those eternal enemies of Russia, to massacre all the orthodox Christians.

A more plausible, but equally unfounded report, imputed a sinister purpose to Sigismond's embassy. The latter was simply complimentary, but the Muscovites believed that the ambassadors had come to receive from the czar the cession of a considerable portion of the Russian territory. By way of counteracting these dangerous rumours, Dmitri took exception to the superscription of the letter addressed to him by the king of Poland, wherein he was styled only Grand-Prince and Czar, whereas he insisted on receiving the higher title of Cæsar, or Emperor. Dmitri threatened to return the letter unread; the ambassadors remonstrated vehemently against such an unpardonable insult; a long and acrimonious debate ensued, and was pushed to the verge of open rupture; finally, Dmitri yielded in consideration of his approaching marriage, but with a warning to the ambassadors that he would never again be so complaisant. The quarrel was renewed on the occasion of the marriage banquet. The ambassadors claimed the right to sit at the same table with the czar. Dmitri would not consent to this, because he had not invited the king of Poland to his wedding. The ambassadors refused to be present; but at last, at Mniszek's urgent instances, they yielded under protest, and dined at a separate table on the czar's right.

Marina's conduct during the week preceding her marriage was as injudicious as that of a spoiled child. Unable to put the slightest restraint on her caprices, she could not conform to the usages of the convent even for so short an interval. She could not eat the Russian cookery, and insisted on having a set of Polish cooks, to whom the Russian domestics had to give place, to their intense disgust. Never supposing that their skill could be questioned, the mortified Russians gave out that the czar and his betrothed had brought in

pagan cooks, that they might break the commands of the orthodox church with respect to forbidden meats and fast days. Marina complained of the tiresome babble of the Greek priests, and the long litanies of the nuns. To indemnify her for these annoyances, the czar brought her musicians; and Moscow heard with horror that the holy retreat was profaned with concerts, balls, and even masquerades. When the ceremonial of the marriage and the coronation was under discussion, Marina insisted on going to church in the Polish costume, which was the same as that of the court of France—a long-waisted robe, a ruff two feet in diameter, and hair frizzled and gathered into a thick tuft on the top of the head. Now it was considered an abominable indecency in Russia for a married woman to let her hair or the form of her waist be seen; and no czaritza had ever been crowned except in the national costume, consisting of a head-dress, called *kokoshnik*, still worn by the peasantry, a gown hanging straight down from above the bosom, and boots with great iron-shod heels. Marina protested with petulant indignation that she would never submit to be made a fright of in that manner. The affair became so serious, that it was brought before the council. Dmitri exhausted all his eloquence in vain efforts to convince his boyars that the choice of a toilette was a matter in which the wisest statesmen might fairly defer to the superiority of a woman's judgment: they were inexorable. Marina had to conform to the national usage on the wedding-day; but immediately after it she laid aside the odious Russian garb, and never appeared in it again.

The ceremony of the marriage and the coronation took place on the 18th of May, in the cathedral, with extraordinary magnificence; but the people remarked with horror that it was an unlucky day, a Friday, and moreover that it was the eve of a great festival, that of St. Nicholas. They thought it scandalous that a marriage should be celebrated on such a day; and they made no doubt that Dmitri had chosen the day on purpose to mark his contempt for public opinion. The czar was held responsible for the indecorous manner in which the Poles behaved in church, leaning their backs against the iconostase, sitting on tombs that contained revered relics, laughing and talking aloud, and appearing to

turn the sacred mysteries into derision. But the worst of all was that the whole ceremony was gone through without that abjuration of the Latin heresy which the people expected to the last moment on the part of the czaritza. Marina kissed the images of the saints, received the communion from the hands of the patriarch, but remained unconverted and unbaptised, and yet was crowned and proclaimed as the orthodox czaritza.

The revellings that followed the marriage gave occasion to fresh scandals. The table-talk between the Poles and the Russians was not such as conduced to good fellowship. The former hardly condescended to conceal their contempt for the latter and their barbarous customs, and insolently said to them, "It is we who have given you a czar." The Poles, returning home from deep carousals at the palace, drew upon peaceful citizens in the street, and offered violence to their wives and daughters, and even to those of the boyars, sometimes pursuing them into their very houses. A Pole taken in the fact was about to suffer condign punishment, but his comrades rescued him and massacred the executioner.

The moment was come which Shuiski had patiently awaited for so many months. He assembled the chiefs of the conspiracy by night, in his house, and harangued them on the necessity of immediate action. The assent of the meeting was unanimous. City functionaries answered for the concurrence of the people, officers for that of the soldiers, and nobles for that of their dependents. The Shuiski, who were enormously rich, had several thousand men on whom they could rely, and these they had brought from their estates to Moscow, under pretext of seeing the splendours of the imperial marriage. The time was fixed for the execution of the plot; and meanwhile agents, chosen from the lowest class, were to go about among the people, in the markets and the public-houses, and tell them that Dmitri was a heretic and an impostor, and that he was joined with the Poles in a plot for an indiscriminate massacre of the Muscovites on the 27th of May. A sham-fight had been announced to take place that day beyond the walls; but all the innocent spectators were to be mowed down by grape, and the capital of Russia was to become a prey to the Poles,

on whom the emperor intended to bestow not only all the houses of the boyars, nobles, and merchants, but even the monasteries and convents, after turning out the monks and marrying them to the nuns.

One of the men who spread these reports was arrested by the czar's body-guards. Dmitri gave orders that he should be examined by the boyars of the council; but the latter pretended that the prisoner was a drunken fellow, who had talked he knew not what, and that the czar ought not to give himself any concern about the raving of a drunkard, or listen to every idle tale brought him by officious and blundering Germans.

This advice coincided but too well with the czar's own opinions. Relying on the attachment of the soldiery, he felt himself secure against any possible attempts of an unorganised multitude to shake his power. Besides, he had reason to believe in the inexhaustible patience of the Russians, since they had endured so tamely the ferocious and brutal tyranny of Ivan, and the more universally felt insidious tyranny of Boris. "I hold Moscow and the empire in my hand," he said, "and nothing shall be done in it but by my will." In this spirit he laughed at all the warnings given him by the Poles, by Basmanof, and by the officers of his guard. He would take no precaution for himself, not even so much as to increase the ordinary guard of the palace, which consisted of but fifty halberdiers, who were incapable from the nature of their weapons, as well as from their scanty numbers, of offering any serious resistance to an assailing multitude.

At daybreak, on the 29th of May, between three and four o'clock, the whole city was in open rebellion. A body of boyars and nobles was assembled in the great square on horseback, and in full armour, with Vassili Shuiski at their head. One of the gates of the Kremlin was opened to them by the guards, who had been previously suborned, and the whole troop entered, accompanied by a countless throng of townspeople. At the church of the Assumption, Shuiski dismounted, and prostrated himself before the image of our Lady of Vladimir. Then rising with an inspired air, and brandishing a sword in one hand and a cross in the other: "Orthodox Christians," he shouted, "death to the heretic!" Myriads of furious voices repeated the cry: "Death to the here-

tic!" The great bell was rung, and was answered by the three thousand bells of Moscow. The whole populace flocked with axes and clubs to the Kremlin, or to the houses marked with chalk as the abodes of the Poles, where breaking down the doors, they began to massacre the sleeping inmates.

At the first sound of the tocsin, Dmitri sent to inquire the cause of the alarm. Dmitri Shuiski, who was on duty in the palace, sent the czar word that a great fire had broken out, and then hurried off to join his brother. Presently the increasing din of the bells and the uproar of the multitude convinced the czar that something more serious than a fire had set the whole city in commotion. Dressing in haste, he sent Basmanof to the front of the palace to reconnoitre. The outer court was already filled with an armed multitude, yelling out, "Death to the impostor!" After giving a hurried order to the halberdiers to stand to their arms, Basmanof ran back to warn his master. At the same moment one of the conspirators, who had followed him into the czar's apartment, cried out: "Well! unlucky emperor, at last thou art awake. Come and give an account of thyself to the people of Moscow." Basmanof snatched up the czar's sabre, cleft the insolent traitor's skull, and then rushed to the peristyle, which was already thronged by the conspirators. Dmitri took a sword from one of his guards, and following his faithful general, cried out to the rebels, "I am not a Boris for you!" It is said that he killed several of them with his own hand, whilst Basmanof, who seconded him with heart and hand, appealed by name to the boyars he recognised, among whom were the princes Galitzin, Mikhail Soltikof, and others, who had always professed themselves Dmitri's most zealous partisans. Whilst he was endeavouring to recal these traitors to their duty, one of them, Mikhail Tatistchof, whom a few days before he had saved from exile, stabbed him to the heart, exclaiming, "Go to hell, villain, with thy czar." Dmitri and his guards were driven in from the peristyle by a volley of musketry, and a series of sieges began in the interior of the palace, the guards barricading themselves in chamber after chamber, and the insurgents storming them one after the other. When the last retreat was forced, and the guards were forced to lay down their useless halberts, the czar was no longer among them.

When he found that resistance was hopeless, Dmitri threw down his sword and ran to a room in the part of the palace which was farthest from that assailed by the rebels. He opened a window which looked out on the site of the palace of Boris, which he had caused to be demolished. The window was thirty feet from the ground, but there was no one in sight, and he leaped down. In his fall he broke his leg, and fainted with the pain. His groans were heard by some strelitz, who were there on guard, and were not in the plot. They gave him water to drink, laid him on one of the foundation stones of the ruined palace, and when he revived a little and spoke, they swore they would defend him with their lives. The first rebels who came to claim their prey were answered with volleys of musketry; but the news that Dmitri was found brought multitudes to the spot; the strelitz were surrounded, and being threatened that unless they gave up the impostor, their wives and children should be all massacred by the mob, they laid down their arms, and abandoned the victim to the fury of the rebels, who dragged him away to his sacked palace. As he passed the spot where his guards were held captive, he stretched out his hand to them in silence, in token of adieu. One of them, a Livonian gentleman, named Furstenberg, though unarmed, rushed forward to shield his gallant master with his own body from the blows of his ruffianly captors; but the faithful servant was instantly massacred. Dmitri's agony was prolonged by the ingenious malice of his assassins. They tore off his royal garments, dressed him in a pastrycook's caftan, and hurried him into a room in the palace to undergo the mockery of a trial. "Bastard dog," said a Russian nobleman, "tell us who thou art, and whence thou art come." Exerting all the strength left him to raise his voice, Dmitri replied, "You all know that I am your czar, the legitimate son of Ivan Vassilievitch. Ask my mother. If you desire my death, give me time at least to collect my senses." Thereupon a Russian gentleman, named Valuief, forcing his way through the throng, cried out, "What is the use of so much talk with the heretic dog? This is the way I confess this Polish fifer!" And shooting Dmitri through the breast, he put an end to his agony. The mob then wreaked their fury on the lifeless corpse, and after hacking and slashing it with axes and sabres, rolled it down

the palace steps and threw it on that of Basmanof. "You were friends in life; go along to hell together," cried the murderers in their savage exultation. The bodies were afterwards dragged to the place of execution, where that of Dmitri was exposed on a table, and Basmanof's on a bench below it, so that the czar's feet rested on his favourite's breast. A gentleman threw on Dmitri's body a masque, which he said he had found in the heretic's bedchamber, in the place reserved in Russian houses for the images of the saints. Another threw a set of bagpipes on his breast and thrust the pipe into his mouth, saying: "You played upon us long enough; now play for us." Others lashed the corpse with their whips, crying: "Look at the czar, the hero of the Germans!" The women surpassed the men in their obscene fury; for in scenes of mob violence the weakest are invariably the most inhuman.

Marina narrowly escaped from the fate that befel her husband. At first she ran half naked to hide in the cellars, but was thrown down the steps by the rush of the mob. They did not recognise her, and she contrived to return to her own apartments, where the grand mistress of the palace had the presence of mind to conceal her under her wide-hooped skirts. A Polish chamberlain, sabre in hand, guarded the door of the room in which his terrified countrywomen were huddled together. The rioters with a volley of fire-arms shattered the door, and killed its defender and one of the ladies within it. The ruffians rushed in, and with hideous threats demanded the czaritza. The grand mistress told them that she had escaped to her father. The age of that lady preserved her from personal outrage, but the other ladies of the czaritza's suite endured the worst brutality.* At last some chiefs of the conspiracy put an end to the abominable scene, and took Marina into safe custody.

Meanwhile a great number of the Poles, whose lodgings were dispersed over the city, had been surprised in their

* Baer, p. 82, note 78. "Volumus nos omnes, unus post alium; stuprum inferre, unus in p— alter in v—. Audivimus polonicas meretrices vestras plurium concubitus bene sustinere posse, nec ipsis unus vir (*sic*) sufficere." Et postea nudabant sua equina pudenda (proh Sodomia!) coram toto gynæceo, dicentes: "Videte, meretrices, videte nos multo fortiores sumus Polonis vestris. Probate nos."

sleep and massacred without resistance. It was easy for the mob to butcher defenceless domestics, musicians, and Catholic priests, but not so easy to storm the mansions of the Polish nobles, filled as they were with resolute and well-armed heyduks and gentlemen. Each of these mansions became a sort of fortress, which withstood all the disorderly assaults of the rabble, and repaid them with musketry. At last the chief conspirators thought it time to restore some degree of quiet. About mid-day Vassili Shuiski, his brother, prince Mstislavski, and the principal boyars of the council, rode through the streets with a strong body of strelitz, and easily prevailed on the people to desist from their unprofitable attempts on the houses of the Poles; and to the latter they pledged themselves that their lives and properties should be respected, if they would only remain in their houses until the popular excitement had time to subside.

For three days Dmitri's body lay open to the view of all the Muscovites; but the rage of his enemies had rendered this public exposition almost nugatory. In that shapeless mass, all hacked and mangled, and covered with blood and mire, who could recognise the gallant young man who had been seen a few days before glittering in gold and jewels, and wearing the imperial crown? Some persons thought they perceived that the dead man had a beard, and it was notorious that Dmitri had none. Conjecture, failing to identify those disfigured features, suggested the idea that the czar's intended murderers had a second time mistaken their victim. On the third night the guards, who kept watch over the body, saw a blue flame playing over the table; it disappeared when they approached, and returned when they moved back to a certain distance. This natural result of putrefaction inspired the people with superstitious terror, and the corpse was removed for burial to the Serpukhof cemetery outside the walls. A hurricane had greeted Dmitri at his entry into Moscow; another accompanied him at his departure, and chronicles aver that it swept only those streets through which the corpse was borne. Prodigies did not cease even after the cause of them was laid in the grave; and the people whispered in terror that the false Dmitri was a sort of vampire, being one of those wizards who, by means of their infernal art, can come to life again after they are

dead. To make this impossible in his case, the body was disinterred and burnt; the ashes were collected, mixed with gunpowder, and rammed into a cannon, which was dragged to the gate by which Dmitri had entered Moscow, and pointed down the road leading to Poland. When the match was applied, Russia fancied she was for ever delivered of the impostor. Vain hope! His name subsisted still, with the memory of his audacity and his success, and new Dmitris were soon to spring from his scattered ashes.

CHAPTER XVII.

VASSILI IVANOVITCH SHUISKI.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Dmitri, the boyars concerted measures for convoking deputies from all the towns, and proceeding to the election of a new sovereign; but they were not allowed to accomplish their design. The throne had been but four days vacant, when Shuiski directed his partisans to proclaim himself. They led him forth into the public place, named him czar by acclamation, and immediately escorted him to the cathedral. There, in order to ingratiate himself with his new subjects and make them forget the illegality of his election, he took a solemn oath not to punish any one without the advice and consent of the boyars; not to visit the offences of the fathers on the children; and that he would never revenge himself in any way on those who had offended him in the time of Boris. Since Novgorod lost its privileges, this was the first time that a sovereign of Russia had pledged himself to any convention with his subjects; but Shuiski's oath was no guarantee for its fulfilment.

Having good reason to dread the resentment of the Polish nation, Shuiski sent prince Volkonski on an embassy to them, to represent the late czar as an impostor, who had deluded both Poland and Russia; but the ambassador was not even listened to. Sigismond and his subjects were resolved to be revenged on the Russians, and to profit by the disturbances which they foresaw would soon break out among them. Shuiski was not liked by the Russian nobles, many

of whom might have competed with him for the throne had the choice of the nation been free; and his conduct after his elevation augmented the number of his enemies. In spite of his oath he could not forget any of his old grudges; and he ventured to indulge them just enough to exasperate their objects without depriving them of the power of retaliation. Moscow was the only city in the empire on the allegiance of which he could rely; but even there the people had imbibed from their late excesses an alarming propensity to disorder and mutiny. To meet all the dangers thickening round him, Shuiski had neither an army nor money; for Dmitri's profusions and the pillage of the Kremlin had exhausted the imperial treasury. His chief strength lay in his renown for orthodoxy, which insured him the favour of the clergy. The more to strengthen his interests in that direction, he made it his first business to depose and send to a monastery the heretic patriarch Ignatius, who had been appointed by Dmitri, and to nominate in his stead Hermogenes, bishop of Kasan, an aged prelate, whose simplicity rendered him a useful tool in the hands of the crafty czar.

Rumours began to be rife in the provinces, and even in Moscow, that Dmitri was not dead. Many of those who had seen his mangled body exposed denied its identity, and believed that one of the czar's officers had been massacred instead of him. Four swift horses were missing from the imperial stables; and it was surmised that by means of them Dmitri had escaped in the midst of the tumult. Three strangers in Russian costume, but speaking Polish, crossed the Oka in a boat, and one of them gave the ferryman six ducats, saying, "You have ferried the czar; when he comes back to Moscow with a Polish army, he will not forget this service." The same party held similar language in a German inn a little farther on, in the direction of Putivle. It was afterwards known that one of them was prince Shakhofskoi, who, immediately upon the death of Dmitri, had, with singular promptitude, conceived the idea of finding a new impostor to personate the dead one. To put an end to these alarming rumours, Shuiski sent to Uglitch for the body of the real czarevitch, that with the help of the patriarch he might make a saint of him. When the grave was opened the body of the young prince was found in a

perfect state of preservation, with the fresh hue of life upon it, and still holding in its hands some nuts as miraculously preserved as itself. It is curious that Shuiski should have forgotten that nothing was said of these nuts in the report of the inquest at Uglitch signed by himself. That document only stated that at the moment of his death the czarevitch was amusing himself *with sticking his knife in the ground*. Notwithstanding this oversight, the act of canonisation was good policy; for if the czarevitch became an object of veneration for the people, if it was notorious that his body worked miracles on earth, and consequently that his soul was in heaven, then any one assuming his name could be nothing but an impostor. The czar took pains to make known far and wide what prodigies were effected by the relics of the blessed martyr; but the credit of the new saint was of short duration. Shuiski himself damaged it by a gross blunder in permitting the pompous removal to the monastery of Troïtsa of the remains of Boris Godunof, whom but a few days before he had named as the murderer of the sainted Dmitri. No doubt he hoped in this way to conciliate the partisans of a still-powerful family; but his enemies immediately accused him of blasphemous wickedness, alleging that he had substituted the body of a newly-murdered boy for the decomposed corpse of the real Dmitri.

The public retractations of the dowager czaritza obtained no more credit than the miracles imputed to her son. In a letter signed by her, and immediately published by Vassili, she declared that the impostor Grishka Otrepief had threatened her with death to herself and all her family if she did not recognise him as her son. But who could believe in her sincerity after so many contradictory avowals and disavowals? Her declaration that she had been compelled by fear to yield to the threats of a man whose aversion to cruelty was notorious, suggested to everybody the idea that she acted at that moment under the coercion of threats and fear.

Civil war began. Prince Shakhofskoi had raised the inhabitants of Putivle, and in a few days assembled a great number of Cossacks and peasants, who routed the forces sent against them. The insurrection spread rapidly; but still the prince, twice miraculously saved, did not make his ex-

pected appearance. Instead of him there came from Poland a general with a commission bearing the imperial seal of Dmitri. This was an adventurer named Ivan Bolotnikof, originally a serf to prince Teliatevski. He had been a prisoner among the Turks, and having escaped to Venice had probably acquired some military experience in the service of the republic. His commission was recognised at Putivle; he took the command of the insurgents, defeated Shuiski's forces in two engagements, and pursued them to within seven versts of the capital. But the inexplicable absence of the prince for whom they fought damped the ardour of Bolotnikof's men; for they could not believe that if Dmitri was alive he would delay to put himself at their head. The ataman of the Cossacks, too, was mortified at being supplanted in the command by an adventurer, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Shuiski. Deserted by a part of his army, Bolotnikof was defeated by Skopin Shuiski, the czar's nephew, and forced to shelter himself in the fortress of Kaluga.

It is probable that all this while Shakhofskoi and the Poles were looking about for a fit person to play the part of Dmitri; but it required time to find him, and to put him through training. In this conjuncture the false Peter Feodorovitch, who had made a brief appearance in the former reign, repaired to Putivle, and offered himself to Shakhofskoi and the people as regent in the absence of his uncle. The rebel cause stood in need of the prestige of a royal name, and the czarevitch Peter was eagerly welcomed. Presently, the czar having marched against him in person, the impostor and Shakhofskoi shut themselves up in the strongly fortified town of Toula, where they were joined by Bolotnikof. Vassili laid siege to the town with an army of a hundred thousand men; but the besieged, who had no mercy to expect if taken, fought more earnestly for their own lives than did Shuiski's soldiers for the rights of a master to whom they were but little attached. Seeing the little progress he made, the czar began to doubt the success of an enterprise to fail in which would be ruin. While he was in this anxious state, an obscure ecclesiastic, named Kravkof, presented himself before the czar and his council, and undertook, if his directions were followed, to drown all the people

of Toula. They laughed at him at first as an idle braggart, but he reiterated his assertion with such confidence that the czar at last desired him to explain his plan. Toula is situated in a valley, and the little river Oupa flows through the town. Kravkof proposed to dam the stream below the town, and engaged to answer for it with his head if in a few hours after the execution of that work the whole town was not laid under water. All the millers in the army, men accustomed to such operations, were immediately put under his orders, and the rest of the soldiers were employed in carrying sacks of earth to the spot chosen for the dam. The water soon rose in the town, inundated the streets, and destroyed a great number of houses; but the garrison still fought for several months with unabated courage, though decimated by famine, and afterwards by a terrible epidemic. All the efforts both of the besiegers and the besieged were concentrated about the dam, the former labouring to raise and maintain it, the latter to break it down. The inhabitants of Toula were persuaded that magic must have had some share in raising so prodigious a work with such rapidity, and magic was not neglected among the means by which they sought to destroy it. A monk, who boasted his proficiency in that art, offered to effect the desired object for a reward of a hundred roubles. His terms being accepted by Bolotnikof, he stripped, plunged into the river, and disappeared. An hour afterwards, when every one had given him up for dead, he rose to the surface, with his body covered with scratches. "I have just had to do," he said, "with the twelve thousand devils at work on Shuiski's dam. I have settled six thousand of them, but the other six thousand are the worst of all, and will not give in." For a long time the inhabitants of Toula continued to fight against men and devils, encouraged by letters they received in Dmitri's name, with promises of succour, which never came. Shakhofskoi, the chief instigator of the rebellion, was the first to propose a capitulation, and was thrust into a dungeon by the Cossacks. At last, when the besieged had eaten their horses, dogs, and all other carrion, and had not so much as an oxhide left to gnaw, Bolotnikof and Peter offered to capitulate on condition of amnesty for their heroic garrison. They asked nothing for themselves, but declared

that unless their soldiers obtained honourable conditions, they were resolved to die with arms in their hands, and even to eat each other, rather than surrender at discretion. Vassili accepted these terms, and the gates were opened to him (October, 1607). Bolotnikof advanced before the czar with undaunted mien, and presenting his sword, with the edge laid against his neck, offered himself as a victim, saying, "I have kept the oath I swore to him who, rightfully or wrongfully, calls himself Dmitri. Deserted by him, I am in thy power. Cut off my head if thou wilt; or if thou wilt spare my life, I will serve thee as I served him." Shuiski, who did not pique himself on generosity, sent Bolotnikof to Kargopol, where he soon after had him drowned. The false Peter Feodorovitch was hanged; but Shakhofskoi, the most guilty of the three, was more fortunate. The victor found him in chains when he entered Toula, and Shakhofskoi made a merit of his sufferings at the hands of the obstinate rebels whom he had urged to submit to their sovereign. He obtained his liberty; but the first use he made of it was to rekindle the flames of insurrection.

Before Shuiski had terminated the siege of Toula, and whilst the issue of his conflict with one pretender was still dubious, another, assuming the name of Dmitri, appeared in the frontier town of Starodub, where he was hailed with enthusiasm. Bolotnikof sent an officer to him from Toula, to acquaint him with the desperate condition of the town. This envoy was a Polish adventurer, named Zarucki, who had become one of the atamans of the Don Cossacks, had fought bravely for the first Dmitri, and been distinguished by his favour. Although the first glance must have satisfied Zarucki that the new pretender was an impostor, he affected without the least hesitation to recognise him as his former master. Another false witness of this identity was the Pane Miechawiecki, a Pole, who was well known for the eminent position he had held at the court of the first Dmitri, and who was now the secret instructor of his successor in what we may call the histrionic details belonging to his assumed character. The pupil profited but badly by the lessons he received; for in everything but profusion he was the reverse of his prototype, and the least attentive observer could see that he was a coarse, ignorant, vulgar knave, qualified only

by his impudence for the part he had undertaken. The Cossacks were not such fastidious critics as to be shocked by his uncourtly manners; but the Poles, whilst treating him as a sovereign for their own ends, were by no means the dupes of his gross imposture. Baer states that he was originally a schoolmaster of Sokol, in White Russia; but, according to the Polish writers, who had better opportunities of learning the truth, he was a Lithuanian Jew, named Michael Moltchanof.

The adherents of Dmitri, as we shall henceforth call him, increased so rapidly in numbers, that he was able to defeat a detachment of Vassili's army sent against him from Toula, and to make himself master of the town of Kozelsk on the road to the capital. When the fall of Toula had left the czar at liberty to act against him with all his forces, Dmitri retreated to Novgorod Siverski. There he was joined by unexpected reinforcements led by Rozyncki, Sapieha, Tiszkiewicz, Lissowski and others, the flower of the Polish and Lithuanian chivalry. Prince Adam Wiszinowiecki, the earliest patron of the first Dmitri, came in person to the aid of his successor at the head of two thousand horse. The Don Cossacks brought in chains to him another schemer, who had tried to put himself at their head. All that is known of the man is, that he called himself Feodor Feodorovitch, and pretended to be the son of the czar Feodor. His more prosperous rival in imposture condemned him to death.

Dmitri's army, commanded by the veteran prince Roman Rozynski, defeated that of the czar with great havoc near Volkhof, on the 24th of April, 1608. All the vanquished who escaped the lances of the Poles and Cossacks fled in disorder to Moscow, and had the victors pressed their advantage, the capital would have fallen into their hands. Possibly the Polish leaders were in secret unwilling to let their *protégé* triumph too soon or too completely, or to give up Moscow to pillage, which is always more profitable to the soldier than to the general; but, whatever was the reason, they halted at the village of Tushino, twelve versts from Moscow, which the impostor made his head-quarters, and there he held his court for seventeen months.

With a view to prevail on Sigismond to recal the Polish volunteers in Dmitri's service, Vassili resolved to liberate the

ambassadors, the palatine of Sendomir and his daughter, and the other Poles whom he had kept in captivity since the massacre of Moscow. With their liberty he bestowed on them indemnifications for their losses, and only exacted from them a pledge that they would not bear arms against Russia, or in any way favour the new pretender. Thus, after having made sport of the most solemn oaths, Vassili expected to find in men, so deeply provoked, scruples of conscience which he had never known himself. He sent Mniszek and his daughter away under charge of an escort; but they were intercepted by a detachment of Poles, and carried to Dmitri's camp. They had been prepared for this event by a letter previously received by the palatine from his pretended son-in-law, which contained this remarkable phrase:—"Come both of you to me, instead of going to hide yourselves in Poland from the world's scorn." He could hardly have dropped a hint more adapted to move a woman of Marina's character. Rather than go back to encounter ridicule at Sendomir, she was willing to share the bed of a bandit who might bestow a crown upon her. It is said, however, that in their first interview with Dmitri neither she nor her father testified all the emotion befitting so touching an occasion, nor could quite conceal their surprise at the sight of a man not at all like him whose name he bore. But after a few days the scene of meeting was played over again with more success, and the whole camp was witness of Marina's demonstrations of tenderness for her husband. In apology for her previous coldness it was said that, having so long believed her Dmitri was dead, she durst not yield to the delight of seeing him alive again until she had received the most certain proofs that it was not a delusion. This clumsy excuse was admitted; Marina's recognition of the impostor brought over to him numbers who had doubted till then; and the news being soon spread abroad, almost all Russia declared for him, except Moscow, Novgorod, and Smolensk.

This was the culminating point of his fortunes: their decline was rapid. The mutual jealousy of the Polish commanders rose to such a pitch that it became necessary to divide the army; and Sapieha quitted the camp of Tushino, with 30,000 men and 60 cannon, to lay siege to the famous

monastery of the Trinity, near Moscow, which was at the same time a powerful fortress and the most revered sanctuary of Russian orthodoxy. The support which Shuiski received from the monks was worth more to him than an army; for besides large subsidies, he derived from them a moral force which still kept many of his subjects true to their allegiance. The loss of such auxiliaries would have consummated his ruin; therefore the capture of the monastery was of extreme importance to the impostor. But in spite of the most strenuous efforts, continued for six weeks, Sapieha was unable to obtain the least advantage over a garrison whose courage was exalted by religious enthusiasm; and meanwhile the Poles had to sustain a harassing and murderous guerilla warfare, waged against them by the plundered peasants, whom they had made desperate. These partisan bands were about to be supported by a more formidable army, led by Skopin Skuiski and by James de la Gardie, who brought five thousand Swedish auxiliaries to Vassili's aid. Early in 1609 these two generals began a brilliant campaign in the north; the Poles and the partisans of the impostor were beaten in several encounters, and in a few months the whole aspect of the war was changed. Finally, Sapieha himself was defeated in an obstinate engagement, forced ignominiously to raise the siege of the monastery, and shut himself up with the remnant of his force in Dmitrof. Skopin entered Moscow in triumph; but Vassili's jealousy kept him there inactive for two months, until he died suddenly, in his twenty-fourth year. Vassili, to whose cause the young hero's death was fatal, was accused by public rumour of having effected it by poison.

For some months before this time there had been a new champion in the field, whose appearance was equally to be dreaded by Shuiski and Dmitri. About the end of September, 1609, Sigismond, king of Poland, laid siege to Smolensk, with an army of twelve thousand men, and immediately summoned to his standard the Poles who served under Dmitri. The greater part of them complied, and the impostor fled to Kaluga. In the spring of 1610 Russia presented a most deplorable spectacle, being devastated by three great armies, all opposed to one another. In the west, Sigismond was pressing the siege of Smolensk; in the south,

Dmitri was in possession of Kaluga, Tula, and some other towns. Some of the Poles who had quitted the impostor's service had established themselves on the banks of the Ugra, in a fertile country, which had not yet experienced the sufferings of war; and there, under the command of their new leader, John Sapieha, they offered their services simultaneously to Sigismond and the false Dmitri, being ready to join whichever of them bid highest. Nor was this all: one of the Russian princes, Procope Liapunof, took advantage of the general confusion to raise a new banner. He proclaimed himself the defender of the faith, and, at the head of a considerable force, waged a war of extermination against the Poles and the Russians who recognised either Dmitri or Vassili. A chronicler applies to him the phrase which had served to characterise Attila:—"No grass grew where his horse's hoof had been." And as if all these armies were not enough for the desolation of the land, the Tatars of the Crimea had crossed the Oka, under pretence of succouring Vassili, their ally, but in reality to plunder the villages, and make multitudes of captives, whom they carried off into slavery.

Such was the condition of Russia at the moment of Skopin's death. Vassili still derived some hope from the division of his enemies, and turned his whole attention against the most formidable among them. He despatched to the relief of Smolensk an army of nearly sixty thousand men, consisting partly of foreign mercenaries, under James de la Gardie; but he gave the chief command to his brother, Dmitri Shuiski, who was neither liked nor respected by the soldiers. Chiefly in consequence of this fatal appointment the whole army was defeated at Klushino, by a force of only three thousand horse and two hundred infantry, led by the veteran Zolkiewski, and was forced to lay down its arms. But for the enormous blunders subsequently committed by Sigismond, the battle of Klushino might have for ever determined the preponderance of Poland in the north.

The defeat of Klushino was immediately followed by an insurrection at Moscow. Vassili Shuiski was deposed, and forced to become a monk; and being soon after delivered up to Sigismond, he ended his days in a Polish prison. The same event was equally disastrous to the false Dmitri.

Deserted by Sapieha and his Poles, he lost all hope of ascending the throne of Moscow; he lived as a robber in Kaluga, at the head of his ferocious gangs of Cossacks and Tatars, until he was murdered by the latter in December, 1610, in revenge for the death of one of their countrymen whom he had drowned. Marina was far advanced in pregnancy when she lost her second husband. She was delivered of a son, who received the name of Ivan, and to whom the little court of Kaluga swore fealty. Zarucki declared himself the protector of the mother and the child, and put himself at the head of the still numerous remnant of the faction that remained obstinately attached to the name of Dmitri. But the cause was hopeless; for Zarucki was neither a general nor a statesman; his talents were those only of a bold leader of Cossack marauders.

Russia was without a sovereign, and the capital was in the hands of the Polish marshal. Zolkiewski used his advantages with wise moderation, and easily prevailed on the weary and afflicted Muscovites to resign themselves to the foreign yoke, and agree to offer the throne to Vladislas, the son of Sigismond. One word from the latter's lips might have reversed the subsequent fortunes of Russia and Poland; but in his selfish vanity he preferred the appearance of power to its reality, and claimed the crown of the czars, not for his son, but for himself. Philaretes, bishop of Rostof, and other ambassadors, were sent to him at his camp before Smolensk, to make known the resolution of the Russians in favour of Vladislas. Sigismond insisted that they should at once put him in possession of Smolensk, which he had been besieging for a year; and this being refused, he seized the ambassadors, and afterwards carried them away to Poland, where they remained nine years in captivity.

Zolkiewski, foreseeing the consequences of his master's folly, against which he had remonstrated in vain, retired from the government of Moscow, leaving Gonsiewski as his successor. The Polish troops seized the principal towns, proclaimed Sigismond, and observed none of that discretion by which the great marshal had won the confidence and esteem of the vanquished. National feeling awoke again among the Russians; eagerly responding to the call of their revered patriarch, Hermogenes, they took up arms in all

parts of the empire, and war was renewed with more fury than ever. Smolensk fell after an obstinate resistance of eighteen months; but at the moment of the last assault the explosion of a powder magazine set fire to the city, and Sigismond found himself master only of a heap of ruins. The Poles in Moscow, assailed by the Russians, secured themselves in the Kremlin, after burning down the greater part of the city, and massacring a hundred thousand of the inhabitants. They were besieged by an immense levy from the provinces, consisting of three armies; but these seemed more disposed to fight with each other than to force the Poles in their entrenchments. One of them consisted chiefly of vagabonds escaped from the camp at Tushino, and was commanded by prince Trubetskoi. Zarucki led another in the name of Marina's son; the third army, and the only one, perhaps, whose commander sincerely desired the independence of his country, was that of prince Procope Liapunof; but that brave leader was assassinated, and the besiegers, disheartened by his death, immediately dispersed. About the same time, the patriarch Hermogenes, the soul of the national insurrection, died in his prison in the Kremlin, to which he had been consigned by the Poles.

Anarchy was rampant in Russia; every town usurped the right to act in the name of the whole empire, and set up chiefs whom they deposed a few days afterwards. Kasan and Viatka proclaimed the son of Marina; Novgorod, rather than open its gates to the Poles, called in the Swedes, and tendered the crown to Charles Philip, second son of the reigning king of Sweden, and brother of Gustavus Adolphus. Another impostor assumed the name of Dmitri, and kept his state for awhile at Pleskof; but being at last identified as one Isidore, a fugitive monk, he was hanged. When all seemed lost in irretrievable disorder, the country was saved by an obscure citizen of Nijni Novgorod. He was a butcher, named Kozma Minin, distinguished by nothing but the possession of a sound head, and a brave, honest, unselfish heart. Roused by his words and his example, his fellow-citizens took up arms, and resolved to devote all their wealth to the last fraction to the maintenance of an army for the deliverance of their country. From Nijni Novgorod the same spirit spread to other towns, and prince Pojarski, who

had been lieutenant to the brave Liapunof, was soon able to take the field at the head of a considerable force, whilst Minin, whom the popular voice styled *the elect of the whole Russian empire*, ably seconded him in an administrative capacity. Pojarski drove the Poles before him from town to town; and having at length arrived under the walls of the Kremlin, in August, 1612, he sustained for three days a hot contest against Chodkiewicz, the successor of Gonsiewski, defeated him, and put him to flight. Part of the Polish troops, under the command of colonel Nicholas Struss, returned to the citadel and defended it for some weeks longer. At the end of that time, being pressed by famine, they capitulated; and on the 22nd of October, 1612, the princes Pojarski and Dmitri Troubetzkoi entered together into that inclosure which is the heart of the country, and sacred in the eyes of all true Russians. The assistance of Sigismond came too late to arrest the flight of the Poles.

Upon the first successes obtained by prince Pojarski the phantom of Dmitri, and all the subaltern pretenders, disappeared as if by magic. Zarucki, feeling that an irresistible power was about to overwhelm him, was anxious only to secure himself a refuge. Carrying Marina and her son with him, he made ineffectual efforts to raise the Don Cossacks. After suffering a defeat near Voroneje, he reached the Volga, and took possession of Astrakhan, with the intention of fortifying himself there; but the generals of Michael Romanof, the newly-elected czar, did not allow him time. Driven from that city, and pursued by superior forces, he was preparing to reach the eastern shore of the Caspian, when he was surprised, in the beginning of July, 1614, on the banks of the Yaik, and delivered up to the Muscovite generals, along with Marina and the son of the second Dmitri. They were immediately taken to Moscow, where Zarucki was impaled; Ivan, who was but three years old, was hanged; and Marina was shut up in a prison, where she ended her days.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF ROMANOF—MICHAEL—ALEXIS—FEODOR II.

THE deliverance of Moscow had alone been awaited in order to fill the vacant throne by a free election. This could not properly take place except in that revered sanctuary of the czarian power, the Kremlin, where the sovereigns were crowned at their accession, and where their ashes reposed after their death. Delivered now from all foreign influence, the boyars of the council, in November, 1612, despatched letters or mandates to every town in the empire, commanding the clergy, nobility, and citizens to send deputies immediately to Moscow, endowed with full power to meet in the national council *(zemskii soveth)*, and proceed to the election of a new czar. At the same time, to invoke the blessing of God upon this important act, a fast of three days was commanded. These orders were received with great enthusiasm throughout the whole country: the fast was so rigorously observed, according to contemporary records, that no person took the least nourishment during that interval, and mothers even refused the breast to their infants.

The election day came: it was in Lent, in the year 1613. The debates were long and stormy. The princes Mstislavski and Pojarski, it appears, refused the crown; the election of prince Dmitri Troubetskoi failed, and the other candidates were set aside for various reasons. After much hesitation the name of Michael Romanof was put forward; a young man sixteen years of age, personally unknown, but recommended by the virtues of his father, Philaretes, and in whose behalf the boyars had been canvassed by the patriarch Hermogenes, the holy martyr to the national cause. The Romanofs were connected through the female branch with this ancient dynasty. The ancestors of Michael had filled the highest offices in the state. He fulfilled, moreover, the required conditions. "There were but three surviving members in his family," says Strahlenberg; "he had not been implicated in the preceding troubles; his father was an ecclesiastic, and in consequence naturally more

disposed to secure peace and union, than to mix himself up in turbulent projects."

The name of the new candidate, supported by the metropolitan of Moscow,* was hailed with acclamation, and after some discussion he was elected. The unanimous voice of the assembly raised Michael Feodorovitch to the throne. Before he ascended he was required to swear to the following conditions:—"That he would protect religion; that he would pardon and forget all that had been done to his father; that he would make no new laws, nor alter the old, unless circumstances imperatively required it; and that, in important causes, he would decide nothing by himself, but that the existing laws, and the usual forms of trial, should remain in force; that he would not at his own pleasure make either war or peace with his neighbours; and that, to avoid all suits with individuals, he would resign his estates to his family, or incorporate them with the crown domains." Strahlenberg adds, that Alexis, on his accession, swore to observe the same conditions.

These forms, however futile they may have been, are remarkable; not because they render sacred a right which stands in no need of them, but because they recal it to mind; and also because they prove that, even on the soil most favourable to despotism, a charter which should give absolute power to a monarch would appear such a gross absurdity, that we know not that an instance of the kind ever existed.

Nothing could be more critical than the state of the empire at the moment when its destinies were confided to a youth of seventeen. Disorder and anarchy everywhere prevailed. Oustrialof gives us the following picture:—"The strongholds on the frontier which should have served to defend his dominions, were in the hands of external or internal enemies. The Swedes possessed Kexholm, Oresheck, Koporie, and even Novgorod. The Poles ruled in Smolensk. Dorogobuje, Putivle, and Tchernigof; the country around Pskof was in the power of Lisowski; Raisin, Kashira, and Tula struggled feebly against the Tatars of the Crimea and the Nogaï; Saroutzki (Zarucki) was established in Astra-

* There was no patriarch at that time.

khan; Kasan was in revolt. At home, bands of Cossacks from the Don and the Zaporogues, and whole divisions of Poles and Tatars ravaged the villages and the convents that were still entire, when there were hopes of finding booty. The country was wasted, soldiers were dying of hunger, the land-tax was no longer collected, and not a kopeck was in the treasury. The state jewels, crowns of great price, sceptres, precious stones, vases, all had been plundered and carried into Poland.

"The young prince was surrounded by courtiers belonging to twenty different factions. There were to be found the friends of Godunof, the defenders of Shuiski, the companions of Vladislas, and even partisans of the brigand of Tushino; in a word, men professing the most various opinions and aims, but all equally ambitious, and incapable of yielding the smallest point as regarded precedence. The lower class, irritated by ten years of misery, were become habituated to anarchy, and it was not without difficulty and resistance on their part that they were reduced to obedience." Such, then, was the situation of the country; but Michael found means to redeem it.

Notwithstanding the desperate state of his finance, the insubordination of his troops, the ill-will of the diets, and the confederations continually springing up against him, Sigismond did not abandon his attempts upon Russia; but the negotiations which ensued in consequence, upon various occasions, produced no result. Vladislas, at the head of an army, once more crossed the frontiers, and appeared for the second time, in 1617, under the walls of Moscow, which he assaulted, and whence he was repulsed. Deceived in the expectation which the intelligence he kept up with various chiefs had induced him to form, harassed by his troops, who were clamorous for pay, he consented to renounce the title of czar, which he had up to that period assumed, and concluded, on the 1st of December, 1618, an armistice for fourteen years. The peace of Stolbovna, 26th of January, 1617, had terminated the preceding year the war with Sweden, and was purchased by the surrender of Ingria, Carelia, and the whole country between Ingria and Novgorod; besides the formal renunciation of Livonia and Esthonia, and the payment of a sum of money.

The captivity of Philaretes had now lasted nine years; from Warsaw he had been removed to the castle of Marienburg, and it was from that place, as it is asserted, that he found means to communicate with the council of the boyars, and use his influence in the election of the czar, never dreaming that it would fall upon his son. The cessation of hostilities restored him to freedom. He returned to Moscow on the 14th of June, 1619, and was immediately elevated to the patriarchal chair, which had remained vacant from the death of Hermogenes, in 1613. His son made him co-regent, and the ukases of that date are all headed "Michael Feodorovitch, Sovereign, Czar, and Grand-Prince of all the Russias, and his father Philaretes, mighty Lord and most holy Patriarch of all the Russias, order," &c. There exist, moreover, ukases issued in the sole name of the patriarch, thus called out of his usual sphere of action, and placed in one in which absolute power was granted him. He took part in all political affairs; all foreign ambassadors were presented to him, as well as to the czar: and at those solemn audiences, as well as at table, he occupied the right of the sovereign. He held his own court, composed of stolnicks and other officers; in a word, he shared with his son all the prerogatives of supreme power. From this period dates the splendour of the patriarchate, which at a later epoch excited the jealousy of the czar Peter the Great, who was induced to suppress it in 1721.

Philaretes always gave wise advice to his son, and the influence he exercised over him was always happily directed. A general census, of which he originated the idea, produced great improvement in the revenue; but, perhaps without intending it, he contributed by this measure to give fixity to the system of bondage to the soil.* In the performance of his duty as head pastor, he directed all his efforts to re-establish a press at Moscow,† which had been abandoned during the troubles of the interregnum; and he had the satisfaction of seeing, after 1624, many copies of the Liturgy issue from it. He took part in the attempts made to reform

* See Oustrialof's "Histoire de Russie."

† Established in 1560. The first book printed in Moscow, "The Evangelist," appeared in the month of March, 1564. See Karamzin.

these books, the contents of which had, in the opinion of many wise ecclesiastics, been seriously altered in the Sclavonic translations; and the quarrels which thence arose, commencing under Job, were destined to assume a most grave character under the patriarch Nicon, one of the successors of Philaretes.

The peace with Poland being only for a stated term of years, Michael endeavoured, before its expiration, to have his troops placed in such a condition by foreign officers, that he might be able to reconquer the countries ceded to the Poles. Nay, on the death of Sigismond, ere the armistice was expired, he began the attempt to recover these territories, under the idle pretext that he had concluded a peace with Sigismond, and not with his successor. But the Russian commander, Michael Schein, the very same who had valiantly defended Smolensk with a small number of troops against the Poles, now lay two whole years indolently before that town, with an army of fifty thousand men, and provided with good artillery, and at length retreated on capitulation, a retreat for which he and his friends were brought to answer with their heads. The Russian nation were so dissatisfied with this campaign, and the king of Sweden, whom Michael wanted to engage in an alliance with him against the Poles, showed so little inclination to comply, that the czar was fain to return to the former amicable relation with Poland. Peace was therefore again agreed on, and matters remained as they were before.

During his reign, which continued till 1645, Michael had employment enough in endeavouring to heal the wounds which the spirit of faction had inflicted on his country; to compose the disorders that had arisen; to restore the administration which had been so often disjointed and relaxed; to give new vigour and activity to the laws, disobeyed and inefficient during the general confusions; and to communicate fresh life to expiring commerce. It redounds greatly to his honour that he proceeded in all these respects with prudence and moderation, and brought the disorganised machine of government again into play. More than this, the restoration of the old order of things, was not to be expected of him. Much that he was unable to effect was accomplished by his son and successor, Alexis.

The administration, however, of the boyar Boris Morosof, to whom Michael at his death committed the education of Alexis, then in his sixteenth year, well-nigh destroyed the tranquillity which had so lately been restored. Morosof trod in the footsteps of Boris Godunof, put himself, as that favourite of the czar had done, into the highest posts, and thus acquired the most extensive authority in the state, turned out all that stood in his way, distributed offices and dignities, as they fell vacant, among his friends and creatures, and even became, like Boris, a near relation of czar Alexis, by marrying a sister of the czaritza. Like his prototype, indeed, Morosof effected much good, particularly by making the army a main object of his concern, by strengthening the frontiers against Poland and Sweden, erecting manufactories for arms, taking a number of foreigners into pay for the better disciplining of the army, and diligently exercising the troops himself. But these important services to the state could not render the people insensible to the numerous acts of injustice and oppression which were practised with impunity by the party protected by this minion of the czar. The most flagrant enormities were committed, more particularly in the administration of justice. The sentence of the judge was warped to either side by presents; witnesses were to be bought; several of the magistrates, however incredible it may seem, kept a number of scoundrels in readiness to corroborate or to oppugn, for a sum of money, whatever they were required to confirm or to deny. Such profligates were particularly employed in order to get rich persons into custody on charges of any species of delinquency sworn against them by false witnesses, to condemn them to death, and then to seize upon their property; as the accumulation of wealth seemed to be the general characteristic of all men in office. From the same corrupt fountain flowed a multitude of monopolies, and excessive taxes on the prime necessaries of life. The consequence of all this was the oppression of the people by privileged extortioners, and murmurs against injustice and the exorbitance of imposts. In addition to this, those grandees who had now the reins of government in their hands assumed a haughty, austere behaviour towards the subjects, whereas Michael and his father had been friendly and indulgent, and their gentleness

communicated itself to all who at that time took part in the administration.

From these several causes arose discontents in the nation; such great men as were neglected and disappointed, contributed what they could to fan these discontents, and to bring them to overt act. Moscow, the seat of the principal magistrate, who, himself in the highest degree unjust, connived at the iniquities of his subordinate judges, was the place where the people first applied for redress. They began by presenting petitions to the czar, implored the removal of these disorders, and exposed to him in plain terms the abuses committed by the favourite and his adherents. But these petitions were of no avail, as none of the courtiers would venture to put them into the hand of the czar, for fear of Morosof's long arm. The populace, therefore, once stopped the czar, as he was returning from church to his palace, calling aloud for righteous judges. Alexis promised them to make strict inquiry into their grievances, and to inflict punishment on the guilty; the people, however, had not patience to wait this tardy process, but proceeded to plunder the houses of such of the great as were most obnoxious to them. At length they were pacified only on condition that the authors of their oppressions should be brought to condign punishment. Not, however, till they had killed the principal magistrate, and other obnoxious persons, and forced from the czar the abolition of some of the new taxes, and the death of another nefarious judge, could they be induced to spare the life of Morosof, though the czar himself entreated for him with tears. Thenceforth Morosof ceased to be the sole adviser of his sovereign, though he continued to enjoy his favour and affection.

Some time after these events, disturbances not less violent occurred in Pleskof and Novgorod, and were not quelled until much mischief had been done. The pacification of Novgorod was mainly due to the wisdom and intrepidity of the celebrated Nicon, who was afterwards patriarch.

While the nation was in this restless and angry mood, another false Dmitri thought to avail himself of an opportunity apparently so favourable to gather a party. He was the son of a draper in the Ukraine, and was prompted to his imposture by a Polish nobleman, named Danilovski. One

day, when the young man was bathing, marks were observed on his back which were thought to resemble letters of some unknown tongue. Danilovski hearing of this freak of nature, determined to build a plot upon it. He sent for the young man, and had the marks examined by a Greek pope whom he had suborned. The pope cried out, "A miracle!" and declared that the letters were Russian, and formed distinctly these words:—*Dmitri, son of the czar Dmitri.* The public murder of Marina's infant son was notorious; but that difficulty was met by the common device of an alleged change of children, and the Poles were invited to lend their aid to the true prince thus miraculously identified. They were willing enough to do so; but the trick was too stale to impose on the Russians. The impostor found no adherents among them; and after a wretched life of vagrancy and crime, he fell into the hands of Alexis, and was quartered alive.

Alexis soon had an opportunity to repay in a more substantial manner the ill-will borne to him by the Poles; who had further offended him by rejecting him as a candidate for their throne, and electing John Casimir. The cruel oppressions exercised by the Poles upon the Cossacks of the Ukraine had roused the latter to revolt, and a furious war ensued, in which the enraged Cossacks avenged their wrongs in the most ruthless and indiscriminate manner. At last, after many vicissitudes, being deserted by their Tatar allies, the Cossacks appealed for aid to Alexis, offering to acknowledge him as their suzerain. With such auxiliaries the czar could now renew with better prospects the attempt made by his father to recover the territories wrested from Russia by her inveterate foe. He declared war against Poland; his conquests were rapid and numerous, and would, probably, have terminated in the complete subjugation of Poland, had he not been compelled to pause before the march of a still more successful invader of that country, Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden. Incensed at seeing his prey thus snatched from him when he had nearly hunted it down, Alexis fell upon the king of Sweden's own dominions during his absence; but from this enterprise he reaped neither advantage nor credit; and he was glad to conclude, in 1658, a three years' truce with Sweden, and subsequently a peace,

which was an exact renewal of the treaty of Stolbova in 1617. The war in Poland ended more honourably for Russia. An armistice for thirteen years, agreed upon at Andnissof, in Lithuania, and afterwards prolonged from time to time, was the forerunner of a complete pacification, which was brought to effect in 1686, and restored to the empire Smolensk, Severia, Tchernigof, and Kief, that primeval principality of the Russian sovereigns. The king of Poland likewise relinquished to the czar the supremacy he had till then asserted over the Cossacks of the Ukraine.

Russia had as much need as Poland of repose; for the empire was suffering under an accumulation of evils—an exhausted treasury, commercial distress, pestilence and famine, all aggravated by the unwise means adopted to relieve them. To supply the place of the silver money, which had disappeared, copper of the same nominal value was coined and put in circulation. At first these tokens were received with confidence, and no inconvenience was experienced; but ere long the court itself destroyed that confidence by its audacious efforts to secure to itself all the sterling money, and leave only the new coin for the use of commerce. The cupidity displayed in transactions of this kind, especially by Ilia Miloslavski, the czar's father-in-law, taught the public to dislike the copper coinage; it became immensely depreciated, and extreme general distress ensued. A rebellion broke out in consequence in Moscow (1662), and though it was speedily put down, it was punished in the most atrocious manner in the persons of thousands of wretches whose misery had driven them to crime; whilst the authors of their woe escaped with impunity. The prisoners were hanged by hundreds, tortured, burned, mutilated, or thrown by night, with their hands bound, into the river. The number who suffered death in consequence of this arbitrary alteration of the currency was estimated at more than seven thousand; the tortured and maimed at upwards of fifteen thousand.

The conduct of the Don Cossacks was soon such as to make it questionable whether the acquisition of these new subjects was not rather a loss than a gain to the empire. At the end of the campaign of 1665 the Cossacks were refused permission to disband as usual and to return to their homes.

They mutinied; and several of them were punished with death. Among those who were executed was an officer, whose brother, Stenka Radzin, had no difficulty in rousing his countrymen to revenge this violation of their privileges, and at the same time to gratify their insatiable appetite for havoc and plunder. He began his depredations on the Volga by seizing a fleet of boats belonging to the czar, which was on its way to Astrakhan, massacring part of the crews, and pressing all the rest into his service. Having devastated the whole country of the Volga, he descended into the Caspian, and having swept its shores, returned to the Volga laden with booty. For three years this flagitious ruffian continued his murderous career, repeatedly defeating the forces sent against him. At last, having lost a great number of men in his piratical incursions into Persia, he was hemmed in by the troops of the governor of Astrakhan, and forced to sue for pardon. The imperial commander thought it more prudent to accept Radzin's voluntary submission than to risk an engagement with desperate wretches whose numbers were still formidable. Radzin was taken to Astrakhan, and the voyevode went to Moscow, to learn the czar's pleasure respecting him. Alexis honourably confirmed the promise made by his general in his name, and accepted Radzin's oath of allegiance; but instead of dispersing the pardoned rebels over regions where they would have been useful to the empire, he had the imprudence to send them all back to the country of the Don, without despoiling them of their ill-got wealth, or taking any other security for their good behaviour.

The brigand was soon at his old work again on the Volga, murdering and torturing with more wanton ferocity than ever. To give to his enormities the colour of a war on behalf of an oppressed class, he proclaimed himself the enemy of the nobles, and the restorer of the liberty of the people. As many of the Russians still adhered to the patriarch Nicon, who had been deposed and sent to a monastery, he spread it abroad that Nicon was with him; that the czar's second son (who had died at Moscow, Jan. 16, 1670) was not dead, but had put himself under his protection; and that he had even been requested by the czar himself to come to Moscow, and rid him of those unpatriotic

grandees by whom he was unhappily surrounded. These artifices, together with the unlimited licence to plunder which Radzin granted to every one who joined his standard, operated so strongly that the rebel found himself, at length, at the head of two hundred thousand men. The czar's soldiers murdered their officers, and went over to him; Astrakhan betrayed its governor, and received him; he was master of the whole country of the Lower Volga; and on the upper course of the river, from Nijni Novgorod to Kasan, the peasants rose to a man, and murdered their lords. Had Stenka Radzin been anything better than a vulgar robber and cut-throat, he might have revolutionised Russia; but he was utterly without the qualities most requisite for success in such an enterprise. Disasters overtook him in the autumn of 1670; a division of his army was cut to pieces; twelve thousand of his followers were gibbeted on the high road, and he himself was taken in the beginning of the following year, carried to Moscow, and executed.

The Turks had by this time made war on Poland, and Alexis was bound by the treaty of Andnissof, as well as by regard for the safety of his own dominions, to support the latter power. In 1671 the Turks made themselves masters of the important town of Kaminitz, and the Cossacks of the Ukraine, ever averse to subjection, could not tell whether they belonged to Turkey, Poland, or Russia. Sultan Mahomet IV., who had subdued, and lately imposed a tribute on, the Poles, insisted, with all the insolence of an Ottoman, and of a conqueror, that the czar should evacuate his several possessions in the Ukraine; but received as haughty a denial. The sultan in his letter treated the sovereign of the Russias only as a Christian hospodar, and entitled himself "Most Glorious Majesty, King of the World." The czar made answer, that "He was above submitting to a Mahometan dog, but that his sabre was as good as the grand seignor's cimetar."

Alexis sent ambassadors to the pope, and to almost all the great sovereigns in Europe, except France, which was allied to the Turks, in order to establish a league against the Porte. His ambassadors had no other success at Rome than not being obliged to kiss the pope's toe; everywhere else they met with nothing but good wishes, the Christian princes

being generally prevented by their quarrels and jarring interests from uniting against the common enemy of their religion. Alexis did not live to see the termination of the war with Turkey. His death happened in 1676, in his forty-eighth year, after a reign of thirty-one years.

Alexis was succeeded by his eldest son, Feodor, a youth in his nineteenth year, and of very feeble temperament. The most pressing task that devolved on him was the prosecution of the war with Turkey, which, as far as Russia was interested, had regard chiefly to the question whether the country of the Zaporogue Cossacks should be under the sovereignty of the czar or of the sultan. The contest was terminated, three years after Feodor's accession, by a treaty, which established his right over the disputed territory. Only one other memorable event distinguished his brief reign.

Nothing could equal the care with which the noble families kept the books of their pedigrees, in which were set down, not only every one of their ancestors, but also the posts and offices which each had held at court, in the army, or in the civil department. Had these genealogies and registers of descent been confined to the purpose of determining the ancestry and relationship of families, no objection could be alleged against them. But these books of record were carried to the most absurd abuse, attended with a host of pernicious consequences. If a nobleman were appointed to a post in the army, or at court, or to some civil station, and it appeared that the person to whom he was now subordinate numbered fewer ancestors than he, it was with the utmost difficulty that he could be brought to accept of the office to which he was called. Nay, this folly was carried still greater lengths: a man would even refuse to take upon him an employ, if thereby he would be subordinate to one whose ancestors had formerly stood in that position towards his own. It is easy to imagine that a prejudice of this kind must have been productive of the most disagreeable effects, and that discontents, murmurs at slights and trifling neglects, disputes, quarrels, and disorders in the service must have been its natural attendants. It was, therefore, become indispensably necessary that a particular office should be instituted at court in which exact copies of

the genealogical tables and service-registers of the noble families were deposited; and this office was incessantly employed in settling the numberless disputes that arose from this inveterate prejudice. Feodor observing the pernicious effects of this fond conceit—that the father's capacity must necessarily devolve on the son, and that consequently he ought to inherit his posts, wished to put a stop to it; and with the advice of his sagacious minister, prince Vassili Galitzin, fell upon the following method:

He caused it to be proclaimed, that all the families should deliver into court faithful copies of their service-rolls, in order that they might be cleared of a number of errors that had crept into them. This delivery being made, he convoked the great men and the superior clergy before him. In the midst of these heads of the nobles, the patriarch concluded an animated harangue by inveighing against their prerogatives. "They are," said he, "a bitter source of every kind of evil; they render abortive the most useful enterprises, in like manner as the tares stifle the good grain; they have introduced, even into the heart of families, dissensions, confusion, and hatred; but the pontiff comprehends the grand design of his czar. God alone can have inspired it!" At these words, and by anticipation, all the grandees blindly hastened to express their approval; and, suddenly, Feodor, whom this generous unanimity seemed to enrapture, arose and proclaimed, in a simulated burst of holy enthusiasm, the abolition of all their hereditary pretensions, "To extinguish even the recollection of them," said he, "let all the papers relative to those titles be instantly consumed!" And as the fire was ready, he ordered them to be thrown into the flames before the dismayed eyes of the nobles, who strove to conceal their anguish by dastardly acclamations. By way of conclusion to this singular ceremony, the patriarch denounced an anathema against every one who should presume to contravene this ordinance of the czar; and the justice of the sentence was ratified by the assembly in a general shout of "Amen!" It was by no means Feodor's intention to efface nobility; and, accordingly, he ordered new books to be made, in which the noble families were inscribed; but thus was abolished that extremely pernicious custom which made it a disgrace to be under the orders of

another if his ancestry did not reach so high, or even—in case of equal pedigree—if a forefather of the commander had once been subordinate in the service to the progenitor of him who was now to acknowledge him for his superior.

Feodor died in February, 1682, after a reign of five years and a half, leaving no issue.

CHAPTER XIX.

IVAN V. AND PETER I.

Upon the death of Feodor the empire seemed destined to be plunged once more into the anarchy attendant on a disputed succession. This was in consequence of Alexis having conformed with the usual custom of the czars, to choose their consorts from among their own subjects. Alexis was twice married; his first wife being a Miloslavski, his second a Narishkin. By the former he had two sons who survived him, Feodor and Ivan, and several princesses, the eldest of whom, Sophia, is known in history; by the latter he was the father of Peter and the princess Nathalie. Under every reign the family allied to the sovereign naturally acquired great influence in the state; and when there were two families in that position, their keen rivalry could not but be injurious to the public interests. The Miloslavski and the Narishkin faction contended with each other for the privilege of giving a czar to Russia. Feodor's accession had been opposed by the Narishkins on the ground of his alleged incapacity. Ivan, his younger brother, was still more infirm in body and mind; and the Narishkins strove to have both excluded in favour of Peter, their own kinsman. This project failed; but on the death of Feodor the grandees and the heads of the clergy resolved to reject the claims of the imbecile Ivan, and to bestow the crown on his more promising brother, then ten years of age. The princess Sophia, however, contrived in part to defeat this resolution, and to restore to Ivan a sceptre which she hoped to wield in conjunction with Galitzin, the late czar's minister, during the perpetual infancy of the weak-minded prince.

If, on the one hand, the custom of raising a subject to the rank of czaritza was favourable to the ladies, there was another as much to their prejudice. This was, that the daughters of the czar were very seldom married; so that they generally spent their days in a monastery. Sophia, a princess of superior, but dangerous, abilities, when she perceived that her brother Feodor was very near his end, did not think proper to retire to a convent; but finding that she was likely to be left between two brothers, who were unqualified for the reins of government, the one by natural infirmities, and the other by infancy, she formed a scheme for placing herself at the head of the empire. Hence in the last hours of the czar Feodor, she attempted to act the part that Pulcheria had formerly played with her brother the emperor Theodosius.

Immediately upon the nomination of Peter, and the exclusion of his elder brother, a terrible insurrection broke out among the Strelitz. Never did the pretorian guards, or Turkish janissaries, behave with more barbarity. Within two days after the czar Feodor's funeral, they armed and repaired in a body to the Kremlin, there they began with an accusation against nine of their colonels for defrauding them of their pay. The ministry were obliged to break those officers, and let the Strelitz have the money demanded. Not satisfied with this, the soldiers insisted that the nine officers should be delivered up to them; and by a plurality of voices they condemned them to the bastinado.

While the Strelitz were thus spreading terror throughout the capital, the princess Sophia privily encouraged them, in order to make them subservient to her own purposes. Meanwhile she convened an assembly of the princesses of the blood, the generals of the army, and the boyars, with the patriarch, bishops, and even the principal merchants: she represented to them that prince Ivan, by right of seniority and merit, ought to succeed to the imperial dignity; but all the while she intended to hold the reins of government in her own hands. As she withdrew from the assembly, she promised some presents and a further increase of pay to the Strelitz. Her emissaries, at the same time, inflamed the soldiers against the family of the Narishkins, and especially against the two brothers of the young czaritza dowager, the

mother of Peter the First. The soldiers were made to believe that one of those brothers, named Ivan, had put on the imperial robes, ascended the throne, and attempted to strangle prince Ivan; it was moreover added, that Daniel Vongad, a Dutch physician, had poisoned the czar Feodor. At length Sophia gave them a list of forty lords, whom she styled enemies to their corps and to the state, and as such declared them worthy of death.

The tragedy began with throwing the princes Dolgoruki and Maffeof out of the windows: the Strelitz received them on their pikes, and after stripping them naked, dragged their bodies along the great square. This done, they rushed into the palace, where meeting with one of the czar Peter's uncles, Athanasius Narishkin, brother of the young czaritza, they massacred him in the same manner; then forcing the doors of a neighbouring church, where three of the proscribed had taken sanctuary, they dragged them from the altar, stripped them naked, and cut them in pieces with knives.

To such a pitch was their fury arrived, that a young lord of the house of Soltikof, a great favourite of theirs, and who was not in the list of the proscribed, happening to pass by at that time, and one of their companions mistaking him for Ivan Narishkin, of whom they were in search, they destroyed him in an instant. But upon discovering their error, they carried the body of the young nobleman to his father for interment; and the unfortunate parent, far from daring to complain, gave them a considerable reward for the mangled body of his son. His wife, his daughters, and the wife of the deceased, with a flood of tears, reproached him for his weakness. "Let us wait for an opportunity of being revenged," said the old man. These words being overheard by some of the soldiers, they returned in a transport of rage, and dragging out the aged parent by the hair, they cut his throat at his own door.

In the mean time, some of the other Strelitz were in search of the Dutch physician Vongad, and happening to meet his son, they inquired where his father was; the young man trembling, replied he did not know; upon which they cut his throat. Soon after a German physician falling in their way, "You are a doctor," said they, "and if you have

not poisoned our master Feodor, you have poisoned others, and therefore you merit death;" and saying this, they despatched him in an instant.

At length having discovered the Dutchman, who had disguised himself in a beggar's habit, they dragged him before the palace. The princesses, who were fond of the good man, and reposed confidence in his skill, begged hard for his life, assuring the Strelitz that he was a very skilful physician, and had taken great care of their brother Feodor. The soldiers made answer, that he not only deserved to die as a physician, but likewise as a sorcerer; for they had found the skeleton of a large toad, and the skin of a snake in his cabinet. They added, that young Narishkin must absolutely be delivered up to them; that they had been searching for him in vain for two days; that he was certainly concealed in the palace; and they would set fire to it immediately, unless they could seize on his person. The sister of Ivan Narishkin, and the other princesses, terrified with these menaces, repaired to the place where this young nobleman lay concealed: the patriarch heard his confession, and administered the viaticum and extreme unction to him; then laying hold of an image of the Virgin Mary, which was said to perform miracles, he led the young man by the hand, and advanced towards the Strelitz, presenting the image to their view. The princesses, dissolved in tears, encompassed the victim, and kneeling down before the soldiers, interceded in the name of the Virgin for their relation's life; but the barbarians, regardless of the suppliant ladies, dragged him away to the bottom of the staircase, where, erecting a kind of tribunal, they put Narishkin and the physician to the torture. One of the soldiers, who could write, drew up an indictment against them, and the two unfortunates were condemned to be cut in pieces. This is the usual punishment of parricides in China and Tartary, and is called the punishment of ten thousand slices. After behaving in this manner to Narishkin and Vongad, they exposed their heads, feet, and hands upon the iron points of a balustrade.

Whilst they were thus glutting their revenge in the presence of the princesses, the remainder of their corps laid violent hands on everybody that was odious to them, or obnoxious to Sophia.

This horrid tragedy concluded with proclaiming the two princes, Ivan and Peter, joint sovereigns (June, 1682), and associating their sister Sophia to the government, in the quality of co-regent. She approved of all the outrages of the Strelitz, conferred rewards upon them, confiscated the estates of the proscribed, and bestowed them upon the murderers; nay, she gave them permission to erect a monument, with an inscription containing the names of the persons they had massacred, who were represented as traitors to their country; and she published letters patent, thanking them for their zeal and fidelity.

By these steps did the princess Sophia in reality ascend the throne of Russia, though she was not declared czaritza; and these were the first examples Peter the Great had before his eyes. Sophia enjoyed all the honours of sovereignty; her bust was on the public coin; her hand to all despatches; she had the first seat in council, and a power without control. She was a woman of talent; composed verses in her native language; both spoke and wrote extremely well; and the charms of her person added a new lustre to those abilities which were thus sullied by her ambition.

She procured a wife for her brother Ivan, in the beginning of 1684, in hopes that the birth of an heir to the throne would for ever exclude his brother from it, and prolong her regency for an indefinite period. In the midst of the nuptial entertainments, the Strelitz made another insurrection on pretexts concerning religion. Had they been mere soldiers, they never would have become controversialists; but they were also citizens of Moscow.

Russia had already experienced some disturbances in consequence of the dispute about the sign of the cross; whether it should be made with three fingers, or two. A priest, of the name of Abakum, made himself conspicuous as a preacher of the doctrines of the Razkolniks, or old believers, a sect who professed to maintain the principles and practices of the Greek Church in their primitive purity. Several burghers, and a great many of the Strelitz, embraced the opinions of Abakum. At length those enthusiasts rushed one day into the cathedral, at the time of divine service, and driving the patriarch and his clergy thence with stones, devoutly placed themselves in the seats

of those ecclesiastics, in order to receive the Holy Ghost. They called the patriarch *the wolf in sheep's clothing*, a title which all sects have liberally bestowed upon one another. Immediately the princess Sophia and the two young czars were informed of these disturbances; and the other Strelitz, who maintained the good cause, were told that the czars and the church were in danger. A party of the Strelitz and the patriarchal burghers came to blows with the faction of the Razkolniks; but as soon as mention was made of convening a council, the carnage ceased. Accordingly a council was forthwith called in a hall of the palace: the convocation was attended with no difficulty; and all the priests that could be found were summoned. The patriarch and a bishop entered into a dispute with the leader of the Razkolniks; but upon coming to a second syllogism they pelted one another with stones. The council ended with beheading the leader and some of his faithful disciples, who were put to death by the sole order of the three sovereigns, Sophia, John, and Peter.

During this time of confusion there was a prince, named Kovanski, who having contributed to the elevation of the princess Sophia, wanted, as a reward for his services, to obtain a share in the government. It is, indeed, believed that he met with ingratitude on the part of the princess. Having sided with the devotees and the persecuted Razkolniks, he also raised a party composed of the Strelitz and the people in defence of the cause of God. This conspiracy was of a more serious nature than the enthusiastical behaviour of Abakum; for an ambitious hypocrite is sure to carry matters to a greater length than a simple fanatic. Kovanski, in short, aimed at the imperial dignity. In order to have nothing thenceforward to fear, he resolved to massacre the two czars and Sophia, with the other princesses, and all that were attached to the imperial family. The czars and the princesses were obliged to retire to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, within twelve leagues of Moscow, which was at the same time a convent, a palace, and a fortress. The imperial family were now in full safety, rather from the strength than the sanctity of the place. Here it was that Sophia negotiated with the rebel; and having decoyed him to come half way, she caused him to be

beheaded, together with one of his sons, and thirty-seven Strelitz who accompanied him.

At this news, the body of Strelitz flew to arms, and marched to the monastery of the Trinity, threatening death and destruction: the imperial family intrenched themselves; the boyars armed their serfs; all the gentlemen of the country flocked to the monastery; and the empire seemed to be on the eve of a bloody civil war. The patriarch in some measure appeased the Strelitz, who began to be intimidated upon hearing of the troops which were marching on all sides against them; their fury was soon succeeded by fear, and their fear by the most abject submission. Three thousand seven hundred of them, followed by their wives and children, went in procession, with halters about their necks, to that very monastery of the Trinity which three days before they had threatened to reduce to ashes. In this condition the unhappy wretches marched two and two, each pair carrying a block and a hatchet; then prostrating themselves on the ground, they waited for their punishment: but, being pardoned, they returned to Moscow, blessing their sovereigns; still ready, though unconsciously, to commit the same crime upon the first opportunity.

These convulsions being ended, the state recovered its tranquillity. Sophia was still possessed of the chief authority: Peter being held in tutelage, and Ivan abandoned to his incapacity. In order to strengthen her power, she shared it with prince Vassili Galitzin, creating him generalissimo, minister of state, and chancellor. Under this able minister an alliance was concluded with Poland greatly to the advantage of Russia.

Russia now enjoyed internal tranquillity: she was still pent up on the side of Sweden, but had begun to extend herself towards Poland, her new ally; from Crim Tatary she received frequent alarms; and there was a misunderstanding between her and China in regard to their frontiers. But what galled her most of all was, that the Khan of the Crimea demanded of her an annual tribute of sixty thousand roubles: a humiliation to which the Turks had likewise subjected Poland.

To wipe off this disgrace, and at the same time fulfil the

new engagement with Poland, Galitzin marched against the Crim Tatars at the head of a numerous army. In his first campaign he traversed the dreary steppes until there was no possibility of advancing farther for want of forage; upon which he led his troops back to the river Samara. There he employed thirty thousand men in building a town, in order to erect magazines for the next campaign. The houses, indeed, were of wood, except two of brick; and the ramparts were of turf, but well lined with artillery, and in a good state of defence. Nothing more was effected of any consequence in this ruinous expedition.

In the mean while, Sophia continued to govern. Ivan had only the name of czar; and Peter, now at the age of seventeen, had the courage to aim at more than a titular sovereignty. By the unexpected pregnancy of his brother's wife, he saw himself placed at a disadvantage towards the party of Sophia and Ivan; and to remedy this, he married in January, 1689, Evdokhia, the daughter of Feodor Lapukhin. That union proved a very unhappy one; but in its first year it fulfilled the wishes of Peter by giving him a son.

It is alleged, with what truth we know not, that at this period Sophia and Galitzin engaged the new chief of the Strelitz to sacrifice the young czar to their ambition. It appears at least that six hundred of those soldiers were to seize on that prince's person, if not to murder him. Peter was once more obliged to take refuge in the monastery of the Trinity, the usual sanctuary of the court when menaced by the mutinous soldiery. There he convoked the boyars of his party, assembled a body of forces, treated with the captains of the Strelitz, and sent for some Germans who had been long settled in Moscow, and were all attached to his person, from his already showing a regard to foreigners. Sophia protested her abhorrence of the plot, and sent the patriarch to her brother to assure him of her innocence; but he abandoned her cause on being shown proof that he himself was among those who had been marked out for assassination. Peter's cause prevailed. All the conspirators were punished with great severity; the leaders were beheaded, others were knouted, or had their tongues cut out, and were sent into exile. Prince Galitzin escaped with his life, by the intercession of a relation, who was a favourite of the czar Peter:

but he forfeited all his property, which was immense, and was banished to the neighbourhood of Archangel.

The scene concluded with shutting up the princess Sophia in a convent near Moscow, where she remained in confinement until her death, which did not happen till fifteen years afterwards. From that period Peter was real sovereign. His brother Ivan had no other share in the government than that of lending his name to the public acts. He led a retired life, and died in 1696.

CHAPTER XX.

PETER THE FIRST.

NATURE had given Peter the First a colossal vigour of body and mind, capable of all extremes of good and evil. It is impossible to review his whole history without mingled feelings of admiration, horror, and disgust. That he was not altogether a monster of wickedness was not the fault of Sophia and her minister, whose deliberate purpose it was to destroy in him every germ of good, that he might become odious and insupportable to the nation. They succeeded only in impairing the health, corrupting the morals, and hardening the heart of the youthful czar; it was no more in their power to deprive him of his lofty nature than to have given it to him. General Menesius,* a learned Scotchman, to whom Alexis had entrusted his education, refused to betray him, and was, therefore, driven from his charge. The first impressions on the mind of Peter were allowed to be received from coarse and sordid amusements; and from foreigners, who were repulsed by the jealousy of the boyars, hated by the superstition of the people, and despised by the general ignorance. Thus it was hoped that he would at last be driven by public execration to quit the palace for a monk's cell; but the very means which were taken to ensure his

* See Bassville.

disgrace served to lay the foundations of his greatness and glory.

Kept at a distance from the throne, Peter escaped the influence of that atmosphere of effeminacy and flattery by which it is environed; the hatred with which he was inspired against the destroyers of his family increased the energy of his character. He knew that he must conquer his place upon the throne, which was held by an able and ambitious sister, and encircled by a barbarous soldiery; thenceforth, his childhood had that which ripened age too often wants, it had an aim in view, of which his genius, already bold and persevering, had a thorough comprehension. Surrounded by adventurers of daring spirits, who had come from far to try their fortune, his powers were rapidly unfolded.

One of them, Lefort, who doubtless perceived in this young barbarian the traces of civilisation, which had perhaps been left there by his first tutor, gave him an idea of the sciences and arts of Europe, and particularly of the military art.

It is said that, on being made sensible of the barbarism of his countrymen, tears of generous sorrow started into his eyes; it was like presenting a sword to the sight of a new Achilles. But Peter was much more. That arms should have been his toys, and military exercises his sports, excites but little astonishment; but what deserves admiration is, that at a time of life when discipline is deemed an insupportable yoke, he should have comprehended its importance; that he should have submitted to it with the same eagerness that men display to elude it; have persevered in it at the most mutable period of existence; and have given an example at an age in which many are hardly capable of following one.

Such were the dispositions of this prince, notwithstanding the follies of his youth. In the mean while his situation was very critical, being obliged to guard against the different factions of the nobility, to check the mutinous temper of the Strelitz, and to defend himself against the Crim Tatars, with whom he was almost constantly at war. Hostilities, however, had been suspended in 1689, by a truce of no long continuance.

During this interval, Peter was confirmed in the resolution of introducing the liberal arts into his country.

His father Alexis had been at great expense in sending for Bothler, a shipbuilder and sea captain, from Holland, with a number of carpenters and seamen. These people built a large frigate and a yacht upon the Volga, with which they fell down that river to Astrakhan: they were to be employed in constructing more vessels, in order to carry on an advantageous trade with Persia, by means of the Caspian Sea. Then happened the revolt of Stenka Radzin, who destroyed the two vessels, which he ought to have preserved for his own sake, and murdered the captain: the remainder of the ship's crew fled into Persia, and reached some of the settlements belonging to the East India Company. A master carpenter, who was a very good shipwright, stayed behind in Russia, where he lived a long time in obscurity.

As Peter was one day walking in the court at Ismaelof, a summer palace built by his grandfather, he perceived, among other rarities, an old English shallop, almost fallen to pieces. Upon this he asked Timmerman, his mathematical teacher, and a native of Germany, how that little boat came to be of a different construction from those which he had seen upon the Moskva? Timmerman answered, that it was made to go with sails, or with oars. The young prince immediately wanted to make a trial of it; but they were obliged to look out for a person who could repair and fit it for service; and, after a long search, they found this very shipwright Brant, who was living in Moscow. The Dutchman put the boat in order, and sailed with it on the river Yauza, which washes the suburbs of the town.

Peter caused this boat to be removed to a great lake in the neighbourhood of the monastery of the Trinity, where he made the Dutchman build two frigates and three yachts, and piloted them himself. A long time after (in 1694), he took a journey to Archangel, where he ordered this same Dutchman to build him a small vessel, in which he embarked on the frozen ocean, that had never been beheld by any sovereign before him. On this occasion he was escorted by a Dutch man-of-war, under the command of captain Jolson, and attended by all the merchant vessels in the harbour of Archangel. He had already learnt the manner of working a ship; and, notwithstanding the eagerness of courtiers in general to imitate the example of their sovereigns, he was

the only person that learned this art. Among the many proofs which Peter gave of his indomitable strength of will, this was not the least remarkable: that although he had such a dread of water from his infancy as to be seized with a cold sweat and with convulsions even in being obliged to pass over a brook,* he became the best mariner in all the north. He began to conquer nature by jumping into the water; and his aversion was ever after changed into a prodigious fondness for that element.

To raise a body of land forces, well disciplined, and fond of the service, was as difficult an undertaking as to establish a navy. His first essay in navigation upon the above-mentioned lake, before his journey to Archangel, had been looked upon as the amusement of a young prince of genius; and his first attempt to form a body of disciplined troops had likewise the appearance of being only a scheme of diversion. Sophia and her Strelitz meanwhile smiled at these warlike sports. In this series of efforts always directed towards the same point, she did not perceive the essays of a nascent genius. In the fifty boys formed into what was called a *pleasure company*, she saw not the nucleus of those regular corps which were soon to aid in hurling her from the throne, and destroying her satellites.

Le Fort, in whom he placed his whole confidence, did not understand much of the military service, neither was he a man of literature, having applied himself deeply to no one particular art or science; but he had seen a great deal, and was capable of forming a right judgment of what he saw. Like the czar, he was indebted for everything to his own genius: besides, he understood the German and Dutch languages, which Peter was learning at that time, in hopes that both those nations would facilitate his designs. Finding himself agreeable to Peter, Le Fort attached himself to that prince's service: by adminis-

* The cause of this aversion is thus mentioned by Strahlemberg. When he was about five years of age, his mother went with him in a coach, in the spring season; and passing, as he lay in his mother's lap asleep, over a dam where there was a water-fall, he was so frightened by the rushing of the water, that it brought a fever upon him, and, after his recovery, he retained such a dread of that element that he could not bear to see any standing water, much less to hear a running stream.

tering to his pleasures he became his favourite, and confirmed this intimacy by his abilities. The czar entrusted him with the most dangerous design a Russian sovereign could then possibly form—that of abolishing the seditious and barbarous body of the Strelitz. The attempt to reform the janissaries had cost the great sultan Osman his life. Peter, young as he was, went to work in a much abler manner than Osman. He began with forming, at his country residence of Preobrajen, a company of fifty of his youngest domestics; and some of the sons of boyars were chosen for their officers. But in order to teach those young boyars a subordination with which they were wholly unacquainted, he made them pass through all the military degrees, setting them an example himself, and serving successively as private soldier, sergeant, and lieutenant of the company.

This company, which had been raised by Peter only, soon increased in numbers, and was afterwards the regiment of Preobrajenski guards. Another company, formed on the same plan, became in time the regiment of guards known by the name of Semenofski.

The czar had now a regiment of five thousand men on foot, on whom he could depend; trained by general Gordon, a Scotchman, and composed almost entirely of foreigners. Le Fort, who had seen very little service, yet was qualified for any commission, undertook to raise a regiment of twelve thousand men, and effected his design. Five colonels were appointed to serve under him; and suddenly he was made general of this little army, which had been raised as much to oppose the Strelitz as the enemies of the state.

Peter was desirous of seeing one of those mock fights which had been lately introduced in times of peace. He caused a fort to be erected, which one part of his new troops were to defend, and the other to attack. The difference on this occasion was, that instead of exhibiting a sham engagement, they fought a downright battle, in which there were several soldiers killed, and a great many wounded. Le Fort, who commanded the attack, received a considerable wound. These bloody sports were intended to inure the troops to martial discipline; but it was a long time before this could be effected, and not without a great deal of labour and

difficulty. Amidst these military entertainments, the czar did not neglect the navy: and as he had made Le Fort a general, notwithstanding this favourite had never borne any commission by land, so he raised him to the rank of admiral, though he had never before commanded at sea. But he knew him to be worthy of both commissions. True it is, he was an admiral without a fleet, and a general without any other troops than his regiment.

By degrees the czar began to reform the chief abuse in the army, viz., the independence of the boyars, who, in time of war, used to take the field with a multitude of their vassals and peasants. Such was the government of the Franks, Huns, Goths, and Vandals, who, indeed, subdued the Roman empire in its state of decline, but would have been easily destroyed had they contended with the warlike legions of the ancient Romans, or with such armies as in our times are maintained in constant discipline all over Europe.

Admiral Le Fort had soon more than an empty title: he employed both Dutch and Venetian carpenters to build some long-boats, and even two thirty-gun ships, at the mouth of the Voroneje, which discharges itself into the Don. These vessels were to fall down the river, and to awe the Crim Tatars. Turkey, too, seemed to invite the czar to essay his arms against her; and the same time disputes were pending with China respecting the limits between that empire and the possessions of Russia in the north of Asia. These, however, were settled by a treaty concluded in 1792, and Peter was left free to pursue his designs of conquest on the European side of his dominions.

It was not so easy to settle a peace with the Turks; this even seemed a proper time for the czar to raise himself on their ruin. The Venetians, whom they had long overpowered, began to retrieve their losses. Morosini, the same who surrendered Candia to the Turks, was dispossessing them of the Morea. Leopold, emperor of Germany, had gained some advantages over the Ottoman forces in Hungary; and the Poles were at least able to repel the incursions of the Crim Tatars.

Peter improved these circumstances to discipline his troops, and to acquire, if possible, the empire of the Black Sea. General Gordon marched along the Don towards

Asof, with his numerous regiment of five thousand men; he was followed by general Le Fort, with his regiment of twelve thousand; by a body of Strelitz, under the command of Sheremetef and Schein, officers of Prussian extraction; by a body of Cossacks, and a large train of artillery. In short, everything was ready for this grand expedition (1694).

The Russian army began its march under the command of marshal Sheremetef, in the beginning of the summer of 1695, in order to attack the town of Asof, situated at the mouth of the Don. The czar was with the troops, but appeared only as a volunteer, being desirous to learn before he would take upon him to command. During their march they stormed two forts which the Turks had erected on the banks of the river.

This was an arduous enterprise, Asof being very strong, and defended by a numerous garrison. The czar had employed several Venetians in building long-boats like the Turkish saicks, which, together with two Dutch frigates, were to fall down the Voroneje; but not being ready in time, they could not get into the sea of Asof. All beginnings are difficult. The Russians having never as yet made a regular siege, miscarried in this their first attempt.

A native of Dantzic, whose name was Jacob, had the direction of the artillery under the command of general Schein; for as yet they had none but foreign officers belonging to the train, and indeed none but foreign engineers, and foreign pilots. This Jacob had been condemned to the rods by Schein, the Prussian general. It seemed as if these severities were necessary at that time in support of authority. The Russians submitted to such treatment, notwithstanding their disposition to mutiny; and after they had undergone that corporal punishment, they continued in the service as usual. Our Dantziker was of another way of thinking, and determined to be revenged: whereupon he spiked the cannon, deserted to the enemy, turned Mahometan, and defended the town with great success. The besiegers made a vain attempt to storm it, and after losing a great number of men, were obliged to raise the siege.

Perseverance in his undertakings was the characteristic of Peter the Great. In the spring of 1696 he marched a second

time to attack the town of Asof with a more considerable army. About this time died the czar Ivan. Though Peter never felt any diminution of his authority from his brother, who had only the name of czar, yet he had been under some restraint in regard to appearances. The expenses of Ivan's household were applied, upon that prince's demise, to the maintenance of the army; a very considerable relief to a government that had as yet by no means a large revenue. Peter wrote to the emperor Leopold, the States-General, and the elector of Brandenburg, in order to obtain engineers, gunners, and seamen. He likewise took some Calmucks into his pay, whose light horse were of very great service against the Crim Tatars.

The most agreeable part of the czar's success was that of his little fleet, which he had the pleasure to see completely equipped, and properly commanded. It beat the Turkish saicks that had been sent from Constantinople, and took some of them. The siege was carried on regularly, though not entirely after our manner. The trenches were three times deeper than ours, and the parapets were as high as ramparts. At length, the garrison surrendered, the 28th of July, N.S. (1696), without obtaining any of the honours of war; they were likewise obliged to deliver up the traitor Jacob to the besiegers.

The czar immediately began to improve the fortifications of Asof: he likewise ordered a harbour to be dug, capable of holding large vessels, with a design to make himself master of the straits of Caffa, which open the passage into the Black Sea. He left two-and-thirty armed saicks before Asof,* and made all the preparations for fitting out a strong fleet against the Turks, which was to consist of nine sixty-gun ships, and of one-and-forty carrying from thirty to fifty pieces of cannon. The principal nobility and the wealthiest merchants were obliged to contribute to the fitting out of this fleet; and, as he thought that the estates of the clergy ought to bear a proportion in the service of the common cause, orders were issued that the patriarch, the bishops, and the superior clergy should find money to forward this new expedition, in honour of their country, and for the general advantage of Christendom. He likewise

* Le Fort's Memoirs.

obliged the Cossacks to build a number of light boats, such as they use themselves, and with which they might easily infest the whole coast of the Crimea. The scheme was to drive the Tatars and Turks for ever out of the Crimea, and afterwards to establish a free and easy commerce with Persia, through Georgia. This is the very branch of trade which the Greeks formerly carried on to Colchis, and to this peninsula of the Crimea, which the czar seemed likely to subdue.

Before Peter left the Crimea he repudiated his wife Evdokhia, and ordered her to be sent to a convent, where, before his return to Moscow, she became a nun, under the name of Helena. She had long made herself distasteful to her husband by her querulous jealousy, for which, indeed, she had ample cause, and by her aversion to his foreign favourites and the arts they introduced.

After his successful campaign against the Turks and Tatars, Peter wished to accustom his people to splendid shows, as well as to military toil. With this view, he made his army enter Moscow under triumphal arches, in the midst of fireworks and other tokens of rejoicing. The soldiers who had fought on board the Venetian saicks against the Turks led the procession. Marshal Sheremetef, generals Gordon and Schein, admiral Le Fort, and the other general officers, took precedence of their sovereign, who pretended he had no rank in the army, being desirous to convince the nobility by his example that merit ought to be the only road to military preferment.

This triumphal entry seemed, in some measure, to resemble those of the ancient Romans, especially in this, that as the triumphers exposed the captives to public view in the streets of Rome, and sometimes put them to death, so the slaves taken in this expedition followed the army; and Jacob, who had betrayed them the year before, was carried in a cart, with the gibbet, to which he was fastened after he had been broken upon the wheel.

Upon this occasion was struck the first medal in Russia. The legend, which was in the language of that country, is remarkable:—*Peter the First, the august emperor of Muscovy.* On the reverse is Asof, with these words, *Victorious by fire and water.*

CHAPTER XXI.

PETER'S SCHEMES OF CONQUEST—CONSPIRACY TO MURDER HIM—HE TRAVELS TO ACQUIRE KNOWLEDGE—REBELLION AND EXTINCTION OF THE STRELITZ—PETER THE AUTHOR OF A SPURIOUS CIVILISATION.

THE paramount idea of Peter's whole life displayed itself in the siege of Asof, his first military enterprise. He wished to civilise his people by beginning with the art of war by sea and land. That art would open the way for all the others into Russia, and protect them there. By it the çzar was to conquer for his empire that element which, in his eyes, was the greatest civiliser of the world, because it is the most favourable to the intercourse of nations with each other.

But ignorant and savage Asia lay stretched along the Black Sea, between Russia and the south of Europe. It was not, therefore, through those waters that Peter could open himself a passage to European knowledge. But towards the north-west, another sea, the same whence, in the ninth century, came the first Russian founders of the empire, was within his reach. It alone could connect Muscovy with ancient Europe; it was especially through that inlet, and by the ports on the gulfs of Finland and of Riga, that Russia could aspire to civilisation. Those ports belonged, however, to a warlike land, thickly studded with strong fortresses. It mattered not; everything was to be tried to attain so important an object.

Peter, however, did not deem it proper to begin such an arduous enterprise until he should have made himself better acquainted with the nations which he wished to conciliate, or to conquer, and which were recommended to him as models. He was desirous, with his own eyes, to behold civilisation in what he supposed to be its mature state, and to improve himself in the details of government, in the knowledge of naval affairs, and of the several arts which he wished to introduce among his countrymen. Perhaps he

would have acted more wisely in remaining at home, and developing the native genius of his people, instead of forcing them to become mere plagiarists of foreign institutions and usages; and instead of making his Russians resemble their neighbours, he should have tried to make them like themselves alone, and superior to every other people. The arts and sciences would then have sprung up among them spontaneously, or have found their way to them from abroad, and become naturalised in Russia, whereas they remain exotics there to this day.* He departed, however; and thereby he, at least, broke down the barrier which despotism and superstition had raised between the Russians and Europe, and which rendered war their only connecting link.

But he was not allowed to depart in peace. The announcement of his intention was received with deep disgust by his bigoted subjects. The Strelitz in particular, who saw themselves supplanted by the regiments disciplined in the European manner, were actively hostile. The childhood and youth of Peter had several times escaped from their rage; and now, in the horror which was inspired by his approaching departure for profane Europe, they determined to sacrifice the impious czar who was ready to defile himself by the sacrilegious touch of foreigners whom they abhorred. They saw in the midst of them twelve thousand heretics, already organised, who would remain masters of their holy city; while they themselves, exiled to the army, were destined to fight at a distance on the frontier. Nor was this their only grievance; for Peter had given orders to construct a fleet of a hundred vessels; and of this sudden creation they complained, as being an insupportable tax in the midst of an already ruinous war, and as rendering it

* "Pierre I," says Condillac, "aurait pu observer dans l'histoire les avantages et les vices des différens gouvernemens, et c'est ainsi qu'il pouvait chercher à s'instruire. Les nations de l'Europe, mal gouvernées et corrompues, ne pouvaient que le jeter dans l'erreur. Leur politesse et leurs arts n'étaient pas ce qu'il fallait aux Russes. S'il y eût en quelque part un pays bien gouverné, je conviens qu'il eût été plus court de l'étudier. Le czar eût donc bien fait d'y aller, et les autres princes de l'Europe auraient du y voyager à son exemple."—*Cours d'étude*, tom. xiv., p. 488.

necessary to introduce into their sacred land a fresh supply of those schismatical artisans who were preferred to them. A few days before the departure of their sovereign, Tsikler and Sukanim, two of the Strelitz leaders, plotted a nocturnal conflagration. They knew that Peter would be the first to hasten to it; and in the midst of the tumult and confusion common to such accidents, they meant to murder him without mercy, and then to massacre all the foreigners who had been set over them as masters.

Such was the infamous scheme. The hour fixed for its accomplishment was at hand. The principal conspirators assembled at a banquet, and sought in intoxicating liquors the courage requisite for the dreadful work before them. But drunkenness produces various effects on different constitutions. Two of the villains lost in it their boldness, left the company under a specious pretext, promising their accomplices to return in time, and hurried to the czar to disclose the plot.

At midnight the blow was to have been struck; and Peter gave orders that, exactly at eleven, the haunt of the conspirators should be closely surrounded. Shortly after, thinking that the hour was come, he went thither alone, and entered boldly, not doubting that he should find them already fettered by his guards. But his impatience had anticipated the time, and he found himself, single and unarmed, in the midst of the ferocious gang at the instant when they were vociferating an oath that they would achieve his destruction.

At his unexpected appearance they all rose in confusion. Peter, at once comprehending the full extent of his danger, exasperated at the supposed disobedience of his guards, and furious at having thrown himself into peril, had yet the presence of mind to conceal his emotions. Having gone too far to recede, he unhesitatingly advanced among the throng of traitors, greeted them familiarly, and, in a calm and natural tone, said, that "as he was passing by their house he saw a light in it, and guessing that they were amusing themselves, he had entered in order to share their pleasures." He then seated himself, and drank to his assassins, who, standing up around him, could not avoid putting the glass about, and drinking his health.

But soon they began to exchange looks and signs. At last one of them leaned over to Sukanim, and said, in a low voice, "Brother, it is time!" The latter, for what reason is unknown, hesitated, and had scarcely replied, "Not yet," when Peter, who heard these words, and along with them the footsteps of his guards, started from his seat, knocked him down by a blow in the face, and exclaimed, "If it is not yet time for you, scoundrel, it is for me!" This blow, and the sight of the guards, threw the assassins into consternation; they fell on their knees and implored forgiveness. "Chain them!" replied the terrible czar. Then turning to the officer of the guards, he struck him, and reproached him with his want of punctuality; but the latter showed him his order; and the czar perceiving his mistake, clasped him in his arms, kissed him on the forehead, proclaimed his fidelity, and entrusted him with the custody of the traitors.

His vengeance was terrible; the punishment was more ferocious than the crime. First the rack, then the successive mutilation of each member: then death, when not enough of blood and life was left to allow of the sense of suffering. To close the whole, the heads were exposed on the summit of a column, the members being symmetrically arranged around them, as ornaments: a scene worthy of a government of masters and of slaves, brutifying each other, and whose only god was fear.

After this terrific execution, Peter began his journey in April, 1697, travelling *incognito* in the retinue of his three ambassadors, general Le Fort, the boyar Alexis Golovin, and Vonitsin, diak, or secretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. Their retinue consisted of two hundred persons: the czar, reserving to himself only a valet de chambre, a servant in livery, and a dwarf, was confounded in the crowd. It was a thing unparalleled in history, either ancient or modern, for a sovereign of five-and-twenty years of age to withdraw from his kingdoms, only in order to learn the art of government. His victory over the Turks and Tatars, the splendour of his triumphant entry into Moscow, the multitude of foreign troops attached to his interest, the death of his brother Ivan, the confinement of the princess Sophia to a cloister, and the fearful example he had just made of the conspirators, might naturally encourage him to

hope that the tranquillity of his dominions would not be disturbed during his absence. The regency he entrusted to the boyar Strecknef and prince Romadonovski, who in matters of importance were to consult with the rest of the nobility.

The troops which had been trained by general Gordon continued at Moscow, with a view to awe the capital. The disaffected Strelitz, who were likely to create a disturbance, were distributed on the frontiers of the Crimea, in order to preserve the conquest of Asof, and check the incursions of the Tatars. Having thus provided against every contingency, he gave a free scope to his passion of travelling, and his desire of improvement. He had previously sent threescore young Russians of Le Fort's regiment into Italy, most of them to Venice, and the rest to Leghorn, in order to learn the art of navigation, and the method of constructing galleys: forty more set out by his direction for Holland, to be instructed in the art of building and working large ships: others were ordered to Germany, to serve in the land forces, and to learn the military discipline of that nation.

At that period, Mustapha II. had been vanquished by the emperor Leopold; Sobieski was dead; and Poland was hesitating in its choice between the prince of Conti and Augustus of Saxony; William III. reigned over England; Louis XIV. was on the point of concluding the treaty of Ryswick; the elector of Brandenburg was aspiring to the title of king; and Charles XII. had ascended the throne.

Setting out from Novgorod, Peter first visited Livonia, where, at the risk of his liberty, he reconnoitred its capital, Riga, from which he was rudely repulsed by the Swedish governor. Thenceforth he could not rest till he had acquired that maritime province through which his empire was one day to be enriched and enlightened. In his progress he gained the friendship of Prussia, a power which, at a future time, might assist his efforts; Poland ought to be his ally, and already he declared himself the supporter of the Saxon prince who was about to rule it.

The czar had reached Amsterdam fifteen days before the ambassadors: he lodged at first in a house belonging to the East India Company, but chose afterwards a small apartment in the yards of the Admiralty. He disguised himself

in a Dutch skipper's habit, and went to the great ship-building village of Sardam. Peter admired the multitude of workmen constantly employed; the order and exactness observed in their several departments; the prodigious despatch with which they built and fitted out ships; and the vast quantity of stores and machines for the greater ease and security of labour. He began with purchasing a boat, and made a mast for it himself: by degrees he executed every part of the construction of a ship, and led the same life all the time as the carpenters of Sardam; clad and fed exactly like them; working hard at the forges, at the rope-yards, and at the several mills for sawing timber, extracting oil, manufacturing paper, and wiredrawing. He entered himself as a common carpenter, and was enrolled in the list of workmen by the name of Peter Michaelof. They commonly called him Master Peter, or Peter-bas; and though they were confounded at first to behold a sovereign as their companion, yet they gradually accustomed themselves to the sight.

Whilst Peter was handling the compass and axe at Sardam, he received intelligence of the division in Poland, and of the double nomination of the elector Augustus and the prince of Conti. Immediately the carpenter of Sardam promised king Augustus to assist him with thirty thousand men. From his shop he issued out orders to his army in the Ukraine, which had been assembled against the Turks.

His troops obtained a victory over the Tatars,* in the neighbourhood of Asof; and in a few months after became masters of the town of Orkapi, or Precop. For his part he persisted in making himself master of different arts. With this view he frequently went from Sardam to Amsterdam, in order to hear the anatomical lectures of the celebrated Ruisch. Under this master he made such progress as to be able to perform some surgical operations, which, in case of necessity, might be of use, both to himself and to his officers. He likewise studied natural philosophy, under Vitsen, celebrated for his patriotic virtue, and for the noble use he made of his immense fortune.

Peter-bas suspended these occupations only to pay a private visit at Utrecht and at the Hague to William the Third, king of England, and stadtholder of the United

* 1697, August the 11th.

Provinces. General Le Fort was the only person present at the interview of the two monarchs. Peter assisted next at the ceremony of the public entry of his ambassadors, and at their audience, when the deputies of the States were presented, in his name, with six hundred of the finest sables: the States, in return, besides the usual present of a gold chain and a medal to each, gave them three magnificent coaches. They received the first visit of all the plenipotentiaries assembled at the congress of Ryswick, except the French, to whom they had not notified their arrival, not only because the czar espoused the part of king Augustus against the prince of Conti, but because king William, whose friendship he cultivated, was averse to a peace with France.

Upon his return to Amsterdam he resumed his former occupations; and having finished with his own hands a sixty-gun ship, which he had begun himself, he sent it to Archangel; for the Russians had then no harbour in the Baltic.

He not only engaged French refugees, Swiss, and Germans, to enter into his service; but took care to send all sorts of artists to Moscow; not without previously seeing a specimen of their abilities. There are few arts and manual employments with which he was not well acquainted: he took a particular pleasure in rectifying the maps of geographers, who having at that time but a slender knowledge of his dominions, frequently fixed the situation of towns and the course of rivers merely at a venture. He himself drew a plan of the communication between the Caspian and Black Seas, which he had projected some time before, and commissioned M. Brekel, a German engineer, to carry it into execution; this plan is still preserved. The junction of those two seas was indeed a less arduous task than that of the ocean and the Mediterranean, which had been executed in France; yet people were frightened at the very idea of joining the sea of Asof and the Caspian. There seemed to be a stronger reason for the czar to make new settlements in that part of the world, as fresh hopes arose from his successes. His troops, commanded by general Schein and prince Dolgoruki, had lately obtained a victory in the neighbourhood of Asof, over the Tatars, and even over a body of janissaries, whom sultan Mustapha sent to their assistance.

Thus he continued his usual employments of ship-builder, engineer, geographer, and natural philosopher till the middle of January, 1698, when he embarked for England in his ambassadors' retinue.

King William sent his yacht to meet him, with a convoy of two men-of-war. In England he followed the same manner of life as that which he had observed at Amsterdam and Sardam. He took lodgings near the dockyard at Deptford; and almost his whole time was employed in gaining further instruction. The Dutch carpenters had only taught him the practical part of ship-building; but in England he learnt the fundamental principles of the art. He soon became master of the theory, and was capable of giving lectures upon it himself. He undertook to build a ship according to the English method of construction; and it proved a prime sailer. His attention was also directed to watchmaking, an art which had already been brought to perfection in London, and he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the principles on which it is founded. Captain Perry, the engineer who attended him from London to Russia, affirms that there was not so much as a single article belonging to a ship, from the casting of cannon to the making of cables, but what Peter minutely observed, and set his hand to as often as he came into the king's yards.

In order to cultivate his friendship, king William permitted him to take a number of English artificers into his service, as he had done in Holland; but beside the artificers, Peter engaged some mathematicians, whom he could not so easily have procured from that republic. He contracted for this purpose with Mr. Ferguson, a Scotchman, and a good geometrician. This was the man who introduced the arithmetical method of accounts into the exchequer in Russia, where before that time they used only the Tatar method of reckoning with balls strung upon a wire; a method which supplied the place of writing, but was perplexing and imperfect; because after the calculation, there was no means of proving it, so as to obtain a certainty of there being no mistake. The Indian cyphers, which we now use, were not introduced into Europe till the ninth century by the Arabs; and the Russian empire did not receive them till many ages after: such has been the fate of all the arts, to be slow in their

progress round the globe. Ferguson was accompanied by two young mathematicians from Christ Church Hospital; and this was the beginning of the marine academy, founded some time after by Peter the Great. He observed and calculated eclipses along with Ferguson. Perry the engineer, though greatly dissatisfied with the czar for not having sufficiently rewarded him, acknowledges that Peter had studied astronomy. He understood the motions of the heavenly bodies, and even the laws of gravitation, by which they are directed. This force was already familiar to a sovereign of Russia, when other nations amused themselves with chimerical vortices; and when Galileo's ignorant countrymen were commanded by teachers as ignorant as themselves, to believe the earth immovable.

Perry set out upon his journey in order to effect the junction of rivers, and to construct bridges and sluices. The czar's plan was to open a communication, by means of canals, between the ocean, the Caspian, and the Black Sea.

We ought not to omit that the English merchants, headed by the marquis of Carmarthen, gave him fifteen thousand pounds for leave to import tobacco in Russia. This branch of commerce had been prohibited by the patriarch; for the Russian Church looked upon smoking as an unclean and sinful action. Peter, who knew better things, and who, among his other projects, was meditating a reformation of the church, introduced the use of this commodity into his dominions, and retained the monopoly of it in his own hands.

Before he departed from England, king William entertained him with a spectacle worthy of such a guest, that of a sham sea-fight. Little was it then imagined that the czar would one day fight real battles on this element against the Swedes, and obtain victories on the Baltic. William also made him a present of the *Royal Transport*, a very beautiful yacht, which he generally used for his passage over to Holland. Peter went on board this vessel, and got back to Holland in the end of May, 1698. He took with him three captains of men-of-war, five-and-twenty captains of merchant ships, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, thirty surgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred artificers. This colony of ingenious men in the

several arts and professions, sailed from Holland to Archangel on board the *Royal Transport;* and were sent thence to the different places where their service was necessary. Those whom he engaged at Amsterdam, took the route of Narva, at that time subject to Sweden.

While the czar was thus transporting the arts and manufactures from England and Holland to his own dominions, the officers whom he had sent to Rome and Italy succeeded so far as also to engage some artists in his service. General Sheremetef, who was at the head of his embassy to Italy, made the tour of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Malta; while the czar proceeded to Vienna with the other ambassadors. All he had to do now, was to observe the military discipline of the Germans, after seeing the English fleet, and the dockyards in Holland. But it was not the desire of improvement alone that induced him to make this tour to Vienna: he had likewise a political view; for the emperor of Germany was the natural ally of the Russians against the Turks. Peter had a private audience of Leopold, and the two monarchs stood the whole time of the interview, to avoid the trouble of ceremony.

During his stay at Vienna, there happened nothing remarkable, except the celebration of the ancient feast of *landlord* and *landlady*, which Leopold thought proper to revive upon the czar's account, after it had been disused during his whole reign. The manner of making this entertainment, to which the Germans gave the name of Wirthschaft, was as follows. The emperor was landlord, and the empress landlady: the king of the Romans, the archdukes, and the archduchesses, were generally their assistants: they entertained people of all nations, dressed after the most ancient fashion of their respective countries. Those who were invited as guests, drew lots for tickets; on each of which was written the name of the nation, and the character to be represented. One had a ticket for a Chinese mandarin, another for a Tatar mirza, another for a Persian satrap, or a Roman senator: a princess might happen to be allotted the part of a gardener's wife, or a milkwoman; and a prince might act the peasant or soldier. They had dances suited to these different characters; and the landlord and landlady with their family waited at table. On this occasion Peter as-

sumed the habit of a Friesland boor, and in this character was addressed by everybody, at the same time that they talked to him of the great czar of Muscovy. "These indeed are trifles," says Voltaire, from whom the account is taken, "but whatever revives the memory of ancient customs, is, in some measure, worthy of being recorded."

Peter was preparing to continue his journey from Vienna to Venice and Rome when he was recalled to his own dominions by news of a general insurrection of the Strelitz, who had quitted their posts on the frontiers, and marched on Moscow. Peter immediately left Vienna in secret, passed through Poland, where he had an interview with king Augustus, and arrived at Moscow in September, 1698, before any one there knew of his having left Germany.

Gordon had already crushed the rebels; had almost exterminated in battle a body of them, comprising ten thousand men; compelled seven thousand more to lay down their arms; decimated them on the spot, and carried the rest prisoners to Moscow. But even this rigorous vindication of military discipline was not enough to satisfy the cruel spirit of the czar. Just returned from the tour he had undertaken for the purpose of importing among his barbarous people the enlightenment and civilisation of the west, he exhibited to them a spectacle paralleled only by the deeds of the monster Ivan IV., for whom, indeed, Peter always avowed his special admiration. There were seven thousand Strelitz prisoners in Moscow, all of whom he caused to be executed after six weeks spent in personally examining them, day by day, under torture inflicted before his eyes with every refinement of diabolical cruelty. Two thousand were hanged by his guards; the rest were beheaded, kneeling in rows of fifty, before trunks of trees laid on the ground. This part of the execution was begun by the czar himself, who struck off some scores of heads with his own hand. All the nobles of his court, the foreigners Blumberg and Le Fort alone excepted, were compelled to follow his example; and Mentchikof made a boast of surpassing all his brother-executioners in amount of work and style of performance.

Several hundreds of the corpses were gibbeted at the gates of the city and along the walls; the rest were left unburied where they had fallen; and as the execution took place in

October, at the setting in of the frost, the people of Moscow had for five whole months before their eyes the horrid spectacle of seven thousand corpses preserving the appearance of recent violent death. Thirty gibbets, sustaining two hundred bodies, were planted before the convent in which the czar's sister, Sophia, was confined. The Strelitz had deputed three of their number to present an address to the princess, inviting her to assume the crown. The three were gibbeted before the single grated window that lighted the cell in which the princess was immured, and the fatal paper was held out to her by the stiffened arm of one of the dead men. She could not turn her eyes to the light without beholding the bodies of the wretches who had perished for her sake.

Among the czar's victims on this occasion were two servant women belonging to Sophia and her sister Marfa, who was confined with her in the same convent. The two women were tortured, and put to death. Their execution was not public, and it is not certain whether they were buried alive or drowned. One of them was known to be pregnant, but this did not save her either from torture or death.

The widows and children of the Strelitz were transported to wild and desert places, where a limited extent of ground was assigned them; out of which they and their descendants were never to pass. About three thousand men had escaped from the massacre inflicted by Gordon on the first body of Strelitz whom he had encountered. The fugitives having dispersed in different directions, it was forbidden, on pain of death, that any one throughout the whole Russian empire should harbour one of them, or give him so much as a drop of water.

The natural consequences of these inhuman acts were manifested next year; fresh insurrections broke out in distant parts of the empire, followed by fresh executions. A number of rebels were brought in chains from Asof to Moscow, and eighty of them were beheaded by the czar with his own hand, whilst the boyar Plestchef held them by the hair. It is probably to this period we may refer an anecdote related by M. Printz, ambassador from Prussia at the court of Peter I. At an entertainment to which M. Printz was invited by the czar, the latter, after he had drunk as usual a great deal of wine and brandy, had twenty rebels brought

in from the prisons. Then drinking twenty successive bumpers within an hour, he struck off a head with each, and actually proposed to the ambassador that he should try his skill in the same way!

What kind of civilisation could that be which was inaugurated under such auspices as these, and by so brutal a reformer? Truly did Peter once observe, that "he wished to reform others, yet was unable to reform himself." In fact, he laboured all his life long under a total misconception of the very nature of civilisation; and while making prodigious efforts to secure its results, he was equally energetic in combating its essential principles. "He showed himself," says Schnitzler, "in one particular a true Russian. He attached more importance to interests than to principles. Whilst all material progress excited his sympathy to the highest degree, the idea of elevating and purifying the moral character of his country, and of contributing to her social and religious perfection, hardly entered into his thoughts. He saw in civilisation rather an element of might than a means of increasing the dignity of human nature. The moral culture of his people was overlooked by him; but when their material interests were concerned, nothing escaped his attention and his indefatigable activity." The result is well summed up in Diderot's homely phrase: the Russians, as fashioned by Peter, "were rotten before they were ripe."

Having suppressed the entire corps of the Strelitz, Peter established regular regiments, clothed and disciplined in the European manner. As he had passed through the lowest degrees in the army himself, he ordered that the sons of his boyars and princes should serve in the capacity of common soldiers before they became officers. Some of the young nobility he sent on board his fleet at Voroneje and Asof, where he obliged them to serve their apprenticeship in the navy. None durst refuse to obey a master who had deigned to set so extraordinary an example. The English and Dutch helped to equip this fleet for sea, to construct sluices, to establish docks for careening his ships, and to resume the grand work of joining the Don and the Volga, which had been dropped by Brakel the German. From that time he set about a multitude of reforms in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, and in the usages of society.

The revenue had been hitherto administered nearly in the same manner as in Turkey. Every boyar paid a stipulated sum for his lands, and raised it upon his dependents or bondsmen. But the czar appointed for his receivers select merchants who were not powerful enough to claim the privilege of paying into the public treasury only just what they pleased. He established a Senate in lieu of the old Council of Boyars, and suppressed the titles of boyars, okolnitchi, and dumnie-diaki, substituting for them those of presidents, counsellors, and senators.

The reformation of the church, which in all other countries is looked upon as a dangerous attempt, proved an easy task to Peter. The bishops had arrogated to themselves the power of condemning people to death, and to other corporal punishments. This authority, notwithstanding that it had been usurped for several ages, was taken from them. The patriarch Adrian happening to die at the end of this century, Peter abstained from giving him a successor. At last, in 1721, this dignity was entirely abolished; and the great income of the patriarchal see was united to the public revenue, which stood in need of this addition. If the czar did not set himself up for head of the Russian Church, he made himself absolute master of the clergy, for the functions of the patriarchate were transferred to a synod, the members of which were to begin their ministry by taking an oath of submission and obedience, couched in the following terms: "I swear fidelity and allegiance as servant and subject to my natural and true sovereign, and to his august successors, whom he shall please to nominate, by virtue of the incontestable power for that purpose, of which he is possessed. I acknowledge him to be the supreme judge of this spiritual college: I swear by the all-seeing God that I understand and mean this oath, in the full force and sense which the words convey to those who read, or hear it." This is much stronger than the oath of supremacy in England. The Russian monarch was not indeed one of the fathers of the synod; but he dictated their laws: he did not touch the censer; but he directed the hands that held it.

While he was waiting for the completion of this great work, he thought that as his dominions were but ill peopled,

the celibacy of the monks was contrary to nature, and to the public good. The ancient usage of the church of Russia is, that the secular priests shall marry at least once; nay, they are obliged to do it: and formerly, when the priest lost his wife, he ceased to be in the sacerdotal order. But a multitude of cloistered young men and women, who made a vow to be useless to the public, and to live at other people's expense, appeared in his eye a dangerous institution. He reduced the number of convents, and ordained that none should be admitted to a monastic life till they were fifty years old—an age when all ties are either formed or broken; and he further prohibited the monasteries from receiving any person, of what age soever, invested with a public employment. This regulation, however, has been repealed since his time.

These alterations were at first received by the clergy with great disgust. A certain priest declared in writing that Peter was Antichrist, because he would have no patriarch; and as the czar encouraged the typographical art, it helped to spread a multitude of libels against him. But on the other hand, there started up a priest, who replied that it was impossible for the czar to be Antichrist, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name, and he had not the sign of the beast. These murmurs were silenced by force of terror and ridicule. Peter, in reality, gave more to the church than he took from her; for by degrees he rendered the clergy more regular and more learned. He founded three colleges at Moscow, in which the students were instructed in different languages, and where the youth designed for the church were obliged to study.

One of the most necessary reformations was the abolition, or at least the mitigation, of the three Lents; an ancient superstition of the Greek Church, no less pernicious to the persons employed in the public service, and especially to the soldiers, than the old one of not fighting on the Sabbath day had been to the Jews. Accordingly the czar granted, at least to his troops and his workmen, a dispensation from observing these Lents; in which, though the people were not permitted to eat, yet it was customary for them to get drunk. He even dispensed with their abstaining from flesh

meat on fish days; and the chaplains, both in the sea and land service, were obliged to set the example, which they did without any reluctance.

The calendar was an object of importance. The regulation of the year was anciently made in all countries by the heads of religion, not only on account of the festivals, but because in former times scarce any but priests understood astronomy. The Russians began their year the 1st of September; but Peter ordained that thenceforward the year should commence, as in this part of Europe, on the 1st of January. This alteration took place in the year 1700, at the opening of the century, which he ordered to be celebrated by a jubilee, and by other grand solemnities. The vulgar admired how the czar could be able to change the course of the sun. Some obstinate people being persuaded that God had created the world in the month of September, continued to observe the old style; but the alteration took place in all the public offices, in the court of chancery, and soon after throughout the empire. Peter did not introduce the Gregorian calendar, because it was rejected by the English mathematicians of his day.

Marriages before that time were performed after the custom of the East, where they do not see the bride till the contract is signed, and they cannot fly from their word. This custom may be tolerated where polygamy is established, and the women are confined; but it cannot be suitable to countries where men are obliged to be satisfied with one wife, and where divorces are seldom allowed.

The czar strove to accustom his subjects to the manners and usages of the nations among whom he had travelled, and from whom he had received the several masters who were then employed in instructing his people. It was fit, he thought, that the Russians should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts and sciences. He found no difficulty in introducing the western mode of dress, and the custom of shaving among his courtiers; but the bulk of the nation were more stubborn, so that he was obliged to lay a tax on long coats and beards. From this tax he exempted only the priests and the peasants. Patterns of clothes were hung up at the gates of towns; and those who refused to pay were obliged to have

their garments and beards shortened. "All this was done with great gaiety," says Voltaire; but the gaiety was only among the courtiers; there was rage in the hearts of the people, and these merry doings provoked bloody insurrections. They were not even needful for the end in view; the spirit of imitation would have produced the desired change, more slowly indeed, but quite as effectually. Besides, it may be asked with Levesque, why force the Russians to adopt a costume which they are obliged to hide for six months in the year under a furred pelisse? Why compel them to shave their chins in order to wrap them afterwards in a fur collar? In spite of the ukases of Peter I., the lower classes still retain their beards and their caftans; and they are able in consequence to brave the most intense cold with impunity. But the custom of dressing soldiers after the fashion of temperate climates, costs Russia a great number of men in severe winters.*

Among the minute details to which Peter descended for the purpose of remodelling the usages of society, were those which related to the convivial meetings of persons of both sexes, which he ordered to be held after the manner of the west; whereas before his time the Russian women had lived in seclusion. He published a code for the regulation of these *assemblées;* and in the preamble he explained to his barbarians what was meant by that word in civilised Europe. He decreed, that the assemblies should be held three times a week in all houses of the nobility and merchants in rotation; that each should be announced by a

* According to the author of the *Mémoires Secrètes de la cour de Petersbourg*, the irrational practice alluded to in the text dates only from the reign of Paul. "Previously to that time," he says, "the Russian army offered a pattern to be followed in the beauty, simplicity, and convenience of its dress, equally adapted to the climate and to the genius of the country. A wide pair of pantaloons of red cloth, which terminated in boots of pliable leather, and which was fastened by a girdle over a red and green jacket; a little helmet, well adapted to a soldier, with the hair cut short on the neck, but long enough to cover the ears, and easily kept in order, constituted the whole of the military uniform. The soldier was dressed in the twinkling of an eye; for he had but two garments, and their size was such as allowed him to defend himself from the cold by additions underneath without infringing upon the uniformity of his external appearance."

written card; that every man of distinction, noble, superior officer, trader, person employed in the chancery, and master-workman, especially ship carpenters and master shipwrights, should be admissible to them with their wives, and might enter and depart when they pleased, between four o'clock and ten at night. The obligation of bowing to the company on entering and quitting the room was expressly enjoined. With respect to the host, it was ruled that, like his company, he should be at full liberty to come and go, to be seated, and to drink in the rooms, as soon as he should have sufficiently provided them with chairs, liquors, and all the means of amusement. The code even went so far as to point out the place for the servants. It was further ordained, that every transgressor of the rules should be obliged instantly to empty the *great eagle*, a large bottle full of brandy, a grotesque punishment, which exists also among the Chinese. This was not a very likely way to preserve the decencies of social intercourse; but these were little regarded by Peter. He beat Mentchikof in a ball-room for dancing without having taken off his sword.

While Peter was thus beginning a new creation in the interior of his dominions, he concluded an advantageous truce for thirty years with the Turks, which left him free to enter upon the fulfilment of his grand designs in the north.

CHAPTER XXII.

WAR WITH SWEDEN—BATTLE OF NARVA.

With the eighteenth century a momentous scene was opening on the frontiers of Sweden. One of the principal causes of all the revolutions which happened from Ingria as far as Dresden, and which laid so many countries waste during the space of eighteen years, was the abuse of the supreme power, under Charles XI., king of Sweden, father of Charles XII. The greatest part of Livonia, with all Esthonia, had been ceded by Poland to Charles XI., king of Sweden, who succeeded Charles X. during the treaty of Oliva: it was ceded in the customary manner, reserving to the inhabitants the

continuance of all their privileges. But these being little regarded by Charles XI., John Reinhold Patkul, a Livonian gentleman, repaired to Stockholm, in 1692, at the head of six deputies of the province, in order to lay the strongest, and, at the same time, the most respectful remonstrances of the people before the throne. Instead of an answer, the six deputies were committed to prison, and Patkul was condemned to lose both his honour and life. But he lost neither; for he made his escape out of prison, and remained for some time in the country of Vaud in Switzerland. As soon as he heard that Augustus, elector of Saxony, had promised, upon his accession to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces wrested from that kingdom, he hastened away to Dresden, in order to represent the facility of recovering Livonia, and of dispossessing a young king, only in his eighteenth year, of the conquests of his ancestors.

At the same time, the czar was meditating a scheme to make himself master of Ingria and Carelia. These provinces formerly belonged to the Russians; but the Swedes had conquered them at the time of the false Dmitris; and preserved them since by treaties. Another war and new treaties might restore them to Russia. Patkul went from Dresden to Moscow, and having excited the two monarchs to avenge his cause, he cemented a close union between them, and forwarded their preparations for invading the several territories situated to the east and south of Finland.

Frederic IV., the new king of Denmark, entered at the same time into a league with the czar and Augustus against the young king of Sweden, who seemed likely to be overpowered. Patkul had the pleasure of besieging the Swedes in Riga, the capital of Livonia; on which occasion he acted as major-general.

The czar marched an army of about sixty thousand men towards Ingria. True it is, that in this great army there were hardly more than twelve thousand disciplined troops, whom he had trained to war himself; these were his two regiments of guards, and a few others: the remainder consisted of an ill-armed militia, with some Cossacks and Circassian Tatars: but he had a hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon. He laid siege to Narva, a small town in Ingria, with a commodious harbour; and there was the greatest

probability that the place would be taken in a very short time.

Every one knows how Charles XII., who at that time was not quite eighteen years of age, withstood his numerous enemies, and attacked them all successively; how he made a descent upon Denmark, and finished the war with that crown in less than six weeks; how he sent succours to Riga, and raised the siege of that town; and how he marched over ice and snow in the month of November, against the Russians who had laid siege to Narva.

The czar, confident of taking the town, was gone to Novgorod, leaving the command of his army, with instructions for the siege, to the prince of Croy, whose family was originally from Flanders, and who had lately entered into the czar's service. Prince Dolgoruki was commissary of the army. The jealousy between these two chiefs, and the absence of the czar, were in part the cause of the unparalleled defeat at Narva. Charles XII. having landed his troops at Pernau in Livonia, in the month of October, marched northwards towards Revel, and defeated in that neighbourhood an advanced body of Russians. Thence he continued his march, and beat another. The fugitives fell back on their main army, and spread consternation in the camp. Yet they were now in the month of November; and the town of Narva, though unskilfully besieged, was upon the point of surrendering. The young king of Sweden had not with him quite nine thousand men; and could bring no more than ten pieces of cannon against the Russian entrenchments, which were lined with a hundred and forty-five. According to all the relations of that time, the Russian army amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, whilst Charles had only nine thousand.

Charles did not hesitate to attack so great a force with his small corps; but availing himself of a violent storm of snow and wind, which blew full in the front of the enemy, he attacked their entrenchments with the aid of a few pieces of cannon advantageously posted, November 30, 1700. The Russians had not time to recover themselves, in the midst of that cloud of snow, which was driven by the wind directly in their faces, so that they could not see the cannon that played most furiously against them; besides, they had no notion that the enemy's force was so inconsiderable.

The duke de Croy would give his orders; and prince Dolgoruki would not obey them. The Russians rose against the German officers; they massacred the duke's secretary, with colonel Lyon, and several others. Each man quitted his post; and a general confusion and panic were diffused throughout the army. The Swedish troops had then nothing more to do than to kill and destroy a flying multitude. Some of the fugitives threw themselves into the river of Narva, where great numbers of them were drowned; others flung away their arms, and begged for quarter upon their knees. The duke de Croy, general Allard, and the German officers, more afraid of the mutinous Russians than of the Swedes, surrendered to count Steinbok. The king of Sweden became master of all their artillery. Thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy laid down their arms at his feet, and filed off with their heads uncovered before him. Prince Dolgoruki, and all the other Russian generals, surrendered as well as the Germans; but did not know, till some time after they had been made prisoners, that they were vanquished by eight thousand men.

Charles XII. reaped all the advantages that could be drawn from a signal victory: his troops seized immense magazines, and 120 Russian transports laden with provisions: the enemy's posts were either evacuated or taken; in short, the whole country was in the possession of the Swedes. Narva was now delivered; the shattered remains of the Russian army durst not show themselves; and the Russian frontier being open as far as Pleskof, Charles might have terminated the war with Russia as rapidly as he had finished that with Denmark, had he not turned aside from his chief enemy, and neglected his most favourable opportunity in order to avenge himself on king Augustus, whose Saxons were posted on the left bank of the Dvina.

A Russian bishop composed a form of prayer* to St. Nicholas on this occasion, which was publicly read in churches. This composition shows the spirit of the times, and the gross ignorance of the country. It says positively, that the furious and terrible Swedes were sorcerers; and complains that the Russians had been abandoned by St. Nicholas. "The prelates of that country," says Voltaire,

* It is to be found in Voltaire's History of Charles XII.

"would not write such stuff at present; and without any offence to St. Nicholas, the Russians soon perceived that their business was to address themselves to Peter."

The czar having quitted his army before Narva towards the end of November, 1700, in order to concert matters with the king of Poland, was apprised upon the road of the victory obtained by the Swedes. He was not at all dispirited, but showed a firmness equal to the intrepidity and valour of Charles XII. He deferred his interview with Augustus, to apply a speedy remedy to the disordered state of his affairs. The troops that had been in different quarters rendezvoused at Novgorod, and marched thence to Pleskof, upon lake Peipus.

After so signal a defeat, it was as much as the czar could do to stand his ground. "I know very well," said he, "that the Swedes will have the advantage of us a considerable time, but they will teach us at length to beat them."

Having provided for the present emergency, and ordered recruits to be raised on every side, he repaired with all expedition to Moscow, to forward the casting of cannon. All his artillery had been taken before Narva; and as he wanted metal, he had recourse to the bells of the churches and monasteries. Out of these were formed a hundred large cannon, with one hundred and forty-three field-pieces, from three to six pounders, besides mortars and howitzers; and the whole was forwarded to Pleskof. In other countries the sovereign commands, and his subjects execute his orders; but here the czar was obliged to see everything done himself. While he was making these preparations, he entered into a negotiation with the king of Denmark, who engaged to assist him with three regiments of foot and three of cavalry, an engagement which that monarch durst not observe.

No sooner was this treaty signed than he returned with the greatest despatch to the seat of war, and had an interview * with king Augustus, at Birzen, on the frontiers of Courland and Lithuania. His business was to confirm that prince in his resolution of maintaining the war against Charles XII., and to prevail on the Polish diet to engage in

* February the 27th, 1701.

his quarrel. Patkul and a few Poles in the interest of their king were present at these conferences. Peter promised to assist them with subsidies, and with an army of twenty thousand men. Livonia was to be restored to Poland, upon a supposition that the diet would act in conjunction with their king to recover that province; but fear had a stronger influence on the determinations of the diet than the czar's proposals. The Poles were under an apprehension of having their liberties restrained by the Saxons and Russians; and at the same time they had a still greater dread of Charles XII. Hence the majority determined not to serve their king—that is, not to fight.

The court party were exasperated against the contrary faction; in short, the king's proposal to recover a considerable province that had been wrested from Poland was productive of a civil war throughout the kingdom. The czar had therefore but a weak ally in Augustus, and the Saxon troops afforded him but very little assistance. Such terror did Charles XII. inspire on every side, that Peter was obliged to depend entirely upon his own forces. From Courland he hastened back to Moscow, to forward the performance of his promise; and ordered prince Repnin to march with a body of four thousand men towards Riga, upon the banks of the Dvina, where the Saxon troops were entrenched.

The rapid success of the Swedes increased the general terror of their arms. Charles having passed the Dvina, in spite of the Saxons, who were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, obtained a complete victory: he followed up the blow by making himself master of all Courland; and was advancing with his victorious army into Lithuania, to animate the Polish faction who had declared against Augustus.

Peter still pursued his great designs. General Patkul, who had been the life and soul of the conferences at Birzen, and had lately entered into his service, showed his zeal in providing him with German officers, and in disciplining his troops; in short, he was a second Le Fort,* and finished what the other had begun. The czar found relays for all the officers, and even for the common soldiers, whether Germans, Livo-

* Le Fort died in 1699, at the age of forty-six. Golovin succeeded him as high admiral. Gordon also had died before this period.

nians, or Poles, that came to serve in his armies; and took particular care of everything relative to their arms, clothes, and subsistence.

On the confines of Livonia and Esthonia, and west of the province of Novgorod, lies the lake Peipus: from the south side of Livonia it receives the river Velika; to the northward it sends forth the river Naiova, which washes the walls of the town of Narva, in whose neighbourhood the Swedes obtained their famous victory. This lake is upwards of thirty leagues in length; in some places twelve, and in others fifteen in breadth. Here it was of the utmost importance for the czar to maintain a fleet, in order to prevent the Swedish vessels from insulting the province of Novgorod; to be within a proper distance for making a descent upon their coasts; and especially to train up a number of seamen. During the year 1701, Peter caused a hundred and fifty galleys, each carrying about fifty men, to be built on this lake, and other vessels were fitted out for war upon lake Ladoga. He directed the building of these vessels himself, and set all his new sailors immediately to work. Those who had served in 1697 upon the Sea of Asof, were now employed in the neighbourhood of the Baltic. Meanwhile he frequently made excursions to Moscow, and to the other provinces, in order to establish the regulations already begun, or to introduce new improvements. In 1702 he began to dig that great canal which was intended to unite the Don and the Volga. Other communications were to be carried on, by the help of lakes, from the Don to the Dvina, which empties itself into the Baltic, in the neighbourhood of Riga: but this latter project seemed to be still at a great distance, for Peter was far from having Riga in his possession. Charles continued to ravage Poland, while Peter was introducing thence, and from Saxony, shepherds with their flocks, in order to have wool fit for the manufacturing of good cloth: he erected linen and paper manufactories: by his orders great numbers of blacksmiths, braziers, armourers, and founders, with other artificers, were invited from abroad: and workmen were employed to dig into the mines of Siberia. Thus at the same time he endeavoured to enrich and to defend his dominions.

Charles, eager to prosecute his victories, left a sufficient number of forces, as he imagined, upon the frontiers of the

czar's dominions to defend the provinces subject to Sweden. He was now determined to dethrone king Augustus, and then to pursue the czar with his victorious arms as far as Moscow.

This year there happened some little skirmishes between the Russians and Swedes, in which the latter were not always victorious; and even when they had the advantage, the Russians were learning the art of war. Within a twelvemonth after the battle of Narva, the czar's troops were so greatly improved in the military discipline, that they obtained a victory over one of the best generals belonging to Charles XII. "At last," said Peter, "we can beat the Swedes when we are two to one; let us hope that ere long we shall be a match for them with equal numbers."

Peter was at Pleskof, whence he sent out numerous detachments on all sides to attack the Swedes. The Russians proved victorious under the command of a general of their own nation. Sheremetef, by a judicious manœuvre, surprised several out-parties of Schlippenbach, the Swedish general, in the neighbourhood of Dorpat, on the frontiers of Livonia; and at length obtained a victory over the general himself. The Russians took four colours, for the first time, from the Swedes; which was then thought a considerable number. The Swedish and the Russian fleets also had several engagements on the lakes of Peipus and Ladoga, where the former had the same advantage as by land—that of discipline and long practice. Yet the Russians were sometimes successful on board their galleys; and in a general action upon lake Peipus, field-marshal Sheremetef made himself master of a Swedish frigate.

By means of this lake, the czar kept all Livonia and Esthonia in constant alarm; his galleys frequently transported over several regiments to make a descent in those provinces; if the attempt did not prove favourable, they were re-embarked; if they had any advantage, they improved it. The Swedes were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of Dorpat (June and July), while their arms were prosperous everywhere else. In all these engagements the Russians were superior in number to the Swedes; therefore, as Charles XII. was victorious in every other quarter, he did not give himself any uneasiness about the czar's success: but he should have con-

sidered, that the numerous forces of his rival were improving every day in discipline, and might soon be a match for the Swedish veterans.

While the two nations were thus engaged by sea and land towards Livonia, Ingria, and Esthonia, the czar received intelligence that a Swedish fleet had sailed to the north seas with a view to destroy Archangel: upon which he set out for that city; and the public was surprised to hear that he was upon the banks of the frozen ocean when everybody believed him to be at Moscow. He put the town into a state of defence, prevented the Swedes from landing, drew the plan of a citadel called the New Dvina, laid the first stone, returned to Moscow, and thence to the seat of war.

Charles was advancing into Poland while the Russians were making conquests in Ingria and Livonia. Marshal Sheremetef marched against the Swedish forces commanded by Schlippenbach, and obtained a victory over that general near the little river Embac; taking sixteen colours and twenty pieces of cannon from the enemy. Norberg says, this engagement happened on the 1st of December, 1701; but Peter's journal fixes it to the 19th of July, 1702.

The Russian general continued his march, and laying the whole country under contribution, made himself master of the little town of Marienburg, situated on the confines of Livonia and Ingria. There are several places of this name in the north of Europe; but this, though it no longer exists, is more celebrated than all the rest, for the adventure of the empress Catharine. The little town having surrendered at discretion, the Swedes, either through inadvertency or design, set fire to the magazines. The Russians, provoked at this behaviour, destroyed the town and carried off all the inhabitants. Among the prisoners was a young woman, a native of Livonia, who had been left an orphan at three years of age, and had been brought up as a servant by M. Gluck, the minister of the place. She was the very person who afterwards became the sovereign of those who had taken her captive, and who governed Russia as the empress Catharine I. In 1702, being then in her seventeenth year, she married a Swedish dragoon, who was obliged to leave her two days afterwards to join his regiment, and she never heard of him again until she was empress of Russia. After

the capture of Marienburg, Sheremetef made her his slave and concubine, kept her seven months, and then transferred her to Mentchikof, at whose quarters she was seen by the czar. Peter took her away with him, and discovering in her a remarkable capacity to aid him in his reforming projects, he married her—privately in 1707, and publicly in 1711.

There had been instances before this of private persons raised to the throne: nothing was more common in Russia, and in all the Asiatic kingdoms, than marriages between sovereigns and their subjects: but that a poor stranger, who had been discovered amidst the ruins of a plundered town, should become the absolute sovereign of that very empire into which she was led captive, is an incident which fortune and merit never before produced in the annals of the world.

The czar's arms were equally successful in Ingria; for the Russian galleys on the lake Ladoga obliged the Swedish fleet to retire to the other extremity of that great lake; thence they might observe the siege of Nöteburg, which general Sheremetef had undertaken by order of the czar. This was an enterprise of much greater importance than the Swedes imagined; as it might open a communication with the Baltic, the constant aim of Peter the Great.

Nöteburg was a very strong town, situated in an island on the lake Ladoga, which it entirely commands; so that whoever possessed this place would of course be master of the river Neva, which disembogues itself not far from that spot into the Baltic. The Russians battered the town night and day, from the 18th of September to the 12th of October; and at length having made three breaches, gave the assault. The Swedish garrison were reduced to a hundred men in a condition to bear arms; yet what is very extraordinary, they made a stand, and obtained an honourable capitulation upon the breach (October 16th, 1702). Colonel Schlippenbach, the governor, would not surrender the town but upon condition of being permitted to send for two Swedish officers from the nearest post, in order to examine the breach; and to inform the king his master, that eighty-three soldiers, all that remained of the garrison, besides a hundred and fifty-six sick and wounded, did not surrender to an entire army, till it was impossible for them to make a longer resistance, or to preserve the town. This instance alone shows what sort of an

enemy the czar had to contend with; and how necessary it was for him to use his utmost efforts in disciplining his troops.

He distributed some gold medals among his officers, and gave rewards to all the common soldiers; except to a few, who were punished for running away from an assault: their comrades spat in their faces, and afterwards shot them dead. The fortifications of Nöteburg were repaired, and its name was changed into that of Shlusselburg—Shlussel in German signifying a *key*—for this place is the key of Ingria and Finland. The first governor was Mentchikof, the pastrycook's boy,* now grown a very good officer, and who

* "Prince Mentchikof was also a person raised from a very low degree; I was told the following circumstances of his rise:—He was born of gentle, but very poor parents, and they dying, left him very young, without any education, insomuch that he could neither read nor write, nor even did he till the day of his death: his poverty obliged him to seek service in Moscow, where he was taken into the house of a pastrycook, who employed him in crying mince-pies about the streets; and having a good voice, he also sung ballads, whereby he was so generally known, that he had access into all the gentlemen's houses. The czar, by invitation, was to dine one day at a boyar's, or lord's house, and Mentchikof happening to be in the kitchen that day, observed the boyar give directions to his cook about a dish of meat he said the czar was fond of, and took notice that the boyar himself put some kind of powder in it, by way of spice; taking particular notice of what meat that dish was composed, he took himself away to sing ballads, and kept sauntering in the streets till the czar arrived, when exalting his voice, his majesty took notice of it, sent for him, and asked him if he would sell his basket with his pies. The boy replied, he had power only to sell the pies; as for the basket, he must first ask his master's leave, but as everything belonged to his majesty, he needed only to lay his commands upon him. This reply pleased the czar so much, that he ordered Alexander to stay and attend him, which he obeyed with great joy. Mentchikof waited behind the czar's chair at dinner, and seeing the before-mentioned dish served up and placed before him, in a whisper begged his majesty not to eat thereof; the czar went into another room with the boy and asked his reason for what he had whispered to him, when he informed his majesty what he had observed in the kitchen, and the boyar's putting in the powder himself, without the cook perceiving him, made him suspect that dish in particular; he therefore thought it his duty to put his majesty upon his guard. The czar returned to the table without the least discomposure in his countenance, and with his usual cheerfulness; the boyar recommended this dish to him, saying it was very good: the czar ordered the boyar to sit down by him (for it is a custom in Moscow for the master of the

merited this honour by behaving most gallantly during the siege.

After this campaign of 1702, it was the czar's will that Sheremetef, and the officers who had signalised themselves under his command, should make a triumphant entry into Moscow (December 17th, 1702). All the prisoners taken in this campaign marched in the train of the victors: before them were carried the Swedish colours and standards, with the flag taken on board the frigate on lake Peipus. Peter, as was usual with him on all such occasions, assumed only a subordinate rank in the pageant, and affected to hold himself responsible to his own representative, Romodanofski, on whom he had bestowed the title of vice-czar. Strange to say, the man thus favoured by the radical reformer Peter was an ultra-conservative, full of blind and bitter hatred against all innovations. Romodanofski was a thorough Russian of the old school, ignorant, grotesque, and brutal. He was president of the council of government, and head of the secret chancery, a horrible sort of star-chamber, or state inquisition, established by Ivan IV., and perfected by Alexis, and which, like most tyrannical institutions, produced those evils which served as a pretext for its own continuance. Romodanofski's ferocious cruelty was undoubtedly a merit in Peter's eyes; but what gave him a better claim to confidence was his rigid integrity and unshakable fidelity to his sovereign. Peter used to make a public report to him of all his undertakings and his most important successes; all petitions, memorials, and other documents addressed to the sovereign, were presented to this phantom of a czar, who privately despatched them to the council: and when the persons concerned, on not obtaining what they desired,

house to wait at table when he entertains his friends), and putting some of it on a plate, desired him to eat and show him a good example. The boyar, with the utmost confusion, replied, that it did not become the servant to eat with his master; whereupon the plate was set down to a dog, who soon despatched its contents, which in a very short time threw him into convulsions, and soon deprived him of life. The dog being opened, the effect of the poison was clearly discovered, and the boyar was immediately secured, but was found next morning dead in his bed, which prevented all further discovery."—*Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce*, book iii. p. 77.

complained to Peter, he answered coldly—"It is not my fault; all depends on the czar of Moscow."

A refusal was not the only inconvenience which suitors had to apprehend from the whimsical old brute Romodanofski. He kept in his palace an enormous bear, trained to a very curious trick. The animal presented to every one who wished to speak with his master a glass of brandy, in which there was a strong dose of pepper. Whoever did not drink off this liquor was sure to have his clothes torn to pieces by the bear, and to be severely mauled into the bargain.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PETERSBURG FOUNDED—NARVA AND DORPAT TAKEN—DEFEATS AT GEMAUERS AND FRAUSTADT—AUGUSTUS LOSES THE CROWN OF POLAND.

THE short stay which the czar made at Moscow in the beginning of the winter 1702-3 was employed in seeing his new regulations executed; in improving the civil as well as the military government, and in founding various establishments. Then, after a visit to his naval works on the Sea of Asof, he hastened to the frontiers of Sweden to inspect the ships which he had directed to be built in the dockyards of Olonitz, between the lakes Ladoga and Onega. In this town he had erected some forges and founderies for the making of arms: so that the place was filled with the bustle of military preparations, while Moscow began to flourish in the arts of peace. Thence he set out for Shlusselburg, in order to improve the fortifications.

We have already noticed that Peter had thought proper to pass through all the military grades: he had been a lieutenant of bombardiers under prince Mentchikof, before this favourite was made governor of Shlusselburg; and now he took the rank of captain, and served under marshal Sheremetef. Near the lake Ladoga, and not far from the river Neva, there was a fortress, named Nientschantz. It was of the utmost importance for the czar to make himself

master of this place, in order to secure his conquests, and to prosecute his other designs. He was obliged to lay siege to it by land, and, at the same time, to prevent its receiving any succours by water. Peter undertook to transport troops in small barks, and to watch the Swedish convoys; while Sheremetef had the care of the trenches. The citadel surrendered: two Swedish vessels * came too late to relieve it; and they were both taken by the czar. His journal makes mention, that, as a reward for his service, "the captain of bombardiers was created knight of the order of St. Andrew, by admiral Golovin, first knight of the order."

After he had taken Nientschantz, he resolved to build the city of Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva, upon the Gulf of Finland.

King Augustus's affairs were in a desperate state: the successive victories of the Swedes in Poland had encouraged his enemies in their opposition; and even his friends prevailed on him to dismiss a body of twenty thousand Russians with which his army had been reinforced. The motive they alleged was, that this sacrifice would deprive the malcontents of any pretext for joining the king of Sweden but enemies are disarmed by force and encouraged by indulgence. Those twenty thousand men, disciplined by Patkul, did very great service in Livonia and Ingria, while Augustus was losing his dominions. This reinforcement, and especially the possession of Nientschantz, enabled the czar to found his new capital.

It was in this desert and marshy spot of ground, which communicates but one way with the continent, that he laid the foundation of Petersburg.† The ruins of some of the bastions at Nientschantz supplied the first stones. He began with erecting a small fort on Vassili Ostrof, an island which now stands in the midst of the city. The Swedes took no heed of this settlement, formed in a morass, and inaccessible to vessels of burden: but how great their surprise when they saw the fortifications advanced, a town raised, and the little island of Cronslot, situate over against it, changed, in 1704, into the fortress of Cronstadt,

* May 12th, 1703.

† Petersburg was founded the 27th of May, 1703, on Whit Sunday.

under the cannon of which even the largest fleets may safely ride at anchor!

An enterprise of this nature seemed to require peaceful times, yet was executed in the hurry and confusion of war; workmen of every sort were called together from Moscow, from Astrakhan, from Kasan, and the Ukraine to assist in the building of the city. Neither the difficulty of the ground, which he was obliged to drain and to raise, nor the distance of materials, nor the unforeseen obstacles which constantly arose in every branch of labour, nor the mortality which carried off a prodigious number of workmen,* could shake the fixed resolution of the founder of this metropolis. In the space of two months a new town arose out of the ground. It is true, it was no more than a cluster of huts, with two brick houses, surrounded by ramparts; but this was sufficient for a beginning; time and perseverance accomplished the rest. Petersburg had not been founded above five months when a Dutch vessel came to trade there: the captain received some presents for his encouragement; and the Dutch soon learned the way to this harbour.

It was not enough for Peter to have opened this new road to commerce and industry; it was necessary for him to force to init his astonished subjects, in spite of their contrary habits and manners. For this reason it was that he covered his seas, lakes, and rivers with vessels of every kind, which he demanded from all classes of the rich. He was resolved that his subjects should thus be made pilots and sailors. It was also with this purpose, of rendering maritime the inland people whom he had transferred to Petersburg, that he did not throw a bridge over the Neva. He determined that the new inhabitants of its banks should cross that dangerous river only in sailing-boats, the art of guiding which would, he knew, soon be acquired by them when their lives were at stake.

Nor did he listen to the complaints of all his other provinces, with respect to the remoteness of the situation which he had chosen for his capital: a ruinous distance, which could not fail to occasion an excessive tardiness in all administrative and judicial communications. It was equally in vain that his boyars urged their objections to the barren

* A hundred thousand are said to have perished in the first year.

and swampy soil, to the inclement climate, in which winter reigned for eight months of the year, where rye was an article of garden culture, and a beehive a curiosity; to the Neva, which was a mass of ice for four whole months, and of such unequal depth that ships of war launched at Petersburg could not descend it without the aid of machines to float them over the shoals, nor merchant vessels ascend without being towed; and to the port, capable, indeed, of containing three hundred sail, but the egress from which, impeded by sands and rocks, is so beset by dangers, that, before steam navigation was known, there was no possibility of accomplishing it except with certain favourable winds.

Peter set at nought all these serious inconveniences, nor did he take more heed of the freshness of the water, which spread rapid decay in his ships, or of that solitary tree on which was marked the height of the great inundation of 1680, and which he cut down with his own hand. That irksome witness showed clearly that a storm of some hours' duration from the west, by driving back the waters of the Neva, would be sure to engulph the new city, which was built upon piles in a bottomless marsh.

Since, however, he was thus obstinately determined to choose for his capital a spot so removed from the rest of his dominions, why did he not prefer the eminences which were in its immediate neighbourhood? The palaces, and most of the public establishments, might have been built there out of the reach of danger; and if the passion of the czar for imitating Holland, his first instructor, was so strong that, at all risks, he must have something like that country, it was in his power to extend this upper city to the river, by adding a lower city, in which he might have given a copy of Amsterdam and its commercial streets, consisting of canals between a double quay.

While Peter was directing the foundation of his new capital, he took care to render it inaccessible to the enemy, by making himself master of all the neighbouring posts. A Swedish colonel, named Croniort, having stationed his men in the river Sestra, whence he threatened the growing town, Peter marched up to him with the two regiments of guards, defeated the colonel's detachment, and obliged him to repass the river. When he had thus provided for the security of

the town he repaired to Olonitz, to order a number of small vessels to be put upon the stocks; and returned to Petersburg on board a frigate which had been built by his direction, together with six transports for present use, till the others could be finished. He then surveyed and sounded the coast himself, and fixed the spot on which the fort of Cronslot was to be erected: after making a model of it in wood, he employed prince Mentchikof to carry it into execution. This done, he set out for Moscow (Nov. 5), intending to pass the winter in that city, and enforce the several regulations and changes which he had made in the laws, manners, and customs of Russia. He likewise put his finances into a new order; after which he expedited the works undertaken on the river Voroneje, at Asof, and in a harbour which he was building upon the Sea of Asof, under the fort of Taganrok.

Upon his return to Petersburg (March 30), finding the new citadel of Cronslot, whose foundations had been laid in the sea, entirely finished, he provided it with numerous artillery. In order to establish himself in Ingria, and to wipe off the disgrace received before Narva, he deemed it necessary to make himself master of that city. While he was making the preparations for the siege, a small fleet of Swedish brigantines appeared on the lake of Peipus, to oppose his designs. The Russian galleys came out to meet them, a brisk engagement ensued, and the whole Swedish squadron, carrying ninety-eight pieces of cannon, was taken. After this victory the czar besieged Narva by sea and land, and at the same time laid siege to Dorpat, in Esthonia, he himself incessantly going from one to the other, to forward the attacks and direct the different approaches.

Schlippenbach, the Swedish general, was then in the neighbourhood of Dorpat with about two thousand five hundred men. The garrison expected every moment he would attempt to throw succours into the town. But Peter prevented this design by an ingenious stratagem. He ordered Swedish uniforms, colours, and standards for two regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry. The pretended Swedes attacked the trenches, and the Russians feigned a retreat; the garrison were thereby deluded to make a sally (June 27); the mock combatants joined their forces, and

fell upon the Swedes, one half of whom were killed, and the other half got back to the town. Schlippenbach came up soon after, with intent to relieve it, but was entirely defeated. At length Dorpat was obliged to capitulate (July 23), just as Peter was going to order a general assault.

At the same time the czar received a considerable check on the side of his new city of Petersburg; which did not, however, hinder him from going on with the buildings, nor from pressing the siege of Narva. We have already mentioned that he had sent a supply of men and money to king Augustus, whom Charles was stripping of his crown; but both those aids proved ineffectual. The Russians having joined the Lithuanians, who adhered to Augustus, were entirely routed in Courland by Levenhaupt, the Swedish general (July 31). Had the victors directed their efforts towards Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, they might have demolished the czar's new works, and baffled all his grand designs. Peter was every day undermining the outwall of Sweden, and Charles did not seem to regard him; being engaged in a pursuit less advantageous to his people but more glorious to his arms.

On the 12th of July, 1704, a single colonel, at the head of a Swedish detachment, had obliged the Polish nobility to proceed to the nomination of a new king on the field of election, called Kolo, in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. The cardinal, primate, and several bishops submitted to the will and pleasure of a Lutheran prince, notwithstanding the menaces and excommunications of the supreme pontiff. Stanislaus Leczinsky was elected, and Charles XII. caused him to be acknowledged as sovereign by a considerable part of the Polish nation. In order that Charles might continue to find occupation in Poland, Peter concluded a new treaty with Augustus in Narva (30th Aug.); and while his rival busied himself in making sovereigns, he employed his time in beating the Swedish generals in Esthonia and Ingria; and in pressing the siege of Narva, which he carried by assault on the 20th of August.

At the sacking of the town it was only by killing several of his soldiers with his own sword that he succeeded in saving his new subjects from their violence; but his own violence he was not able to control. At sight of count de

Horn, the governor, who was brought to him a prisoner, he darted forward, struck him in the face, and exclaimed, "It is you, and you only, who are the cause of so many calamities! Ought you not to have capitulated when you had no hope of assistance?" Then throwing his sword on the table, "Look at that blood," he cried; "it is not Swedish, but Russian; that sword has saved the unfortunate inhabitants who were sacrificed by your obstinacy."

Peter now being master of all Ingria, conferred the government of that province on Mentchikof. As soon as the season approached for opening the campaign in Poland (May, 1705), he made haste to join the army, which he had assembled on the frontiers of Lithuania, in order to assist Augustus. But while he was thus endeavouring to support his ally, the Swedes had fitted out a fleet, which threatened the destruction of his new settlements of Petersburg and Cronslot. This squadron consisted of two-and-twenty ships of war, carrying from fifty-four to sixty-four guns each, besides six frigates, two bomb-ketches, and two fire-ships. The land forces on board the transports made a descent in the little island of Kotin. But a Russian colonel, named Tolboguin, having caused his regiment to lie flat on their bellies while the Swedes were landing, ordered them to rise up of a sudden; and they made so brisk and so regular a fire, as obliged the enemy to retreat in the utmost confusion to their ships, abandoning their dead, with the loss of three hundred prisoners (June 17).

In the mean time, the Swedish fleet hovered still upon the coast, and threatened Petersburg. The land forces made another descent, and met with the like repulse. A body of troops were advancing at the same time by land from Vyborg, under the command of Meidel, the Swedish general, and had taken their route by Shlusselburg. This was the most formidable attack that Charles XII. had yet made against the territories either conquered or created by Peter. But the Swedes were repulsed on every side, and Petersburg was saved (June 25).

The czar, on the other hand, was marching towards Courland, and purposing to penetrate as far as Riga. His plan was to make himself master of Livonia, while Charles completed the reduction of Poland under the obedience of the

new king. Peter continued still at Vilna, in Lithuania; and marshal Sheremetef was approaching towards Mittau, the capital of Courland; but there he met with Levenhaupt, a general celebrated for many victories. The two armies engaged at a place called Gemauers-hof, or Gemauers. In matters depending on experience and discipline, the Swedes, though inferior in number, had always the advantage: the Russians were entirely defeated, and lost all their artillery (July 28).

After three defeats at Gemauers, Jacobstad, and Narva, Peter still retrieved his losses, and even converted them to his advantage; for Levenhaupt was so ill supplied that he was unable to maintain himself in Courland, and obliged to retreat to Riga. After the battle of Gemauers, Peter marched a large army into Courland, sat down before Mittau, made himself master of the town, and laid siege to the citadel, which he took by capitulation (Sept. 14). At the taking of Narva, Peter had so chastised the plundering propensities of his Russians, that the soldiers now appointed to guard the vaults in the castle of Mittau, the usual burying-place of the great dukes of Courland, finding that the bodies of those princes had been dragged out of their tombs and stripped of their ornaments, refused to undertake the charge till they had sent for a Swedish colonel to examine the place, who gave them a certificate acknowledging that the troops of his own nation had committed this outrage.

During these transactions a report was spread throughout the Russian empire that Peter had been totally defeated at the battle of Gemauers; a report which did him more mischief than the loss of the battle. The people of Astrakhan, emboldened by this false intelligence to revolt, and incited by a son of one of the Strelitz who had been executed, murdered the governor of the town. Peter was obliged to send his best general, Sheremetef, with a body of forces to quell the insurrection and punish the ringleaders.

The czar seemed to be now in a very precarious situation from a combination of hostile circumstances: such as Charles's good fortune and valour; the forced neutrality of Denmark; the rebellion in Astrakhan; the discontent of a people sensible of the restraint, but not of the utility, of the late reformation; the disaffection of the nobility in consequence

of their being subjected to military discipline; and the exhaused state of the revenue. Yet he never desponded. He soon quelled the revolt; then providing for the security of Ingria, and making himself master of the citadel of Mittau, in spite of the victorious Levenhaupt, who had not a sufficient force to oppose him, he found himself at liberty to march an army through Samogitia and Lithuania. After reinforcing Augustus, he left him at Grodno, the capital of Lithuania, and returned to Moscow (Dec. 30), where he had no sooner arrived than he received advice that Charles XII. had carried all before him, and was advancing towards Grodno in order to attack the Russian forces. Augustus had been obliged to fly from Grodno, and to retire precipitately towards Saxony with four regiments of Russian dragoons; a step which both weakened and discouraged the army of his protector. Peter found all the avenues to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his troops dispersed.

While he was assembling his scattered forces with great difficulty in Lithuania, the celebrated general Shullemburg, in whom Augustus had placed his last hopes, and who afterwards acquired such glory in the defence of Corfu against the Turks, was in full march towards Great Poland with about twelve thousand Saxons and six thousand Russians, drawn from the body of troops with which the czar had entrusted that unfortunate prince. Shullemburg expected, with some reason, that he should be able to save Augustus from ruin; he perceived that Charles XII. was employed on the side of Lithuania, and that there was only a body of ten thousand Swedes, under Renschild, to interrupt his march. He therefore advanced with confidence towards the frontiers of Silesia, the usual passage from Saxony to Upper Poland. Upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of a little town called Fraustadt, on the frontiers of that kingdom, he met marshal Renschild, who was come to give him battle.

There was a French regiment in the Saxon army who had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of Hochstet, and obliged to serve under king Augustus. They had the care of the artillery; and being not only admirers of the heroism of Charles XII., but dissatisfied with their Saxon masters, they laid down their arms as soon as they beheld the enemy (Feb. 6); and desired to be admitted into the ser-

vice of the king of Sweden, with whom they continued to the end of the war. This was only a prelude to a complete victory: out of the whole Russian army hardly three battalions were saved; every soldier that escaped was wounded; and as no quarter was granted, the remainder were all slain. Norberg, the chaplain, states that the Swedish word at this battle was, *in the name of God;* and that of the Muscovites, *kill all:* but it was the Swedes that slaughtered all in the name of God.* The czar himself assures us in one of his manifestoes† that many of his soldiers who had been taken prisoners, as well Russians as Cossacks and Calmucks, were murdered in cold blood three days after the battle. The irregular troops of both armies had accustomed the generals to these cruelties; greater were never committed in the most barbarous ages. "I had the honour," says Voltaire, "of hearing the following anecdote from king Stanislaus himself: That in one of the skirmishes which frequently happened in Poland, a Russian officer, who had been his friend, came after the defeat of the corps under his command to put himself under his protection; and that Steinbok, the Swedish general, shot him dead with a pistol while he held him in his arms."

The Russians had now lost four pitched battles with the Swedes, without reckoning the other victories of Charles XII. in Poland. The czar's forces at Grodno were in danger of a greater disgrace, and of being entirely encompassed by the enemy: but he fortunately assembled the several parts of his army, and even strengthened them with new reinforcements. Being obliged to provide at the same time for these forces and for the preservation of his conquests in Ingria, he ordered his troops to march eastward, under the command of prince Mentchikof, and thence southward as far as Kief.

While his men were upon their march, he repaired to Shlusselburg, Narva, and Petersburg, and put those places in the best posture of defence. From the Baltic he hurried to the banks of the Dniepr, in order to march back into Poland by the way of Kief; his constant aim being to prevent Charles from reaping any benefit by his victories. At this time he attempted a new conquest, that of Vyborg, the capital of Carelia, on the Gulf of Finland (Oct.); but met with a dis-

* Voltaire. † The czar's manifesto in the Ukraine, 1709.

appointment; for succours arrived at a seasonable juncture, so that he was obliged to desist from his enterprise. His rival, Charles XII., did not acquire a single province by gaining so many victories. At that time he was in pursuit of Augustus in Saxony; intent upon humbling that prince, and crushing him with his whole weight; but not at all solicitous about recovering Ingria, which had been wrested from him by a vanquished enemy.

The terror of Charles's arms was spread through Upper Poland, Silesia, and Saxony. King Augustus's whole family—his mother, his wife, his son, and the principal nobility of the country had retired into Germany. Augustus now sued for peace, choosing to surrender himself to the discretion of his conqueror rather than into the arms of his protector. He was negotiating a treaty which stripped him of the crown of Poland, and covered him at the same time with ignominy. This treaty he was obliged to conceal from the Russian generals under whose protection he was at that time in Poland; while Charles was prescribing laws in Leipsic, and trampling upon his electorate. Already had his plenipotentiaries signed the fatal convention (Sept., 14) by which he not only resigned the crown of Poland, but promised never more to assume the title of king; at the same time, he acknowledged the regal dignity of Stanislaus, renounced the alliance of the czar, his benefactor; and to complete his humiliation, engaged to deliver up into the hands of Charles XII. John Reinhold Patkul, the czar's ambassador, and general in the Russian service, who had been fighting in his defence. Some time before this he had ordered Patkul to be arrested upon false suspicions, contrary to the law of nations; and now he violated this law again by surrendering him to his enemy. In signing this treaty which robbed him of his honour and his crown, he likewise endangered his liberty, because he was then at the mercy of prince Mentchikof in Posnania, and the few Saxon troops he had with him were paid by the Russians.

Opposite to prince Mentchikof's quarters lay encamped a Swedish army, reinforced by the Poles in Stanislaus's interest, and commanded by general Maderfeld. The prince not knowing that Augustus was in treaty with the enemies of Russia, proposed to attack them, and Augustus durst not

refuse. The battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Kalish, in the palatinate belonging to Stanislaus (Nov. 19). This was the first time that the Russians gained a pitched battle against the Swedes; and the whole honour was due to prince Mentchikof; 4000 of the enemy were killed, and 2598 taken prisoners.

It is difficult to comprehend how Augustus could be prevailed upon after this battle to ratify a treaty which deprived him of the whole benefit of so signal a victory. But Charles was triumphant in Saxony, where his very name intimidated his enemies: besides, Augustus had little expectation of being steadily supported by the Russians; in short, the Polish party in his enemy's interest were so strong, and Augustus himself was so ill advised, that he signed this fatal convention. Neither did he stop here: he wrote to Finkstein, his envoy, a letter more shameful than the treaty itself, in which he begged pardon for having obtained a victory, protesting "that the battle was fought against his will; that the Russians and the Poles, his adherents, had obliged him to it; that with this design he had made some movements to abandon Mentchikof; that Maderfeld might have beaten him had he made a proper use of the opportunity; that he would deliver back all the Swedish prisoners, or break with the Russians; in short, that he would give the king of Sweden all proper satisfaction"—for having dared to beat his troops.

There were two other circumstances which completed the misfortunes of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and plainly showed the ill use which Charles made of his success. The first was his obliging Augustus to write a letter of congratulation to the new king Stanislaus; the second was terrible, he even compelled Augustus to deliver up Patkul, the czar's ambassador, into his hands; and that minister was afterwards broken alive upon the wheel at Casimir, in the month of September, 1707. Norberg, the chaplain, acknowledges that the orders for his execution were written in Charles's own hand. Justly does Voltaire observe, that the law of nature and nations were violated upon this occasion by the law of the longest sword. The splendour of high achievements used formerly to cover such cruelties, but now they are an indelible stain to military glory.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARLES XII. INVADES RUSSIA—BATTLE OF POLTAVA—BALTIC PROVINCES CONQUERED—WAR WITH TURKEY—CAPITULATION OF THE PRUTH.

CHARLES was now triumphing at Altranstadt, in the neighbourhood of Leipsic. The Protestant princes of the empire flocked from all sides to yield him homage, and sue for his protection. Ambassadors from most of the powers in Europe courted his alliance. The emperor Joseph paid implicit submission to his will. Peter then perceiving that Augustus had renounced his protection and the Polish throne, and that part of the nation had acknowledged Stanislaus, began to listen to the proposal made to him by Yolkova of choosing a third king.

Several palatines were proposed at the diet of Lublin; among the rest, prince Ragotski appeared upon the list, the same who had been long detained in prison in his youthful days by the emperor Leopold, and who was his competitor for the Hungarian throne after he had recovered his liberty. This negotiation was pushed very far, and Poland was upon the point of having three kings at a time. Prince Ragotski not being able to succeed, Peter was inclined to confer the crown on Siniafski, grand general of the republic, a man of power and interest, and head of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the dethroned king nor the person elected by the contrary faction.

In the midst of these disturbances there was, according to custom, some talk of peace. Besseval, the French envoy at the court of Saxony, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the king of Sweden. The French government had a notion that if Charles made a peace with the Muscovites and Poles he might possibly turn his arms against the emperor Joseph, with whom he was offended, and to whom he had prescribed very severe terms during the time he resided in Saxony. But Charles made answer, that he would treat with the czar in the city of Moscow. Upon this occasion it was that Peter said, "My brother Charles wants to act the part of Alexander, but he shall not find me a Darius."

The Russians were still in Poland, and even at Warsaw

while the person who had been raised to the Polish throne by Charles XII. was hardly acknowledged by that nation. In the mean time, Charles was enriching his troops with the spoils of Saxony.

At length he began his march (Aug. 22, 1707) from his head-quarters at Altranstadt, with an army of 45,000 men; against so great a force it was very unlikely that the czar should be able to make a stand, since he had been entirely defeated by only 8000 Swedes at Narva. Charles boasted that "his whip would be sufficient to drive the Muscovite rabble before him, not only out of Moscow, but from the world."

While the Swedish troops were passing near the walls of Dresden, Charles paid an extraordinary visit to king Augustus; a visit which, according to Norberg, posterity will always admire—at least, they will read the account of it with some surprise, for it was certainly running a great risk to trust himself in the hands of a prince whom he had stripped of his kingdom. Thence he continued his march through Silesia, and at length re-entered Poland. That kingdom had been entirely ravaged by war, ruined by factions, and exposed to all sorts of calamities. Charles was advancing through Massovia, and chose the worst road he could take. The inhabitants fled into the morasses, being determined at least to make him purchase his passage. Six thousand peasants deputed one of their body to speak to him; this was an old man, of a very extraordinary size and figure, clad in white, and armed with two carbines. He addressed his discourse to Charles, but as the Swedes did not rightly understand what he said, they made no scruple to kill him in the presence of their king, and in the middle of his harangue. The peasants in a rage immediately withdrew, and took to their arms. The Swedes seized on as many as they could find, and obliged them to hang one another; the last was forced to tie the cord about his neck himself, and to be his own executioner. All their habitations were reduced to ashes. This fact is mentioned by Norberg, the chaplain, who was an eye-witness; so that we can neither reject his testimony, nor help being struck with horror at such cruelty.

This new expedition was intended by Charles as a retaliation upon Peter, who already looked upon the Baltic provinces as a certain possession, and reckoned with such security upon

king Augustus, that he even overlooked the surrender of his ambassador. Publicly, and for appearance sake, Peter took the usual steps for Patkul's deliverance; but it was believed that he secretly acquiesced, because nothing resulted from his representations. Charles's plan of following the Russians through wastes, morasses, and forests, into the heart of a barbarous country, was approved of by no one; Rhenschiöld, it is true, suffered himself to feign acquiescence, because he and Piper governed the young king by yielding to his capricious and wilful schemes; as soon, however, as he, like an experienced general, wished to execute any judicious plan in a proper military manner, the king no longer listened to him. According to Charles's determination, Levenhaupt was to march out of Livonia and Courland, through Lithuania, and to join him at the Beresina, which has once more become celebrated in our own days. He was to give up Livonia, which had now been defended for seven years, and wasted by friends and foes, to take along with him such cattle, horses, stores, and artillery as remained, and advance with his king towards Moscow, whilst all was in a state of hostility behind him in Poland and around him in Russia.

As Charles was entering Grodno (the 6th and 12th February, 1708), he learned that Peter had caused all the inhabitants of Narva and Dorpat to be carried off into the interior of Russia (they were only permitted to return in 1714); but this news made as little impression upon him as the horrors committed by the Russians in Finland. From this moment forward his conduct became more and more incomprehensible. He first continued his march through bogs and forests in the most unfavourable season of the year, then remained for the three best months wholly inactive at Rodeskiewicze, and finally liberated the Russian prisoners in May, who immediately reinforced the enemy's troops. He called Levenhaupt to his councils, who remained with him six weeks, and everything was agreed upon as to their future movements: but when Levenhaupt returned to Livonia, and was advancing with his army, Charles, without any necessity, forgot his promise to meet him at the appointed place. In the mean time, the king had set out in June from Rodeskiewicze and passed the Beresina;

his delusion was increased by a fruitless victory at Golovtchin on the 4th of July. He afterwards took Mohilef, and reached the Dniepr, passed over the river in the midst of an unceasing contest carried on by the Russians, who were around him in swarms, and who had got some experience in warfare from their repeated collisions with himself. They were, indeed, obliged to pay for their experience by the sacrifice of the greater number of men, whilst the Swedes lost comparatively few; but Peter was easily able to replace his loss, whilst that of Charles was irreparable.

Whilst Charles passed the Dniepr, and entered into a close alliance with the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who regarded Peter as the enemy of their independence, the Russian army was separated into three great divisions, in order that every division sent forward by Charles, or which might be advancing to form a junction with him, might be overpowered by a superior force. The consequences of this disposition were first felt by Lagercrona, and next by Levenhaupt. Lagercrona had received orders to advance with a division of troops into the Ukraine, whilst Charles continued his march towards Smolensk. This division was attacked at Dobro by Mentchikof (20th September, 1709) and defeated, and every one expected that Charles, who was in want of many necessary supplies, would wait the arrival of Levenhaupt at the appointed place, when he at length halted for a considerable time at the end of September and the beginning of October. Levenhaupt, on this occasion, gained for himself immortal renown. Surrounded on every side by the enemy, and obliged to march through wastes and forests, he reached the place, with all his baggage and artillery, where he hoped to find Charles. He found him not, but, on the contrary, was attacked near Liesna by a superior Russian force; he had only 10,000 men against 40,000; he won the victory, but was obliged to leave behind him his horses, cattle, provisions, and artillery; in short, all that he was to bring to Charles, in order to save his heroes and their honour by a hasty march. Charles's conduct on this occasion shows how very little idea he had of those principles which ought to guide a commander; for Levenhaupt fought this battle on the 9th of October, and on the 11th formed a junction with the army of the king.

The march into the Ukraine, which threw Levenhaupt completely into the hands of the Russians, had been undertaken by Charles because Mazeppa, the hetman of the Cossacks, now seventy years old, had before supplied him with provisions, and now invited him to join him. Charles was neither acquainted with the unbounded plains of the Ukraine, the relation of the different tribes of Cossacks to one another, nor the influence which Mazeppa had amongst them. Hitherto he had cruelly harassed the Cossacks, and now he appeared among them at once, without having previously concluded any agreement either with them or their hetman. Mazeppa, indeed, with his army passed over the Desna; his followers, however, believed they were being led against Charles, and deserted their hetman as soon as his views were known, because they had more to fear from Peter than to hope from Charles. The hetman joined the Swedes with only 7000 men, but Charles prosecuted his march and despised every warning. He passed the Desna; the country on the further side became more and more desolate, and appearances more melancholy, for the winter was one of the most severe; hundreds of brave Swedes were frozen to death because Charles insisted upon pursuing his march even in December and January. The civil war in Poland in the mean time raged more violently than ever, and Peter sent divisions of his Russians to harass and persecute the partisans of Stanislaus. The three men who stood in most immediate relation to the Swedish king, Piper, Rhenschiöld, and Levenhaupt, belonged, indeed, to the greatest men of their century; but they were sometimes disunited in their opinions, and sometimes incensed and harassed by the obstinacy of the king.

Mazeppa fell a sacrifice to his connexion with Charles, his residence (Baturin) was destroyed by Mentchikof, and his faithful Cossacks, upon Peter's demand, were obliged to choose another hetman (November, 1708). Neither Piper nor Mazeppa could move the obstinate king to relinquish his march towards the ill-fortified city of Poltava. Mazeppa represented to him in vain that, by an attack upon Poltava, he would excite the Cossacks of the Falls (Zaporogues) against him; and Piper entreated him, to no purpose, to draw nearer to the Poles, who were favourable to his cause,

and to march towards the Dniepr; he continued, however, to sacrifice his men by his march, till, in February (1709), a thaw set in. He was successful in gaining the favour of the Zaporogues through their hetman, Horodenski; but fortune had altogether forsaken the Swedes since January. In that month they were in possession of Moprik; in February, the battles at Goronodek and Rashevka were decided in favour of the Russians; in March, Sheremetef took Gaditch, which was occupied by the Swedes, and thereby gave a position to the Russian army which could not but prove destructive to the Swedes, who were obliged to besiege Poltava without the necessary means, because their intractable king insisted upon the siege. In April and May, the Swedes exerted themselves in vain in throwing up trenches before the miserable fortifications of Poltava, whilst the Russians were inclosing them in a net. One part of the Russians had already passed the Vorskla in May, and Peter had no sooner arrived, in the middle of June, than the whole army passed the river, in order to offer a decisive engagement to the invaders.

Rhenschiöld acted as commander-in-chief at the battle of Poltava; for Charles had received a dangerous wound in his foot ten days before, and was unable to mount his horse. The Swedes on this day performed miracles of bravery, but everything was against them, for the Russians fought this time at least for their country, and had at length gained experience in the field. The defeat of the Swedes is easily explained, when it is known that they were in want of all the munitions of war, even powder and lead, that they were obliged to storm the enemy's fortifications in opposition to an overwhelming numerical force, and that Levenhaupt and Rhenschiöld were so much disunited in opinion, that the former, in his report of the engagement at Poltava, makes the bitterest complaints against the commander-in-chief, which have since that time been usually adopted by all historians. Of the whole Swedish army, only 14,000 or 15,000 under Levenhaupt and Kreuz succeeded in erecting an ill-fortified camp on the Dniepr, where they were shut up by the Russians and the river. This small force might possibly have succeeded in fighting its way into Poland, and Charles had at first adopted this determination; he was,

however, with great trouble, induced to pass the Dniepr, and, accompanied by a small guard, to take refuge in Turkey. His plan was to reach the Bug over the pasture lands which then belonged to the Tatars on the Black Sea, and, aided by the Turks and the Tatars, to make his way first to Otchakof and then to Bender, whence he hoped to persuade the Turks to take part in the Polish affairs. As soon as the king had escaped (10th July, 1709), Levenhaupt, mourning over the sacrifice which the wilfulness of Charles had brought upon his Swedes, concluded a capitulation, in virtue of which all the baggage and artillery were surrendered to the Russians, together with the remnant of the Swedish army, which, calculating those who had been taken prisoners in the battle, amounted in all to about 18,000 men.

Charles's flight to Bender, and his long residence of five years in Turkey, were the most favourable events which could have occurred for the accomplishment of Peter's great plans. He was now master in Poland. In the Swedish, German, and French adventurers who had been in Charles's army, he received the very best instructors of his people. Among those who entered into his service, there were experienced officers, artillerymen, architects, and engineers. The Swedes, who for thirteen years long were neither set at liberty nor received from their impoverished country the usual support of prisoners of war, were distributed over the whole of Russia, and sent far into Siberia. They founded schools and institutions, in order to get a livelihood, and used their knowledge and experience against their will for the promotion of Peter's designs. This was the more important, as there was not a man among those many thousand prisoners who was not in a condition to teach the Russians to whom he came something of immediate utility, drawn from his experience in his native land. Many never returned to their homes, because they had raised up institutions, and commenced undertakings which were as advantageous to themselves as to the Russian empire.

The victory of Poltava was immediately followed by another combination against Sweden. Augustus prepared to recover his throne; and Peter met him at Thorn (October, 1709), where they entered into a secret alliance. Peter,

without any idea of fulfilling his engagement, promised Livonia to the Poles; and Augustus agreed in return that Esthonia and all the other Baltic provinces should be united with Russia. This was kept secret; whilst publicly they spoke only of a defensive alliance, in which Poland, Prussia, Denmark, and Saxony were the contracting parties. Peter alone was the gainer: Augustus travelled, caroused, gambled, and offended the Poles. The king of Denmark suffered a disgraceful defeat in his attack on the southern provinces of Sweden; Prussia became afraid, and hesitated, whilst Peter incessantly followed up his own plans even in Polish Prussia. He took Elbing by storm, and kept possession of it, although the cession of that country had been promised to the king of Prussia; Russians were scattered about in every part of Poland; Riga was besieged, and after a brave defence captured (June, 1710). The same fate befel Vyborg, Kexholm, Revel, Pernau, and the island of Oesel. Even the German possessions of Sweden were threatened simultaneously by the Russians, Danes, Prussians, and Saxons.

In Moscow the year 1710 was ushered in with a solemnity most agreeable to a people who had been apprehensive of seeing their capital in possession of those very Swedes who were now led through it in triumph. The artillery of the vanquished, their colours and standards, their king's litter, the soldiers, officers, generals, and ministers of the captive Swedes, all on foot, moved in solemn procession under seven magnificent arches, attended with the ringing of bells, the sound of trumpets, volleys from a hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclamations of an immense multitude. The victors on horseback, with the generals at their head, and Peter in his rank of major-general, closed the procession. At each triumphal arch stood the deputies of the several orders of the state; and at the last was a chosen band of young noblemen, the sons of boyars, in a Roman dress, who presented the victorious monarch with a crown of laurel.

This public festival was succeeded by another ceremony, that afforded no less satisfaction than the former. In the year 1708 happened an incident, the more disagreeable to the Russians as Peter was at that time unprosperous in war. Mateof, his ambassador to the court of London, having obtained an audience of leave of queen Anne, was arrested for

debt, at the suit of some English merchants, and obliged to give bail. The merchants insisted that the laws of commerce were of a superior nature to the privileges of ambassadors: on the other hand Mateof, and all the other foreign ministers who espoused his cause, maintained that their persons ought to be sacred. Peter, by his letters to queen Anne, strongly insisted upon having satisfaction: but she could not comply with his desire, since by the laws of England the merchants had a right to sue for their just demands; and there was no law to exempt foreign ministers from being arrested for debt. The murder of Patkul, the czar's ambassador, who had been executed the preceding year by order of Charles XII., was in some measure an encouragement to the people of England not to respect a character so grossly abused. The other foreign ministers residing then in London, were obliged to be bound for Mateof: and all that the queen could do in favour of the czar, was to prevail on the parliament to pass an act whereby it was no longer lawful to arrest an ambassador for debt; but after the battle of Poltava it became necessary to give a more public satisfaction to that prince. The queen by a formal embassy made an excuse for what had passed. Mr. Whitworth,* who was chosen for this ceremony, opened his speech with the words: "Most high and most mighty emperor." He told the czar that the queen had imprisoned the persons who had presumed to arrest his ambassador, and that the delinquents had been rendered infamous. There was not a word of truth in this: but the acknowledgment was sufficient; and the title of emperor, which the queen had not given Peter before the battle of Poltava, plainly showed the degree of estimation to which he was now raised in Europe.

The progress of the allies against Sweden was the cause of no little uneasiness to the naval powers and the emperor of Germany, who eagerly offered themselves as mediators. Charles declared that he would willingly accept their mediation as to Denmark and Poland, but declined it altogether with respect to Russia.

About this time Charles neither could nor ought to have accepted any agreement in which the Russians were in-

* February 16, 1710. He was created Lord Whitworth by king George I.

cluded, because he began at length to see his cabals crowned with success, and his hopes realised in Constantinople. The Turks were willing to declare war against Russia, and the advantage was altogether on their side. Disputes had been carried on between Peter and the Turks ever since 1704, on the subject of the augmentation of his fleets in the Black Sea, and the fortification of Asof and Taganrok; but these disputes had hitherto always been brought to a friendly termination, and the Turks had at last (September, 1709) formally renewed their treaty with the Russians. When Numan Kuprili afterwards caused a general war-cry in the country by his imprudence, the new grand vizier, Mehemet Baltadschi, was obliged to make the necessary preparations for war, and a declaration of hostilities was actually published in November, 1710.

This occurred about the same time in which Peter had got full possession of Livonia and Esthonia, and, by the concession of a constitution and privileges, had gained over the nobility of both provinces to his cause; and he was now seeking in like manner to draw over the princes of Moldavia and Vallachia to his interests. In a treaty agreed to at Lutzk (April, 1711), Demetrius Cantemir promised his aid to the Russians in the Turkish war, and obtained in return an assurance of Russian protection, and of the hereditary descent in his family of the princely dignity of Moldavia. In the year (1711) Peter anticipated the Turks in their attack: he descended the Dniestr with his army, and appeared to threaten Bender, but allowed himself to be allured to the Pruth by the treacherous invitations of the hospodars of Moldavia and Vallachia. Demetrius Cantemir and Brancovan pretended that Peter would be able to seize upon considerable Turkish magazines, situated on the further side of the Pruth, although none had been established there; this led him away from the Dniestr to the Pruth, and at length induced him to pass that river. He now appeared to be master of Moldavia and Vallachia, for he himself was received with pomp in Jassy, and Sheremetef with his army had been in Vallachia since March.

His joy, however, was short. The grand vizier, Mehemet Baltadschi, with an unusually numerous army, and 100,000 Tatars, advanced to the Pruth, and threatened altogether to

cut off Sheremetef; Peter hastened to meet the Turks, in order to keep open the communications and to assist his general. The Turks were in position near Faltschi; Peter was far from his own country and destitute of provisions; he finally encamped (July, 1711) on a narrow piece of ground between the Pruth and a morass. In this unfavourable position of the Russians, the whole series of engagements which took place during two days, with single divisions, were entirely adverse to their cause, and the main Russian army was obliged to retire into their camp; Rönne and Janus and their divisions were wholly separated from Peter, who saw himself quickly shut up on all sides. The Russian army had in their rear the Khan of the Tatars; around them, the river, the morass, and the Turkish army: the czar himself was prostrated by a fearful attack of disease, and yet his mind never showed itself greater than at this very moment. His magnanimity on this occasion is proved by his declaration sent to the Russian senate. "I announce to you," he tells them, "that deceived by false intelligence, and through no fault of mine, I am here shut up in my camp by a Turkish army four times more numerous than my own, our provisions cut off, and on the point of being cut to pieces or taken prisoners, unless Heaven comes to our aid in some unexpected manner. If it befal that I am taken by the Turks, you will no longer consider me your czar and lord, nor pay regard to any order that may be brought you on my part, now even though you may see my hand signed to it; but you will wait until I come myself in person. If I am destined to perish here, and you receive well-confirmed news of my death, then you will choose for my successor the worthiest *among you.*"*

The Russian army and their emperor now seemed utterly lost, when Catharine, whom Peter had already made his wife, but to whom he had not given the title or dignity of empress, was the means of delivering them from their despair, an event which surprised no one more than Charles XII. in Bender. Charles, in the most imprudent

* At this time Peter's son Alexis was twenty-one years of age. It is evident that the idea of excluding him from the throne had already taken hold of the czar's mind.

manner, had grievously insulted the grand vizier by his insolent and contemptuous conduct, and especially by declining his invitation to visit him in his camp. Peter's wife, Catharine, knew how to win the vizier's favour by humiliation and presents. The peace concluded on the Pruth, which Catharine effected, still remains a riddle, because the presents which she had it in her power to offer to him and his kiaja, even if we add all that she could collect from the soldiers and officers to her own jewels and furs, seem quite insignificant for such a purpose. Certain it is, however, that these presents paved the way to a peace, and that it was afterwards charged as a crime against the Turkish officials, that the money and valuables were found in their possession.*

The unexpected news of negotiations for peace at length drew Charles into the Turkish head-quarters, but he was unable to prevent the conclusion of the preliminaries, or the liberation of the Russians from their grievous condition; and in fact the peace was honourable and advantageous for the Turks, who had taken the field for themselves, and not for Sweden and Poland. In the preamble to the treaty, Peter admitted that he accepted it as an act of grace: this satisfied the pride of the Turks: Asof was to be restored; Kaminietz, Samara, Taganrok, were to be rased, and the Russian artillery was to be surrendered to the Turks. With respect to Charles, the solitary condition was inserted, for form's sake, that Peter was not to oppose his return to

* The case has been so often examined, that we do not mean to trouble our readers with an inquiry into the probability or improbability of the bribery. Minute accounts of the circumstances stated above will be found in the "Hist. Osman," part vii. p. 157. A full inquiry has also been made by Le Clerc, "Hist. de la Russie Ancienne" (Versailles, 1784, 4to), vol. iii. pp. 324-334. To the many proofs already given, we shall add that of a contemporary (the same who had a very singular adventure with Catharine). Villebois relates the history of the peace at great length. Catharine, he says, learned from Tolstoy's letters the avarice of the kaimakan and the grand vizier, and she herself gave her instructions in the presence of Peter to an officer of the guard, to whom she had entrusted the delivery of the valuables. Villebois says, that she not only gave her own jewels and furs, but that she rode through the ranks, and represented that there was now no means of escape but over a golden bridge, and thus moved the soldiers and officers to contribute theirs.

Sweden, nor to obstruct it in any way; he promised also to interfere no further with the affairs of the Poles and Cossacks.

The czar had no sooner placed Sheremetef and his chancellor as hostages in the hands of the Turks, as a pledge of the fulfilment of the preliminaries, than he hastened to bring himself and his army into a place of security, to avoid the chances of the vizier's change of opinion. The news of a sudden and favourable peace was at first indeed received in Constantinople with joy, but the representations of the Swedish deputies, and of the enemies of the grand vizier who had been won by them, combined with a report of the presents which had been brought into the camp on the night before the conclusion of the peace, quickly altered the sultan's opinion. The grand vizier's disgrace was not, however, communicated to him so long as he was at the head of the army; but no sooner had he arrived at Adrianople, and the most dangerous portion of the troops been separated from him, than the storm broke out. The sultan deposed Mehemet Baltadschi, and caused all those to be executed who, under the influence of Russian presents, had either advised the conclusion of a peace, or had proposed its conditions.

Peter in the mean time had fulfilled none of those conditions. He left his troops in Poland, and relied upon cabals, upon bribery, and the grand vizier and his friends. This last hope was now, indeed, wholly frustrated by the deposition of the vizier, and a new declaration of war followed in the course of the succeeding month (December, 1711), founded especially upon the czar's non-compliance with the conditions of the peace, because he had delayed rasing the fortresses, and made no arrangements for declaring that portion of the Ukraine independent, which was inhabited by the Cossacks under the protection of the Turks. England and Holland, in the mean time, tried to work in opposition to the Swedes and French in Constantinople. Russian money flowed into the hands of the avaricious Turkish officials, whilst Charles abused the rights of hospitality in Bender; and in order to extort loans by his obstinacy, he offered opposition by force and arms, when an attempt was made to compel him to return to his kingdom.

The English and Dutch were so fortunate in their labours, as to bring about another peace before the opening of the campaign in the next spring (1712), but Peter was as little in earnest about the fulfilment of its conditions with respect to the Ukraine as he had been in the previous treaty. Charles and his friends used all their endeavours for seven months to bring about a new war, and to make the sultan suspicious of his ministers. In autumn their efforts appeared to have been crowned with success. The vizier who had concluded the last peace was also degraded, and his successor, seven days after his appointment (19th November, 1712), published a third declaration of war against the Russians. Charles, however, gained nothing by this step, for the new grand vizier and the sultan continually and seriously importuned him to hasten his departure from Turkey. Finally, his hopes of being able to invade Poland with a Turkish army were completely frustrated by a new treaty of peace which was concluded between Russia and Turkey, under English and Dutch mediation, in May, 1713.

CHAPTER XXV.

PETER'S ACQUISITIONS IN THE NORTH—OPERATIONS IN POMERANIA, &c.—STEINBOCK AND HIS ARMY MADE PRISONERS—INTRIGUES OF GÖRTZ—NAVAL VICTORY OF ALAND.

THE unfortunate campaign of the Pruth was of worse consequence to the czar than the battle of Narva; by that defeat he had profited so as to recover all his losses and dispossess Charles XII. of Ingria; but by the treaty of Faltschi, besides losing all his harbours and fortresses on the Sea of Asof, he was also to renounce the sovereignty of the Black Sea. His enterprises still afforded him a large field for action; and he alone, before the end of the war with Charles XII., reaped the fruit of his vigorous efforts and his numerous sacrifices. He founded the empire which was to inherit the title and the power of Charlemagne, whilst the Roman empire, which the latter had founded, was become the derision of the world.

Peter had overrun Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; and by the marriage of his niece, as it afterwards appeared, brought Courland into subjection to Russia. His niece Anna was married to Frederick William, duke of Courland, on which occasion the life and customs of the time, especially in the north, were exhibited in all their barbarity. The newly-married duke was obliged to indulge to such an extent in immoderate drinking during the festivities consequent upon the marriage, that he brought his life to an early termination (January, 1711). The czar availed himself of this unexpected death to exclude the brother of the deceased duke, to claim the province as a settlement on the widow, and cause the administration to be carried on in the name of the grand-duchess. The custom of immoderate drinking, which proved fatal to the duke of Courland, was taken advantage of by Peter, as well as by diplomatists in general, to promote their political objects. He compelled his guests, according to Russian usage, to drink brandy, that he might the more easily extract the secrets of his nobles and the foreign ambassadors, or destroy them.*

Peter would very willingly have established a firm footing in Germany; and the campaign of the two kings of Poland and Denmark, which ended unsuccessfully, as well as the dispute which soon after occurred between the duke of Mecklenburg and his nobles, seemed to him to offer a fitting opportunity. Peter had been in Carlsbad in the summer of 1711; he afterwards travelled to Dresden, and married his son Alexis, heir to his throne, to a princess of Wolfenbüttel, sister-in-law of the emperor Charles VI.; and finally, when

* Villebois, who exaggerates nothing, Weber in his "Altered Russia," and Bassewitz, are inexhaustible in anecdotes with respect to immoderate drinking. Villebois informs us how he was sent by Peter to Catharine, who gave him an audience in bed, that he took improper liberties with her in a fit of drunkenness, was arrested and condemned, "pour deux ans à la chaîne," but was really kept to no labour, and shortly afterwards restored to all his offices, because Peter needed his services. He states expressly, that Peter was in the habit of cunningly extracting secrets from his guests when intoxicated, and writing them down in his pocket-book, and that he removed many a man out of the way who had revealed his mind in this manner.

the Danes, threatened by the Swedes, retreated to Holstein, he sent a Russian army under Mentchikof, Galitzin, Repnin, and Bauer, to Pomerania, in order to join and assist the Saxons in the sieges of Stettin and Stralsund. Peter had then still hopes that it would be possible to train Alexis for a ruler, and gave him charge of the campaign. He left Mentchikof with the army as his own substitute, recommended him to provide magazines, to spare the country, and to punish every act of violence with death. This, however, was all to no purpose, as Mentchikof emulated the common Russians in robbery and destruction. He compelled the inhabitants of Dantzig to pay him 400,000 dollars, and Peter extorted 100,000 from Riga; but again, in the commencement of the following year, offered the emperor of Germany 30,000 Russians to serve against France, if he would confer upon him the rank of a member of the empire, and invest him with Livonia as an imperial fief. This will explain the reason why Louis XIV., or his banker, in the following year, helped Steinbock out of his perplexity, when he had no money to pay his troops, however little Charles XII. concerned himself about France.

Count Steinbock, general of Charles's army, little expected such a supply at a time when his troops were on the point of breaking out into a mutiny. Seeing the storm gather about him, and having nothing but promises to avert it, fearing also to be hemmed in by three armies of Russians, Danes, and Saxons, he had proposed a cessation of arms, and sent a courier to Bender, representing to the king the deplorable state of his affairs, and informing him that the proposal of the armistice was a step of absolute necessity. The courier had not been gone three days, when Steinbock received from the Paris banker two hundred thousand crowns; which, in a desolate country, and at that time especially, was an immense treasure. Elate with this supply, he encouraged his army, procured stores and recruits, and saw himself at the head of twelve thousand men, so that instead of seeking for a suspension of arms, all his thoughts were bent on fighting.

Steinbock now marched along the Wismar road towards the combined troops of the Russians, Saxons, and Danes; he soon found himself near the Danish and Saxon armies, the Russians being three leagues behind. The czar sent three

couriers close after each other to the king of Denmark, desiring him to wait his coming up, and representing the danger of fighting the Swedes without a superiority in number. The king of Denmark, averse to sharing the honour of a victory of which he had made himself sure, advanced against the Swedes, and attacked them near a place called Gadebusch. This action was a fresh instance of the extreme enmity between the Swedes and Danes, the officers of both nations furiously rushing on each other, and falling dead with mutual wounds.

Steinbock had gained the victory before the Russians could reach the field of battle; but this victory was like that which had given a moment's comfort to king Augustus, when in the course of his misfortunes he had won the battle of Kalish against the Swedes, who were everywhere conquerors. The victory of Kalish aggravated Augustus's losses, and that of Gadebusch only retarded the ruin of Steinbock and his army.

The king of Sweden, on advice of Steinbock's victory, imagined his affairs again on a good footing. He even believed that he should be able to bring the Ottoman empire to declare a new war against the czar. In this hope he ordered Steinbock to march into Poland, ever flattering himself, on the least success, that the times of Narva, when he used to give law, were returning: these imaginations were soon after quashed by the affair at Bender, and his captivity in Turkey.

All the consequence of the victory of Gadebusch was the reducing to ashes in the night the little town of Altona, inhabited by traders and manufacturers; a defenceless place, and which, not having taken arms, should not have been molested. It was totally destroyed: several of the inhabitants perished in the flames, and others, especially the aged and children, who had fled from the conflagration, died with fatigue and cold at the gates of Hamburg.* This horrible and petty advantage was all that Steinbock obtained; the Russians, Danes, and Saxons pursued him so closely after his victory, that he was obliged to solicit shelter for himself and his army in Tonningen, a fortified place in Holstein.

* Norberg, the king's chaplain and confessor, in his history, coolly says, that general Steinbock set fire to the town only because he had not carriages to bring away the furniture.

Holstein was at that time one of the most desolated countries in the north, and its sovereign one of the most unhappy princes; he was Charles the Twelfth's own nephew. It was for his father, brother-in-law to this monarch, that Charles before the battle of Narva had carried his arms to Copenhagen itself; and it was for him that he had made the treaty of Travendal, by which the dukes of Holstein recovered their rights. The king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp were of the same house; yet the duke, nephew to Charles XII. and his presumptive heir, had an hereditary aversion to the king of Denmark, who was oppressing him in his minority. The bishop of Lubeck, a brother of his father's, and administrator of this unfortunate pupil's dominions, saw himself between the Swedish army, which he durst not assist, and the Russian, Danish, and Saxon army, which threatened extremities. Endeavours, however, were to be used for saving Charles's troops, without giving offence to the king of Denmark, who was now become master of the country, and draining it of all its substance.

The bishop-administrator of Holstein was entirely governed by the famous baron Görtz, the most crafty and enterprising of men. Görtz had a private conference with Steinbock at Usum, and promised him he would deliver into his hands the fortress of Tonningen, without bringing into question the bishop-administrator his master; and at the same time the king of Denmark received assurances from him that it should not be delivered up. Steinbock appeared before Tonningen; the governor refused to open the gates: this prevented all cause of complaint from the king of Denmark against the bishop-administrator; but Görtz caused an order for admitting the Swedish army into Tonningen to be made out in the name of the young duke. Stamke, the cabinet secretary, added the duke's signature: thus Görtz only implicated a child, who had no right as yet to give orders: at the same time he served the king of Sweden, whose favour he was courting, and he obliged the bishop-administrator, his master, who appeared not to consent to the admission of the Swedish army. The governor of Tonningen, who was easily practised on, delivered up the town to the Swedes; and Görtz cleared himself as well as he could with the king of Denmark, protesting that all had been done contrary to his advice.

Though the Swedish army was thus received, part into the town and part under its cannon, yet this did not save it: general Steinbock was obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war with eleven thousand men, as about sixteen thousand had surrendered after the battle of Poltava. It was agreed that Steinbock, with his officers and soldiers, might be ransomed or exchanged; Steinbock's ransom was settled at eight thousand imperial crowns; an inconsiderable sum, yet for want of it that general remained a prisoner at Copenhagen till his death. The territories of Holstein continued under the discretion of an incensed conqueror; and the young duke was the object of the king of Denmark's revenge, for the abuse which Görtz had made of his name. Thus Charles the Twelfth's whole family became involved in his misfortunes.

Görtz, though his schemes were baffled, still intent on acting a capital part in this confusion, reassumed a project he had entertained of procuring a neutrality for the Swedish possessions in Germany.

The king of Denmark was at the gates of Tonningen; George, elector of Hanover, coveted the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with the town of Stade; Frederick William, the new king of Prussia, had cast his eye on Stettin; and Peter I. was preparing to make himself master of Finland. Thus a partition was projected of all Charles the Twelfth's foreign dominions; but the problem Görtz proposed to himself was to reconcile such a variety of interests with their neutrality. He negotiated, at the same time, with all the princes concerned: day and night he was posting from one province to another; he prevailed with the governor of Bremen and Verden to deliver up those two duchies to the elector of Hanover in sequestration, lest the Danes might seize on them for themselves. By his address with the king of Prussia, that prince consented to take on him the sequestration of Stettin and Wismar, jointly with Holstein; by which means the king of Denmark would no longer molest Holstein, nor get entrance into Tonningen. It was certainly an odd way of serving Charles XII. to put his territories and strong places into the hands of those who might keep them for ever; but Görtz, by putting those powers in possession of the towns, by way of hostage, forced them to a neutrality, at least for some time; hoping that afterwards

Hanover and Brandenburg might be induced to declare for Sweden. He was also bringing into his views the king of Poland, whose ruined dominions stood in immediate need of peace: in short, he was for rendering himself a necessary man to all the princes. He disposed of Charles the Twelfth's patrimony as a guardian, who to save one part of the estate of a pupil reduced to distress, and incapable of transacting his affairs himself, sacrifices the other. All this he did without any formal legation, without any other authority for his procedures than a commission from the bishop of Lubeck, who himself was in no way authorised by Charles.

At first all things went well; Görtz concluded a treaty with the king of Prussia (June, 1713), by which this monarch engaged, on holding Stettin in sequestration, to preserve the rest of Pomerania for Charles XII. In consequence of this treaty, Görtz proposed to Meyerfeld, governor of Pomerania, for the facilitating of a peace, to deliver up Stettin to the king of Prussia, believing the Swede, who was governor of Stettin, might be as pliant as the Holsteiner governor of Tonningen; but Charles's officers were not used to obey such orders. Meyerfeld answered, that if Stettin was entered, it should be over his body and the ruins of the place. He acquainted his master with this strange overture: the courier found Charles a captive of Demirtash, after his adventure at Bender. It was then questioned whether Charles would not be detained prisoner in Turkey all his life, and be sent to some island in the Archipelago or Asia. Charles, in his obscure confinement, sent to Meyerfeld the very same order he had sent to Steinbock; that he must die sooner than submit to the enemy; and be as inflexible as himself.

Görtz seeing that all his measures were disconcerted by the governor of Stettin, who would not hear of any neutrality or sequestration, formed the project not only of having Stettin sequestrated, but also Stralsund; and he found means to bring the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, into a like treaty for Stralsund, as he had made with the elector of Brandenburg for Stettin. He clearly saw it was impossible for the Swedes to keep those places without money and an army; and by these sequestrations he hoped to remove the scourge of war from all the north. Denmark itself listened to Gortz's negotiations. Prince Mentchikof, the czar's gene-

ral and favourite, eagerly came to his lure, being made to believe that Holstein might be given up to his master the czar: he cajoled that monarch with the plan of drawing a canal from Holstein into the Baltic, an undertaking than which nothing could have been thought of more to the taste of that enterprising founder; and especially with the acquisition of a new power in becoming one of the princes of the German empire, and thus being entitled to a vote at the diet of Ratisbon, which he could always second with a good army.

The many different forms this volunteer negotiator assumed, the various ways he turned himself, and the many parts he acted, are without a parallel. He even engaged prince Mentchikof to destroy that same city of Stettin which that general was for saving, and to bombard it, that Meyerfeld the governor might be obliged to deliver it up on sequestration. Thus he ventured to offend the king of Sweden, whom he desired to please, and whom, indeed, to his misfortune, he afterwards pleased too much.

The king of Prussia seeing that a Russian army was bombarding Stettin, began to fear that the place was lost to him, and would fall into the hands of Russia. This was the very point to which Görtz wanted to bring him. Prince Mentchikof wanting money, he procured him a loan of four hundred thousand crowns from the king of Prussia, and afterwards had the governor of the place treated with, when this question was put to him: Which had you rather see, Stettin in ashes under the dominion of Russia, or entrusted to the king of Prussia, who will restore it to the king your master? The commandant at length complied. Mentchikof entered the city, and having received the four hundred thousand crowns, delivered it up with all its districts to the king of Prussia, who, for form's sake, admitted two Holstein battalions into it; but this part of Pomerania was never restored.

Baron Görtz, after setting so many springs in motion, could not prevail on the Danes to spare the province of Holstein, and lay aside their design on Tonningen. He failed in what seemed to be his chief scope; but in everything else he succeeded, and especially in becoming a person of importance in the north, which was indeed his main design.

The elector of Hanover had already secured Bremen and

Verden, Charles XII. being dispossessed of it; the Saxons were before his city of Wismar; Stettin was in the hands of the king of Prussia; the Russians were going to besiege Stralsund, in conjunction with the Saxons, who were already in the island of Rugen; and the czar, in the midst of so many negotiations about neutralities and partitions, had made a descent in Finland. After having himself pointed the artillery before Stralsund, leaving the rest to his allies and prince Mentchikof, he embarked in the month of May on board a fifty-gun ship built from a model of his own at Petersburg, and steered for Finland, followed by ninety-two galleys and one hundred and ten half-galleys, with sixteen thousand land forces.

The descent was made at Helsingfors (May 22, 1713); the difficulties were many, yet it succeeded: an attack was made by way of diversion on one part, whilst the descent was carried on in another; thus the troops landed, and took the town. The czar pushing his success, made himself master of Borgo and Abo, and commanded the whole coast. The Swedes seemed now destitute of any further resource; this happening at that very time when the Swedish army under Steinbock had surrendered prisoners of war.

Prince Galitzin, one of Peter's generals, advanced from Helsingfors, where the czar had landed, into the centre of the country, to the town of Tavasthus, a post which covered Bothnia, and was defended by some Swedish regiments, with eight thousand militia. An action ensued (March 13, 1714) in which the Russians gained a complete victory, and dispersed the whole Swedish army; they afterwards penetrated as far as Vasa, making themselves master of the country to the extent of fourscore leagues.

The Swedes had still a naval force with which they kept the sea. Peter, desirous above all things to signalise a navy of his own forming, had left Petersburg, and got together a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, with one hundred and eighty galleys fit for working through the rocks which surround the isle of Aland, and other islands not far from the coast of Sweden. Here he met with the Swedish fleet, which in large ships was much stronger than his, but in galleys inferior, consequently better adapted to fight in open sea than among rocks; this was a superiority which the czar owed

entirely to his own genius. He served in his fleet as rear-admiral, and received orders from admiral Apraxin. Peter desired to possess himself of the isle of Aland, which is but twelve leagues from Sweden; in order to do this he was to pass within sight of the Swedish fleet: this bold attempt was executed; the galleys cleared their way under the enemy's cannon, which indeed was not well served. The Russians got into Aland, and this coast being almost everywhere full of rocks, eighty-four galleys were dragged along a plank road across the isthmus of Hango, and launched again in the sea. Erenschild, the Swedish admiral, concluded he should have little difficulty in taking or sinking these eighty galleys: he therefore advanced towards them, but was received with such a fire as made a most terrible slaughter among his soldiers and sailors; his galleys and prames, with the ship on board of which he had his flag, were taken, and he himself escaping in a boat, was wounded, and at length obliged to surrender (August 8). He was brought on board the galley which the czar himself manœuvred; the remainder of the Swedish fleet got safe to Sweden, but the consternation was such, that even Stockholm did not think itself safe. Neislot, the only fortress remaining to the Swedes on the western coast of Finland, was at the same time reduced by colonel Shuvalof, after a most obstinate resistance.

The action of Aland, next to that of Poltava, was the most glorious of Peter's life. Now master of Finland, the government of which he left to prince Galitzin, after triumphing over the whole naval force of Sweden, he returned to Petersburg; the tempestuous season not allowing his longer stay in the seas of Finland and Bothnia. On his way homeward, a storm arose, which threatened to swallow up both the victors and the vanquished. Peter threw himself into a boat, contended with the tempest during a passage of two sea leagues, amidst deep darkness and innumerable reefs, reached a port, lighted a beacon, and thus saved the whole of his victory. Petersburg then witnessed another triumphal procession. In this spectacle, the first exhibition was the bringing into Cronslot harbour of nine Swedish galleys, seven prames crowded with prisoners, and admiral Erenschild's ship.

The Russian flag-ship had on board the cannon, colours, and standards taken in the conquest of Finland. All these spoils were carried to Petersburg, the Russian army marching in order of battle. The triumphal arch, which the czar, according to custom, had himself designed, was decorated with the emblems of all his victories; under it passed the conquerors, headed by admiral Apraxin; the czar followed him as rear-admiral, and the other officers according to their rank; they were all presented to the vice-czar Romadonofski, who distributed gold medals among the officers, and every soldier and sailor had one of silver. The Swedish prisoners also passed under this arch: and admiral Erenschild immediately followed the czar, his conqueror. On coming to the throne, where the vice-czar sat, admiral Apraxin presented to him rear-admiral Peter, who, in obedience to a command from the throne, submitted an oral report of the engagement. Apraxin then solicited for his comrade the rank of vice-admiral, in recompense of his services: this claim, which had been once before preferred and rejected, was now admitted without demur.

After this august comedy, Peter, resuming the czar, thus addressed the Russians around him:—"Friends," said he, "which of you, only thirty years ago, would ever have thought that a day would come when you and I should build vessels on the Baltic; when we should found a city in that country, conquered by our toils and our valour, and should see so many Russians become victorious soldiers and skilful sailors? Could you possibly have foreseen that such a multitude of highly-instructed men, industrious artificers, and distinguished artists, would come from various parts of Europe to make the arts flourish in our native land; that we should impress foreign powers with such respect for us; in one word, that so much glory was destined for us?

"History shows us that Greece was anciently the asylum of all the sciences; and that, driven from that beautiful country by the revolutions of the times, they spread over Italy, and thence into all the nations of Europe. It was in consequence of the negligence of our ancestors that they stopped short in Poland, and could not reach us; but at one time the Germans and Poles were plunged into the same darkness of ignorance in which we languished till a recent

period. It was by the exertions of their sovereigns that their eyes were opened; they have inherited the sciences, the polity, and the arts of Greece.

"Our turn is at last come, if you will second me in my undertaking, if you will add labour to obedience. The transmigration of the sciences and arts may be compared to the circulation of the blood. I hope that the hour will come when, abandoning Germany, France, and England, they will remain some time with us, in their way back to Greece, their country."

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHARLES XII. LIBERATED FROM CAPTIVITY — POLITICAL ASPECT OF EUROPE AT THAT PERIOD—PROJECT OF PEACE BETWEEN THE CZAR AND THE KING OF SWEDEN—PETER'S SECOND VISIT TO HOLLAND—CABALS OF ALBERONI AND GÖRTZ.

THE regency of Stockholm, exasperated by the deplorable state of affairs and the absence of the king, had at length come to a resolution to consult him no longer, and immediately after the czar's naval victory, they had asked the victor's passport for an officer, who was to carry proposals of peace. A passport was sent; but just then princess Ulrica-Leonora, Charles the Twelfth's sister, received advice that the king her brother was at length preparing to leave Turkey, and come in person to defend his country. This put a stop to the negotiator's journey. Charles, after a stay in Turkey of five years and some months, left it towards the end of October, 1714, and reached Stralsund November 22. Baron Görtz was soon with him, and though the author of part of his misfortunes, he justified himself so artfully, and laid before the king such brilliant hopes, that he riveted himself in his confidence, as he had gained that of all the ministers and princes with whom he had negotiated. He brought him to believe that he would detach the czar's allies from him, the consequence of which must be an honourable peace, or,

at least, an equal war. From this moment Görtz obtained a much greater sway over the mind of Charles than ever count Piper could do.

Charles found Europe in a very different state from that in which he had left it. Anne, queen of England, died soon after making a peace with France; Louis XIV. had secured Spain to his grandson, and obliged the emperor of Germany, Charles VI., and the Dutch to conclude a peace. The affairs of the north had undergone a greater change; Peter was become arbiter in that part of the world. The elector of Hanover, who had succeeded to the throne of England, aimed at enlarging his territories in Germany, at the expense of Sweden, whose German possessions were the conquests of the great Gustavus. The king of Denmark was bent on recovering Schonen, the best province of Sweden, and which had formerly belonged to the Danes. The king of Prussia, as heir to the dukes of Pomerania, claimed, at least, part of that province: on the other hand, the house of Holstein, oppressed by the king of Denmark; and the duke of Mecklenburg, who was in a manner at open war with his subjects, solicited the protection of Peter. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was desirous that Courland might be annexed to Poland. Thus from the Elbe to the Baltic Sea, Peter was the support, as Charles had been the terror, of all the princes.

Many were the negotiations set on foot since Charles's return, but without any progress; he thought that he could assemble a sufficient number of men of war, and not be afraid of the czar's maritime force; and in the land war he relied on his courage. As to the expenses, Görtz, who was suddenly made prime minister, persuaded him they might be defrayed with copper coin, raised to ninety-six times above its natural value, which is certainly a prodigy in the history of government. But so early as the 1st of April, 1715, Peter's ships took the first Swedish privateers which put to sea; and a Russian army marched into Pomerania.

The Prussians, Danes, and Saxons joined their forces before Stralsund (April, 1715), and Charles, after returning from his prisons of Demirtash and Demirtoca, found himself besieged on the shore of the Baltic.

It was during this famous siege of Stralsund, that the

new king of England purchased of the king of Denmark for 800,000 German crowns the province of Bremen and Verden, which the Danes had taken from Charles XII. Thus Charles's dominions were bought and sold, whilst he was defending Stralsund inch by inch. At last, the place being reduced to a heap of ruins, his officers artfully forced him to quit it: when he was safe, Duker his general delivered up those ruins to the king of Prussia (December 15).

Peter was satisfied with having Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria, which he looked on as provinces of his dominions, and with having further added to them almost all Finland, which was as a security in case a peace could be brought about. In the month of April of the same year (1715), he had married a daughter of his brother's to Charles-Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg. Thus all the princes of the north were either his allies or his creatures. He awed king Augustus's enemies in Poland: one of his armies, of about eighteen thousand men, easily dispersed all those combinations so often shooting up in that seminary of liberty and anarchy; and the Turks, faithful to treaties, left his powers and his designs their full range.

In this flourishing condition, almost every day produced new establishments relating to the navy, army, commerce, or the laws: he himself drew up a military code for the infantry. He was founding a naval academy at Petersburg. Lange was setting out for China by the way of Siberia on commercial improvements; engineers were laying down maps throughout the whole empire. The superb seat of Petershof was building: and at the same time forts were erecting on the Irtish; the depredations of the tribes of Bukaria were checked; and in another part, the Kuban Tatars were kept in awe.

The measure of his prosperity seemed to be filled up this year, a son being born to him by his wife Catharine, and an heir to his dominions in a son of prince Alexis; but of the former he was soon deprived by death, and we shall see, in the tragical fate of Alexis, that the birth of his son could not be accounted a happiness.

The czaritza's delivery interrupted the journeys in which she continually attended her husband both by land and sea;

but on the first recovery of her strength, she accompanied him in new expeditions.

Wismar was then besieged by all the czar's allies. This town was another of those German acquisitions which the peace of Westphalia had secured to the Swedes; yet at length, like Stralsund, it was obliged to surrender. The czar's allies lost no time in making themselves masters of it before his troops arrived; but Peter himself coming before the town after the capitulation, which had been transacted without him, made the garrison prisoners of war (Feb., 1716). He highly resented that his allies should leave to the king of Denmark a town which should naturally belong to the duke of Mecklenburg, the prince on whom he had bestowed his niece; and this resentment, of which Görtz soon availed himself, gave the first rise to his project for a peace between the czar and Charles the Twelfth. Görtz, from this moment, represented to Peter the Great that Sweden was sufficiently weakened, and that Denmark and Prussia ought not to be too much aggrandised. The czar was precisely of the same opinion; thenceforth he acted indolently against Sweden; and Charles the Twelfth being everywhere unfortunate in Germany, resolved to carry the war into Norway; one of those desperate steps which success alone can justify.

The czar, in the mean time, undertook a second tour through Europe. The first he had made as a person who sought information in the arts and manufactures; the second he performed as a prince desirous of coming at the secrets of foreign courts. He carried his consort to Copenhagen, Lubeck, Schwerin, and Neustadt; he had a meeting with the king of Prussia at the small town of Aversburg, thence they proceeded to Hamburg, and Altona, lately burnt by the Swedes, but now partly rebuilt. At length he reached Amsterdam, and the little dwelling at Sardam, where about eighteen years before he had learned the art of shipbuilding; he now found it improved into a complete and pleasant structure, still known by the name of *the prince's house*. It may be judged with what joy and fondness he was received by a community of traders and mariners, whose companion he had been: they looked on the victor of Poltava as their pupil, who had founded trade and navigation in his

empire, and had learnt among them to gain naval victories; they accounted him as one of their fellow-citizens raised to the imperial dignity.

The czaritza had remained at Schwerin, being far advanced in her third pregnancy since her marriage; however, she was no sooner able to travel than she proceeded to Holland after the czar. At Wesel she was delivered of a prince, who died the next day. With us it is not customary for a woman to travel immediately after her lying-in; but the czaritza within ten days reached Amsterdam.

The czar continued three months in Holland. The Hague, ever since the peace of Nimeguen, Ryswick, and Utrecht, had been reputed the centre of the negotiations of Europe, and was chiefly inhabited by ministers from all courts, and by travellers resorting thither to improve themselves in this universal academy of politics. A great revolution in Europe was then on the anvil; the czar, who was privy to the design, prolonged his stay in the Netherlands, that he might be nearer at hand to see at once what intrigues were carrying on in the south and in the north, and to prepare for the part it would become him to act. He perceived that his allies were not a little jealous of his power; and that, very often, friends are more troublesome than enemies.

Mecklenburg was one of the principal causes of those unavoidable variances between neighbouring princes, in a division of conquests. Peter was not willing the Danes should take Wismar for themselves, and much less that they should demolish its fortifications; yet had they done both.

The duke of Mecklenburg, to whom he had married his niece, was openly protected by him against the nobility of the country; and they, on the other hand, had a patron in the king of England. Peter also began to be very much displeased with the king of Poland, or rather with his first minister, count Fleming, who was for throwing off the yoke of dependency which had been imposed by force and acts of benevolence.

The courts of England and Poland, Denmark and Holstein, Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, were distracted with intrigues and cabals.

At the end of the year 1716, and the beginning of 1717, Görtz, who, according to Bassewitz's Memoirs, was weary of

the bare name of counsellor of Holstein, and of being only a clandestine plenipotentiary of Charles the Twelfth, had been the first mover of all these intrigues; and he now resolved to make use of them for raising commotions in Europe. His scheme was to reconcile Charles XII. and the czar, and unite them, with a view of replacing Stanislaüs on the throne of Poland; and dispossessing the king of England, George the First, of Bremen and Verden, and even driving him from the British throne, which would disable him from ever aggrandising himself with the spoils of Charles.

There was at the same time a minister of his temper, who aimed at the overthrow of England and France; this was cardinal Alberoni, whose sway in Spain exceeded that of Görtz in Sweden; bold and enterprising as himself, but with much more power, being at the head of an opulent kingdom, and paying his creatures in other coin than copper. Görtz, from the distant shores of the Baltic, soon formed connexions with the court of Madrid; both Alberoni and he diligently corresponded with all the English fugitives who had declared for the Stuart family. The Swedish minister posted into all the countries where he could meet with any of king George's enemies, as Germany, Holland, Flanders, Lorrain, and, towards the close of the year 1716, to Paris. Cardinal Alberoni began with sending him to Paris a million of French livres, that he might begin *to fire the train*, as Alberoni expressed himself.

Görtz was for having Charles make considerable concessions to Peter, and indemnify himself on his enemies, that he might have his hands free to attempt a descent in Scotland, whilst the partisans of the Stuarts, after so many fruitless insurrections, should take up arms in England. The accomplishment of these projects required that the king of England should be deprived of his greatest support, the regent of France. That France should be united with the king of England against the grandson of Louis XIV., whom, at such an immense expense and effusion of blood, it had placed on the throne of Spain against the combination of so many powerful enemies, was something extraordinary; but at that time everything was out of its natural course, and the interest of the regent was not that of the kingdom. Alberoni was already machinating a conspiracy in France

against the regent. The plan of this vast enterprise was no sooner formed, than the foundations for conducting it were laid. Görtz being first in the secret, was to go into Italy, in disguise, in order to confer with the Pretender in the neighbourhood of Rome; thence he was to hasten back to the Hague, to see the czar; and he was to put the finishing hand to all with the king of Sweden.

The Swedish minister had returned to Holland, at the end of the year 1716, with bills of exchange from Alberoni, and the credentials of a plenipotentiary from Charles. It is very certain that the Pretender's party was to have risen on Charles's making a descent from Norway into the north of Scotland. This prince, who had not been able to preserve his dominions in Germany, was going to invade those of another. And thus after the prison of Demirtash, and the ashes of Stralsund, he would crown the son of James at London, as he had placed Stanislaus on the throne at Warsaw.

It is certain that Peter was acquainted with the plan, as appears from the letters which passed between Görtz and Gyllenborg, the Swedish minister in London, which were seized upon, and are now printed. Besides, it is known that Peter not only negotiated with Görtz through prince Kurakin, but that he also kept up communications with the partisans of the Pretender in Scotland and England, through his Scotch physician Erskine; and also that he was very much offended with the Dutch for arresting Görtz, and was indignant with the English for publishing the intercepted correspondence, in which his name occurred. The czar was so enraged at king George, that he not only loudly and publicly abused him, but they carefully avoided each other, when George came twice to Holland during Peter's sojourn in that country (1717). Peter expressly excused his conduct towards the Dutch ambassador, whom he caused to be arrested, and whose papers he ordered to be seized, by alleging that the Dutch had arrested Görtz. It is clear that Peter took more interest, and participated more deeply than Charles XII., in the cabals between Alberoni and Görtz, the partisans of the Pretender and the malcontents in France, because one of the chief points of the prelimi-

naries of peace agreed upon by Peter (in Lofoe) shortly before Charles's death, relates to the Pretender. In addition to this, Coxe states, that at a still later period Alberoni sent the duke of Ormond to Russia, to enter into a close alliance with Peter. A modern French historian is not far from the truth in declaring that the whole of these cabals were a swindle on the part of the scandalous and extravagant Görtz, who was inexhaustible in schemes; for he, Gyllenborg, Sparre, and others, undoubtedly availed themselves of the credulity of the Jacobites, in order to obtain 20,000 guineas in England, and 100,000 livres from the opponents of George in France.

Gyllenborg, the ambassador in London, was a principal mover in the whole scheme. When the Danes by accident found the letters which related to it in a Swedish ship, the English caused a counterfeit to be made of the Swedish seal, opened all the ambassador's letters, and finally arrested the minister himself (9th February, 1717); and the Dutch, at their request, seized upon the person of Görtz.

Charles XII. caused the English ambassador Jackson to be arrested, and exchanged him for Gyllenborg. He forbade the Dutch consul the court; the duke of Holstein interested himself also in favour of Görtz, but the states of Gueldres had already set him at liberty, and formally promised him their protection. Görtz drove from the place of his confinement into Arnheim in a coach drawn by six horses, and threw money amongst the people, who thereupon cheered for the king of Sweden. The czar solemnly denied all participation in the cabals, and even took a journey to Paris (May, 1717), where Louis XIV. had refused his visit on his first journey. The regent would undoubtedly rather not have seen him in his capital, nevertheless he gave him an honourable and ceremonious reception. But from the moment of his arrival all these vain pomps were rejected by the czar; they hid from him the useful things which he wished to observe. "I am a soldier," he said; "bread and beer are all I want; I like small rooms better than large. I do not wish to move about in state and tire so many people." He refused the apartments prepared for him in the Louvre, and took up his abode in the Marais, at the Hôtel Lesdiguière, belonging to Marshal Villeroi. But for all his desire to avoid

ceremony and adulation, he could not entirely escape from the ingenious stratagems of French politeness. Happening to dine with the Duke d'Antin at his château of Petitbourg, three leagues from Paris, he perceived after the entertainment that his own portrait, painted on the spot, had been just put up in the dining-room, and he could not but feel that the French, above any other people in the world, knew how to receive so noble a guest.

He was still more surprised, when, going to see medals struck in that long gallery of the Louvre, where all the king's artists have such elegant apartments, a medal, on being struck, fell on the floor, and the czar eagerly stooping to take it up, found it to be a medal of himself, and on the reverse a Fame, with these words of Virgil, so suitable to Peter the Great, *Vires acquirit eundo:* a delicate and noble allusion, and equally adapted to his travels and reputation. The Russian monarch, and all his attendants, were presented with some of these medals in gold. On his visiting the artists, all the finest pieces were laid at his feet, with an humble request that he would deign to accept of them. And when he went to see the tapestry of the Gobelins, the carpets of the Savonnerie, the working rooms of the king's sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, and mathematical instrument makers; whatever seemed particularly to engage his eye, was offered to him in the king's name. Peter being a mechanic, an artist, and a geometrician, went to the Academy of Sciences, where, with his own hand, he corrected several geographical errors in the maps they showed him of his dominions, and especially those of the Caspian Sea. He was pleased also to become one of the members, and afterwards kept up a constant correspondence with that illustrious body.

On visiting the Sorbonne the czar was possessed with a fierce rapture at the sight of cardinal Richelieu's tomb, the beauty of which masterpiece of sculpture scarcely attracted his eye; his admiration was engrossed by the image of a minister whose policy, cruel, crafty, and inflexible, had crushed the aristocracy of France, and made the throne despotic. He embraced the statue with this exclamation,—"*Great man, I would have given thee one half of my dominions, to learn of thee how to govern the other.*" Before he left Paris, he intimated his desire to see Madame de Maintenon, who was then

drawing near her end. His silence at her bedside showed that his visit was prompted by no sympathy with the intolerant and superstitious widow of Louis XIV., though his curiosity may have been moved by the sort of similarity between the marriage of Louis and his own. But between the king of France and him there was this difference; the latter had publicly espoused a heroine, and Louis only an agreeable woman, and that in private.

In this journey Peter did not take the czaritza with him, fearing the incumbrances of ceremony, and the curiosity of a court, little qualified to estimate the merit of a woman, who, from the banks of the Pruth to the shores of Finland, had, at her husband's side, faced death both by sea and land. In truth, the French of that time had no sense of Peter's great qualities or of his utilitarian efforts; his peculiarities and his barbarism, however, surprised them, and his rude and brutal enjoyments appeared nothing less to disclose total moral depravity than the unheard-of excesses of their regent, who was the very genius of sin. Nature, vigour, a sense for everything profitable or agreeable, and an unceasing activity for the improvement of his people, distinguished Peter, notwithstanding all his moral corruption: such qualities could not be at that time so justly estimated in Paris as they were after the revolution.

Yet some of the most earnest minds in France admired the experienced glance and skilful hand with which he selected the objects worthy of his attention, and the masters whom he engaged to instruct his people; and his preference of the useful arts and sciences, to examine which he repeatedly visited the artists and manufacturers whose merit he had discerned. "His questions to learned men and to artists," they say, "uniformly gave proof of his knowledge, and excited admiration of the sagacity of an enlarged mind, which was as prompt to comprehend information, as it was eager to learn."

In his rapid journey through France, Peter would often stop, quit his carriage, and stray into the fields to converse with common husbandmen. He made them explain the use of their agricultural implements, and took sketches of them with his own hand. The dress of one of them having attracted his notice, he stopped to interrogate him, and then, turning to his followers, "Look," he said, "at this good country

parson; with the labour of his own hands he procures cider, wine, and money to boot. Remind me of this when we are in Russia again. I will endeavour to stimulate our priests by this example, and, by teaching them to till the soil, rescue them from their sloth and wretchedness." They remain, however, to this day as ignorant and besotted as ever.

Peter's negotiations with the regent led to a treaty, to which Prussia afterwards acceded, which was composed in the general expressions and technical language of diplomatists, but which had really no significance. Returning to Holland, Peter renewed his connexion with Görtz; he even held a personal meeting with him in Loo (August, 1717), entered into negotiations with Charles, and a place was appointed for a congress to agree upon a treaty of peace. The Russian troops had been withdrawn from Germany since July, with the exception of 3000, who were nominally in the service of the duke of Mecklenburg, and by whose instrumentality he so oppressed his nobles, and especially the poor city of Rostock, that the empire was at length obliged to afford them aid and protection. Görtz had at that time a Russian passport from Peter; he first resided in the neighbourhood of Berlin, then in Dresden; stayed for a short time in Revel, and hastened thence to Sweden, where he consulted with the king as to the means of satisfying Peter. Peter had united his army on the frontiers of Finland and in Poland, in order to be able, according to circumstances, either to act against king Augustus in favour of Stanislaus, or against Charles XII. The negotiations between Peter's plenipotentiaries and the Swedes, of which no one knew the secret conditions except Görtz and his friend Gyllenborg, began in May (1718) at Lofoe, one of the Aland islands, and were entrusted by the czar to his most confidential friends and advisers, Bruce and Ostermann, alone.

The world was astonished, when Peter once more remained wholly quiet, and Charles directed his entire force against Norway; and still more, when it was understood that preliminaries had been signed between Sweden and Russia, in which the interests of Denmark, Hanover, and Saxony had been altogether sacrificed by Russia. Whoever reads these preliminaries cannot repress a certain degree of admiration of Görtz's skill, because it is evident that he was

about successfully to extricate his master from those difficulties into which his obstinacy had plunged him. Charles, on this occasion, sacrificed all the remaining strength of his brave nation in a thoughtless and wholly useless manner in the Norwegian mountains; but king George, who had learned from Paris something of the plans which were being forged against him, and of the preliminaries which had been signed by Ostermann and Görtz, became seriously alarmed at the cabals of the Swedish king, and sought to win him over to his cause. When, however, all attempts to induce Sweden to enter into negotiations proved vain, in May (1718) admiral Norris, with an English fleet, appeared in the Sound, as Charles was making preparations to invade Norway. But Norris remained inactive; the negotiations went on smoothly; and Alberoni and Görtz concluded that they were on the eve of throwing all Europe into confusion, when a random shot from the works of Frederickshall quashed all their projects. Charles XII. was killed (Dec. 11 1718); the Spanish fleet was beaten by the English; the conspiracy fomented in France was discovered and prevented; Alberoni was driven out of Spain, and Görtz beheaded at Stockholm.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CZAREVITCH ALEXIS DISINHERITED — AFTERWARDS BROUGHT TO TRIAL, CONDEMNED TO DEATH, AND POISONED BY HIS FATHER.

THE czar arrived at Petersburg from his foreign tour on the 21st October, 1717. Twenty years before he had signalised his return from a first visit to civilised countries by the inhuman butchery of the Strelitz, and now he was about to give still more appalling evidence of the deep depravity of his heart.

Peter's early aversion to Evdokhia had a most deplorable influence on Alexis, the son she bore him in 1690. The dissensions between the father and the mother speedily diminished the father's affection for Alexis. Moreover, as Peter's vast labours prevented him from paying much attention to

the education of his son, Alexis at first grew up under female tuition, and then fell into the hands of some of the clergy, under whose guidance he daily conceived a greater abhorrence for his father. This being observed by Peter, he put an end to the spiritual education, and appointed Mentchikof superintendent of the prince's preceptors.

Mentchikof was no friend to Alexis, and the latter had been early inspired by his mother with contempt and aversion for the favourite of his father. The tutors who were now placed about the prince were not able to eradicate the prejudices impressed on his mind from his infancy, and now grown inveterate; besides, he had an unconquerable dislike to them as foreigners. The future sovereign of so vast an empire, that was now reformed in all its parts, and by prosperous wars still further enlarged; the heir of a throne, whose possessor ruled over many millions of people, had been brought up from his birth as if designed for a Russian bishop; theology continued to be his favourite study: with a capacity for those sciences which are useful in government, he discovered no inclination to them. Moreover, he addicted himself early in life to drunkenness and other excesses. There were not wanting such as flattered his perverse dispositions, by representing to him that the Russian nation was dissatisfied with his father, that it was impossible for him to be suffered long in his career of innovation, that even his life was not likely to hold out against so many fatigues, with many other things of a like nature. The conduct of Alexis, particularly his indolence and sloth, were highly displeasing to Peter. Mentchikof, from political motives, to preserve himself and Catharine, was constantly employed in fanning the czar's resentment, while the adherents of Alexis, on the other hand, seized every opportunity to increase the aversion of the prince, who, from his very cradle, had never known what it was to love, and had only dreaded, his father. Alexis even at times gave plain intimations that he would hereafter undo all that his father was so sedulously bringing about. Nay, when the latter, in 1711, appointed the prince regent during his absence, in the campaign of the Pruth, Alexis made it his first business to alter many things in behalf of the clergy, so as clearly to evince in what school he had been brought up.

The czar was in hopes to reform his son by uniting him

with a worthy consort; but even this attempt proved fruitless. The princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who was selected for his bride, and to whom Alexis was married at Torgau, in 1711, notwithstanding all her eminent qualities of mind and heart, and her great beauty, could make no impression on him, and sank under the load of grief, brought on by this unhappy connexion, soon after giving birth to a prince, who was called by the name of his grandfather, Peter (1715). By a continuance in his dissolute mode of life, by his bad behaviour towards his spouse, and his intercourse with persons who were notorious for their hatred of Peter and his reforms, Alexis seemed bent upon augmenting his father's displeasure.

After the death of the princess, Peter wrote his son a letter, the conclusion of which ran thus:—"I will still wait awhile, to see if you will amend; if not, know that I will deprive you of the succession, as a useless limb is cut off. Do not imagine I am only frightening you; nor would I have you rely on the title of being my eldest son; for since I do not spare my own life for the good of my country and the prosperity of my people, why should I spare yours? I shall rather commit them to a stranger deserving such a trust, than to my own undeserving offspring."

At this very juncture the empress Catharine was delivered of a prince, who died in 1719. Whether the above letter disheartened Alexis, or whether it was imprudence or bad advice, he wrote to his father that he renounced the crown, and all hopes of reigning. "God is my witness," said he, "and I swear upon my soul, that I will never claim the succession: I commit my children into your hands, and for myself desire only a subsistence during life."

His father wrote to him a second time. "I observe," says he, "that all you speak of in the letter is the succession, as if I stood in need of your consent. I have represented to you what grief your behaviour has given me for so many years, and not a word do you say of it; the exhortations of a father make no impression on you. I have brought myself to write to you once more; but for the last time. If you despise my counsels now I am living, what regard will be paid to them after my death? Though you may now mean not to violate your promises, yet those bushy beards will be able to wind you as they please, and force you to break your

word. It is you those people rely on. You have no gratitude to him who gave you life. Since you have been of proper age, did you ever assist him in his labours? Do you not find fault with, do you not detest everything, I do for the good of my people? I have all the reason in the world to believe that, if you survive me, you will overthrow all that I have been doing. Amend, make yourself worthy of the succession, or turn monk. Let me have your answer either in writing, or personally, or I will deal with you as a malefactor."

Though this letter was harsh, the prince might have easily answered, that he would alter his behaviour; but he only acquainted his father, in a few lines, that he would turn monk.

This assurance did not appear natural; and it is something strange that the czar, going to travel, should leave behind him a son so obstinate: but this very journey proves that the czar was in no manner of apprehension of a conspiracy from his son. He went to see him before he set out for Germany and France; the prince being ill, or feigning to be so, received him in bed, and confirmed to him, by the most solemn oaths, that he would retire into a convent. The czar gave him six months for deliberation, and set out with his consort.

He had scarcely reached Copenhagen when he received advice (which was no more than he might well expect) that Alexis admitted into his presence only evil-minded persons, who humoured his discontent: on this the czar wrote to him, that he must choose the convent or the throne; and if he valued the succession, to come to him at Copenhagen.

The prince's confidants instilled into him a suspicion that it would be dangerous for him to put himself into the hands of a provoked father and a mother-in-law, without so much as one friend to advise with. He therefore feigned that he was going to wait on his father at Copenhagen, but took the road to Vienna, and threw himself on the protection of the emperor Charles VI., his brother-in-law, intending to continue at his court till the czar's death.

This was an adventure something like that of Louis XI., who, whilst he was dauphin, withdrew from the court of

Charles VII., his father, to the duke of Burgundy. Louis was, indeed, much more culpable than the czarevitch, by marrying in direct opposition to his father, raising troops, and seeking refuge with a prince, his father's natural enemy, and never returning to court, not even at the king's repeated entreaties.

Alexis, on the contrary, had married purely in obedience to the czar's order, and had not revolted, nor raised troops; neither, indeed, had he withdrawn to a prince in anywise his father's enemy; and on the first letter he received from his father, he went and threw himself at his feet. For Peter, on receiving advice that his son had been at Vienna, and had removed thence to Naples, then belonging to the emperor Charles VI., sent Romanzof, a captain of the guards, and Tolstoi, a privy-councillor, with a letter in his own hand, dated from Spa, the 21st of July, N.S. 1717. They found the prince at Naples, in the castle of St. Elmo, and delivered him the letter, which was as follows:

. . . . . "I now write to you, and for the last time, to let you know that you had best comply with my will, which Tolstoi and Romanzof will make known to you. *On your obedience, I assure you, and promise before God, that I will not punish you; so far from it, that if you return, I will love you better than ever.* But if you do not, by virtue of the power I have received from God as your father, I pronounce against you my eternal curse; and as your sovereign, I assure you I shall find ways to punish you; in which I hope, as my cause is just, God will take it in hand, and assist me in revenging it.

"Remember further, that I never used compulsion with you. Was I under any obligation to leave you to your own option? Had I been for forcing you, was not the power in my hand? At a word, I should have been obeyed."

Relying on the faith thus solemnly given by a father and a sovereign, Alexis returned to Russia. On the 11th of February, 1717, N.S., he reached Moscow, where the czar then was, and had a long conference in private with his father. A report immediately was spread through the city that a reconciliation had taken place between the father and son, and that everything was forgot; but the very next day the regiments of guards were ordered under arms, and the

great bell of Moscow tolled. The boyars and privy-councillors were summoned to the castle; the bishops, the archimandrites, and two monks of the order of St. Basil, professors of divinity, met in the cathedral. Alexis was carried into the castle before his father without a sword, and as a prisoner; he immediately prostrated himself, and with a flood of tears delivered to his father a writing, in which he acknowledged his crimes, declared himself unworthy of the succession, and asked only his life. The czar, raising him up, led him to a closet, where he put several questions to him, declaring, that if he concealed anything relating to his escape, his head should answer for it. Afterwards the prince was brought back into the council-chamber, where the czar's declaration, which had been drawn up beforehand, was publicly read.

The father in this piece reproached his son with his manifold vices, his remissness in improving himself, his intimacy with the sticklers for ancient customs, his misbehaviour towards his consort: "he has," says he, "violated conjugal faith, taking up with a low-born wench, whilst his wife was living." Alexis might fairly have pleaded that in this kind of debauchery he came immeasurably short of his father's example.

He afterwards reproaches him with going to Vienna, and putting himself under the emperor's protection. He says, that Alexis had slandered his father, intimating to the emperor Charles VI. that he was persecuted; and that a longer stay in Muscovy was dangerous, unless he renounced the succession; nay, that he went so far as to desire the emperor openly to defend him by force of arms.

It is hardly conceivable how the emperor, on such an account, could have made war with the czar, and how, between an incensed father and a refractory son, he could interpose in any other manner than by good offices. In fact, Charles VI. had only entertained the prince, and, on the czar's demanding him, he was sent back.

In this tremendous piece Peter adds, that Alexis had made the emperor believe that his life was not safe if he returned into Russia. Now the event but too fully justified that fear; for on the prince's return he was condemned to death, notwithstanding an explicit promise of pardon and greater affection.

"Such was the manner," the czar continues, "in which our son returned; and though his flight and his calumnies deserved death, those crimes our fatherly affection forgives: but his notorious unworthiness and immorality will not allow us, in conscience, to leave him the succession to the empire, it being too manifest that by his ill conduct the glory of the nation would be subverted, so as to occasion the loss of all the provinces recovered by our arms. Our subjects would be extremely to be pitied; since, leaving them under such a successor would be plunging them into a condition much worse than any they have ever experienced.

"Accordingly, by our paternal power, in virtue of which, according to the laws of our empire, every private subject of ours can at pleasure disinherit a son, and pursuant to our prerogative as sovereign, and in regard to the welfare of our dominions, we for ever deprive our said son Alexis of the right of succeeding after us to the throne of Russia, on account of his crimes and unworthiness; even though not a single person of our family should exist at the time of our decease.

"And we constitute, appoint, and declare, in the want of a more aged successor, our second son Peter,* young as he is, successor to the said throne after us.

"Accursed be our above-mentioned son Alexis, if ever, at any time, he shall claim the said succession, or go about to procure it.

"We also require of our faithful subjects, ecclesiastics or seculars, as well as every other state, and the whole nation, that, pursuant to this appointment, and our will, they acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, nominated by us to the succession, as our lawful successor, and that, conformably to this present ordinance, they confirm the whole by oath at the altar, on the Holy Gospels, and kissing the cross.

"And all those who shall, at any time whatever, oppose this our will, and who, from the date hereof, shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or assist him to that end, we declare them traitors to us and their country, and we have ordered these presents to be everywhere published, that no person may plead ignorance. Given at Moscow, the

* Son of the empress Catharine; he died April 15, 1719.

13th of February, N.S. 1718. Signed with our hand, and sealed with our seal."

If these instruments were not in readiness beforehand, they were certainly drawn up with extreme despatch; for prince Alexis did not return till the 11th, and his disinheritance, in favour of Catharine's son, is dated the 13th.

The prince, on his side, signed a renunciation to the succession. "I acknowledge," he said, "this exclusion to be just; I have deserved it by my unworthiness, and I swear, in the name of the sacred and almighty Trinity, to submit myself in everything to my father's will."

This being done, all the ministers and great men present took the oaths excluding prince Alexis from the crown, and acknowledging prince Peter to be the undoubted successor to it; engaging to stand by him with their lives, against all that should dare oppose him; and that they never would, under any pretence whatever, adhere to prince Alexis, or assist him in the recovery of his forfeited rights. The same oath was afterwards administered to the army and navy, at home and abroad, and to every subject of the Russian empire. Even after all this, Alexis was still immured in a fortress. There, every day and every night, violating his sworn faith, every noble feeling, all the laws of nature, and those laws which he had himself given to his empire,* an absolute father armed himself against a too confiding son with a political inquisition, which equalled the religious inquisition in its insidious atrocity. He tortured the pusillanimous mind of this hopeless being with every fear that heaven and earth can inspire; he compelled him to impeach friends, relations, and even the mother who bore him; and to accuse and condemn himself to death, under pain of death!

This protracted crime lasted five months. It had its paroxysms. The first two were marked by the exile and spoliation of several grandees, the disinheriting of a sister, the confinement and scourging of Peter's first wife, and the execution of his brother-in-law; but all this was too little for the insatiable cruelty of the inhuman czar.

Glebof, the paramour of the divorced czaritza, was impaled in the midst of a scaffold, the four corners of which were

* See in his Code or Concordance of the Laws, chap. vi. art. 1, 2, 6, 8, &c.

marked by the heads of a bishop, a boyar, and two dignitaries, who had been broken on the wheel and decapitated. This horrible scaffold was itself surrounded by a circle of trunks of trees, on which more than fifty priests and other citizens had been beheaded!

This was, indeed, taking a terrible vengeance upon those who, it was said, by their superstitious obstinacy, had reduced this unbending heart to the necessity of sacrificing his son or his empire! a punishment which was a thousand times more culpable than the offence; for what motive can furnish an excuse for such atrocities? But it seems as though, impelled by the suspicious instinct of unnatural governments, Peter had obstinately persisted in seeking and finding a conspiracy where there existed nothing but an inert opposition of manners, which hoped and waited for his death that it might be brought into action.

And, nevertheless, this direful butchery has found flatterers! The victor of Poltava himself gloried in it as a victory. "When," said he, "fire meets with straw, it consumes it; but when it meets with iron, it must go out." Then he coolly walked about in the midst of the torments inflicted by his order! He had repeatedly examined Glebof under torture, making him walk barefoot along planks set with iron spikes. Still prompted by a restless ferocity, he ascended the scaffold to question his victim again when he was fixed on the stake. Glebof, made a sign to him to approach, and spat in his face.

Moscow itself was a prisoner; to quit it without the czar's leave was a capital crime; its citizens were ordered, under pain of death, to act the part of spies and informers against each other. The principal victim, meanwhile, had been dragged from the prisons of Moscow to those of Petersburg. There the czar laboured indefatigably to torture the mind of his son, and to wring from him even the slightest particulars which he could recollect of his past irritation, intractability, or rebellion; he noted them down each day with a horrible exactness, triumphing in each avowal, numbering every sigh and every tear, summing up the whole in a detestable account, and struggling to convert into a capital crime all those fleeting thoughts and all those regrets, not one of which had assumed the shape of action.

When at length, by dint of putting his own construction on these confessions, he supposed that he had made something out of nothing, he hastened to summon the most eminent of his slaves. He described to them his accursed work; he set plainly before their view all its ferocious and tyrannical iniquity, with the hideous candour of a mind which was blinded to the plainest principles of natural justice by the self-idolatry of absolute sovereignty.

The court sat from the 25th of June to the 5th of July. It is needless to go through all the futile details of the proceedings; a few specimens may suffice.

One of the articles which were fastened upon to justify the condemnation of the prince, was a letter from M. Beyer, the emperor's resident at Petersburg, written after the prince's elopement: the substance of this letter was, that the Russian army in Mecklenburg had mutinied; that several officers talked of sending the new czaritza and her son to the prison where the repudiated czaritza was confined, and of placing Alexis on the throne when it should be known where he was. Now it is true there had been a mutiny in that army of the czar's, but it was soon suppressed, and nothing further appeared. Alexis could have had no part in exciting or have encouraged it; a foreigner spoke of these reports as a piece of news; the letter was not directed to prince Alexis, he had only a copy of it, and that sent him from Vienna.

The czar, however, among other interrogatories drawn up with his own hand, put the following to his son: "When you saw by Beyer's letter that there was a revolt in the Mecklenburg army, you were glad of it; I apprehend you had some view, and that you would have declared for the rebels even in my lifetime?"

This was questioning the prince on his secret sentiments, which, if they may be owned to a father, who, by his counsels, would rectify them, may be concealed from a judge, as he is to determine only from attested facts: the hidden sentiments of the heart are not within the cognisance of a court of judicature. Alexis might have denied them, or easily have thrown a veil over them—he was not obliged to lay open his mind; yet he answered, and in writing:

"Had the rebels invited me in your lifetime, I should probably have joined them had they been strong enough."

That he should spontaneously give such an answer is inconceivable; and no less extraordinary was it to condemn him for thoughts which he might have had in regard to a case which never happened.

Another charge was founded on a rough draft, in the prince's own hand, of a letter written from Vienna to the senators and archbishops of Russia, and containing the words: "The continual injuries which I have undeservedly suffered, have obliged me to quit my country; it was very narrowly I escaped being shut up in a convent; they who have confined my mother were about using me in the same manner. I am under the protection of a great prince until it please God that I may return to my country. It is my desire you will not forsake me *at present*." The words *at present*, which might have been looked on as seditious, were drawn through with a pen, and afterwards replaced with his own hand; then again effaced; which showed a young man under perturbation, giving himself up to his resentment one minute, and repenting of it the next. Only the rough draft of these letters was found, for they never came to hand, being stopped by the court of Vienna; another and no inconsiderable proof that this court had no thought of quarrelling with that of Russia, and supporting the son against the father with an armed force.

One of the witnesses deposed that he had heard Alexis say: "I will say something to the bishops, and they will tell it among the priests, and the priests to their parishioners, and I shall be placed on the throne, even though it were against my will." What punishment does a man deserve for words which he intends to say some day or other?

The distressed prince, recollecting within himself whatever might conduce to his ruin, at length owned that, in confession to the arch-priest Yakof, he had accused himself before God, "that he had wished his father's death;" and that the confessor made answer, "God will forgive you; it is no more than what we all wish." All proofs derived from auricular confession are, by the canons of the church, not to be received at the bar; these are secrets between God and

the penitent: the Greek Church believes no more than the Latin, that this private and sacred correspondence between a sinner and the Deity appertains to human law. Yakof, however, was put to the torture, and owned what the prince had revealed; but he refused to give the names of the persons to whom he alluded when he said, "we all wish for the czar's death." It was a very uncommon circumstance to see the confessor accused by his penitent, and the penitent by his mistress. Another singularity in this affair was, that the archbishop of Rezan having been entangled in the accusations, on account of the sermon which he had preached in favour of the czarevitch, at the first appearance of the czar's indignation against his son; this prince, in his interrogatories, owned that he relied on that prelate; yet this very archbishop of Rezan was at the head of the ecclesiastical judges, whom the czar consulted on the present arraignment.

An essential remark offers itself in this monstrous trial: in Alexis's answers to his father's first interrogatory, he owned that when he was at Vienna, where he did not see the emperor, he applied to count Schonborn, a lord of the bedchamber, who said to him, "The emperor will not forsake you; and, at a proper season, after your father's demise, he will assist you with an armed force to ascend the throne." "My answer was," added the accused prince, "that is not what I ask: all I desire is, that the emperor will be pleased to grant me his protection." This deposition is plain and natural, and carries with it a great appearance of truth: for to have asked troops of the emperor to go and dethrone his father, would have been the very height of folly; and nobody would have dared to mention such an absurd proposal either to prince Eugene, to the council, or to the emperor. This deposition was in the month of February, and four months after, on the 1st of July, towards the conclusion of these procedures, the czarevitch, in his last answer, is made to say in writing: "Intending in nothing to imitate my father, I endeavoured to come at the succession at any rate whatever. I was for having it by foreign assistance; and if I had got my ends, and the emperor had done *what he promised me*—to procure me the crown of Russia, even by open force, I would have

spared nothing to have secured myself in the succession. For instance, had the emperor asked me, in return, some of my country troops for his service against any of his enemies, or large sums of money, I would have done everything he would, even to the giving great presents to his ministers and generals. I would, at my own expense, have maintained the auxiliary troops with which he would have supplied me, to put me in the possession of the crown of Russia; and, in short, I would have stuck at nothing to have carried my point."

This last deposition of the prince is manifestly very forced; it shows on the very face of it that he strove to make himself thought guilty; and what he says clashes with truth in a capital point. He says, that the emperor had promised him *to procure him the crown by open force*, which was false. Count Sehonborn had given him hopes that, after the death of the czar, his imperial majesty would help him to assert the claim of his birth; but the emperor himself had not made any promise: in a word, the case was, not to revolt against his father, but to succeed him on his demise.

In this last interrogation, he says what he believes he should have done in case of a contest for his inheritance; an inheritance which he had not judicially renounced before his journey to Vienna and Naples: now we see him deposing a second time, not what he has done, and what may be made obnoxious to the rigour of the law, but what he fancies he might one day have done, and what, of course, comes not within the cognisance of any court of justice. Here we see him accusing himself twice of secret thoughts, which he might have had hereafter. The whole world does not afford one single instance of a man tried and condemned for transitory ideas, starting up in his mind, and never communicated to any one living. There is not a court of justice in Europe where a man accusing himself of criminal thoughts would be minded; and it is said, that God himself does not punish them, unless accompanied with a determination of the will.

When, by his lengthened accusation, the absolute master thought he had irrevocably condemned, he called upon his slaves to decide. "They had," he exclaimed, "heard the long enumeration of crimes, such as were almost unheard

of in the world, of which his son had been guilty towards him, who was his father and his sovereign. They were well aware that to himself alone belonged the right to give judgment, nevertheless he asked their assistance; for he stood in fear of eternal perdition, and the more so as he had promised forgiveness to his son, and had sworn it to him by the decrees of God. It therefore remained with them to do justice, without considering his birth, without paying any regard to his person, that the country might not be endangered." It is true that with this clear and terrible order he mixed up a few words, which bear the mark of clumsy cunning. "They ought," he said, "to give judgment without flattering him, or fearing to fall under his displeasure, in case they should decide that his son was deserving of only a slight punishment."

The slaves comprehended their master; they saw what was the horrible assistance which he wanted from them; accordingly, the priests who were consulted replied merely by quotations from their sacred books, choosing in equal number those which condemned and those which pardoned, and not daring to throw any weight into the scale, not even that sworn promise of the czar, of which they feared to remind him. But they did remind him in their preamble, that the absolute sovereign of Russia had no need to consult any other authority than his own good pleasure. This preamble was followed by a quotation from Leviticus, in which it is said, that whoever curseth his father or mother, shall be punished with death; and another from the Gospel of St. Matthew, which makes mention of this rigorous law in Leviticus: after several other citations, they concluded in these words:

"If his majesty is inclined to punish the delinquent, according to his actions and the measure of his guilt, he has before him examples from the Old Testament; if he be inclined to spare, he has the pattern of Christ himself, kindly receiving the penitent prodigal, dismissing the woman taken in adultery, who, by the law, was to be stoned; and delighting in mercy more than sacrifice. He has the example of David, who is solicitous for the safety of Absalom his son, though an open rebel, recommending him to the commanders of his army, who insisted on giving him battle, '*Spare my*

son Absalom:' the father was for showing him mercy, *but divine justice did not spare him.*

"The czar's heart is in the hands of God; let him choose that to which God shall incline him."

At the same time, the grandees of the state, to the number of a hundred and twenty-four, yielded implicit obedience. They pronounced sentence of death unanimously, and without hesitation: but their decree* condemned themselves far more than it did their victim. We see in it the disgusting efforts of this throng of slaves labouring to efface the perjury of their master; while their mendacity being added to his own but makes it stand out with still more striking prominence.

For his own part he inflexibly completed his work: nothing made him pause; neither the time which had elapsed since his wrath was excited, nor remorse, nor the repentance of a wretched being, nor trembling, submissive, suppliant weakness! In one word, everything which usually, even between alien enemies, is capable of appeasing and disarming, was powerless to soften the heart of a father towards his child. He had been his son's accuser and his judge,—he chose also to be his executioner! On the 7th of July, 1718, the very day after the passing of the sentence, he went, attended by all his nobles, to receive the last tears of his son, and to mingle his own with them; and, at the moment when he was imagined to be at last melted to pity, at that moment he sent for the "strong potion" which he himself had ordered to be prepared! Impatient for its arrival, he hurried it by a second message; he presented it to him as a salutary medicine! and did not retire—with "a very dismal countenance," it is true—till he had poisoned the unfortunate creature who was still imploring his forgiveness. The death of his victim, who expired in dreadful convulsions some hours afterwards, he then attributed to the terror with which his sentence had inspired him! This was the flimsy veil with which he sought to cover all these enormities from the eyes of those who were about him—he deemed it sufficient for their brutalised manners; he, besides, commanded their silence upon the subject, and was so well obeyed, that, but for the memoirs of a foreigner, who was a witness, an actor even, in this horrible drama, his-

* See Appendix.

tory would for ever have remained in ignorance of its final and terrible particulars. Here is the statement made by Peter Henry Bruce:

"On the next day his Majesty, attended by all the senators and bishops, with several others of high rank, went to the fort, and entered the apartments where the czarevitch was kept prisoner. *Some little time thereafter, marshal Weyde came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's, the druggist, whose shop was hard by, and tell him to make the* POTION STRONG *which he had bespoke, as the prince was then very ill. When I delivered this message to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a shaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmost confusion, which surprised me so much that I asked him what was the matter with him; but he was unable to return me any answer. In the mean time the marshal himself came in, much in the same condition with the druggist, saying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectic fit. Upon this the druggist delivered him a silver cup with a cover, which the marshal himself carried into the prince's apartments, staggering all the way as he went like one drunk.* About half an hour after, the czar with all his attendants withdrew with very dismal countenances: and when they went, the marshal ordered me to attend at the prince's apartment, and in case of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof. There were at that time two physicians and two surgeons in waiting, with whom and the officers on guard I dined on what had been dressed for the prince's dinner. The physicians were called in immediately after to attend the prince, *who was struggling out of one convulsion into another*, and, after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marshal, and he went that moment to acquaint his majesty, who ordered the corpse to be embowelled; after which it was laid in a coffin covered with black velvet, and a pall of rich gold tissue spread over it; it was then carried out of the fort to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpse lay in state till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back to the fort, and deposited in the royal burying vault, next the coffin of the princess, his late consort; on which occasion, the czar and czaritza, and the chief of the nobility, followed in procession.

Various were the reports that were spread concerning his death. It was given out publicly, that on hearing his sentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectic fit, of which he died. *Very few believed he died a natural death; but it was dangerous for people to speak as they thought.* The ministers of the emperor and the States of Holland were forbid the court for speaking their minds too freely on this occasion; and upon complaint against them, both were recalled."*

It had all along been easy to foresee that the trial of Alexis would have a tragic termination. Had his life been spared, Peter would have gained nothing by his condemnation, except the odium of having gratuitously taken upon himself to procure it. The civil death of Alexis would not have hindered him from reviving and succeeding his father, if his abrogated rights were reclaimed and supported by a strong party; or even without such support he would have ascended the throne at the time when his son was raised to it after the death of Catharine. It was necessary to the accomplishment of the czar's designs that Alexis should die.

Peter, who is said to have shed tears over his victim before he was immolated, and when he was in his coffin, did not even spare his memory. The murdered prince was hardly in his grave ere the murderer harangued the senate, vaunting his own inexorable justice, and declaring his dead son to have been "the falsest and most ungrateful being that imagination could conceive." Four years afterwards, in 1722, fearing that on his decease the minority of the son of Alexis might revive the hopes of his mother and of the old Russian party,

* Whoever will take the trouble to read these memoirs of an officer who was about the person of Peter I., and whose near relation was one of the most useful generals of that reformer, will be convinced of the veracity of his narrative. The artless simplicity of his whole book, and the author's constant admiration of the czar, strengthen the melancholy conviction which arises from the perusal of the above quoted passage. Shortly after the execution, P. H. Bruce was entrusted with the education of the son of the unfortunate Alexis. Leclerc, who was on the spot, and a witness of this crime, quotes Bruce in his history, and entertains no doubt of the sad veracity of his narrative, which he gives at full length. "*It is certain,*" writes Voltaire, "*that his son died the day after the passing of the sentence, and that the czar had at Moscow one of the finest pharmaceutical establishments in Europe.*"

he declared by an ukase (as Ivan III. had done in his letter to the Pskovians) "that the reigning sovereign had the absolute right to dispose of the throne to whomsoever he pleased." Of all his innovations, not a few of which were pernicious, this was the worst and most indefensible. It abolished a custom which, being consecrated by several centuries of time, had more than the force of any legal enactment, and which made the throne of Russia hereditary. By rendering the order of succession uncertain, he opened up in his empire an abundant source of troubles, conspiracies, and revolutions.

There were other judicial proceedings in this fatal year, but they were instituted against actual offenders. The czar discovered that the measures he had adopted to check the knavish propensities of his high functionaries had been of no avail, and that enormous depredations were committed upon the resources of the state. A military commission was appointed to try the delinquents, the principal of whom were men who had already been pardoned for the same crime: prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, prince Mentchikof, the first subject in the empire, admiral count Apraxin and his brother, general Bruce, and prince Volkonski, governor of Archangel. They were all convicted of peculation; Gagarin was beheaded, Volkonski shot; the rest were let off for pecuniary fines and the usual castigation administered by the czar with his walking-stick. Thus lightly did Peter deal with the enemies of his people, after punishing with inhuman rigour his own son and others who had personally offended him by a few indiscretions.

Mentchikof, so often convicted, and punished rather as a rascally valet than as a guilty minister, was always incorrigible. The senate had ample proof of his peculations, but not one of its members durst raise his voice to call the favourite to account. All they could venture to do was, to draw up a tabular statement of his depredations; and this was laid on the table opposite the czar's seat. Peter saw the paper, cast his eye over it, but seemed to pay no attention to its contents. The paper remained constantly in the same place. At last one day as Tolstoi was seated in the senate beside the czar, he made bold to ask what his majesty thought of that document. "Nothing," replied Peter, "but that Mentchikof will always be Mentchikof."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BURLESQUE OF THE CONCLAVE—INSTITUTIONS OF THE YEAR 1718—PEACE OF NYSTÄDT—PETER'S FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

THE appalling episode we have just related was so far from engrossing the thoughts of the czar, that it hardly interrupted the course of his ordinary occupations. Nay, as if to darken still more the tragic horrors of the year 1718, by mingling with them the coarsest and most disgusting buffoonery, it was in that very year he instituted the crapulous burlesque of the *Conclave*.

The occasion of it was this. During the czar's visit to Paris, the doctors of the Sorbonne addressed him with the view of effecting a union between the Russo-Greek Church and that of Rome, and they presented to him a memorial full of learned arguments against the schismatical tenets of his co-religionists. This memorial only gave great offence to the court of Rome, without pleasing either the emperor or the church of Russia.

"In this plan of reunion," says Voltaire, "there were some political matters which they did not understand, and some points of controversy which they said they understood, and which each party explained according to its humour. There was a question about the Holy Ghost, who, according to the Latins, proceeds from the Father and the Son: and according to the Greeks, at present, proceeds from the Father, through the Son, after having, for a long time, proceeded from the Father only. They quoted St. Epiphanius, who says, that 'the Holy Ghost is not the Son's brother, nor the Father's grandson.' But the czar, at leaving Paris, had other business than to explain passages from St. Epiphanius; however, he received the Sorbonne's memorial with great affability: they also wrote to some Russian bishops, who returned a polite answer; but the greater number received the overture with indignation."

It was to dissipate the apprehensions of this reunion that, after expelling the Jesuits from his dominions, he instituted the mock conclave, as he had previously set on foot other

burlesque exhibitions, for the purpose of turning the office of patriarch into ridicule.

There was at his court an old man named Sotof, an enormous drunkard, and a court-fool of long standing; he had taught the czar to write, and, by this service, imagined that he deserved the highest dignities. Peter promised to confer on him one of the most eminent in the known world: he created him *Kniaz Papa*, that is to say, prince-pope, with a salary of 2000 roubles, and a palace at Petersburg, in the Tatar ward. Sotof was enthroned by buffoons; four fellows, who stammered, were appointed to harangue him on his exaltation; his mock holiness created a number of cardinals, and rode in procession at the head of them, sitting astride on a cask of brandy, which was laid on a sledge drawn by four oxen. They were followed by other sledges loaded with food and drink; and the march was accompanied by the rough music of drums, trumpets, horns, hautboys, and fiddles, all playing out of tune; and the clattering of pots and pans, brandished by a troop of cooks and scullions. The train was swelled by a number of men dressed as monks of various Romish orders, and each carrying a bottle and glass. The czar and his courtiers brought up the rear; the former in the garb of a Dutch skipper; the latter in various comic disguises.

When the procession arrived at the place where the conclave was to be held, the cardinals were led into a long gallery, part of which had been boarded off into a range of closets, in each of which a cardinal was shut up with plenty of food and intoxicating liquors. To every one of their eminences were attached two conclavists—cunning young fellows, whose business it was to ply their principals well with drink, carry real or pretended messages to and fro between the members of the sacred college, and provoke them to bawl out all sorts of abuse of each other and of their respective families. The czar listened eagerly to all this ribaldry, not forgetting in the midst of his glee to note down on his tablets any hints of which it might be possible for him to make a vindictive use. The cardinals were not released from confinement until they were all agreed upon a number of farcical questions submitted to them by the Kniaz Papa. The orgie lasted three days and three nights. The doors of the conclave were at last thrown open

in the middle of the day, and the pope and his cardinals were carried home dead drunk on sledges—that is to say, such of them as survived; for some had actually died during the debauch, and others never recovered from its effects.

This stupid farce was repeated three times; and on the last occasion especially it was accompanied with other abominations, which admit of no description. Peter himself had his death accelerated by his excesses in the last conclave.

From 1714 to 1717 Peter published ninety-two ordinances or regulations; in 1718 alone, in that year of crime, thirty-six ukases, or regulations, were promulgated, and twenty-seven in 1719. The majority of them related directly to his new establishments.

The council of mines dates its origin from that period, as do also the uniformity of weights and measures, the institution of schools for teaching arithmetic in all the towns of the empire; that of orphan-houses and foundling-hospitals, of workshops for the poor, and of manufactories of tapestry, silks, linens, and cloths for soldiers' clothing; the founding of the city of Ladoga; the canal of the same name, which he began with his own hands; that of Cronstadt; the plan of another, which now unites the Baltic to the Caspian, by the intermedium of the Volga; besides numerous measures of detail, including the police, the health of towns, lighting and cleansing, founded upon what he had remarked during the previous year in the great cities of Europe.

At this sanguinary epoch it was, that, by this multitude of establishments for the promotion of all kinds of industry, he gave the most rapid impulse to the knowledge, commerce, and civilisation, to which he sacrificed his son; as though, by thus redoubling his activity, he had sought to escape from himself, or to palliate, by the importance of the result, the horror of the sacrifice. In several of these ordinances, it is remarkable, that either from the inconsistency which is inherent in our nature, or from the pride of a despot, which believes itself to be detached from and above everything, he required respect to be paid to religion, at the very moment when, with such cruelty, he was paying no respect to the sanctity of his own oath; and yet the importance of

keeping sworn faith must have been well known to a prince who one day said, "The irreligious cannot be tolerated, because, by sapping religion, they turn into ridicule the sacredness of an oath, which is the foundation of all society."

It is true, that on this occasion, pushing right into wrong, as he too often did, he mutilated and banished to Siberia a miserable creature, who, when drunk, had been guilty of blasphemy. So intolerant was he against intolerance.

The Raskolniks were, and still are, the blind and uncompromising enemies of all innovation. One of them, at that period, even believed that he might avenge Heaven by an assassination. Under the guise of a suppliant, this fanatic had easily penetrated into the chamber of the prince; he was already within reach of him, and, while he feigned to implore him, his hand was seeking for the dagger under his clothes, when, fortunately, it dropped and betrayed the assassin, by falling at the feet of the czar.

This abortive crime had made the persecution rage with redoubled fury, when, all at once, a frightful report was spread; it was soon confirmed; several hundred of these wretched beings had taken refuge in a church, and, rather than abjure their superstitions, had set fire to their asylum, leaving nothing but their ashes to their persecutor. A horrible sacrifice, but which was not useless! Peter saw his error; his intolerance was only political; it was enlightened by these flames, which religious intolerance witnessed with such atrocious joy.

Yet, unable to forgive these sectaries an obstinacy which was victorious over his own, he once more tried against them the weapon of ridicule: he ordered that they should wear a bit of yellow stuff on their backs, to distinguish them from his other subjects. This mark of humiliation, however, they considered as a distinction. Some malignant advisers endeavoured to rouse his anger again, but he replied, "No; I have learned that they are men of pure morals; they are the most upright merchants in the empire; and neither honour nor the welfare of the country will allow of their being martyred for their errors. Besides, that which a degrading badge and force of reason have been unable to effect, will never be accomplished by punishment; let them, therefore, live in peace."

These were remarkable words, and worthy the pupil of Holland and England, worthy of a prince to whom superstition was a most inveterate enemy. In reality, he was a believer, but not credulous; and even while he knelt on the field of victory, he gave thanks to God alone for the reward of so many toils, and could separate the cause of Heaven from that of the priests; it was his wish that they should be citizens. We have seen that he subjected them to the same taxes as his other subjects; and because the monks eluded them, he diminished their numbers. He unmasked the superstitious impostures of the priests, who all sought to close up every cranny by which the light might have a chance of reaching them.

For this reason, they held Petersburg in abhorrence. According to their description of it, this half-built city, by which Russia already aspired to civilisation, was one of the mouths of hell. It was they who obtained from the unfortunate Alexis a promise that it should be destroyed. Their prophecies repeatedly fixed the epoch at which it would be overthrown by the wrath of Heaven. The labours upon it were then suspended, for so great was the fear thus inspired, that the orders of the terrible czar were almost issued in vain.

On one occasion, these lying priests were for some days particularly active; they displayed one of their sacred images, from which the tears flowed miraculously; it wept the fate which impended over those who dwelt in this new city. "Its hour is at hand," said they, "and it will be swallowed up, with all its inhabitants, by a tremendous inundation." On hearing of this miracle of the tears, the treacherous construction which was put upon it, and the perturbation which it occasioned, Peter thought it necessary to hasten to the spot. There, in the midst of the people, who were petrified with terror, and of his tongue-tied court, he seized the miraculous image, and discovered its mechanism; the multitude were stupified with a pious horror, but he opened their eyes by showing them, in those of the idol, the congealed oil, which was melted by the flame of tapers inside, and then flowed drop by drop through openings artfully provided for the purpose.

At a later period he did still more; the horrible execution

of a young Russian by the priests was the cause. This unfortunate man had brought back from Germany a highly valuable knowledge of medicine, and had left there some superstitious prejudices. For this reason all his motions were watched by the priests; and they at last caught up some thoughtless words against their sacred images. They immediately arrested the regenerated young Russian, sentenced him without mercy, and put him to a torturing death.

But this individual evil produced a general good. Indignant at their cruelty, Peter deprived the clergy of the right of condemning to death. The priests lost a jurisdiction which they alleged they had possessed for seven centuries, from the time of Vladimir the Great, and thus the source of their power was for ever annihilated by this execrable abuse of it.

It was particularly in that sanguinary year, so fatal to the last hope which the old Russians placed in his successor, that Peter seemed in haste to sever them from their ancient customs, by giving an entirely new form to the administration of his empire. As far back as 1711, he had already replaced the old supreme court of the boyars by a senate, a sovereign council, into which merit and services might obtain admission, independent of noble origin. Subsequently, and every year, other changes had been effected. Thus, in 1717, he brought from France, along with a commercial treaty, the institution of a general police. But, in 1718, instead of the old prikaz, he substituted, at one stroke, colleges for foreign affairs, naval affairs, finance, justice, and commerce, and fixed, by a general regulation, and with the utmost minuteness, the functions and privileges of each of them.

At the same time, when capable Russians were not to be found, he appointed his Swedish prisoners, and the most eminent of the foreigners, to fill these administrative and judicial situations. He was careful to give the highest offices to natives, and the second to foreigners, that the native officers might support, against the pride and jealousy of their countrymen, these foreigners who served them as instructors and guides. For the purpose of forming his young nobles for the service of the state, he adjoined a considerable number of them to each college; and there

merit alone could raise them from the lowest stations to the first rank.

The death of Charles XII. was immediately followed by a revolution in Sweden. His sister Ulrica Eleonora, who was married to the crown-prince of Hesse Cassel, succeeded him on the throne; but the constitution was changed, the despotic authority of the crown was reduced to a mere shadow, and the queen and her husband became the tools of an oligarchy, who usurped all the powers of the state. The czar and the new queen mutually protested their desire for peace; but Peter at the same time announced to the Swedish plenipotentiaries that if the propositions he had made were not accepted within two months, he would march forty thousand men into Sweden to expedite the negotiations.

A project for the pacification of the north, the very opposite from that conceived by Görtz, was formed by the diet of Brunswick. The concocters of this scheme started from the principle that the German possessions of Sweden were more onerous than profitable to that power, as the occasions of interminable wars. It was resolved, therefore, that they should be abandoned to the powers that had conquered them; but as it was reasonable that the new possessors should purchase the ratification of their titles by some services to the common cause, they were required to aid Sweden in recovering possession of Finland and of Livonia, the granary of that kingdom. Of all the czar's conquests nothing was to be left to him but Petersburg, Cronstadt, and Narva; and if he refused to assent to this arrangement, all the contracting powers were to unite their forces and compel him to submit. This was one of those brilliant and chimerical schemes with which diplomatists sometimes allow their minds to be so dazzled, as not to be convinced of their impracticability until after a lavish waste of blood.

Whilst the allies were in imagination depriving Peter of his conquests, Siniavin, his admiral, took from the Swedes two ships of the line and a brigantine, which were carrying corn to Stockholm. The queen of Sweden, however, encouraged by the promises made her by Lord Carteret, the ambassador of George I., intimated to the czar that she would break off the conferences at Aland if he did not consent to restore all the provinces he had conquered. By way

of reply, Peter went in June, 1719, with a fleet of 30 ships, 150 galleys, and 300 barges, carrying in all 40,000 men, to Aland, took up his station for a while under the cliffs of the island of Lämeland, and sent Apraxin to ravage the wastes on the right of Stockholm, whilst Lessy destroyed everything on the left of the city. North and south Telge, Nyköping, Norköping, Osthammer, and Oregrund, together with two small towns, were burned, besides 150 noble mansions, 43 mills, 1360 villages, 21 copper, iron, and tile works—among the iron works one was worth 300,000 dollars; 100,000 cattle were slaughtered, and 80,000 bars of iron thrown into the sea. The mines were blown up and the woods set on fire, and Stockholm itself was seriously threatened. Meanwhile, the English fleet under admiral Norris again entered the Baltic. Peter sent a message to the English admiral asking peremptorily whether he came only as a friend to Sweden, or as an enemy to Russia. The admiral's answer was, that as yet he had no positive orders. This equivocal reply did not hinder Peter from keeping the sea, and incessantly harassing the Swedes before the eyes of their naval allies.

The Swedish oligarchs and their mock king* had reckoned in vain upon the intercession of the English ambassador, and the aid of the admiral and his fleet. Carteret was not even listened to by Peter, and admiral Norris did not venture to attack the Russians, because he knew that the English nation was dissatisfied with the politics of their king and of his ministers, who favoured his Hanoverian plans. The Swedes were at length obliged to acquiesce in the Russian demands: negotiations for peace were again commenced in Nystädt at the end of the year 1720, but their conclusion was only brought about at the close of the following year by the exercise of some further cruelties on the part of the Russians. The Swedes had demanded a cessation of hostilities during the whole time in which the negotiations were pending, but Peter only granted it till May, 1721, in order to compel the council of state to come to a resolution by that time; and as they still procrastinated, the whole coast of Sweden was again plundered and devastated in the month of June. The Russian incendiaries landed in sight of the English, whose fleet, under admiral

* Ulrica had ceded the crown to her husband.

Norris, still continued in the Baltic, but did not venture to lend any assistance to the Swedes. The whole coast, from Gefle as far as Umea, was ravaged; four small towns, nineteen villages, eighty noble and five hundred peasants' houses burnt; twelve iron-works and eight saw-mills destroyed; six galleys and other ships carried away. Peter's *plenipotentiaries* at last prevailed; for so he jocularly called his soldiers and sailors who were committing such horrible destruction in Sweden. Negotiations were again opened in Nystädt, a small town of Finland, and the war of twenty-one years was closed by a peace dictated by the conquering czar.

The provinces ceded to Russia by the peace of Nystädt (10th September, 1721) were Livonia, Esthonia, and Carelia, together with Viborg, Kexholm, and the island of Oesel; on the other hand, Peter restored Finland, with the exception of Viborg and Kexholm, and promised to pay two millions of dollars, but in the first years of the peace scarcely paid off half a million.

From this time forward, the despotic sway and military oppression of Russia became the dread of all neighbouring countries and people. All contributed to the external greatness and splendour of the ruler of a barbarous but powerful race of slaves, whom he constrained to adopt the vestments of civilisation. The czar commanded in Poland and Scandinavia, where weak or wicked governments were constantly in dread from the discontent of the people. He also gained an influence in Germany, which ultimately caused no small anxiety to the emperor and the empire. The Russian minister Bestujef played the chief part in Sweden in all political affairs, sometimes by counsel and sometimes by threats, sometimes by mediation and sometimes by commands. Bestujef was powerful in the Swedish council, and at the same time, in compliance with the wishes of his master, allured artists, artisans, workmen, and all those who had been deprived of occupation, or ruined, by the late inroads of the Russians, to remove with their tools, manufactures, and trades to Russia. Peter employed these people in all parts of his empire to raise up manufactories, to originate trades, and to set mines and iron-works in action. The Russian minister spoke in a no less commanding tone in

Copenhagen than in Sweden, for Denmark was also frightened by Peter's threats to adopt and second the cause of the duke of Holstein. The duke was detained in Russia by repeated promises, of whose fulfilment there was little prospect. The Poles, through Russian mediation, were at length reconciled to their king, and the Russians not only kept firm possession of Courland, but remained in Poland itself, under the pretence of preserving the peace of the country. Peter, nevertheless, in his negotiations with Görtz and Charles XII., had showed himself well inclined to sacrifice king Augustus to his plans; but this scheme was frustrated by the death of Charles.

Peter had now achieved a prodigious amount of external and internal power; yet the original nucleus of it all was nothing more than fifty young companions in debauchery, whom he transformed into soldiers, and the remains of a sailing-boat, which had been left forgotten in a magazine. In twenty-five years, this seed, nursed by a skilful and vigorous hand, had, on the one part, produced two hundred thousand men, divided into fifty-five regiments, and cantoned, with three hundred field-pieces, in permanent quarters; a body of engineers, and, particularly, of formidable artillerymen; and fourteen thousand pieces of cannon, deposited in a great central establishment, in the fortresses, and three military magazines on the frontiers of the three chief national enemies, the Turks, the Poles, and the Swedes. On the other hand, from the relics of the sailing-boat had arisen thirty ships of the line, a proportionate number of frigates and smaller vessels of war, two hundred galleys with sails and oars, and a multitude of experienced mariners.

But with what treasures did Peter undertake the moral and physical transformation of such an extensive empire? We behold an entire land metamorphosed: cities containing a hundred thousand souls, ports, canals, and establishments of all kinds, created; thousands of skilful Europeans attracted, maintained, and rewarded; several fleets built, and others purchased; a permanent army of a hundred and twenty thousand men trained, equipped, provided with every species of arms and ammunition, and several times renewed; subsidies of men and money given to Poland; and four wars undertaken. One of those wars spread over half of Europe;

and when it had lasted twenty-one years, the treasury from which it was fed still remained full. And Peter, whose revenues on his accession to the throne did not exceed a few hundred thousand pounds, declared to Munich "that he could have carried on the war for twenty-one years longer without contracting any debt."

Will order and economy be sufficient to account for these phenomena? We must, doubtless, admire them in the czar, who refused himself every superfluity at the same time that he spared nothing for the improvement of his empire. Much must have been gained when, after having wrested the indirect taxes from the boyars, who were at once civil, military, and financial managers, and from those to whom the boyars sold in portions the collecting of them, Peter, in imitation of Holland, entrusted the finances to committees composed of select merchants. We may also feel less surprise at the increase of his revenue, after we have seen him subjecting to taxation the clergy as well as the laity; suppressing a number of monasteries, by forbidding monastic vows to be taken before the age of fifty; and uniting their estates to the domains of the crown, which were swelled by confiscations, by the reverting back of his brother Ivan's appanage, and by his conquests from the Swedes.

We must remark, at the same time, that he had opened his states to foreign commerce, and to the treasures of Europe, which were carried thither to be exchanged for the many raw materials which had hitherto remained valueless; we must consider the augmentation of revenue which necessarily ensued, and the possibility of requiring to be paid in money a multitude of taxes which had previously been paid in kind. Thus, in place of quotas of provisions, which were brought from great distances, and were highly oppressive to the people, he substituted a tax; and the sum raised was applied to the payment of contractors. It is true that even under this new system the state was shamefully robbed; for the nobles contrived in secret to get the contracts into their own hands, in order to fatten upon the blood of the people; but Peter at length perceived them; the evil betrayed itself by it own enormity. The czar then created commissions of inquiry, passed whole days in them, and, during several years, keeping these great peculators always in sight, made

them disgorge by fines and confiscations, and punished them by the knout, the halter, and the axe.

To this superintendence by the head of the state, which, subsequently to 1715, the contraction of the war within a narrower circle allowed him to exert, let us add the increase of salary to the collectors, which deprived them of all pretext for misconduct. Nor must it be forgotten that most of the stipends were paid in kind; and that, for several years, the war, being carried on out of the empire, supplied its own wants. It must be observed, too, that the cities and provinces in which the troops were afterwards quartered furnished their pay on the spot, by which the charge of discount was saved; and that the measures which they adopted for their subsistence appear to have been municipal, and consequently as little oppressive as possible. Finally, we must remark, in 1721, the substitution, in place of the Tatar house-tax, of a poll-tax, which was a real impost on land, assessed according to a census repeated every twenty years, and the payment of which the agriculturists regulated among themselves, in proportion to the value of their produce.

At the same time, the reformer refused to foreigners the privilege of trading with each other in Russia; he even gave to his subjects exclusively the right of conveying to the frontiers of the empire the merchandise which foreigners had bought from them in the interior. Thus he ensured to his own people the profit of carriage. In 1716 he chose rather to give up an advantageous alliance with the English, than to relinquish this right in their favour.*

But all the causes we have enumerated will not yet account for the possibility of so many gigantic undertakings, and such immense results, with a fixed revenue in specie, which, in 1715, was estimated, by an attentive observer, at only some millions of roubles. But in the fiscal expedients of a despotic empire it is to fluctuating revenue, illegal resources, and arbitrary measures that we must direct our attention; astonishment then ceases, and then begins pity for one party,

* Every one now knows that measures like these are contrary to sound commercial principles; but that fact was not dreamed of until a century after Peter's death. The repeal of the English navigation laws is an event of yesterday.

indignation against another, and surprise excited by the ignorance with respect to commercial affairs which is displayed by the high and mighty geniuses of despotism, in comparison with the unerring instinct which is manifested by the humblest community of men who are free.

It is the genius of Russian despotism, therefore, that we must question as to the means by which it produced such gigantic results; but however far it may be disposed to push its frightful candour, will it point out to us its army recruited by men whom the villages sent tied together in pairs, and at their own expense? Soldiers at a penny a day, payable every four months,* and often marching without pay; slaves whom it was thought quite enough to feed, and who were contented with some handfuls of rye, or of oats made into gruel, or into ill-baked bread;† unfortunate wretches, who, in spite of the blunders of their generals, were compelled to be victorious, under pain of being decimated!‡ Or will this despotism confess that, while it gave nothing to these serfs, who were enlisted for life, it required everything from them; that, after twenty-one years of war, it compelled them to dig canals, like miserable bond-slaves? "For they ought to serve their country," said Peter, "either by defending or enriching it; that is what they are made for."

Could this autocrat pride himself on the perennial fulness of an exchequer, which violated its engagements in such a manner, that most of the foreigners who were in his service were anxious to quit it? What answer could he make to that hollow and lengthened groan, which, even yet, seems to rise from every house in Taganrok, and in Petersburg, and from his forts, built by the most deadly kind of statute-labour, and peopled by requisitions? One half of the inhabitants of the villages were sent to construct them, and were relieved by the other half every six months; and the weakest and the most industrious of them never more saw their homes!

These unfortunate beings, whatever might be their calling, from the common delver to the watchmaker and jeweller, were torn without mercy from their families, their ploughs, their workshops, and their counting-houses. They travelled to their protracted torture at their own expense; they worked

* See Manstein. † See Perry.

‡ See Kamensky, Life of Mentchikof.

without any pay. Some were compelled to fill up swamps, and build houses on them; others, to remove thither suddenly, and establish their trade there; and the whole of these hapless men, one part of whom were bent to the earth with toil, and the other part in a manner lost in a new world, were so badly fed and sheltered, or breathed such a pestilential air, that the Russians of that period used to say that Petersburg was built upon a bed of human skeletons.

Listen to the complaints of the nobles and the richest merchants: after the gift of a hundred vessels had been required from them, they were forced to unite in this slough to build stone houses, and were also constrained to live there at a much greater expense than they would have incurred in their own homes. And when even the clergy remonstrated against the excessive taxes laid upon the priests, who were able to indemnify themselves out of their flocks, who can be astonished at the possibility of so many creations, and at the plenitude of a treasury which opened so widely to receive, and so scantily to disburse?

Personal services, taxes in kind, taxes in money, these were the three main sources of the power of the czar. We have just seen what estimate we ought to form as to the manner in which the first of these was employed. As to the taxes in kind and in money, how could the insulated cries of such a multitude of tax-payers, who were scattered over so wide a space, have reached the present age, if the excess of a simultaneous and universal evil had not blended them into one vast clamour, stronger even than time and space? It is from this we learn the names of the throng of taxes which were laid upon everything, and at every opportunity, for the war, the admiralty, the recruiting-service, for the horses used in the public works, for the brick and lime-kilns required in the building of Petersburg, for the post-office, the government offices, the extraordinary expenses, for the contributions in kind, for the requisitions of men and their pay and subsistence, and for the salaries of those who were in place; to which must be added innumerable other duties on mills, ponds, baths, beehives, meadows, gardens, and, in the towns, on every square fathom of land which bore the name of black, or non-free; and all this was aggravated by other exorbitant and grinding burdens, and by fleecing the arti-

sans in proportion to their industry and their assumed wealth; the result of which was that they concealed both; the most laborious of them buried their earnings that they might hide them from the nobles; and the nobles entrusted their riches to foreign banks, that they might hide them from the czar.

To this we have yet to add the secondary oppressions: collectors, whose annual pay was, for a long time, only six roubles; and who, nevertheless, accumulated fortunes in four years, for they converted to their own use two-thirds of the sums which they extorted; executing by torture whoever was unable to pay, they made the most horrible misuse of the unlimited powers which, according to the practice of absolute governments, were necessarily entrusted to them: despotism being unable to act otherwise than by delegation.

These men had the right of levying taxes on all the markets of the country, of laying whatever duties they pleased upon commodities, and of breaking into houses, for the purpose of preventing or discovering infractions of their orders: so that the unfortunate people, finding that they had nought which they could call their own, and that everything, even to their industry, belonged to the czar, ceased to exert themselves for more than a mere subsistence, and lost that spirit which only a man's personal interest can inspire. Accordingly, the forests were peopled with men driven to desperation, and those who at first remained in the villages, finding that they were obliged to pay the taxes of the fugitives as well as their own, speedily joined their companions.

What can bear witness more strongly to the disordered state of those times than the facts themselves? They show us grandees, who were possessed of the highest credit, repeatedly convicted of embezzling the public money; others, hanged or beheaded; and a vice-chancellor himself daring, without any authority, to give places and pensions, and, in so poor a country, contriving to purloin nearly a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. It was not, therefore, the czar alone whom the people accused of their sufferings. But such is the tenure of despotism, that, in depriving the people of their will, it takes upon itself the whole responsibility. All, however, agree that, about 1715, they beheld their czar astounded at the aspect of such numerous evils; they

acknowledge the efforts which he had made, and that all of them had not been fruitless.

But, at the same time, to account for the inexhaustible abundance of the autocrat's treasury, they represent him to us as monopolising everything for his own benefit, giving to the current coin of his empire the value which suited his purpose, and receiving it from foreigners at no more than its intrinsic worth. They accuse him of having engrossed the purchase or sale of numberless native and foreign productions, either by suddenly taxing various kinds of merchandise, or by assuming the right of being the exclusive purchaser, at his own price, to sell again at an exorbitant price when he had become the sole possessor. They say also that, forestalling everything, their czar made himself the sole merchant trading from European Russia to China and Siberia, as well as the sole mint-master, the sole trader in tobacco, soap, talc, pitch, and tar; that having also declared himself the only public-house keeper in an empire where drunkenness held sovereign sway, this monopoly annually brought back into his coffers all the pay that had been disbursed from them.

When, in 1716, he wished to defray the expenses of his second journey to Holland, and at the same time avoid being a loser by the rate of exchange, what was the plan which he adopted? He laid hands on all the leather intended for exportation, which he paid for at a *maximum* fixed by himself, and then exported it on his own account, the proceeds being made payable in Holland, where it was purchased by foreigners.

It is thus that many of his contemporaries explain the riches of a prince who was the principal manufacturer and merchant of a great empire, the creator, the superintendent of its arts. In his eyes, his subjects were nothing more than workmen, whose labours he prompted, estimated, and rewarded according to his own pleasure; he reserved to himself the sale of the produce of their industry, and the immense profits which he thus gained he employed in doubling that produce.

What a singular founder of commerce in his empire was a monarch who drew it all within his own sphere, and absorbed it in himself! We may, however, be allowed to believe that

he sometimes became a merchant and manufacturer, as he became a soldier and a sailor, for the sake of example, and that the obstinate repugnance of his ignorant subjects to many branches of industry and commerce long compelled him to retain the monopoly of them, whether he would or not.

It is curious to remark how his despotism recoiled upon himself when he interfered with matters so impatient of arbitrary power as trade and credit. Solovief is an example of this. Assisted by the privileges which Peter had granted to him, that merchant succeeded in establishing at Amsterdam the first commercial Russian factory that had ever been worthy of notice; but in 1717, when the czar visited Holland for the second time, his greedy courtiers irritated him against their fellow-countryman. Solovief had not chosen to ransom himself from the envy which his riches inspired. They therefore slandered him to their sovereign; he was arrested and sent back to Russia; his correspondents lost their advances; confidence was ruined, and the autocrat, by confiscating this source of riches, destroyed his work with his own hand.*

Here, then, as far as regards his external resources, is solved the miracle of such sudden and wonderful creations of all kinds! Can *our* age feel surprise at anything whatever effected, in the lapse of five-and-twenty years, by confiscations, arbitrary taxes, monopolies, requisitions, compulsory labour, and a mind that shrinks not from the use of the most desperate means? And when to all these powerful movers we add the docile disposition arising from long slavery, what ground can there remain for astonishment? Do not the onions and the servitude of Egypt sufficiently explain the enormous magnitude of its pyramids?

* Yet he had a glimpse of something like free-trade principles. He would never impose any higher penalty on smuggling than confiscation. "Commerce," he said, "is like a timid maiden, who is scared by rough usage, and must be won by gentle means. Smuggle who will, and welcome. The merchant who exposes himself to the chance of having his goods confiscated, runs a greater risk than my treasury. If he cheats me nine times and I catch him the tenth, I shall be no loser by the game."

CHAPTER XXIX.

PETER IS SURNAMED THE GREAT—THE PATRIARCHATE ABOLISHED—THE TCHIN INSTITUTED—PERSIAN CAMPAIGN.

GREAT were the rejoicings in Russia, and especially in Petersburg, on the conclusion of a peace which had so prosperously terminated a long and terrible war. All delinquents in prison were released, excepting only those guilty of robbery, murder, and high treason; and all arrears of taxes due to the czar's treasury were remitted. A grand naval gala was held, not the least conspicuous object in which was the small sailing vessel, the first sight of which had inspired the czar with the idea of creating a navy. His biographers tell us with what care he delighted to adorn it, to cover it with gilded copper, and arm it with silver cannon; with what precautions he had it brought from Archangel to Petersburg; how, on its arrival, he himself assumed the office of its pilot, while the highest grandees of his empire acted as sailors; how he steered it through his fleet, which was dressed out with flags, and pointed out to it, as it were, those gigantic vessels which had been so often victorious, and which saluted the humble boat by volleys from the whole of their artillery; so that, as the czar expressed it, "this worthy little grandfather might receive the compliments of all these fine children, who were indebted to him for their existence." In the midst of the rejoicings Peter was promoted to the rank of admiral, and the senate solemnly conferred upon him the titles of *Great*, *Emperor*, and *Father of his country*.

"Emperor" is the name of a conventional dignity, which belongs *de jure* to whoever enjoys it *de facto;* but history may challenge Peter's right to the appellations of Great and Father of his country. Prodigious strength of will, and extraordinary perceptive and imitative powers, the scope of which was yet rigidly limited to material objects, fall far short of constituting a great man. In one to whom that title is due all the faculties of human nature must exist in well-balanced development and vigour; but Peter was a moral monster, half-giant, half-dwarf. Nor were his relations with his people in any respect paternal; he was their merciless taskmaster, and that was all. He was, indeed, the creator of that official

Russia, that "empire of nothing but façades," which exists to this day. The revolution he effected divided Russia into two mutually repugnant parts: a dominant caste of placemen and soldiers, and the mass of the nation, which has never yet accepted his reforms, nor abated one jot of its passive resistance to a system which it justly regards as an aggravation of its slavery.

Peter had never been at any pains to conceal his indifference or contempt for the national church; but it was not until that culminating point in his history at which we are now arrived, that he ventured to accomplish his design of abolishing the office of patriarch. He had left it unfilled for one-and-twenty years, and he formally suppressed it after the conclusion of the peace of Nystädt, when Heaven had declared in his favour, as it seemed to the multitude, who always believe the Deity to be on the strongest side. In the following year, however, the synod, in spite of Theophanes, its president, whom we may consider as his minister for religious affairs, dared to desire that a patriarch might be appointed. But bursting into a sudden passion, Peter started up, struck his breast violently with his hand, and the table with his cutlass, and exclaimed, "Here, here is your patriarch!" He then hastily quitted the room, casting, as he departed, a stern look upon the panic-struck prelates.

Of the two conquests which Peter consummated about the same time, that over Sweden, and that by which he annihilated the independence of the Russian clergy, it is hard to say which was the more gratifying to his pride. Some one having communicated to him the substance of a paper in the English *Spectator*, in which a comparison was made between himself and Louis XIV., entirely to his own advantage, he disclaimed the superiority accorded to him by the essayist, save in one particular: "Louis XIV.," said he, "was greater than I, except that I have been able to reduce my clergy to obedience, while he allowed his clergy to rule him."

Soon after the abolition of the patriarchate, Peter celebrated the marriage of Buturlin, the second Kniaz Papa of his creation, with the widow of Sotof, his predecessor in that mock dignity. The bridegroom was in his eighty-fifth year, and the bride nearly of the same age. The messengers who invited the wedding guests were four stutterers; some decrepit

old men attended the bride; the running footmen were four of the most corpulent fellows that could be found; the orchestra was placed on a sledge drawn by bears, which being goaded with iron spikes, made with their horrid roarings an accompaniment suitable to the tunes played on the sledge. The nuptial benediction was given in the cathedral by a blind and deaf priest with spectacles on. The procession, the marriage, the wedding feast, the undressing of the bride and bridegroom, the ceremony of putting them to bed, were all in the same style of repulsive buffoonery. Among the coarse-minded courtiers this passed for an ingenious derision of the clergy.

The nobles were another order in the state whose resistance, though more passive than that of the clergy, was equally insufferable to the czar. His hand had always been heavy against that stiff-necked race. He had no mercy upon their indolence and superstition, no toleration for their pride of birth or wealth. As landed proprietors he regarded them merely as the possessors of fiefs, who held them by the tenure of being serviceable to the state. Such was the spirit of the law of 1715 relative to inheritances, which till then had been equally divided; but from that date the real estate was to descend to one of the males, the choice of whom was left to the father, while only the personal property was to pass to the other children. In this respect the law was favourable to paternal authority and aristocracy; but its real purpose was rendered obvious by other clauses. It decreed that the inheritors of personal property should not be permitted to convert it into real estate until after seven years of military service, ten years of civil service, or fifteen years' profession of some kind of art or of commerce. Nay, more, if we may rely on the authority of Perry, every heir of property to the amount of five hundred roubles, who had not learned the rudiments of his native language, or of some ancient or foreign language, was to forfeit his inheritance.

The great nobles had ere this been shorn of their train of boyar followers, or noble domestics, by whom they were perpetually attended, and these were transformed into soldiers, disciplined in the European manner. At the same time several thousand cavalry were formed out of the sons of the priests, who were free men, but not less ignorant and superstitious than their fathers. Against the inertness of the nobles, too, Peter made war even in the sanctuary of their

families. Every one of them between the ages of ten and thirty, who evaded an enlistment which was termed voluntary, was to have his property confiscated to the use of the person by whom he was denounced. The sons of the nobles were arbitrarily wrested from them; some were placed in military schools; others were sent to unlearn their barbarian manners, and acquire new habits and knowledge among polished nations; many of them were obliged to keep up a correspondence with the czar on the subject of what they were learning; on their return, he himself questioned them, and if they were found not to have benefited by their travels, disgrace and ridicule were their punishment. Given up to the czar's buffoon, they became the laughing-stocks of the court, and were compelled to perform the most degrading offices in the palace. These were the tyrannical punishments of a reformer, who imagined that he might succeed in doing violence to Nature by beginning education at an age when it ought to be completed, and by subjecting grown-up men to chastisements which would scarcely be bearable for children.

It is with reason that Mannstein reproaches Peter with having expected to transform, by travels into polished countries, men who were already confirmed in their habits, and who were steeped to the core in ignorance, sloth, and barbarism. "The greatest part of them," he says, "acquired nothing but vices." This it was which drew upon Peter a lesson from his sage; for such was the appellation which he gave to Dolgoruki. That senator having pertinaciously, and without assigning any reason, maintained that the travels of the Russian youth would be useless, made no other reply to an impatient and passionate contradiction from the despot than to fold the ukase in silence, run his nail forcibly along it, and then desire the autocrat to try whether, with all his power, he could ever obliterate the crease that was made in the paper.

At last, by his ukase of January 24, 1722, Peter annihilated the privileges of the old Russian aristocracy, and under the specious pretext of making merit the only source of social distinction, he created a new order of nobility, divided into eight military and as many civil grades, all immediately and absolutely dependent on the czar. The only favour allowed to the old landed aristocracy was that they were not

deprived of the right of appearing at court; but none of them could obtain the rank and appointments of an officer, nor, in any company, the respect and distinctions exclusively belonging to that rank, until they had risen to it by actual service. Such was the fundamental principle of that notorious system called the TCHIN;* and plausible as it may appear upon a superficial view, it has been fruitful of nothing but hideous tyranny, corruption, chicanery, and malversation. The modern nobility of Russia is in fact but a vile bureaucracy. The only thing truly commendable in the ukase of 1722 is, that it degrades to the level of the rabble† every nobleman convicted of crime and sentenced to a punishment that ought to entail infamy. Previously, as the reader has already seen, a nobleman might appear unabashed in public, and claim all the privileges of his birth, with his back still smarting from the executioner's lash.

Peter had always encountered great difficulty in attracting to Petersburg the commerce of Central Russia, which the merchants obstinately persisted in throwing away upon Archangel. Yet at Petersburg they enjoyed several privileges, and a milder climate allowed of two freights a year, while at Archangel the ice would admit of only one. To this must be added the advantage of a calmer sea, a better port, lower duties, a much shorter distance, and a much larger concourse of purchasers; but no persuasion could make the Russians abandon the old routine, until at last Peter treated them like ignorant and stubborn children, to whom he would do good in spite of themselves. In 1722 he expressly prohibited the carrying of any goods to Archangel but such as belonged to the district of that government. This ordinance at first raised a great outcry among the traders, both native and foreign, and caused several bankruptcies: but the merchants accustoming themselves by degrees to come to Petersburg, at last found themselves gainers by the change.

The trade with the Mongols and Chinese had been jeopardised by the extortions of prince Gagarin, the governor of Siberia, and by acts of violence committed by the Russians in Pekin and in the capital of Contaish, the prince pontiff of a sect of dissenters from lamism. To check the growth

* See Appendix.

† The men who have no *tchin*, the *tchornii narod*, that is, the black people, or blackguards.

of this evil, Peter sent Ismailof, a captain in the guards, to Pekin, with presents to the emperor, among which were several pieces of turnery, the work of his own hands. The negotiation was successful; but the Russians soon lost the fruits of it by fresh acts of indiscretion, and were expelled from China by order of Kam-hi. The Russian court alone retained the right of sending a caravan every three years to Pekin; but that right again was subsequently lost in consequence of new quarrels. The court finally renounced its exclusive privilege, and granted the subjects leave to trade freely on the Kiachta.

Peter's attention had long been directed to the Caspian Sea with a view to making it more extensively subservient to the trade of Russia with Persia and Central Asia, which as yet had been carried on at Astrakhan alone, through the medium of Armenian factors. Soon after the peace of Neustädt had left the czar free to carry his arms towards the east, a pretext and an opportunity were afforded him for making conquests on the Caspian shores. The Persian empire was falling to pieces under the hand of the enervated and imbecile Hussein Shah. The Lesghis, one of the tributary nations that had rebelled against him, made an inroad into the province of Shirven, sacked the city of Shamakhia, put the inhabitants to the sword, including 300 Russian traders, and plundered Russian property to the amount of 4,000,000 of roubles. Peter demanded satisfaction; the shah was willing to grant it, but pleaded his helpless condition, and entreated the czar to aid him in subduing his rebellious subjects. This invitation was promptly accepted. Peter set out for Persia on the 15th of May, 1722, his consort also accompanying him on this remote expedition. He fell down the Volga as far as the city of Astrakhan, and occupied himself in examining the works for the canals that were to join the Caspian, Baltic, and White Seas, whilst he awaited the arrival of his forces and materiel of war. His army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand dragoons, and fifteen thousand Cossacks, besides three thousand sailors on board the several vessels, who, in making a descent, could do the duty of soldiers. The cavalry marched by land through deserts, which are frequently without water; and beyond those deserts, they were to pass the mountains of Caucasus, where three hundred men might keep a whole army at bay;

but Persia was in such anarchy, that anything might be attempted.

The czar sailed above a hundred leagues southward from Astrakhan, as far as the small fortified town of Andreof, which was easily taken. Thence the Russian army advanced by land into the province of Daghestan; and manifestoes in the Persian and Russian language were everywhere dispersed. It was necessary to avoid giving any offence to the Ottoman Porte, which besides its subjects, the Circassians and Georgians, bordering on this country, had in these parts some considerable vassals, who had lately put themselves under its protection. Among them, one of the principal was Mahmoud D'Utmich, who styled himself sultan, and had the presumption to attack the troops of the emperor of Russia. He was totally defeated, and the public account says, "his country was made a bonfire."

In the middle of September, Peter reached Derbent, by the Persians and Turks called Demir Capi, *i.e.* Iron Gate, because it had formerly such a gate towards the south; it is a long narrow town, backed against a steep spur of the Caucasus; and its walls, at the other end, are washed by the sea, which, in stormy weather, is often known to break over them. These walls may be justly accounted one of the wonders of antiquity; they were forty feet high and six broad; flanked with square towers at intervals of fifty feet. The whole work seemed one single piece, being built of a kind of brown free-stone, and a mortar of pounded shells, the whole forming a mass harder than marble itself; it was accessible by sea, but, on the land side, seemed impregnable. Near it were the ruins of an old wall, like that of China, unquestionably built in times of the earliest antiquity; it was carried from the Caspian to the Black Sea, and probably was a rampart thrown up by the ancient kings of Persia against the numerous barbarian hordes dwelling between those two seas. There were formerly three or four other Caspian gates at different passages, and all apparently built for the same end; the nations, west, east, and north of this sea having ever been formidable barbarians; and from these parts principally issued those swarms of conquerors which subdued Asia and Europe.

On the approach of the Russian army, the governor of Derbent, instead of standing a siege, laid the keys of the city

at the emperor's feet—whether it was that he thought the place not tenable against such a force, or that he preferred the protection of the emperor Peter to that of the Affghan rebel Mahmoud. Thus the army quietly took possession of Derbent, and encamped along the sea-shore. The usurper Mahmoud, who had already made himself master of a great part of Persia, had neglected nothing to be beforehand with the czar, and hinder him from getting into Derbent; he raised the neighbouring Tatars, and hastened thither himself; but Derbent was already in the czar's hands.

Peter was unable to extend his conquests further, for the vessels with provisions, stores, horses, and recruits had been wrecked near Astrakhan; and as the unfavourable season had now set in, he returned to Moscow, and entered it in triumph (Jan. 5, 1723), though he had no great reason to boast of the success of his ill-planned expedition.

Persia was still divided between Hussein and the usurper Mahmoud; the former sought the support of the emperor of Russia, the latter feared him as an avenger who would wrest from him all the fruits of his rebellion. Mahmoud used every endeavour to stir up the Ottoman Porte against Peter: with this view he sent an embassy to Constantinople; and the Daghestan princes, under the sultan's protection, having been dispossessed of their dominions by the arms of Russia, solicited revenge. The divan were also under apprehensions for Georgia, which the Turks considered as part of their dominions. The sultan was on the point of declaring war, when the courts of Vienna and Paris diverted him from that measure. The emperor of Germany made a declaration, that if the Turks attacked Russia, he should be obliged to join in its defence; and the marquis de Bonac, ambassador from France at Constantinople, seconded the German menaces; he convinced the Porte that their own interest required them not to suffer the usurper of Persia to set an example of dethroning sovereigns, and that the Russian empire had done no more than what the sultan should have done.

During these critical negotiations, the rebel Myr Mahmoud had advanced to the gates of Derbent, and laid waste all the neighbouring countries, in order to distress the Russians. That part of ancient Hyrcania, now known by the name of Ghilan, was not spared, which so irritated the people,

that they voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the Russians. Herein they followed the example of the shah himself, who had sent to implore the assistance of Peter the Great; but the ambassador was scarcely on the road ere the rebel Myr Mahmoud seized on Ispahan, and the person of his sovereign. Thamaseb, son of the captive shah, escaped, and getting together some troops, fought a battle with the usurper. He was not less eager than his father in urging Peter the Great to protect him, and sent to the ambassador a renewal of the instructions which shah Hussein had given.

Though this Persian ambassador, named Ishmael-beg, was not yet arrived, his negotiation had succeeded. On his landing at Astrakhan, he heard that general Matufkin was on his march with fresh troops to reinforce the Daghestan army. The town of Baku, from which the Persians called the Caspian Sea, the Sea of Baku, was not yet taken. He gave the Russian general a letter to the inhabitants, exhorting them, in his master's name, to submit to the emperor of Russia: the ambassador continued his journey to Petersburg, and general Matufkin went and sat down before the city of Baku. The Persian ambassador reached the czar's court at the same time as the news of the surrender of that city (Aug., 1723).

Baku is situated near Shamakhia, where the Russian factors were massacred; and though in wealth and number of people inferior to it, is very famous for its naphtha, with which it supplies all Persia. Never was treaty sooner concluded than that of Ishmael-beg. The emperor Peter, desirous of revenging the death of his subjects, engaged to march an army into Persia, in order to assist Thamaseb against the usurper; and the new shah ceded to him, besides the cities of Baku and Derbent, the provinces of Ghilan, Mazandaran, and Astarabath.

Ghilan, as we have already noticed, is the southern Hyrcania: Mazandaran, which is contiguous to it, is the country of the Mardi; Astarabath borders on Mazandaran; and these were the three principal provinces of the ancient kings of the Medes. Thus Peter by his arms and treaties came to be master of Cyrus's first monarchy; but this proved to be but a barren conquest, and the empress Anne was glad to surrender it thirteen years afterwards in exchange for some commercial advantages.

So calamitous was the state of Persia, that the unhappy sophy Thamaseb wandering about his kingdom, pursued by the rebel Mahmoud, the murderer of his father and brothers, was reduced to supplicate both Russia and Turkey at the same time, that they would take one part of his dominions to preserve the other for him. At last it was agreed between the emperor Peter, the sultan Achmet III., and the sophy Thamaseb, that Russia should hold the three provinces above mentioned, and that the Porte should have Casbin, Tauris, and Erivan, besides what it should take from the usurper.

Peter, at his return from his Persian expedition, was more than ever the arbiter of the north. He openly took into his protection the family of Charles XII., after having been eighteen years his declared enemy. He invited to his court the duke of Holstein, that monarch's nephew, to whom he betrothed his eldest daughter, and from that time prepared to assert his rights on the duchy of Holstein Sleswick, and even bound himself to it in a treaty, which he concluded with Sweden (Feb., 1724). He also obtained from that power the title of royal highness for his son-in-law, which was a recognition of his right to the throne, should king Frederick die without issue. Meanwhile he held Copenhagen in awe of his fleet, and ruled there through fear, as he did in Stockholm and Warsaw.

The state of Peter's health now warned him that his end was near; yet still he delayed to exercise the right of naming a successor, which he had arrogated to himself in 1722. The only step he took which might be interpreted as an indication of his wishes in that respect, was the act of publicly crowning his consort Catharine. The ceremony was performed at Moscow (May 18, 1724) in presence of the czar's niece, Anne, duchess of Courland, and of the duke of Holstein, his intended son-in-law. The manifesto published by Peter on this occasion deserves notice; after stating that it was customary with Christian monarchs to crown their consorts, and instancing among the orthodox Greek emperors Basilides, Justinius, Heraclius, and Leo the Philosopher, he goes on to say:

"It is also known how far we have exposed our own person, and faced the greatest dangers in our country's cause, during the whole course of the last war, twenty-one years

successively, and which, by God's assistance, we have terminated with such honour and advantage, that Russia never saw a like peace, nor gained that glory which has accrued to it by this war. The empress Catharine, our dearly beloved consort, was of great help to us in all these dangers, not only in the said war, but likewise in other expeditions, in which, notwithstanding the natural weakness of her sex, she voluntarily accompanied us, and greatly assisted us with her advice, particularly at the battle of the river Pruth, against the Turks, where our army was reduced to 22,000 men, and that of the Turks consisted of 270,000. It was in this desperate exigency that she especially signalised a zeal and fortitude above her sex; and to this all the army, and the whole empire, can bear witness. For these causes, and in virtue of the power which God hath given us, we have resolved, in acknowledgment of all her fatigues and good offices, to honour our consort with the imperial crown, which, by God's permission, shall be accomplished this winter at Moscow; and of this resolution we hereby give notice to all our faithful subjects, our imperial affection towards whom is unalterable."

In this manifesto nothing was said of the empress's succeeding to the throne; but the nation were in some degree prepared for that event by the ceremony itself, which was not customary in Russia, and which was performed with sumptuous splendour. A circumstance which might further cause Catharine to be looked upon as the presumptive successor was, that the czar himself, on the coronation-day, walked before her on foot, as first knight of the order of St. Catharine, which he had instituted in 1714 in honour of his consort. In the cathedral he placed the crown on her head with his own hand. Catharine would then have fallen on her knees, but he raised her up, and when she came out of the cathedral the globe and sceptre were carried before her.

It was not long before Peter was with difficulty restrained from sending to the block the head on which he had but lately placed the crown. We have already mentioned that the enmity of his first wife is said to have sprung from her jealousy of Anne de Moens, who was for awhile the czar's mistress, and whom, as Villebois tells us, he had serious thoughts of raising to the throne. But she submitted to his passion only through fear, and Peter, disgusted with her coldness towards him, left her to follow her inclinations in marrying

a less illustrious lover. Five-and-twenty years afterwards Evdokhia was avenged through the brother of her rival. Anne de Moens, then the widow of general Balk, was about the person of Catharine, and the handsome and graceful young Moens de la Croix was her chamberlain. A closer intimacy soon arose between them, and so unguarded were they that Villebois, who only saw them together in public during a very crowded reception at court, says that their conduct was such as left no doubt on his mind but that the empress was guilty. The czar's suspicions were roused, and he set spies upon Catharine.

The court was then at Peterhof; prince Repnin, president of the war department, slept not far from the czar; it was two o'clock in the morning; all at once the marshal's door was violently thrown open, and he was startled by abrupt and hasty footsteps: he looked round in astonishment; it was Peter the Great; the monarch was standing by the bedside; his eyes sparkled with rage, and all his features were distorted with convulsive fury. Repnin tells us,* that at the sight of that terrible aspect he was appalled, gave himself up for lost, and remained motionless; but his master, with a broken and panting voice, exclaimed to him, "Get up! speak to me! there's no need to dress yourself;" and the trembling marshal obeyed.

He then learned that, but the instant before, guided by too faithful a report, the czar had suddenly entered Catharine's apartment; that the crime is revealed! the ingratitude proved! that at daybreak the empress shall lose her head! that the emperor is resolved!

The marshal, gradually recovering his voice, agreed that such a monstrous act of treachery was horrible; but he reminded his master of the fact that the crime was as yet known to no one, and of the impolicy of making it public; then, growing bolder, he dared to call to recollection the massacre of the Strelitz, and that every subsequent year had been ensanguined by executions; that, in fine, after the imprisonment of his sister, the condemning of his son to death, and the scourging and imprisonment of his first wife, if he should likewise cut off the head of his second, Europe would no longer look upon him in any other light than that of a ferocious prince, who thirsted for the blood of his subjects

* See Leclerc, Coxe, Levesque.

and even of those who were a part of himself. Besides, he added, the czar might have satisfaction by giving up Moens to the sword of the law upon other charges; and as to the empress, he could find means to rid himself of her without any prejudice to his glory.

While Repnin was thus advising, the czar, who stood motionless before him, gazed upon him intently and wildly, and kept a gloomy silence. But in a short time, as was the case when he was labouring under strong emotions, his head was twisted to the left side, and his swollen features became convulsively contracted; signs of the terrible struggle by which he was tortured. And yet the excessive working of his mind held his body in a state of frightful immovability. At length, he rushed precipitately out of the chamber into the adjoining room. For two whole hours he hastily paced it; then suddenly entering again like a man who had made up his mind, he said to Repnin, "Moens shall die immediately! I will watch the empress so closely that her first slip shall cost her life!"

Moens and his sister were at once arrested. They were both confined in the winter-palace, in an apartment to which none had admission, except the emperor himself, who carried them their food. At the same time a report was spread, that the brother and the sister had been bribed by the enemies of the country, in hopes of bringing the empress to act upon the mind of the czar prejudicially to the interests of Russia. Moens was interrogated by the monarch in presence of general Uschakof; and after having confessed whatever they pleased, he lost his head on the block (Nov. 27). At the same time, his sister, who was an accomplice in the crime, and a favourite of Catharine, received the knout, and was banished to Siberia; her property was confiscated; her two sons were degraded, and were sent to a great distance, on the Persian frontier, as private soldiers.

Moens walked to meet his fate with manly firmness. He always wore a diamond bracelet, to which was a miniature of Catharine; but, as it was not perceived at the time of his being seized, he found means to conceal it under his garter; and when he was on the scaffold he confided this secret to the Lutheran pastor who accompanied him, and under cover of his cloak slipped the bracelet into his hand to restore it to the empress.

The czar was a spectator of the punishment of Moens from one of the windows of the senate. The execution being over, he got upon the scaffold, took the head of Moens by the hair, and expressed with brutal energy how delighted he was with the vengeance he had taken. The same day, Peter had the cruelty to conduct Catharine in an open carriage round the stake on which was fixed the head of her unfortunate lover. He watched her countenance attentively, but fortunately she had self-command enough not to betray her grief. Repnin adds that, from that dreadful night till his death, Peter never more spoke to the empress except in public, and that, in his dwelling, he always remained separate from her.

CHAPTER XXX.

DEATH OF PETER—RETROSPECT—HIS POLITICAL TESTAMENT.

PETER was only fifty-two years of age; but his life had been one protracted and violent excess of labour, mingled with other excesses. In 1722 a secret malady attacked him,* but he said nothing about it; and it was during that same year, and in spite of the disease, that he achieved the conquest of the three Persian provinces, which he added for a while to his empire. He shared in the fatigues of his meanest soldiers, and in their coarse food. He marched as they did, on foot, under a burning sun, in a deep and heated sand, through an atmosphere loaded with dust, and frequently without water to quench the thirst during whole days. And yet he constantly refused to make use of Catharine's carriage; she herself several times quitted it to fill it with soldiers who were dying of heat and fatigue.

His disease, meanwhile, grew worse; and, as he would not drop any of his habits, his pains became every day more excruciating. At length, he could no longer endure them, but it was only to one of his servants that he entrusted the secret;

* "Il avait été atteint d'une maladie secrète qu'il disoit hautement luy avoir été donnée par madame la générale de Tcherniteheff, contre laquelle les effets de son ressentiment se bornèrent à de simples invectives. . . . Cette dame en convenant qu'elle étoit *maléficiée*, attribuoit l'origine de son mal aux debauches continuelles du czar avec des créatures de toute espèce."—*Villebois*.

he directed him to obtain advice as if for some one else; and would not even consult his court physician. He then went to the hot baths of Olonetz; and being better on his return, he placed the crown on the head of Catharine.

But whether it was that he was guilty of some excess in the coronation festivities, or that, as Paulson, his surgeon, affirms, his disease had only been palliated by the first treatment, or that, on his discovering the treason of the empress, the violence of his anger had aggravated his case; certain it is, that subsequent to the coronation, and but a few days after the fatal discovery, his horrible malady broke out with additional fury; and for three months it was doubtful whether he would die of his disease, or of the means which were employed to cure him.

But his vigorous constitution again got the better. He was restored to life, and notwithstanding the most serious statements of the danger, angry to have been so long a captive, he immediately returned to his creations. Munich, whose genius was in unison with his own, called for his presence in those marshes, where intrigue and ignorance had for so many years given a wrong direction to the famous Ladoga canal; the canal which was to be the feeder of Petersburg, the junction of the waters of Northern Asia and of Europe, the connecting link between two worlds.

Autumn, meanwhile, began—the autumn of the Russians; but the czar took no thought of it. During the whole month of October, he traversed those fetid marshes. He found fault, however, with the line which had been adopted; and addressing himself to the unskilful engineer, who was protected by his favourites, "Pisaref," said he, "there are two kinds of faults; the one, when we err from ignorance; the other, which is more inexcusable, when we do not make use of our five senses. Why are not the banks of this canal prevented from giving way? why are there so many windings? Where are the hills which you made an objection? Truly, you are an absolute knave!" Then turning to Munich, of whose plans he approved, he called him "his friend," and declared that "in him he had found the man who would complete this great work, and that his labours had cured him." He put under his orders twenty-five thousand men and the senate; and then, at length, quitted that lifeless

spot, which is now so full of life, breathed into it by the last breath of his genius.

The same ardour impelled him to the extremity of lake Ilmen, and then to the salt-works of Starai Roussa. He bent his course at length towards Petersburg; but hurried away by his destiny, which was about to make him the victim of that humanity he had too often outraged, he went on, without stopping, to Finland; being desirous to visit his foundries there. He entered the port of Lachta on the 5th of November. The weather was gloomy, the air keen and cold, the sea rough and threatening. He was on the point of reaching the abode prepared for him, when, casting a glance towards the harbour, he perceived a small vessel, full of soldiers and sailors, which had struck upon a shoal. He saw that the unfortunate men were confused by fear; and, in the first instance, approaching the water's edge, he called out to them, and told them what was necessary to be done to save themselves; but he exerted himself in vain, for his voice was drowned by the clamours of the sufferers and the roaring of the waves. Those whom he sent to assist them were in fear of their own lives, and made but fruitless efforts. Then forgetting all the danger that he ran, he himself at once jumped into a skiff. As he could not approach the shoal with it, he leaped into the sea, reached the stranded vessel, saved the passengers, and conveyed them to the shore, where he lavished on them the kindest attentions.

But in the middle of the same night his disease again attacked him; a burning fever fired his blood; and all his former pangs returned. He was removed to Petersburg. There, living always more for his country than for himself, while his alarmed physicians predicted gangrene and its mortal consequences, he did not suspend his labours; his mind, stronger than such pungent agony, still watched over his empire; and even when pain seemed his only connecting link with earth, and he was about to quit the world, he strove to give a new world to Russia.

It was then that Behring received, from the monarch's own hand, those second instructions which were to extend to America the empire of the Russians: an empire which their czar had never ceased to aggrandise, by the conquests of commerce and the arts as well as by those of war. For two

months longer, a multitude of other instructions and regulations bear witness to his constant solicitude for the greatness of his nation. But this mode of reigning by ordinances, and by his mind alone, did not satisfy him; he wished to put his own hand to everything, and to see everything with his own eyes. He was to pause only to die; and his thus lavishing his own person, without bestowing a thought on it, is his best excuse for his having spared others so little.

Thus, on the 17th of January, 1725, the day of the ceremony of blessing the water, he braved the severity of the weather and of illness. But, on the following day, either from the effect of this pious excess, or from his having indulged in excess of some other kind,* a tightness seized his chest, his fever increased, and he was tortured by an obstinate suppression of urine. He still strove to struggle against his disease, and rise superior to pain, the last monster which this dying Hercules sought to conquer; but it triumphed, and he fell hopeless on his bed of death.

The palace was thrown into alarm; couriers were despatched to Leyden and to Berlin to obtain the best advice. All the physicians of Petersburg were summoned round the couch where lay the object of so many recollections, and of so many hopes of glory and national prosperity. There, while his medical attendants were fourteen days employing the terrible means which were meant to relieve, but which are said to have ended him, he sometimes filled the palace with cries extorted by his sufferings, and at other times, indignant at his involuntary weakness, exclaimed that "in him might plainly be seen what a wretched animal is man!"

At length, on the 26th of January, he became resigned; he called upon Heaven, in a loud voice, and received the last consolations of religion; and, either from Christian humility, the remorse of a dying man, or rather, perhaps, in conformity to an ancient usage, which is peculiar to Russia, he ordered his debts to be paid, and the prisoners to be released. "I dare hope," said he, at the same time, "that God will look upon me with a merciful eye for all the good that I have done to my country!"

His agony lasted for two whole days longer; but still retaining the same ardour for civilisation, and the same firmness

* Villebois says that the fatal attack was provoked by the czar's intemperance in celebrating a *Conclave*.

with which he had lived, the czar, in the short intervals which pain allowed him, laid his injunctions on Catharine to protect his Academy of Sciences, and to invite to it the learned men of Europe. He then pointed out Ostermann to her in the following words:—"Russia cannot do without him; he is the only man who knows her real interests." After this, he settled the time during which mourning for him should be worn.

He now wished to write his last will; but the fallacious calm of a partial death, which succeeded to his pangs, had deceived him as to his remaining strength. His palsied hand could form nothing on the paper but illegible marks; he himself could read no more than these three words,—"Give all to . . . . . ." He then ordered the princess Anne, his favourite daughter, to be sent for instantly; but by the time she could come, the voice as well as the hand and left side of her father were gone. In the mean while he had endeavoured, but in vain, to finish what he had begun; the mind was yet entire, but it had no longer any means of communicating with the material world. This sovereign, so potent, still living in the midst of his people, surrounded by his household, and in the arms of his family, was, nevertheless, insulated from all; and remained alone, battling with death, during fifteen hours of horrible agony.

At length, on the 28th of January, about four in the morning, his eyes closed for ever; and thus, at the very same hour when he was every day accustomed to awake from other sleep than this, and resume the toils of his empire, he closed forty-three years of a reign, and fifty-two years of a life, among the most remarkable in history.

The Russia of our day owes its existence to Peter the Great: it is such as he and his successors, continuing his work, have made it; for the latter have all contributed to the accomplishment of his projects, often even in spite of their want of ability or will. Now the present condition of Russia is not such as justifies the unmeasured eulogiums which have been lavished upon the author of its polity. Apart from this consideration, and neither forgetting the defective nature of Peter's views as a reformer, nor the hideous enormity of the means he used, we may admit with his admirers that his empire was indebted to him for positive results of his labours,

which astonish us by their number and magnitude. He gave it six new provinces; two seas; an extensive commerce; fortresses; ports; a regular army of two hundred thousand men; an admiralty, a naval academy, and a fleet of forty sail of the line and two hundred galleys; a regular police; a multitude of elementary schools; colleges for the mathematical sciences, arts, and belles-lettres; an imperial library, and a cabinet of medals; schools of anatomy, medicine, pharmacy, with rich collections of subjects in anatomy, natural history, and botany; a botanical garden; an observatory; an academy of science; printing offices, with new kinds of types; and a gallery of pictures and of statues, by the most eminent masters: all of them things which before his time were unknown among his people, who were so ignorant that they looked upon foreign languages as heresies, and the mathematical and natural sciences as witchcraft:* who, nevertheless, believed their untilled and frozen land to be the nighest to heaven, their clumsy language the most pleasing to the divinity, their brutal manners the nearest approach to those of the immortals: and who conceived that their nation was the most rich and eminent under the sun, that to which all others owed their existence, and without which every other people, who were all pagans and impious beings, would perish of famine!

The plan of Peter's general policy was grand and comprehensive. To profit fully by the mighty rivers of his country; to rule the Baltic and turn it to account; to confine the Swedes to their peninsula; to enfeeble Poland by fomenting its divisions; to profit to the largest extent by the decay of the Ottoman empire; to draw within the sphere of his own influence the Christians of Europe and Asia, who wore the yoke of the Turks or the Persians; to spread his influence and extend his future commerce to those regions which lay along his own vast borders, and even to others beyond them: to gain for himself weight and consideration in the affairs of the west: these were the projects which Peter in great measure accomplished, and the further realisation of which he bequeathed as an inevitable task to his successors.

* A mathematician amused himself one day in calculating how many bricks there were in a large stock. Romodanovski would have had him executed for a wizard, but fortunately for the poor *savant* Peter heard of the case in time to save him.

But there was more than this. In a book published in the last century as the posthumous memoirs of the chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont, there appeared a very remarkable document purporting to be the will of Peter the Great. The notorious d'Eon is known to have gone to Russia in the disguise of a woman, as a secret envoy from France. It is said that his intimacy with the lascivious empress Elizabeth gave him extraordinary opportunities for making important discoveries, and that he transmitted this document to Louis XV. in 1757.

Doubts have been cast upon the authenticity both of the memoirs and of the so-called will; but we are not aware that the subject has ever undergone such a thorough inquiry as it certainly deserves. Independently, however, of its authenticity, the will possesses great intrinsic interest, as embodying principles of action which have been notoriously followed out by Russia during the last hundred years, with such modifications as time and circumstances, and the variations of the European equilibrium have rendered necessary.

The will begins thus:

"In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, We, Peter, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c., to all our successors on the throne and in the government of the Russian nation.

"Forasmuch as the Great God, who is the author and giver of our life and crown, has constantly illumined us with his light, and upheld us with his support," &c. &c.

Here Peter sets out in detail that, according to his view, which he takes to be also that of Providence, he regards the Russian nation as destined hereafter to exercise supreme dominion over Europe. He bases his opinion on the fact that the European nations have for the most part fallen into a condition of decrepitude, not far removed from collapse, whence he considers that they may easily be subjugated by a new and youthful race, as soon as the latter shall have attained its full vigour.

The Russian monarch looks upon the coming influx of the northerns into the east and west, as a periodical movement, which forms part of the scheme of Providence, which, in like manner, by the invasion of the barbarians, effected the regeneration of the Roman world. He compares these emigrations of the polar nations with the inundations of the

Nile, which at certain seasons fertilise the arid soil of Egypt.

He adds, that Russia, which he found a brook, and should leave a river, must, under his successors, grow to a mighty sea, destined to fertilise worn-out Europe; and that its waves would advance over all obstacles, if his successors were only capable of guiding the stream. On this account he leaves behind him for their use the following rules, which he recommends to their attention and constant study, even as Moses consigned his tables of the law to the Jewish people.

RULES.

"1. The Russian nation must be constantly on a war footing to keep the soldiers warlike and in good condition. No rest must be allowed, except for the purpose of relieving the state finances, recruiting the army, or biding the favourable moment for attack. By this means peace is made subservient to war, and war to peace, in the interest of the aggrandisement and increasing prosperity of Russia.

"2. Every possible means must be used to invite from the most cultivated European states commanders in war, and philosophers in peace: to enable the Russian nation to participate in the advantages of other countries, without losing any of its own.

"3. No opportunity must be lost of taking part in the affairs and disputes of Europe, especially in those of Germany, which, from its vicinity, is of the most direct interest to us.

"4. Poland must be divided, by keeping up constant jealousies and confusion there. The authorities must be gained over with money, and the assemblies corrupted so as to influence the election of the kings. We must get up a party of our own there, send Russian troops into the country, and let them sojourn there so long that they may ultimately find some pretext for remaining there for ever. Should the neighbouring states make difficulties, we must appease them for the moment, by allowing them a share of the territory, until we can safely resume what we have thus given away.

"5. We must take away as much territory as possible from Sweden, and contrive that they shall attack us first, so

as to give us a pretext for their subjugation. With this object in view, we must keep Sweden in opposition to Denmark, and Denmark to Sweden, and sedulously foster their mutual jealousies.

"6. The consorts of the Russian princes must always be chosen from among the German princesses, in order to multiply our family alliances with the Germans, and to unite our interests with theirs; and thus, by consolidating our influence in Germany, to cause it to attach itself spontaneously to our policy.

"7. We must be careful to keep up our commercial alliance with England, for she is the power which has most need of our products for her navy, and at the same time may be of the greatest service to us in the development of our own. We must export wood and other articles in exchange for her gold, and establish permanent connexions between her merchants and seamen and our own.

"8. We must keep steadily extending our frontiers northward along the Baltic, and southwards along the shores of the Black Sea.

"9. We must progress as much as possible in the direction of Constantinople and India. He who can once get possession of these points is the real ruler of the world. With this view we must provoke constant quarrels—at one time with Turkey, and at another with Persia. We must establish wharves and docks in the Euxine, and by degrees make ourselves masters of that sea, as well as of the Baltic, which is a doubly important element in the success of our plan. We must hasten the downfal of Persia: push on to the Persian Gulf; if possible, re-establish the ancient commercial intercourse with the Levant through Syria; and force our way into the Indies, which are the storehouses of the world; once there, we can dispense with English gold.

"10. Moreover, we must take pains to establish and maintain an intimate union with Austria, apparently countenancing her schemes for future aggrandisement in Germany, and all the while secretly rousing the jealousy of the minor states against her. In this way we must bring it to pass that one or the other party shall seek aid from Russia; and thus we shall exercise a sort of protectorate over the country, which will pave the way for future supremacy.

"11. We must make the house of Austria interested in the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and we must neutralise its jealousy at the capture of Constantinople, either by pre-occupying it with a war with the old European states, or by allowing it a share of the spoil, which we can afterwards resume at our leisure.

"12. We must collect around our house, as round a centre, all the detached sections of Greeks which are scattered abroad in Hungary, Turkey, and South Poland; we must make them look to us for support, and thus by establishing beforehand a sort of ecclesiastical supremacy, we shall pave the way for universal sovereignty.

"13. When Sweden is ours, Persia vanquished, Poland subjugated, Turkey conquered—when our armies are united, and the Euxine and the Baltic in the possession of our ships, then we must make separate and secret overtures, first to the court of Versailles, and then to that of Vienna, to share with them the dominion of the world. If either of them accepts our propositions, which is certain to happen if their ambition and self-interest is properly worked upon, we must make use of one to annihilate the other; this done, we have only to destroy the remaining one by finding a pretext for a quarrel, the issue of which cannot be doubtful, as Russia will then be already in the absolute possession of the east and of the best part of Europe.

"14. Should the improbable case happen of both rejecting the propositions of Russia, then our policy will be to set one against the other, and make them tear each other to pieces. Russia must then watch for and seize the favourable moment, and pour her already assembled hosts into Germany, while two immense fleets, laden with Asiatic hordes, and convoyed by the armed squadrons of the Euxine and the Baltic, set sail simultaneously from the Sea of Asof and the harbour of Archangel.

"Sweeping along the Mediterranean and the Atlantic they will overrun France on the one side while Germany is overpowered on the other. When these countries are fully conquered the rest of Europe must fall easily, and without a struggle, under our yoke. Thus Europe can and must be subjugated."

CHAPTER XXXI.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PETER I.

BEFORE we part with Peter I., it remains for us to complete our view of his personal character and habits by some further details, which could not well have found an earlier place in these pages without inconveniently breaking the course of the narrative.

A retail shopkeeper of St. Petersburg would hardly content himself at this day with the paltry wooden hut which Peter built for himself when he was laying the foundation of his capital. Its whole furniture consisted of a bed, a table, a chair, a lathe, and some books and papers. In the shortest days of winter, which are but seven hours long in that latitude, he always rose at four o'clock in the morning, and lighted his own fire; and at six he was to be found at the senate or the admiralty. When he went out it was generally on foot, or in a hackney sledge, and he sometimes borrowed of the first passer-by the money to pay the fare.

He dined at one o'clock. At his table, which was usually a frugal one, nothing came amiss to him except fish, which this naval monarch could never bear. His favourite food was such as was eaten by the people. He ate little, but often, wherever he might chance to be, and no matter with whom; and he drank to excess. The czars his predecessors admitted to their table only the ministers of foreign powers, the patriarch, and such of the grandees as they desired to honour by a distinguished mark of their favour; seated too on a throne they ate at a separate table. Dutch and English skippers were Peter's favourite boon companions. With a clay pipe in his mouth and a mug of quass in his hand, he was "hail fellow" among them, and swore as roundly as any of them.

Peter's usual dress was as coarse as his domestic economy, and such as suited the manual occupations to which he was addicted. Many a time he was seen working with his own hands in the manufactories he had established. He often piloted the foreign vessels that came to Cronstadt, and he always received, like other pilots, the pay of a service which he was desirous to render honourable. On one occasion, having been compelled by the state of his health to stop at a

foundry, he for some hours became a smith. On his return to Moscow, he went to the master of the foundry, and inquired what he paid his workmen. "Well, then," said he, "at that rate I have earned eight altins (about thirteen pence), and I am come for the money." Having received it, he said that "with this sum he would buy himself a new pair of shoes, of which he was in great want." This was very true; and he hastened to the market to make his purchase, which he afterwards felt a pleasure in wearing. "See what I earned by the sweat of my brow," said he to his courtiers; thus priding himself on the fruits of his labour, in the eyes of a nobility whom he wished to cure of the Oriental and haughty indolence with which they were imbued. The principle was a good one, but as usual he carried it to an extravagant excess.

With regard to the simplicity of his attire, the following is related in the manuscript memoirs of a diplomatic agent who resided a long time at his court. "On all the solemn festivals, he only wore the uniform of his preobajenskoi regiment of guards. I saw him in 1721 give a public audience to the ambassadors of Persia. He entered the hall of audience in nothing more than a surtout of coarse brown cloth. When he was seated on the throne, the attendants brought him a coat of blue gros-de-Naples, embroidered with silver, which he put on with great precipitation, because the ambassadors were waiting for admittance. During this time he turned his eyes towards the window where the czaritza had placed herself to observe the ceremony. Catharine was heard repeatedly to burst out into fits of laughter, as the czar seemed to her to be astonished at seeing himself so finely dressed; and the czar laughed at it himself, as also did all the spectators. As soon as the ambassadors were gone, Peter I. threw off his embroidered coat, and put on his surtout."

It may well be conceived with what contempt Peter would treat the pompous etiquette observed by his predecessors in the first audience given to ambassadors. Peter received those sent to him without ceremony, wherever he chanced to be; for he said they were accredited to his person, and not to this or that hall or palace. He gave his first audience to the Austrian ambassador at five in the morning, amidst the confusion of setting to rights his cabinet of natural history.

Printz, the Prussian minister, had to carry his credentials on board a ship. The czar was aloft, and bawled to him to climb up into the maintop. Printz pleaded his want of practice as an excuse for declining this aërial reception, and the czar came down to him on the quarter-deck.

The ministers of foreign courts, who were forced to accommodate themselves to Peter's humours, found that the honour of sharing his occupations and pleasures was not altogether free from danger. One day he invited some of them to a trip by water from Petersburg to Cronstadt. It took place on board a Dutch vessel, which was steered by the czar. About half-way an ugly squall came on. One of the ambassadors urged him to make for the shore. "We shall all be lost," said the terrified landsman, "and your majesty will have to answer for my life to the king my master." Peter laughed in his face, and replied, "Sir, if you are drowned, we shall all go to the bottom with you, and there will be nobody left to answer to your court for your excellency's life."

The Russians in Peter's time could no longer say: "God is on high, and the czar is far off;" for such was the rapidity of his movements, that it seemed to them as if he was everywhere at the same time. The universal impulse which he gave to his subjects he everywhere kept up by his unexpected appearance. In all places, and at all times, each one looked for his arrival. They felt assured that nothing could escape his experienced eye, and that he would be certain to make himself obeyed. Service about the person of such a monarch could be no sinecure. Whoever happened to be nearest him had to put his hand to anything, no matter what, which the czar required to be done at the moment. His *dentchik*, or officer in attendance, had often to serve him in lieu of a pillow. He always slept an hour after dinner; when he was not at home, the deck of a ship, the floor of a hut, the bare ground, or now and then straw, when he could get it, served him as a bed. The dentchik had then to lie down, and support his master's head on his belly; and in that position it was his business to remain as mute and motionless as the bolster he represented. Woe to him if he coughed or sneezed, for the czar's waking was terrible when it was not spontaneous; kicks, thumps, a thrashing with a rope's end or a stick awaited the unlucky man who troubled his repose.

One morning, the czar having come sooner than the senators to the hall where they assembled, he belaboured them all soundly as they entered, with the exception of the oldest among them. It is said, too, that having, on some occasions, applied these brutal corrections by mistake, he thought it quite natural to tell the ministers whom he had beaten without a reason, that he would make an allowance for this error the next time that they deserved punishment; and he kept his word in all these instances. All this is but too well proved; and it is also true that he daily, and in public, cuffed or caned his principal officers, for slight faults as well as for serious ones, almost without discontinuing his conversations with those great personages, and without conceiving that he had degraded them in their own eyes or in those of others!—Yet such acts of boorish violence as these are susceptible of explanation; they admit even of excuse in a country which, for several centuries, had known no submission but that of slavery.

There chastisement, inflicted by the hand of the prince, seemed almost a distinction, as it implied a sort of intimacy, a vassalship immediately dependent on him; it was looked upon as a *fatherly correction*. So much did every one, when in the presence of the czar, consider himself as being in a state of minority, of childhood even; and so absolutely was there between him and his subjects not merely the distance between master and slave, but also that which exists between a man who has attained the age of reason and the beings who have not yet acquired the exercise of that faculty. In his presence all were divested of free-will; he was their living and irrevocable destiny.

The Russians, nevertheless, and especially since the usurpation of Godunof, were not unaware of the possibility of conspiracy; but as long as they did obey, it was thus they obeyed: there was no other mode known there of commanding and yielding obedience. Even those ambassadors, who had become polished by residing for many years in civilised countries, when they entered again into this murky atmosphere of slavery, immorality, and barbarism, were obliged to change their eyes and their hearts, in order to accommodate themselves to their situation. They soon forgot there the whole of what they had learned. In justice, then, to the reformer,

and in palliation of his faults, we must consider what an influence such brutal and deeply-rooted habits in the nation must have had on himself; especially since to instruct the people and make himself understood, it was necessary he should be perpetually in contact with them, and speak their own coarse language; and since, to drag them from the darkness in which they were involved, fear being, as he supposed, their only tangible point, he thought himself compelled to seize them by that single hold.

Often he exclaimed to those about him, "You may make war on wild beasts, it is a pleasure which is not unbecoming to you; but as for me, I cannot amuse myself in such a manner, while I have so many to combat in my obstinate and untractable subjects. They are animals whom I have dressed like men; I often despair of overcoming their pertinacity, and eradicating their wickedness from their hearts. Let me, therefore, be no longer painted as a cruel tyrant by those who are unacquainted with the circumstances which have imperiously directed my conduct; what numbers of persons have thwarted my designs, rendered abortive my most beneficial plans for the country, and compelled me to use the utmost rigour! I sought for their assistance, and appealed to their patriotism: those who have comprehended and seconded me, and have been the most useful to my people, I have loaded with rewards; they have been my only favourites!"

We must do justice to the indulgent patience which this passionate master manifested towards all projects that had a useful end in view. It is known with what attention he caused all the experiments to be made in his presence; with what kindness he rewarded the authors, and even, not unfrequently, when they had deceived themselves. He wished, he said, to encourage them in search of something better, and he endeavoured to put them in the right way, by explaining to them the causes of their mistake with affability and kindness.

It was also the same chief, so inflexible, so absolute, and whose military code was so terrible, who behaved like the equal of his meanest soldiers, when he was not acting in the character of their commander. He accepted their invitations as readily as those of the highest nobles of his court, repulsing no one, and, as we are told by his daughter, "standing god-

father as often as he was asked." There, without either feeling or inspiring constraint, seated at their humble repasts, he seemed to be more gratified than at the most brilliant entertainments: "then," to use the very words of the empress Elizabeth, "a kiss given to the lying-in woman, and a ducat put under the bolster, was all, and that gave satisfaction."

A sovereign of such popular manners was no longer one of those *terrestrial deities*, as the national historians denominate their ancient czars, who, far from mingling familiarly with their subjects, frightened them with their rare and formidable presence. Had the Russians been imbued with any tincture of classical lore, Peter might rather have reminded them of the demi-gods of the heroic ages, the inventors of arts, and the conquerors of monsters, or, in other words, of barbarism. Like those rugged heroes, confiding in his colossal stature and extraordinary strength, he used to traverse the wildest countries alone. Like them, too, he combated and overcame the robbers whom he there met with; and, like Cæsar, he also ransomed his life and liberty from their hands.

Thus, one day, on a lonely road, he found himself unexpectedly engaged with eight villains, whose vehicle stopped his; but, with a vigorous arm, he seized one of them by the hair, pulled him out from amidst his companions, and dragged him to a place of safety, where he compelled him to disclose the haunt of his accomplices. On another occasion, being surprised by a more numerous troop, he, with a sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other, held them at bay. "I am the czar," he exclaimed; "what do you require of me?" But, this time, he was forced to capitulate, and even to remain in the power of the banditti, till one of them returned from the neighbouring city with his ransom, for the payment of which he had been obliged to give a written order.

These robbers were masters of the highways in open day, and they seized upon the towns, and even upon Moscow itself, as soon as the sun set. In some weeks, there were found in the streets of that capital no fewer than sixty bodies of its murdered inhabitants. Barricades were obliged to be erected. The ferocious Romadonovsky, the czar's chosen representative, conquered these ruffians by surpassing them in cruelty: he had them hunted down like wild beasts; then he

sentenced them, after his manner, in a moment, with a single word, without appeal, always to death, without hope of pardon. He hung them up alive, by hooks through their sides, two hundred at a time, and left them to expire thus, in the most horrible agony, in the public roads. This inundation of criminals had its source in the weight of the taxes, the severity of the compulsory labour and of the recruiting, and the general indifference to human rights and human feelings with which the imperial reformer pursued his designs.

Peter was the most skilful turner in his empire, and he himself translated a work on the principles of that art, another on those of architecture by Leclerc, and one on the art of constructing canal-locks and foundries. He also ordered the translation of numbers of useful books into Russian. If in any of these versions (as happened with respect to that of Puffendorf) the translator modified passages which were severe upon the Russian nation, Peter made them be given literally, and, reprimanding the translator, exclaimed, "That he did not want to flatter his subjects, but to instruct them, and, especially, to show them what they had been, and what foreigners thought of them, that he might stimulate them to change, by their exertions, the opinion of Europe."

Like Charlemagne and Napoleon, whom he resembled in his genius for vast undertakings, Peter could apply himself with equal ardour to the most minute details. Nothing appeared to him so insignificant as not to engage his attention, as soon as he thought any benefit might arise out of it to his country. During one of his foreign tours he even sent a model of a coffin to Russia. Shortly before the conclusion of the Swedish war, he had brush-makers, basket-makers, even butter-women with butter-firkins, nay rat-catchers and Dutch cats, brought to Russia. He had heard that the Dutch cats were famous for preventing the mischief occasioned by mice and rats in ships and houses. So attentive was he to the minutest objects, that, perceiving the Russian boors made better mat-shoes than the Finnish peasants in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg, he distributed Russian mat-shoemakers in Finland, that they might communicate their art to the Finns.

It appears, from the account given by field-marshal Munich,

that the whole expenses of Peter's court hardly amounted to 60,000 roubles a year, and that there was no service of plate, no chamberlains, grooms of the bedchamber, or pages. The court consisted, except on extraordinary occasions, of only ten or twelve dentchiks, and as many grenadiers of the guards. The festivities were of the grossest kind. In the memoirs of Bergholz, the Holstein high-chamberlain, we find at almost every page accounts of barbarous drinking-bouts, at which Peter compelled the whole of the ladies, the duke of Holstein, and all around him, to indulge in excessive, and sometimes even deadly potations. Among the Sloane papers in the British Museum there is a manuscript in the handwriting of Dr. Birch, which gives the following account of the palace entertainments:

"There are twenty-four cooks belonging to the kitchen of the Russian court, who are all Russians, and as people of that nation use a great deal of onions, garlic, and train oil in dressing their meat, and employ linseed and walnut oil for their provisions, there is such an intolerable stink in their kitchen that no stranger is able to bear it, especially the cooks being such nasty fellows, that the very sight of them is enough to turn one's stomach; these are the men who, on great festivals, dress about seventy or eighty or more dishes. But the fowls which are for the czar's own eating are very often dressed by his grand marshal, Alseffiof, who is running up and down, with his apron before him, among the other cooks till it is time to take up dinner, when he puts on his fine clothes and full-bottomed wig, and helps to serve up the dinner. The number of persons invited is generally two or three hundred, though there is room for no more than above a hundred at four or five tables; but as there is no place assigned to anybody, and none of the Russians are willing to go home with an empty stomach, everybody is obliged to seize his chair and hold it with all his force, if he will not have it snatched from him.

"The czar being come in, and having chosen a place for himself, there is such scuffling and fighting for chairs, that nothing more scandalous can be seen in any company, though the czar does not mind it in the least, nor does he take care for putting a stop to such disorder, pretending that a ceremony, and the formal regulations of a marshal, make

people sit uneasy and spoil the pleasure of conversation. Several foreign ministers have complained of this to the czar, and refuse to dine any more at court, but all the answer they got was, that it was not the czar's business to turn master of the ceremonies, and please foreigners, nor was it his intention to abolish the freedom once introduced; this obliged strangers for the future to follow the Russian fashion, in defending the possession of their chairs, by cuffing and boxing their opposer. The company thus sitting down to table without any manner of grace, they all sit so crowded together, that they have much ado to lift their hands to their mouths, and if a stranger happens to sit between two Russians, which is commonly the case, he is sure of losing his stomach, though he should have happened to have eat nothing for two days before. Carpenters and shipwrights sit next to the czar; but senators, ministers, generals, priests, sailors, buffoons of all kinds, sit pell-mell, without any distinction. The first course consists of nothing but cold meats, among which are hams, dried tongues, and the like, which, not being liable to such tricks as shall be mentioned hereafter, strangers ordinarily make their whole meal of them, without tasting anything else, though generally speaking, every one takes his dinner beforehand at home.

"Soups and roasted meats make the second course, and pastry the third. As soon as one sits down, one is obliged to drink a cup of brandy, after which they ply you with great glasses of adulterated Tokay, and other vitiated wines, and between whiles, a bumper of the strongest English beer, by which mixture of liquors every one of the guests is fuddled before the soup is served up. The company being in this condition, make such a noise, racket, halloing, that it is impossible to hear one another, or even to hear the music, which is playing in the next room, consisting of a sort of trumpets and cornets, for the czar hates violins, and with this revelling noise and uproar the czar is extremely diverted, particularly if the guests fall to boxing and get bloody noses.

"Formerly the company had no napkin given them, but instead of it they had a piece of very coarse linen given them by a servant, who brought in the whole piece under his arm, and cut off half an ell for every person, which they

are at liberty to carry home with them, for it had been observed that these pilfering guests used sometimes to pocket the napkins; but at present two or three Russians must make shift with but one napkin, which they pull and haul for, like hungry dogs for a bone. Each person of the company has but one plate during dinner, so if some Russian does not care to mix the sauces of the different dishes together, he pours the soup that is left in his plate either into the dish or into his neighbour's plate, or even under the table, after which he licks his plate clean with his finger, and, last of all, wipes it with the tablecloth. The tables are each thirty or forty feet long, and ten and a half broad; three or four messes of one and the same course are served up to each table; the dessert consists of divers sorts of pastry and fruits, but the czaritza's table is furnished with sweetmeats: however, it is to be observed that these sweetmeats are only set out on great festivals for a show, and that the Russians of the best fashion have nothing for their dessert but the produce of the kitchen-garden, as peas, beans, &c., all raw. At great entertainments it frequently happens that nobody is allowed to go out of the room from noon till midnight, hence it is easy to imagine what pickle a room must be in, that is full of people who drink like beasts, and none of them escape being dead drunk.

"They often tie eight or ten young mice in a string, and hide them under green peas, or in such soups as the Russians have the greatest appetite to, which sets them a kicking and vomiting in a most beastly manner, when they come to the bottom and discover the trick; they often bake cats, wolves, ravens, and the like, in their pastries, and when the company have eaten them up, they tell them what they have in their guts.

"The present butler is one of the czar's buffoons, to whom he has given the name of *Wiaschi*, with this privilege, that if any one else calls him by that name he has leave to drub him with his wooden sword. If, therefore, anybody, by the czar's setting them on, calls out *Wiaschi*, as the fellow does not know exactly who it was, he falls a beating them all round, beginning with prince Mentchikof and ending with the last of the company, without excepting even the ladies, whom he strips of their head clothes, as he does the

old Russians with their wigs, which he tramples upon, on which occasion it is pleasant enough to see the variety of their bald pates. Besides these employments or entertainments, the said Wiaschi is also surveyor of the ice, and executioner for torturing people, on which occasion he gives them the knout himself, and his dexterity in the business has already procured him above thirty thousand thalers, the sixth part of the confiscated estates of the sufferer being his perquisite."

Drunkenness was not the only kind of sensuality in the indulgence of which Peter habitually outraged all decency. Excessively libidinous by temperament, and with a mind so utterly devoid of ideality as to be incapable of comprehending love except in its purely animal aspect, he pursued his promiscuous amours with the effrontery of a cynic, and made them a common topic of his jocular conversation even with Catharine. His conduct with his niece, the duchess of Mecklenburg, before the whole court of Prussia, was such as a regard for the most ordinary decency altogether precludes us from describing, and would have been monstrous even in the rudest savage. Villebois, his admiral, accuses him of still more abominable depravity.*

Peter had a confused consciousness of the evil that predominated in his misshapen character: witness his sorrowful ejaculation, that "he had undertaken to reform others and could not reform himself." He often deplored the defects of his education, and used to tell his daughters "that he envied them in that respect, and would give one of his fingers to have had the same advantages that they had." Unhappily those advantages were all neutralised by the curse of his own example. Often he repented of the violence committed in his drunken rage, and strove to make amends

* "Les habitudes vicieuses auxquelles nous faisons icy allusion sont si peu considerées en Russie comme un crime, que les lois n'édictent aucune peine contre ceux qui s'en rendent coupables. Parmy les soldats seulement, ceux qui sont pris ca flagrant délit passent trois, fois par les baguettes. Cette punition a été ordonnée par le reglement militaire fait par Pierre 1er, qui luymême n'étoit pas plus exempt que les autres de ce vice. Il étoit un vray monstre de luxure, et, quoique laborieux, il s'abandonnoit parfois, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsy, à des accès de fureur amoureuse dans lesquels l'âge et le sexe même luy importoient médiocrement."—*Mémoires Secrets de la Cour de Russie.*

to his victims by favours and assiduous personal attentions; but these were not always successful. They were unavailing in the case of Leblond, a French architect, whom he had unjustly struck, and who could not survive the insult. Towards culprits, or those whom he chose to consider such, he acted with unmitigated barbarity, because in such cases his perverted conscience was in unison with his cruel impulses. An anecdote related of him is highly significant in this respect: Once as he lay very sick it was represented to him that he should now, according to the practice of the former czars, grant a free pardon to several capital delinquents, in order by this pious act to obtain from God the speedier restoration of his health. Instead of following this superstitious advice, he commanded these culprits to be immediately brought to trial, and executed without loss of time if they were found guilty, as he hoped that this would be more agreeable to God than letting such villains loose again upon the world.

We have here the key to Peter's conduct in criminal procedures. It was in the exaggeration of this spirit that his bloodiest deeds were done. When he was most inhuman he believed himself to be most just; for like lord Angelo, he knew not how sovereignly unjust must be the judge whose rigour is not tempered by mercy.

He professed unbounded admiration for the memory of Ivan the Terrible; but he was not such an incarnate fiend as his prototype. His bold and earnest nature sympathised with all that resembled it, and a true word bravely spoken had power to quell his passion in its fiercest mood. One day in a fit of anger on board a boat, he seized one of his companions, a senator, and was about to fling him into the water. "You may drown me," said the senator, "but your history will tell of this." The czar at once set him down again unhurt. Peter's overwarm admirer, the count de Ségur, has pleaded for him a number of such extenuating instances, some of which we will give in the words of that enthusiastic biographer. The first relates to the czar's conduct when, on the 25th of April, 1719, he lost the last remaining son whom he had by Catharine.

His officers tell us that, at that period, the czar being seized with those convulsions to which he was subject, they saw

the muscles of his face become contracted, and his neck stiffened and twisted in a frightful manner. Till that time, during such painful paroxysms, which lasted for several hours, the presence and voice of a woman had possessed the power to quiet him; but, on this occasion, he repulsed all importunate attentions. For three days and three nights, overwhelmed with sorrow, this colossus remained alone, shut up, stretched on the ground, hiding himself from the light of day, and from every eye, rejecting all food, and waiting impatiently for the end of a life, which thenceforth must be without hope and without a future.

They feel a delight in calling to mind with what resolution their great senator, their sage, for so they denominate Dolgoruki, came to snatch him from this deep dejection. They relate how, speaking to him through the door, which he threatened to break open, he reproached him with deserting the empire, declared to him that his successor should be chosen, and at length forced him to open the door and show himself to his whole senate, whom Dolgoruki had brought with him, and whose unexpected presence, by astonishing the czar, silenced his sorrow, and compelled him to repress his despair.

In the year of famine, when, by an ukase which was already signed, Peter was about to sacrifice Novgorod to Petersburg, Dolgoruki had not co-operated in the injustice; he found it committed. But then, seizing, in full senate, the obnoxious ukase, he, at the risk of his life, suspended the execution of it, carried it away with him, and went to the next church to receive the sacrament, which the priest was then administering. Intelligence of this offence was instantly conveyed to the czar; he hurried to the senate, and sent orders to Dolgoruki to appear there immediately. But the latter, without turning his head, or diverting his attention from heaven to earth, replied, "I hear you," and went on with his prayers. A second and more imperious message had as little effect upon him. "I give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," he replied, unmoved; and it was not till the holy sacrament was over that he took his way to the czar.

As soon as the monarch saw him, he rushed furiously at him, seized him, drew his sword, and, with a threatening voice,

exclaimed, "You shall perish!" But Dolgoruki remained unmoved, and pointing to his heart, "Strike!" said he, firmly; "I do not fear to die in a just cause!" On hearing these words, the prince dropped his hand, his voice softened, he stepped back, and said in a tone of surprise, "But, tell me, what could have made you so daring?"—"Yourself," replied the minister; "did not you order that the truth should be told you, with respect to the interest of your people?" He then explained; and Peter, who was convinced by what he heard, thanked him for his courageous sincerity, and begged pardon for his violence.

He, however, perpetually relapsed into that violence; the sword of the despot often again menaced the frank and resolute minister; but his arm was always arrested by the ascendancy, which with him was irresistible, of reason, supported by masculine and patriotic virtue.

On the occasion of the new and extraordinary compulsory labour, which was imposed for the excavation of the canal of Ladoga, Dolgoruki, indignant at such an abuse of power, dared to destroy, in the midst of the senate, the order which his master had himself dictated. On witnessing this unheard-of action, the senators started from their feet in affright; they removed to a distance, and kept as far as possible from this sacrilegious being, on whom the thunder was about to fall, for the terrible czar had just entered. But Dolgoruki remained in his place; and unastonished either by his own boldness or the violence of the czar, he opposed to the first burst of wrath from his irritated master, the glory of such a noble reign which he was on the point of tarnishing, and the good of his subjects, whom doubtless he did not, like Charles XII., desire to ruin. Then he stated the reasons of his indignation, while at the same time he himself blamed its violence.

It is said, that the whole of the senators were struck with astonishment to see the furious glances of their formidable czar lose their fierceness; his features, which were swollen with anger, become composed; his lips, which foamed with threats, acknowledge his error, and revoke his order; and his pride, jealous as it was, far from punishing the blunt sincerity of his councillor, satisfied with the regret which he had expressed to him.

Nor was it with respect to this great personage alone that Peter displayed such moderation and love of justice; for proof to the contrary, we may refer, among other instances, to Kreitz, and even to an isvosthick. The latter was nothing more than a person who let out horses, which, in the simplicity of his manners, the czar was accustomed to hire in the same way as his people; but one day, being made angry by their slowness, he drove them without mercy, and one of them having died in consequence, the owner demanded the value of it. Peter refused to pay it; the isvosthick had the boldness to resort to the law; his sovereign agreed to abide by the decision of the tribunal, appeared before it, defended himself, lost his cause, and submitted without a murmur to the verdict which was given against him.

Kreitz was an admiral; he had lost, by his disobedience, two of the men-of-war on which the czar set such a value, and which he had, perhaps, built with his own hands! Accordingly, the council of war condemned the criminal to be shot. But Kreitz appealed to foreign admiralties, and Peter not only gave his assent beforehand to their decision, but when they confirmed the fatal sentence, he revoked it. He commuted the punishment of the offender; nay, more, at the expiration of twenty-four hours, he remitted even the milder penalty, and gave to this officer, who was more unfortunate than guilty, the administrative superintendence of a navy, with the vessels composing which he did not think it proper to entrust him again.

Having quoted so far from Ségur's pleadings in abatement of the strictures pronounced by history upon his hero, we dismiss Peter, miscalled the Great, with the following remarks of his countrywoman, the princess Dashkof, which give in many respects a just view of his character:

"Before the birth of this monarch, Russia had made great conquests: Kasan, Astrakhan, and Siberia, as well as the rich and warlike nation known under the title of the Golden Horde, had submitted to our arms; and long before any of his ancestors had been called to fill the throne, the arts had taken refuge, and were cherished in Russia. I am ready to acknowledge the merits of this extraordinary man; he had genius, activity, and an unfeigned zeal to promote the improvement of his country; but how were these qualities

overwhelmed by his total want of education, and the tyranny of his outrageous passions! Cruel and brutal, he treated all without distinction, who were subject to his sway, as slaves who were born to suffer. Had he possessed the mind of a great legislator, he would have permitted the example of other nations, the effect of commerce, and the sure reform of time, to have had their united weight in bringing about those improvements which he, with violence, introduced; or had he known how to estimate the noble and respectable qualities of our ancestors, he would never have sought to efface the originality of their character, by the impress of foreign habits and manners, which he prized so much above our own. With regard to laws, this monarch, after setting aside the code of his forefathers, so often changed his own, with no other view, sometimes, as it would seem, than to assert his right of doing so at pleasure, that they soon ceased to inspire reverence, and consequently lost half their power. The nobility, as well as the slaves, were equally the victims of his innovating frenzy; the one he deprived of their conservative tribunal, their only appeal in cases of oppression, and the other of all their privileges. And for what? to clear the way for the introduction of a military despotism—of all forms of government the one most hateful and pernicious. The vain-glorious aiming at the fame of a creator hastened the building of Petersburg, by circumstances so little mingled with mercy, that thousands of workmen perished in the marshes. One of his edifices, indeed, of great labour and expense, might have been spared, had it not been wanting to the glory at which the founder of the city aspired, and that is an admiralty and dockyards on the banks of a river which no labour could render navigable for ships of war, or even for merchant vessels with the most moderate cargoes."

CHAPTER XXXII.

CATHARINE I.—PETER II.

WHILE Peter was yet lying in the agonies of death, several opposite parties were caballing to dispose of the crown. At

a meeting of many among the principal nobility, it was secretly determined to arrest Catharine at the moment of his dissolution, and to place Peter Alexievitch upon the throne.* Bassevitz, apprised of this resolution, repaired, in person, to the empress, although it was already night. "My grief and consternation," replied Catharine, "render me incapable of acting for myself: do you and prince Mentchikof consult together, and I will embrace the measures which you shall approve in my name." Bassevitz, finding Mentchikof asleep, awakened and informed him of the pressing danger which threatened the empress and her party. As no time remained for much deliberation, the prince instantly seized the treasure; secured the fortress; gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promises; also a few of the nobility, and the principal clergy. These partisans being convened in the palace, Catharine made her appearance: she claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moscow; exposed the ill-effects of a minority; and promised, that, "so far from depriving the grand-duke of the crown, she would receive it only as a sacred deposit, to be restored to him when she should be united, in another world, to an adored husband, whom she was now upon the point of losing."

The pathetic manner with which she uttered this address, and the tears which accompanied it, added to the previous distribution of large sums of money and jewels, produced the desired effect: at the close of this meeting, the remainder of the night was employed in making the necessary preparations to ensure her accession in case of the emperor's death.

Peter at length expired. This event being made known, the senate, the generals, the principal nobility and clergy, hastened to the palace to proclaim the new sovereign. The adherents of the grand-duke seemed secure of success; and the friends of Catharine were avoided as persons doomed to destruction. At this juncture Bassevitz whispered one of the opposite party, "The empress is mistress of the treasure and the fortress; she has gained over the guards and the synod, and many of the chief nobility; even here she has more followers than you imagine: advise, therefore, your

* "Tant qu'on lui savoit un soufle de vie, personne n'osoit l'entreprendre. Telle étoit la force du respect et de la terreur, qu'imprima ce héros."—*Bassevitz*, p. 374.

friends to make no opposition as they value their heads." This information being rapidly circulated, Bassevitz gave the appointed signal; and the two regiments of guards, who had been gained by a largess* to declare for Catharine, and had already surrounded the palace, beat to arms. "Who has dared," exclaimed prince Repnin, the commander-in-chief, "to order out the troops without my knowledge?"—"I," returned general Butturlin, "without pretending to dispute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my most gracious mistress." This short reply was followed by a dead silence. In this moment of suspense and anxiety, Mentchikof entered, preceding Catharine, supported by the duke of Holstein. She attempted to speak, but was prevented by sighs† and tears from giving utterance to her words; at length, recovering herself, "I come," she said, "notwithstanding the grief which now overwhelms me, to assure you that, submissive to the will of my departed husband, whose memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready to devote my days to the painful occupations of government, until Providence shall summon me to follow him." Then, after a short pause, she artfully added, "If the grand-duke will profit by my instructions, perhaps I shall have the consolation, during my wretched widowhood, of forming for you an emperor worthy of the blood and the name of him whom you have now

* The Austrian envoy says that the guards received each 6*l.*

† The same person asserts that Catharine, although she secretly rejoiced at Peter's death, played the farce admirably; she ceased not her lamentations and groans; she repeatedly kissed the body; screamed and swooned without end; so that the by-standers, who were not acquainted with the real state of the case, were moved with compassion, while the others could hardly refrain from laughing. Bassevitz also relates the grief of the empress, which he, on the contrary, like a true courtier, affirms to have been real:—"Insensible à tout autre sentiment, qu'à celui de l'affliction, l'empératrice n'avoit pas quitté son chévet de trois nuits." And again: "Catharine, au lieu de hâter ses pas vers eux et le sceptre, embrassoit vainement son Epoux agonizant, qui ne la connoissoit plus, et ne pouvoit s'en détacher."—"Elle étoit au reste," says Villebois, "une des plus belles pleureuses qu'on pût imaginer, et quantité de gens accouroient au palais impérial, uniquement pour la voir pleurer et soupirer. J'ay connu entr'autres deux Anglois, qui n'ont pas laissé passer un seul de ces quarante jours sans y aller; et j'avoue que moymême, bien que je sçusse à quoy m'en tenir sur la sincérité de ces larmes, j'en étois toujours aussy ému que si j'avois assisté à une représentation *d'Andromaque.*"

irretrievably lost."—"As this," replied Mentchikof, "is a crisis of such importance to the good of the empire, and requires the most mature deliberation, your majesty will permit us to confer without restraint; that this whole affair may be transacted without reproach, not only in the opinion of the present age, but also of posterity."—"Acting as I do," answered Catharine, "more for the public good than for my own advantage, I am not afraid to submit all my concerns to the judgment of such an enlightened assembly; you have not only my permission to confer with freedom, but I lay my commands upon you all, to deliberate maturely on this important subject; and promise to adopt whatever may be the result of your decisions." At the conclusion of these words, the assembly retired into another apartment, and the doors were locked.

It was previously settled by Mentchikof and his party that Catharine should be empress; and the guards, who surrounded the palace, with drums beating and colours flying, effectually vanquished all opposition. The only circumstance, therefore, which remained, was to give a just colour to her title, by persuading the assembly that Peter intended to have named her his successor. For this purpose, Mentchikof demanded of that emperor's secretary whether his late master had left any written declaration of his intentions? The secretary replied, "That a little before his last journey to Moscow he had destroyed a will; and that he had frequently expressed his design of making another: but had always been prevented by the reflection, that if he thought his people, whom he had raised from a state of barbarism to a high degree of power and glory, could be ungrateful, he would not expose his final inclinations to the insult of a refusal; and that if they recollected what they owed to his labours, they would regulate their conduct by his intentions, which he had disclosed with more solemnity than could be manifested by any writing." An altercation now began in the assembly, and some of the nobles having the courage to oppose the accession of Catharine, Theophanes, archbishop of Pleskof, called to their recollection the oath which they had all taken in 1722, to acknowledge the successor appointed by Peter; and added, that the sentiments of that emperor, delivered by the secretary, were in effect an appointment of

Catharine. The opposite party, however, denied these sentiments to be so clear as the secretary chose to insinuate; and insisted, that as their late monarch had failed to nominate his heir, the election of the new sovereign should revert to the state. Upon this the archbishop further testified, that the evening before the coronation of the empress at Moscow, Peter had declared, in the house of an English merchant, that he should place the crown upon her head with no other view than to leave her mistress of the empire after his decease. This attestation being confirmed by many persons present, Mentchikof cried out, "What need have we of any testament? A refusal to conform to the inclination of our great sovereign, thus authenticated, would be both unjust and criminal. Long live the empress Catharine!" These words being instantly repeated by the greatest part of those present, Mentchikof, saluting Catharine by the title of empress, paid his first obeisance by kissing her hand; and his example was followed by the whole assembly. She next presented herself at the window to the guards and to the people, who shouted acclamations of "Long live Catharine!" while Mentchikof scattered among them handfuls of money. Thus, says a contemporary, the empress was raised to the throne by the guards, in the same manner as the Roman emperors by the prætorian cohorts, without either the appointment of the people or of the legions.

This account of the election of Catharine is chiefly extracted from Bassevitz, who assisted Mentchikof in this revolution, and certainly must deserve credit as far as he chose to discover the secret cabals. Some authors relate this event somewhat differently; but the difference is easily reconciled, and the main facts continue the same. Busching asserts, as he was informed by count Munich, that Peter was no sooner dead, than the senate and nobles assembled in the palace unknown to prince Mentchikof. The latter, being informed of the meeting, repaired to the palace, and was refused admittance; upon which he sent for general Butturlin, with a company of guards; and bursting open the door of the apartment in which the meeting was held, declared Catharine empress. The Austrian envoy says, that general Butturlin threatened to massacre the senate if the members did not acknowledge Catharine. But we have already seen, from the

authority of Bassevitz, that many of the nobles, &c., repaired to the palace, in opposition to prince Mentchikof; that general Butturlin had high words with prince Repnin and the opposite party; that Mentchikof's presence utterly disconcerted them; and it is probable, that both he and Butturlin might have threatened the nobles, which Bassevitz might not choose to record, as he was willing to make the nomination of Catharine appear as unanimous as possible: although he says, "C'est ainsi que Catharine saisit le sceptre, qu'elle méritoit à si juste titre." In short, these three accounts are easily reconcilable with each other; they all prove one fact, that Mentchikof, either by himself or his agents, by bribes, promises, and threats, forced the nobility to proclaim Catharine.

Catharine's first acts after her accession were in accordance with her gentle and humane disposition. She reduced the annual capitation tax by one-eighth; ordered the gibbets to be cut down which had been erected by Peter in great numbers throughout the country; caused the still unburied bodies of the numerous persons he had executed to be interred; recalled most of those who had been banished to Siberia in the late reign, excepting the relations and friends of Peter's former wife; paid the troops their arrears; restored to the Cossacks several of their privileges and immunities which had been wrested from them by Peter, and made no changes among the officers of state. She thus attached to her the people, the army, and many even of the nation. The attempts of two impostors, who severally gave themselves out for Peter's unfortunate son Alexis, were speedily defeated, and the pretenders to the throne beheaded. Yet perhaps had she lived longer she would not have died as empress. At least, there was never wanting a great number of malcontents whilst she reigned. The obscurity of her origin, and the history of her early days, ere she was acknowledged by Peter as his wife, were a stumbling-block to many; and papers were frequently handed about in which she was very irreverently mentioned. In the second year of her reign she felt herself under the necessity of threatening to punish with death all such as should speak of her family in disrespectful terms.

As long as Peter reigned, there was a continual jealousy between Austria and Russia: his death was followed by an

alliance between those powers, which proved ruinous to the Poles and the Turks, and separated Austria from its natural ally—England. Peter had consoled the duke of Holstein with empty hopes, and used him as the toy and tool of his politics; and Catharine effected his marriage with her daughter a few months after she ascended the throne (June, 1725). The empress loved her daughter so tenderly, that for her sake she overlooked the incapacity of the duke, and assigned him the first place in her council, where Bassevitz continued to be his prompter, although not much more efficient than himself. The empress wished also to turn to account his claims upon Denmark and to the reversion of the Swedish throne: for this purpose she stood in need of the assistance of the emperor of Germany, whose favour, therefore, she and the duke earnestly tried to gain. Mentchikof possessed wealth, estates, and lordships in Silesia, and was the more easily purchased, as he needed the aid of the emperor in his Polish affairs: he was supported by Austria on political grounds, whilst at last his friend the empress was opposed to him in Courland.

The nobility of Courland at that time were in dread of the impending blow of a union with Russia: they tried to rouse the spirit of Poland and to gain the favour of king Augustus, in order to save and preserve their freedom. Their duke was long dead, but his widow Anne (Peter's niece) still lived in the country under Russian protection. The brother of the last descendant of the house of Kettler was living abroad, poor and childless. The Courlanders sought for a more vigorous man, and one who had connexions which might be useful to them, and they ultimately chose count Maurice of Saxony, a natural son of the king of Poland, for their duke. Maurice was born with the genius of a great commander, and at a later period, as a marshal of France, he reached the very pinnacle of glory: as the ruler of a small country, he might have had as destructive an influence upon morality by his example as his father had had in Saxony. The choice, however, was not realised, because the Poles as well as Mentchikof opposed the selection. The Poles wished to unite the duchy with their republic; Mentchikof, on the other hand, wished to force himself upon the Courlanders as their duke. Whilst the ambassador of his empress was

carrying on a vehement contest with the senate in Warsaw, Mentchikof ventured to go in person to Mittau; but there met with resistance from the nobility, who knew that neither the empress, the dowager-duchess, nor the Poles would support him; and he treated the estates and their president in Courland with his usual insolence. If Bassevitz had not lent him his aid, Mentchikof would have been then utterly ruined. Catharine would have willingly married the young and much-admired Maurice; she therefore wished to promote his election, and had come to St. Petersburg expressly in order to advance his cause. Bassevitz supported Mentchikof, probably because he foresaw that his duke, on Mentchikof's removal, must necessarily occupy his place, and knew that he was not equal to the duties of a ruler. The empress, indeed, shortly before her death, had sent count Deviez to Mittau to investigate the accusations which were brought against Mentchikof. This Deviez was a Portuguese, who had entered into the Russian service, and although brother-in-law of Mentchikof, was nevertheless his most deadly enemy. Her death soon afterwards altered the whole state of affairs. Maurice had also deceived Anne: he tried in vain to maintain himself against the Russians, and the latter did not hesitate to drive him by force of arms in the midst of peace from Courland, where he had settled as a stranger, and Austria even deputed a person to be present at his expulsion.

Austria had previously shown itself favourable to the pretensions of Russia. In April, 1726, it had guaranteed the reversion of the crown of Sweden to Charles Frederick; and when an English fleet afterwards appeared in the Baltic for the protection of the Danes, who were threatened by the Russians, a formal treaty of alliance was concluded (6th Aug., 1726) between Russia and the emperor of Germany. By the terms of this treaty, each party engaged, in case of a war with a third party, to furnish 30,000 auxiliaries to the other; and Russia also formally acceded to the alliance between Spain and Austria which had been negotiated by Ripperda. Immediately afterwards, Frederick William also withdrew from the Hanoverian alliance and joined that of Spain, Austria, and Russia.

The reign of Catharine may be considered as the reign of Mentchikof. The empress had neither inclination nor abili-

ties to direct the helm of government; and she placed the most implicit confidence in the man who had been the original author of her good fortune, and the sole instrument of her elevation to the throne. She took to herself two new favourites at once, the young prince Sapieha and a Livonian gentleman named Loevenvolden. These two rivals strove equally to please her, and alternately received proofs of her tenderness without suffering their happiness to be marred by mutual jealousy. During her short reign her life was very irregular; she was extremely averse to business; would frequently, when the weather was fine, pass whole nights in the open air; and was particularly intemperate in the use of Tokay wine, in which she often indulged to excess. These irregularities, joined to a cancer and a dropsy, hastened her end; and she expired on the 17th May, 1727, a little more than two years after her accession to the throne, and about the thirty-ninth year of her age.

As the deaths of sovereigns in despotic countries are seldom imputed to natural causes, that of Catharine has been imputed to poison, as if the disorders which preyed upon her frame were not sufficient to bring her to the grave! Some assert that she was poisoned in a glass of spirits; others, by a pear given to her by general Deviez. Suspicions also fell upon prince Mentchikof, who was accused of hastening her death, that he might reign with still more absolute power during the minority of Peter II. But these reports deserve not the least credit, and were merely dictated by the spirit of party, or by popular rumour.

Catharine was in her person under the middle size, and, in her youth, delicate and well formed, but inclined to corpulency as she advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which she was always accustomed to dye black. She could neither read nor write;* her daughter Elizabeth usually signed her name for her, and particularly to her last will and testament; and count Ostermann generally put her signature to the public decrees and despatches. Her abilities have been greatly exaggerated by her

* Bassevitz says, "Elle n'apprit jamais à écrire. La princesse Elizabeth signa tout pour elle, quand elle fût sur le trône, même son testament." The Austrian minister says count Ostermann used to sign her name to all the despatches.

panegyrists. Gordon, who had frequently seen her, seems to have fairly represented her character, when he says, "She was a very pretty well-lookt woman, of good sense, but not of that sublimity of wit, or rather of that quickness of imagination, which some people have believed. The great reason why the czar was so fond of her, was her exceeding good temper; she never was seen peevish or out of humour; obliging and civil to all, and never forgetful of her former condition; withal, mighty grateful." When Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time that Catharine was a domestic in that clergyman's family, presented himself before her after her marriage with Peter had been publicly solemnised, she recollected and addressed him with great complacency: "What, thou good man, art thou still alive? I will provide for thee." And she accordingly settled upon him a pension. She also was no less attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a prisoner at Moscow: she pensioned his widow; made his son a page; portioned the two eldest daughters; and advanced the youngest to be one of her maids of honour. If we may believe Weber, she frequently inquired after her first husband, and when she lived with prince Mentchikof, used secretly to send him small sums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a skirmish with the enemy.*

But the most noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compassion for the unfortunate. Motraye has paid a handsome tribute to this excellence. "She had in some sort the government of all his (Peter's) passions; and even saved the lives of a great many more persons than Le Fort was able to do: she inspired him with that humanity which, in the opinion of his subjects, nature seemed to have denied him. A word from her mouth in favour of a wretch just going to be sacrificed to his anger, would disarm him; but if he was fully resolved to satisfy that passion, he would give orders for the execution when she was absent, for fear she should plead for the victim." In a word, to use the ex-

* A reputed brother of Catharine's, whom she called count Skavronski, appeared early in her reign at Petersburg. She married one of his daughters to her favourite, Sapieha. Villebois tells a romantic tale of the discovery of this Skavronski by Peter himself, and Voltaire repeats the story with embellishments of his own; but there is much reason to doubt its truth altogether.

pression of the celebrated Munich, "She was the mediatrix between the monarch and his subjects."

The premature death of the empress Catharine in 1727, after a reign of two years, appeared to place Russia altogether at the disposal of Mentchikof; for Peter II., the son of Alexis, was yet only a boy, and by Catharine's will Mentchikof had not only obtained the presidency of the supreme council, but by an article which it contained, the young emperor was to marry Mentchikof's daughter. All this, however, was not enough to satisfy his ambition, and he was himself the first to violate the testamentary dispositions of the empress, upon which his guardianship was founded, and to seize upon everything by force. Mannstein gives the following report of these transactions:—Catharine's heir, Peter, was between twelve and thirteen years old when he came to the throne, and the empress had therefore ordered that he should remain under guardianship. This office was to be executed by Catharine's daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, the duke of Holstein, the bishop of Lubeck, husband of her daughter Elizabeth, and by the supreme council. The senate at that time consisted of prince Mentchikof, the high-admiral Apraxin, the grand chancellor Gallowkyn, the vice-chancellor Ostermann, and privy councillors Gallizin and Dolgoruki. This commission of government, however, only assembled once, and that on the day of Catharine's death. At this meeting nothing was done further than the recognition of the will, which in two hours afterwards was practically annulled. It had been expressly provided in the will, that every question in the council should be determined by a majority of votes: that was by no means agreeable to Mentchikof. He chose to decide alone, the others were to listen, and no one ventured to oppose that on which he had resolved: whoever did so was lost.

Three months afterwards Mentchikof compelled the duke of Holstein and his wife to leave Russia (5th Aug., 1727), and received the dignity of generalissimo from the emperor in May: he accepted the lordship of Cosel in Silesia, as a present from the emperor of Germany, and betrothed his youngest daughter to Peter II., but by his brutality he awakened a universal feeling of repugnance to himself and his rule. At length he disgusted the emperor himself, and thereby furnished the Dolgorukis, who had long gained the emperor's confidence, with the desired opportunity of effect-

ing their rival's overthrow. Mentchikof, who had happily outstood even the boisterous temper of Peter the Great, had been all-powerful under Catharine, notwithstanding the duke of Holstein's machinations against him, and was afterwards the austere and imperious father-in-law of Peter II., was now overthrown, and obliged with his whole family, including even the betrothed wife of the young emperor, to depart, in September, 1727, for Beresof, in Siberia. By this stroke of fortune, which he bore with singular calmness and fortitude, all his plans of greatness were at once defeated, and the treasures he had accumulated* were poured into the imperial coffers, from which the greater part had been surreptitiously taken. He died in his place of exile in 1729. From the time of his downfal the Dolgorukis were at the head of the state, and it appeared as if Russia had forgotten European affairs to occupy herself exclusively with her own.

Peter had changed his residence to Moscow, and favoured Russian institutions and usages in preference to those which were foreign; he betrothed himself to a Russian lady, a Dolgoruki, and during his reign nothing was thought of but internal affairs and court cabals, whilst the other powers concluded their agreements about Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. The unexpected death of the young emperor, however, recalled Russia to her old politics. He was carried off by small-pox on the 9th of February, 1730; and with him the male race of the Romanof family became extinct. After Peter II.'s death, one of the Dolgorukis, armed with a forged document which he pretended was the will of Peter II., attempted in vain to secure the succession to his own daughter Catharine, who had been betrothed to the late emperor: his Russian colleagues in the council, however, hit upon the bold thought of changing the imperial autocracy into a shadow, and sharing the power of the czar among themselves.

* These consisted of nine millions of roubles in bank notes and obligations, one million in cash, 105lb. of gold utensils, 420lb. of silver plate, and precious stones to the value of about a million. If we reckon, besides, the enormous estates in land which he possessed, his palace and its furniture, we shall be the more surprised at the treasure which Mentchikof was able to amass, as Peter was very far from being liberal to his favourites, and had often punished Mentchikof for his embezzlements by confiscating a part of his property. It used to be said of Mentchikof that he might travel from Riga, on the Baltic, to Derbent, on the Caspian, and sleep on one of his own domains every night.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ANNA IVANOVNA CHOSEN EMPRESS—DEFEATS AN ATTEMPT TO LIMIT HER SOVEREIGN POWER—INTERFERES SUCCESSFULLY IN POLAND—THE PERSIAN PROVINCES RESIGNED—WAR WITH TURKEY—WARLIKE ATTITUDE OF SWEDEN—DEATH OF ANNE—CHARACTERISTICS OF HER REIGN.

THE testament produced by Dolgoruki being declared invalid, the succession to the throne ought to have been decided by that still extant of Catharine I. and not annulled by Peter II. In this it was ordained that, in case Peter should die without heirs, Anne duchess of Holstein, and her posterity; on failure of them, the princess Elizabeth* and her posterity should succeed. Anne, indeed, had been dead since 1728, but had left behind her a prince. He therefore would be now, according to the purport of that will, the legitimate heir. But shortly after Catharine's death the duke of Holstein and his consort had left Russia, where Mentchikof rendered their abode extremely irksome, and returned to their possessions of Holstein-Gottorp, in Germany; and the council, which on Peter the Second's death directed the succession and was averse to foreigners, would have paid no regard to the young prince of Holstein, even if his father had been still in Russia, much less was any notice taken of him now that he lived in Germany.† Next to Anne and her posterity, by Catharine's last will, the princess Elizabeth was to succeed: but she remained quite inactive on the vacancy of the throne, though her physician, Lestocq, took all possible pains to persuade her to put in her claim to the succession. It had hitherto been her sole desire to live at ease, exempt from all concern in the affairs of government, and only to pursue her

* Second daughter of Peter I. and Catharine. The eldest was married to the duke of Mecklenburg.

† Indeed he was only mentioned for the sake of calling to mind that both he and the princess Elizabeth were the offspring of a double adultery, and therefore both of them ought for ever to be excluded from the throne. It was observed that when Peter I. married Catharine, the first husband of that princess and the empress Evdokhia Lapukhin were still living.

pleasures and her devotions—for she was very devout. As for her pleasures, she shared them with all the grenadiers of the guard.

The male line of the Romanofs was extinct; but besides Elizabeth, Peter the First's daughter, three daughters of czar Ivan, step-brother of Peter I., and his partner in the government, were still alive. The eldest lived at Petersburg in a state of separation from her turbulent husband, the duke of Mecklenburg; the second, who had been married to the duke of Courland, lived as a widow, from 1711, in Mittau; the third was at Petersburg, still unmarried. Of these three princesses the council was to elect one. Their choice fell upon the duchess Anne of Courland, who was expected to accept of the proffered dominion upon whatever conditions might be prescribed; she was, however, first obliged to sign a sort of capitulation, the conditions of which were of such a kind as to have brought Russia either under the dominion of a pernicious oligarchy, or have thrown it into anarchy and confusion. The conditions were:—1. The empress shall only govern according to the pleasure of the supreme council. 2. Neither war shall be declared nor peace concluded without the advice and approbation of the senate. 3. No taxes to be imposed or important offices conferred without the senate. 4. No nobleman to be tried before the ordinary tribunals or to be punished with death, nor 5. his property to be confiscated. 6. No part of the crown lands to be disposed of or alienated. 7. Not to marry, or name a successor, without the consent of the senate.—To these conditions was added that Anne should not bring her favourite, the chamberlain Von Biren, with her into Russia.

Yagujinski had secretly sent a messenger to Mittau to the duchess, to anticipate the arrival of the deputies* who were sent by the supreme council with the conditions of the election, and had advised her to their unconditional acceptance, assuring her that it should be his care to see that they were

* One of whom was prince Vassili Lukovitch Dolgoruki, who had been the successful lover of Anna Ivanovna, and was doubtless in hopes of becoming so again. On entering the apartment of the duchess, Dolgoruki found with her a man rather meanly dressed, to whom he made a sign to retire. As the man did not stir, Dolgoruki took him by the arm to enforce his hint. Anne stopped him. This man was Ernest John Biren, and thus it was that the ruin of the Dolgoruki family was occasioned.

annulled. It was sufficient to induce the Russians to abolish these conditions, to know that, by virtue of them, all the power would fall into the hands of the Dolgorukis. Anne subscribed the articles which limited her power, first in Mittau, and a second time in Moscow, and even made the new form of government publicly known by means of a proclamation, whilst all the arrangements had been already made to restore the autocracy.

If the senate had been in a situation to maintain their new constitution, they should have immediately sent back Biren, whom the empress brought with her to Moscow contrary to the stipulations, and then have punished Yagujinski and dismissed the guards, who were unfavourable to an oligarchy. As they were unable to do this, the constitution, or rather the influence and power of the Dolgorukis, was gone. By Yagujinski's advice, the empress gave to the abolition of the articles of election an appearance of justice; and she was able to do so with greater truth and propriety, because no one approved of the new constitution except the senate. A numerous assembly was called, whose members were called deputies and representatives of the nobles and the army, although in reality they had no such commission; and they were asked whether the limitations imposed upon the imperial power were agreeable to their will and desire. All demanded the restoration of the old form of government, and loudest of all, those who were called representatives of the army.*

The empress pretended to be very much surprised that the conditions imposed upon her had been so much in opposition to the voice and desire of the Russian people, and tore up the articles in the presence of the whole assembly.† Im-

* As such there appeared Trubetzkoi, Tcherkaskoi, Boratinski, and Matvejef.

† Ostermann had the greatest share in annulling the capitulation. Under the pretext of indisposition he neglected to attend the council assembled on Peter's death, refused his assent to the capitulation, at the same time complimenting the great men, by telling them that they best knew what was for the benefit of the country, while he was exerting every effort to counteract the council, and thus acquired the favour of Anne to a superlative degree. It proved, likewise, of great assistance to Anne, that the clergy had not been induced to approve of the project of capitulation; as their opinion had not been consulted, they declined to support it.

mediately afterwards a new proclamation was published, by which the complete restoration of the autocracy was announced; and this was forthwith succeeded by a second, in which the senate was again restored to all those rights and duties which, as a council of the empire, it had possessed under Peter I., and the newly created council, distinct from the senate, was abolished. Anne, however, afterwards established a cabinet to superintend the affairs of greatest importance, consisting of no more than three persons, and in which Ostermann's voice was of peculiar weight. The senate had now only to decide upon less important matters, and had, in fact, very little to do.

Anne's favoured lover Biren, under the title of grand chamberlain, was now in reality the ruler of Russia. This incapable and brutal favourite was prompted and aided by a man of unlimited ambition, but at the same time of great abilities: this was general count Munich, who was soon after appointed generalissimo and a member of the cabinet. Munich completely reformed the Russian army, erected admirable schools and institutions for instruction in the science of war, and as a man well acquainted with the subject, projected and carried forward the construction of canals and public roads, and finally directed the military power of the Russians against the Poles, Tatars, and Turks, at whose cost, and with reckless sacrifices, the new army was trained and fitted for European warfare. Under the reign of this empress the alliance between Russia and Austria was continually made firmer, and each wished to secure for itself an influence in the approaching election of a king of Poland. By his dissolute life, king Augustus II. had at length destroyed his robust constitution; he could no longer stand upright, and his end was manifestly approaching: France would gladly have seen Stanislaus Leczinski, the father-in-law of Louis XV., again elevated to the throne of Poland; but this was vigorously opposed by both Austria and Russia. Neither of these nations was in reality disinclined to the elector of Saxony; they only wished that he should purchase their favour and support by the sacrifices which they respectively required.

Russia was at that time still disputing with Poland concerning Courland. The nobles of Courland elected the last descendant of the house of Kettler, in order to gain a respite

at least till his death. The Russians took this very much amiss, and not only prevented the aged man from taking possession of the duchy, but even caused the president of the nobles in Mittau to be seized and carried off. Poland, on the other hand, made immediate preparations after the death of Ferdinand, the last of the Kettler line, to divide the country into waywodeships and starosties. New Russian troops were sent to the Polish frontiers in order to prevent the fulfilment of this design, and any union of Courland with Poland. Biren wished to secure the duchy for himself. Austria concurred readily in this plan, and the only difficulty was to prevent France from adopting and maintaining the Polish claims. This was a new reason for hindering, even by force, Leczinski's election. Austria and Russia therefore set up a pretender in order to deceive Prussia, which was opposed to the elector of Saxony. Von Löwenwolde, the Russian master of the horse, travelled to Berlin, and there (Dec., 1732) concluded that treaty which is called by his name, and the only object of which was to restrain the king of Prussia from taking part with Stanislaus, and to separate Saxony from Prussia. Neither of the powers was in the least degree serious about a Portuguese prince, who, according to the terms of this treaty, was destined for Poland.

King Augustus II. died a few months after the conclusion of the Löwenwolde treaty; his son, the new elector of Saxony, courted the favour of the Poles to obtain the vacant throne, but they were by no means well-disposed towards the Saxons; and moreover, the primate of Poland had recently persuaded the nobles to enter into a new and close alliance with Russia against their own king, in whom they had no confidence, and to guard against his secret agreements and dreaded engagements. On the death of Augustus, the majority of the Poles declared (February, 1733) that they would only elect a native Pole (Piast) for their king.

Immediately after the death of king Augustus, it was publicly declared that the Löwenwolde treaty had not been seriously intended, and Frederick William, therefore, was only a sullen spectator of the following events. Austria and Russia now completely gave up the Portuguese prince Emanuel, whom a pretended suit for the hand of the empress had brought to Russia, and declared that they would not oppose

the election of a Pole, Stanislaus alone excepted. Their real object was to compel Saxony to purchase their favour by sacrifices, to which Brühl was easily influenced. This minister helped the phlegmatic Augustus III. to bear the tedium of life, and ruled absolutely in his name: he drained the whole resources of the Saxon people, as Flemming previously had done. The elector of Saxony had already made a treaty with France in order to maintain his claims to the inheritance of Charles VI., but he now renounced this alliance, subscribed the pragmatic sanction, and promised also that he would not oppose the views of Russia with respect to Courland. On these grounds the aid of both powers was promised him in his endeavours to obtain the crown of Poland, and the usual anarchy was again promoted in that unhappy country. One part of the nobility followed the hints of the two powers, accepted their bribes or obeyed their threats; but by far the most numerous party, led by French influence and old preference, declared itself in favour of Stanislaus. The country was torn by internal disturbances from March till September (1733), and as early as May a confederation was formed under French influence; on the other hand, three Russian armies appeared on the frontiers, and Austria also made a threatening movement.

France could not refuse assistance to the father of its queen; the ministry supported Stanislaus by money, and even embarked some troops for his service. He came to Poland, where he was chosen king on the 13th of September, 1733, upon the legal field of election; but fifteen senators and some hundred nobles had been purchased by foreigners, and these were supported by Lascy at the head of 20,000 Russians against the majority of their countrymen, who seemed desirous of maintaining their national rights in Warsaw. The partisans of the newly-elected king assembled in Praga; at their head stood the primate, with whom the majority of the Poles agreed, but they proved unequal in perseverance to Lascy and his Russians. Stanislaus therefore hastened to Dantzig, where he could not so easily be cut off, and there awaited the French troops which had been promised him.

The Poles of Stanislaus' party had broken down the bridges over the Vistula on the approach of the Russians, and the

fifteen senators and six hundred nobles of the opposite party were therefore obliged to hold their election upon the field of Wola, where Henry of Valois had been formerly chosen. They chose the elector of Saxony as their king (5th October), in order that the Russians might be in a condition immediately to attack and harass king Stanislaus, in the name of Augustus III. The Russians advanced, and their number in a short time increased to 50,000 men, who closely blockaded Dantzig. Field-marshal Munich, the generalissimo of the Russian army, at length arrived (February, 1734), in order to conduct the siege of Dantzig in person. In May a small French force appeared in the neighbourhood of Dantzig, but they were taken prisoners, and in June the city surrendered. Stanislaus had previously escaped in disguise to the Prussian territory, after Munich had set a price on his head. The city of Dantzig was mulcted 2,000,000 of florins for its fidelity to its rightful king; but half that sum was afterwards relinquished by the Russian empress. At this time the military power of Russia threatened the freedom of Europe in such a way as to become a matter of serious concern. The army which had conquered Dantzig was spread over Poland, and another division, under Lascy and Keith, was advancing into Germany. A chosen corps of 10,000 men had reached the Rhine in June, and their appearance had a very decisive influence upon the secret negotiations then pending between Fleury and the emperor of Germany.

The Russian power had gained new vigour, and the army new experience in the Polish war, and in fact the whole gain and glory of it fell to the Russians. The first consequence of this new humiliation of Poland, and of placing a king upon the throne who was forced upon the people, was, that the rude, brutal, incapable Biren, the favourite of the empress Anne, accomplished what Mentchikof had attempted in vain. In the year 1737, Biren was chosen duke by the nobles of Courland, and in the year 1739 his new dignity was acknowledged in Warsaw by the king and the senate.

Peter the Great, as we have already seen, had extended the confines of his empire on the side of Persia. But it was very soon found that this enlargement of the borders was no substantial acquisition to the country. In order to preserve them, it was involved in an expensive and tedious war; they

required a very considerable garrison even in peace; and as the climate did not agree with the Russians, a multitude of soldiers were constantly falling victims to disease.* Anne therefore opened a negotiation with the shah, promising to restore to him the conquered countries if in return he would accord to her subjects some advantages to their commerce. They at length came to terms; and Russia (1735) made a formal surrender of all her Persian possessions, in lieu for which the Russian merchants obtained mercantile privileges to a considerable extent in the territories belonging to Persia.

The peace which Peter, when surrounded by the Turks, had been obliged to sign, on the borders of the Pruth, the evacuation of Asof, the demolition of the fortifications at Taganrok, by which Russia was excluded from all the benefits of trade on the Euxine, the refusal of the Porte to grant the imperial title to the monarch of Russia, the incursions of the Crimea and other Tatars, acknowledging the Turkish supremacy into the Russian dominions, in which they ravaged large districts, and carried away many captives into bondage: all these circumstances together had already occasioned Peter to meditate a new war with the Porte. In prosecution of this design, he strongly fortified the principal places of his empire in the neighbourhood of Turkey, furnished them with provision and military stores, and thus completely armed for war. But he died on the eve of it; and under Catharine I. and Peter II. the execution of the plan was no further attempted.

Biren did not wish to allow the Russian army, which had been brought to a high state of efficiency by Munich, and provided with officers of all nations and an admirable artillery, to fall out of practice by peace; after the conclusion of the Polish war, he therefore looked about for an opportunity of employing it, and at length persuaded the empress to avenge upon the Turks the disgrace suffered by the Russians on the Pruth. Ostermann was vehemently opposed to the plan of a Turkish war, and even Munich was not disposed to commence it, although he was the only one who was afterwards anxious for its continuance; but Biren and some Rus-

* It is computed that, from the first taking possession of these Persian provinces, in 1724, no less than 130,000 men had perished there.

sians also insisted upon the plan. The Russians could have no difficulty in finding a pretence for the war, because the khan of the Turkish allies and dependents, the Tatars on the coasts of the Black Sea, and the Sea of Asof, and in the Crimea, could never wholly restrain his wandering hordes from committing depredations and making incursions into the neighbouring pasture-lands of Russia.

The Tatars had already suffered a defeat from the Russians on their attempt to cross the Russian territory, in order to march by the nearest way to the assistance of the Turks in their war against Persia; and the khan himself was afterwards attacked by them and beaten on his march to Daghestan.

In 1735 a Russian corps marched into the Crimea, ravaged a part of the country, and killed a great number of Tatars; but having ventured too far without a sufficient stock of provisions, they were obliged to retreat, and sustained so great a loss in men, that what had been accomplished bore no proportion to this misfortune.

The almost total failure of this first attempt, which had cost the Russians ten thousand men, by no means deterred them from pursuing their designs of conquest. Count Munich marched with a large army from the Ukraine into the Crimea (1736). The Tatars, less fitted for fighting in the open field than for predatory excursions and sudden attacks, suffered the Russian troops to advance unmolested, thinking themselves safe behind their entrenchments, denominated the lines of the Crimea, from any attack of the Russians. But entrenchments of that kind were unable to resist the impetuosity of the Russian troops. They were surmounted; the Tatars repulsed; and a great part of the Crimea lay at the mercy of the conquerors. In the month of June they entered the Crimean fortress of Perekop. The Russian troops now retaliated the devastations committed by the Tatars in the empire; but they found it impossible to remain long in a country where those that fled endeavoured to spread desolation as they went, for the sake of checking their pursuers; and where it is usual for the conqueror himself to make the whole of his warfare to consist in plunder and devastation. Accordingly, whatever the army was in want of, had to be fetched with extreme difficulty from the Ukraine; so that Munich at length found himself, towards

autumn, under the necessity of withdrawing with his troops by the shortest way to the Ukraine. Provisions at least were to be had there, but the Russians were very frequently infested by the Tatars in their winter-quarters. While Munich was in the Crimea, endeavouring to chastise the Tatars for their depredations, Lascy had proceeded with another army against Asof. The attack proved successful; and on the 1st of July the fort of Asof had already submitted to his arms.

The Turks had overlooked all the petty hostilities and devastations which had been practised against the Tatars; but when Munich with the main army began to advance against Asof, the sultan was obliged to lend assistance to his feodary. The Ottomans published a manifesto against Russia, but they were neither able afterwards to protect the Crimea nor Moldavia, for they were soon threatened with an attack from Austria also.

By the treaty with Russia, the emperor was bound to furnish 30,000 auxiliaries in case of a war with the Turks; but a party in the Austrian cabinet persuaded the emperor that it would be more advantageous to make war himself. The expedition which had been undertaken by Munich against Asof and the Crimea in the year 1736 had undoubtedly cost 30,000 men, and the only advantage gained by it was, that the Russian army and even the Cossacks gained self-confidence by the easy-won victory over an enemy hitherto an object of especial dread; but the glory which Munich and his army would have gained from this expedition is tarnished by the cruelties of all kinds which they practised, and by the barbarities and devastations in which they indulged.

In the year 1737 a new expedition was undertaken from the Ukraine at an immense cost, because all sorts of supplies were provided and conveyed along with the army, in consequence of the dear experience which they had purchased, and from having learned that there was more to fear in these wastes from hunger and want than from the weapons of the enemy. Some idea of this immense expedition may be formed from the fact, that more than 90,000 waggons were employed to transport the provisions and stores. A new treaty had been concluded with Austria before this cam-

paign, in which the two empires agreed to carry on the war in common, according to a stipulated plan. In order to gain a pretence for the war, Austria had previously acted as if she wished to force her mediation upon the Turks.

The first year's campaign was so unfortunate, that the Austrians were obliged to give up all idea of prosecuting their operations, and to think of the protection and defence of their own frontiers; for the Turks were making vast preparations to invade their territories in return. Whilst the Austrians were thus losing all the glory they had previously won under Eugene, their allies the Russians were everywhere victorious, and made the name of their armies a terror both in the east and the west. Lascy undertook a new raid into the Crimea. Munich first threatened Bender, then reduced Otchakof without much difficulty, and left a few troops behind him when he withdrew, whose defence of this fortress put to shame the great armies of the German emperor. The main body of the Russians withdrew this year also into the interior of the Ukraine according to their custom, and left a small Russian force in the fortress of Otchakof, who were there besieged by a large combined army of Turks and Tatars, supported by a fleet. The Russians not only maintained the fortress, which was, properly speaking, untenable, but they forced the Turks to retire with a loss of 10,000 men.

The Russian campaign in 1738 was as fruitless, and cost quite as many men, as the Austrian, but it was at least the means of bringing them some military renown. Munich marched through the provinces on the Dniestr and the Bog, wasted them as he had done in the previous year, and afterwards returned to the Ukraine. In 1739 he did not content himself, as in previous years, with a fruitless campaign through barren wastes and with the capture of a few fortresses; his army was more numerous than it had ever previously been, and he lost fewer men by accidents and sickness than in any former campaign. The Russians at first advanced towards Vallachia, but afterwards suddenly turned in the direction of Moldavia, and on this occasion the Polish territory was unquestionably violated without any permission from Warsaw, and Poland barbarously devastated. The Turkish and Tatar army which was opposed to

the Russians was beaten and routed on the first attack; forty pieces of cannon and the whole camp fell into the hands of the enemy. Immediately afterwards the whole garrison, struck with a panic, forsook the fortress of Khotzim, which had never been once attacked, and it was taken possession of by the Russians, who were astonished at the ease of the conquest. Jassy was also taken, and Munich even wished to attack Bender, when the news of the peace of Belgrade having been concluded by Neipperg made him infuriate, because he saw clearly enough that Russia alone was not equal to carry on the war, and that nothing, in short, would remain to them after all their conquests except glory.

By the peace of Belgrade, Austria not only suffered shame and disgrace, but lost all the possessions which had been gained by Eugene in the last war, her best military frontier, and her most considerable fortresses. This peace, which was concluded by Wallis and Neipperg, whilst Munich and his Russians were committing all sorts of outrage and plunder in Moldavia, as they had previously done in the Crimea, was the work of the French ambassador, who also negotiated for Russia, bribed the Italian who was the plenipotentiary of the empress Anne, and immediately subscribed the preliminaries; and his agreement was confirmed at St. Petersburg, notwithstanding all Munich's remonstrances.

By virtue of this treaty, Austria restored to Turkey Belgrade, Shabacz, the whole of Servia, that portion of Bosnia which had been acquired in the last war, and Austrian Vallachia. Russia was also obliged to evacuate Khotzim and Otchakof; the fortifications of the latter were, however, blown up, as well as those of Perekop: Russia retained Asof, and a boundary line was determined, which offered the Russians the most favourable opportunities for extending their vast empire southward, at the cost of the Tatars and Turks.

One of the reasons why Russia was so ready to follow the example of the house of Austria in concluding a peace, was undoubtedly because she was afraid lest Sweden, encouraged by the Porte and France, which latter power was now of almost sovereign influence in the councils of Stockholm, might have recourse to arms, and endeavour to make a diversion in the north in favour of the Porte, while Russia was

engaged in the south by the Ottoman troops. It is to be observed, that Russia and Sweden had in 1724 entered into an alliance for the term of twelve years, by which they mutually guaranteed the safety of their dominions in case of attack. At the expiration of these twelve years, this treaty was again renewed (1736), when Russia even made herself responsible for the payment of a debt due from Sweden to Holland of 750,000 Dutch guldens. But the amity of the two countries continued to stand on a very tottering basis. The generality of the Swedes could not bring themselves absolutely to forget the sacrifices which they were reduced to make to Russia at the peace of Nystädt; and the French court, which was friendly to the Ottomans, and consequently hostile to Russia, exerted itself, by means of its ambassador, to fan the discontents against the latter. Under the form of government that then obtained in Sweden, by which the national council in fact directed everything, while the king was but the shadow of a monarch, the French cabinet found no difficulty in forming to itself a strong party, by presents properly bestowed. Sweden now was in hopes that, while Russia was occupied with the Turks, she might venture some enterprises against that empire with little danger of miscarriage; and, notwithstanding that many true patriots remonstrated against a war with Russia; notwithstanding that the peace so recently concluded between Russia and the Porte rendered it now more hazardous to attempt anything against that power, the warlike party at length triumphed in the diet; and war against Russia became not only the wish of that body, but ultimately of the whole Swedish nation, on the occurrence of an event by which every Swede thought himself insulted by the Russians.

A Swedish major, named Sinclair, had been sent by his government to Constantinople to negotiate concerning the debts which Charles XII. had contracted there, and at the same time to bring about a closer connexion between Sweden and the Porte. Sinclair, a determined foe to the Russians, on his way home through Poland had at times spoken not very advantageously of the empress Anne, and had occasionally suffered to escape him some intimations about an approaching humiliation of the Russian pride by the combined power of the Swedes and Turks. Munich, who was then

stationed at the Polish frontiers, being informed of this, laid a plan to entrap the Swedish officer on his journey back from Constantinople. In order to this, his picture was engraved, and numerous impressions of it were dispersed among the Russian officers commanding on the frontiers. Sinclair set out from Constantinople in April, 1739, travelled through Poland to Breslau, thence continued his journey; but, not far from Naumberg, in Silesia, he was attacked by several persons, among whom were some Russian officers, and cruelly murdered. His fellow-traveller, Couturier, was then conveyed to the Russian fort of Sonnenstein, but afterwards was set at liberty, with a present of 500 ducats from the Russian ambassador, and arrived in September at Stockholm, where in the mean time Sinclair's despatches had been received by the post. This murder was generally reputed to have been perpetrated by an order from the Russian court. The emperor of Germany complained loudly of the act as a violation of his territory; but Anne caused a declaration to be drawn up, asserting her entire ignorance of the whole affair; and Mannstein, who was adjutant-general to marshal Munich, affirms likewise in his memoirs that Anne actually knew nothing of it; adding, that this murder was solely the contrivance of her favourite Biren, count Ostermann, and marshal Munich, in order to come at the contents of the papers which Sinclair had about him.

The horrid deed excited intense indignation in Sweden; the French party took advantage of it to inflame the resentment of the nation against the Russians; the populace of Stockholm broke the windows of the Russian ambassador's house; and the party in favour of war now found it more easy to attain the accomplishment of their wishes—a declaration of war against Russia. That government, quickly aware of the designs of Sweden, had, however, in the mean time, got its hands at liberty by the peace concluded with the Turks, but wished, nevertheless, to avoid engaging in a new war, as the wounds inflicted by that lately terminated were still sensibly felt. Accordingly, it entered into a negotiation with Sweden, in which, however, the year 1740 was entirely taken up. Preparations were made, notwithstanding, on the part of Russia, by securing the frontiers of Finland, filling the magazines, providing Cronstadt with a com-

petent garrison, repairing the fortifications, and getting everything in readiness for the commencement of hostilities. Ere the storm could burst, the empress Anne died at St. Petersburg (1740), after a reign of ten years.

During her long residence in Courland, Anne had acquired tastes somewhat more refined than might otherwise have belonged to the niece of Peter I. It was her ambition to make her court the most brilliant in Europe; but she only succeeded in gathering about her an incongruous display of profusion without elegance, tawdry finery, pomp and squalor. Gross gluttony and drunkenness alone, from among all the barbarous vices of earlier times, in some measure disappeared from her court; but dissipation of every kind, ruinous gambling and extravagance without measure were all the fashion; yet in the midst of all this, neither the political nor the military affairs of the state suffered. Ostermann and Munich were superior to all the ministers in Europe in knowledge, and whatever they willed was law. All the institutions for the promotion of industry and civilisation were progressively improved; morality, indeed, remained as it had ever been, except that its sepulchres were painted and gilt. Traces of the rudest barbarism continually appeared along with the greatest splendour and immeasurable extravagance, and at the same time there was often a want of the simplest artificial necessaries. Poverty, such as is to be found in the richest countries where manufactories abound, and which awakens the deepest compassion in the heart of every friend of humanity, is almost unknown in Russia, because, by a species of communism peculiar to that country, every member of the rural population has the means of subsistence secured to him by an allotment of land. In the times of which we are now speaking, poverty and wealth were closer companions than they are now. The very first of the Russian magnates, without grievous suffering, passed from a state of the most luxurious and riotous living to the endurance of hardships and the severest privations, and he easily learned to disregard the inclemency of the weather and the greatest penury. It was this circumstance which made these frequent alterations of destiny, which were the results of political cabals and changes of government, less sensibly felt than they would otherwise have been, and which appeared to make the most cruel punishments a necessity.

Peter I. had never had fewer than twelve buffoons, and for any private household to be without one buffoon at least, would have argued very straitened circumstances. Anne had six, three of whom were men of the highest birth. One of them, who was a prince, had the care of her leveret. They were beaten with rods if they did not submit with a good grace to perform such fooleries as were required of them by the sovereign or the courtiers. Prince Galitzin was among the nobles who were punished in this way, his offence being that he had changed his religion. Though above forty years of age, and even having a son in the army in the rank of lieutenant, he was made at once page and buffoon of the court. His wife being dead, the empress married him to a girl of the lowest birth, and defrayed the cost of the wedding. This happened in the winter of 1740, which was unusually severe. A house was built wholly of ice, with furniture entirely of the same material, even to the nuptial bedstead. Four cannons and two mortars of ice were also placed in front of the house, and were fired several times without bursting. The governors of all the provinces in the empire had orders to send some persons of both sexes, chosen from all the nations subject to Russia; and these were dressed in the costumes of their respective countries. The procession, consisting of more than three hundred persons, passed before the imperial palace, and through the principal streets of the city. The new married couple were placed in a great cage on the back of an elephant. Some of the guests were mounted on camels; others were drawn in sledges by all kinds of beasts, such as reindeer, dogs, oxen, goats, hogs, &c. The dinner was laid out in Biren's riding-house, which had been decorated for the occasion. Each was treated according to the manner of cookery in his own country. A ball followed, each nation having its own music and its own dancing. When the ball was over, the bride and bridegroom were conducted to a dismally cold bed, and guards were posted at the door that they might not get out before morning.

Though Russia, which numbers among its subjects Mohammedans, Jews, Buddhists, and other pagans, is compelled to exercise a considerable amount of toleration, yet no mercy has ever been shown to apostates from the national church. In Anne's reign another frightful example was given of the

truth of Rousseau's remark, that in Russia there is a dominant religion to which the sovereign and the hangman always belong. Voznitsin, a nobleman allied by marriage to the Streshnef family, which had given a consort to the first czar of the house of Romanof, had embraced Judaism. Refusing the offer of pardon made him on condition that he would recant his error, he was taken to the place of execution with a gag in his mouth, lest he should preach Judaism to the people at the very moment of his martyrdom, and was burned alive along with the Jew who had converted him.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

IVAN VI.—THE REGENT ANNE—ELIZAVETA PETROVNA—WAR WITH SWEDEN—TREATY OF ABO.

THE empress Anne wished to ensure to her beloved Biren the continuance of his oppressive influence; she therefore appointed as her successor, not Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, or her own niece Anne, but the son of the latter, Ivan, who was yet in his cradle. It soon appeared, however, that Biren, who had given her this advice, had miscalculated. Anne's sister had been married to the mad duke of Mecklenburg, and lived at a later period with her daughter in St. Petersburg. The empress married this daughter (July, 1739) to Anthony Ulrich, duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Bevern, and adopted the son of this princess as soon as he was born, to whom she gave her father's name Ivan, and appointed him as her successor.

Prince Ivan of Russia was born in August, 1740, and adopted by the empress Anne on the 18th of October of the same year, ten days after which she expired. Biren, instead of going to Courland, and avoiding the bitter enmity of the Russians, which he had drawn upon himself, had obtained from the dying queen the administration of the government during the minority of the young emperor, although she herself perceived that this regency, without the consent and co-operation of the father and mother, would prove but a hurtful gift. During the last reign, the regent was said to have sent above forty thousand persons into Siberia: he had inflicted the most dreadful persecutions upon the family of Dolgoruki and every one connected with it. Shortly

before the empress's death, he had beheaded the minister Valinski, and treated his friends in the severest manner, and immediately after he had undertaken the duties of the regency, even insulted the general to whom the command of the army was entrusted; he could not therefore possibly maintain his position. Munich had hoped, in Biren's name, to have the complete control of affairs; but he no sooner found himself deceived, than he came to an understanding with the duke of Brunswick and his wife, caused Biren to be arrested in her name, and transferred the regency to the duchess.

The fulfilment of this commission had little difficulty for Munich, because he was sure of the generals, subalterns, and soldiers; and Mannstein makes the very just remark in reference to the arrest of the regent, that the secret means by which it was effected during the night were altogether unnecessary, for he might just as safely have been publicly arrested in open day. This event took place on the 28th of November, precisely a month after the death of the empress.*

* Ernest John Biren, so famous for his great advancements, and his not less extraordinary reverses of fortune, was born in 1687, in Courland, of a family of mean extraction. His grandfather had been head groom to James III., duke of Courland, and obtained from his master the present of a small estate in land. He himself, after his rise, affected to call himself Biron, and assumed the arms of that noble French family, of which he pretended to be a scion. In 1714 he made his appearance at St. Petersburg, and solicited the place of page to the princess Charlotte, wife of the czarevitch Alexis; but being contemptuously rejected as a person of mean extraction, he retired to Mittau, where he chanced to ingratiate himself with count Bestujef, master of the household to Anne, widow of Frederick William, duke of Courland, who resided at Mittau. Being of a handsome figure and polite address, he soon gained the good-will of the duchess, and became her secretary and chief favourite, and subsequently duke of Courland, and first minister, or rather despot of Russia. All now felt the dreadful effects of his extreme arrogance, his base intrigues, and his horrid barbarity. The cruelties he exercised on the most illustrious persons of the country almost exceed belief; and Mannstein conjectures, that during the ten years in which Biren's power continued, above 20,000 persons were sent to Siberia, of whom 5000 were never heard of more. It is affirmed that the empress often fell on her knees before him, in hopes of moving him to clemency, but neither her prayers nor her tears were able to affect him. At the revolution that ensued upon the death of the empress Anne, he was exiled to the frozen shores of the Oby. Afterwards he was allowed to reside at Yaroslaf. Peter III. restored him only to liberty; but Catharine II. gave him back the duchy of Courland.

The duchess became regent, and appointed Munich prime minister, but soon withdrew her confidence from this very able but self-willed man, because he could neither agree with her nor her husband, nor with Ostermann. Anne had made her ignorant and insignificant husband generalissimo. Ostermann was offended with his colleague for desiring to conduct those affairs which belonged to his own special department, and the regent had not understanding enough to perceive that Munich, notwithstanding his unbounded ambition, was absolutely indispensable to her; besides, he seemed to follow a political system which was in direct contradiction to the opinions entertained both by herself and her husband, which were wholly favourable to Austria.

Since the peace of Belgrade, Munich had become altogether averse to Austria, and had entered into friendly relations with Frederick. Immediately after his accession to the crown, the king of Prussia sent a relative and acquaintance of Munich as his ambassador to St. Petersburg, who presented Munich with estates, and induced him to make an agreement with Frederick, who had advanced into Silesia, by which the queen of Hungary lost all hope of Russian assistance. The marquis Botta, the Austrian ambassador, who had brought about the marriage between the duke and the regent, immediately returned to St. Petersburg (at the end of 1740), and formed a union with the Saxon ambassador and with Ostermann against Munich. The Saxon ambassador, the handsome count Lynar, had been dismissed by the empress Anne because he lived on terms of too great intimacy with her niece, but Brühl had sent him back to St. Petersburg at the close of the year (1740). Count Lynar renewed his intimacy with the regent, and induced her to enter into an agreement with Saxony and Austria, and to give force to her expressed opinions in favour of the queen of Hungary by raising an army. This was actually done by Ostermann without Munich's knowledge, scarcely three weeks after the treaty which had been concluded with Prussia upon his recommendation. Munich was so extremely indignant at this, that he refused to supply the army with the necessary marching equipments; but he soon saw that a combination had been formed against him in other affairs of importance also, and laid down his office on the 13th of March, 1741.

Lynar (who for appearance sake was to be married to Mengden, one of the ladies of the regent's court) and the marquis Botta strove to outwit each other; and the latter, in conjunction with Ostermann and Antony Ulrich of Brunswick, tried to effect the march of the Russian troops which Munich had prevented. This gave occasion to an attempt on the part of the French ambassador, by means of money, to raise Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, to the throne. The marquis la Chetardie, who was now for the second time French ambassador in St. Petersburg, in order to bring about this new Russian revolution, lavished the money of his nation in the payment of enormous sums, and with as little responsibility as was done at the same time in Sweden and Bavaria.

In Stockholm the king's party was outvoted by French influence, and war was declared against Russia (August, 1741), with a view of preventing that power from sending or being able to send any aid to the queen of Hungary. The king, however, and many of the most distinguished men of the kingdom, still continued friendly to Russia, and the insignificant army which had been sent into Finland was neither provided with sufficient stores, nor was it commanded by a general who was skilful enough to compete with such men as Lascy and Keith, to whom it was opposed, and who had gained their experience on the battle-field and in a number of victorious campaigns. The military chest of the Swedish army in Finland was so empty, that the Russian generals no sooner advanced, than the soldiers deserted in crowds because they received no pay.

The first results of the war were such as corresponded with the measures which had been adopted and the leaders who have been named. Lascy attacked the Swedish army, which was encamped under Wrangel near Vilmanstrand, and completely routed it (3rd Sept., 1741). In consequence of this defeat, Buddenbrock, and not Wrangel, was condemned to death, on the pretence that he had not advanced with his division to the assistance of Wrangel at the proper time, but in reality because they were enraged that the war which Buddenbrock had advised had taken such an unfortunate turn. Vilmanstrand was taken by the Russians without any considerable resistance. The war would have been brought to

a conclusion at that time, if the Russians had been able and willing to follow up their advantages in the winter season; but they withdrew, and the Swedes were thereby furnished with an opportunity to get a new army on foot, and undertake a second campaign, which proved still more unfortunate than the first. In the mean time the new revolution had been effected in Russia.

French money, and the complete unacquaintance of the regent with the nature of the Russian mode of government, brought the daughter of Peter I. to the throne, who up to this time had lived in the habitual indulgence of the grossest, most offensive, and detestable sensuality. Anne preserved at least some respect for outward appearances and public decency, but Elizabeth outraged all propriety, openly carried on an improper intercourse with the under officers and privates of the guards, who, since the building of the barracks, were lodged close by the princess's dwelling, and passed their nights together without the oversight of their superior officers. The future empress had entirely won the favour of the regiments, for she was good-humoured, as such people usually are, and by no means disinclined, like the guards themselves, to the drink of the Russians of former times. As long as the indolent princess was not disturbed in her inclinations, she never thought of seizing upon the management of affairs, which became afterwards wholly intolerable to her; but she was cramped in her plans, beset with spies, often blamed for her conduct, and finally even threatened with what is most intolerable to a woman,—a husband whom she hated. Elizabeth was to marry the deformed and intolerable brother of the regent's husband, Antony Ulrich of Brunswick-Bevern, for whom a vain attempt was made to procure Biren's duchy of Courland; she trusted the management of the conspiracy, to which she now became a party, to surgeon Lestocq, one of her most intimate friends. The marquis la Chetardie, however, still continued to be the soul of the whole affair, and also furnished the money. Lestocq himself, the son of a member of the French reformed church who had settled in Hanover, was a man wholly destitute of political qualities, without discretion, and without connexions.

Had the regent not despised the advice of the English and

Austrian ambassadors, Finch and Botta, and even of her own very acute and able minister Ostermann, she might still have maintained her position on the 4th of December, by arresting the princess Elizabeth and her sergeant Grünstein, as well as Rasumofsky and Vorontzof; but she was anticipated by an adventurous stroke on the 5th. Guards, soldiers, the whole miserable crowd of low men of all countries and neighbourhoods, who raised altars only for their own advantage, were wholly indifferent whether they obeyed the daughter of their great emperor, or the heiress of his niece; they were quite as ready for pay to carry Elizabeth as Anne into Siberia or to prison; the only question was, who first bespoke their services. On this occasion Elizabeth was the first applicant; perhaps only because Lestocq compelled her from terror to make an effort which was quite foreign to her nature.

Accompanied by some hundreds of the guards with whom she had been previously acquainted, and who now seized upon the officer of the watch, Elizabeth went from the barracks, in the neighbourhood of which she dwelt, and required the officers and soldiers of the regent's guard to obey her (5th Dec., 1741) as the daughter of their great emperor. Other soldiers who had joined her on the way had been ordered in the mean time to arrest Munich, Ostermann, and Golofkin; whilst the regent, the duke generalissimo, the young emperor and his sister, and all the persons of the former cabinet, were made prisoners by her own guard. This revolution, which had been effected during the night, was terminated by eight o'clock next morning; in the afternoon the whole of the troops did homage to Elizabeth, and she was proclaimed empress.* Count Lynar escaped the fate which would have befallen him, in consequence of his being at the moment absent in Saxony, whither he had gone to make arrangements for his marriage with Mengden, which would have made him an inmate of the palace with the regent. The latter and her husband were sent from one place of severe exile to another, and kept in close confinement, and the unfortunate Ivan was brought up as an idiot in a miserable imprisonment. When twenty years old he

* Vorontzof, groom of the chambers, Schwarz, who had been a musician, and Grünstein, a sergeant, were chiefly instrumental, under Lestocq, in bringing Elizabeth to the throne.

was for a brief space treated with some kindness by Peter III., but when that prince was deprived of his throne and his life, Ivan was again cruelly incarcerated in Schlusselburg, and at a later period, in pursuance of a conditional order of the empress Catharine II., who regarded him as a pretender, he was killed by the lieutenant of his guard.

The commencement of the new government appeared to establish a species of mob law. The ablest people, such as Ostermann and Munich,* were sent to Siberia, and all those who surrounded the new empress, if we except Vorontzof, resembled a common rabble of the most dissolute men, who aimed at taking possession of the highest places; but their complete incapacity and ignorance kept them, happily, far removed from any interference with business. The ignorant and sensual friends of Elizabeth had neither inclination nor ambition to take the charge and guidance of public affairs; they were satisfied with money, titles, orders, estates, and the free indulgence of their vices and passions; and the direction of affairs again fell into the hands of able men, among

* Munich was brought before a committee appointed to examine the state prisoners. Being irritated with repeated questions, and perceiving that his judges were determined to find him guilty, he said to them, "Dictate the answers which you wish me to make, and I will sign them." The judges immediately wrote down a confession of several charges, which being subscribed by Munich, his mock trial was concluded. Being thus, without further ceremony, convicted of high treason, he was condemned to be quartered; but his sentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual imprisonment. For the space of twenty years he was confined at Pelim, in Siberia, in an ostrog, or prison, of which, according to Mannstein, he had himself drawn the plan, and ordered it to be constructed for the reception of Biren. It was an area enclosed with high palisades, about 170 feet square; within which was a wooden house, inhabited by himself, his wife, and a few servants; and a small garden, which he cultivated with his own hands. He received a daily allowance of twelve copeks (about sixpence) for the maintenance of himself, his wife, and domestics; which little pittance he increased by keeping cows, and selling part of their milk, and by occasionally instructing youth in geometry and engineering. Munich's exile followed so closely upon that of Biren, whom he had himself sent into banishment, that he overtook him at the passage of the Volga, where Biren had been detained for some days by a flood. Munich was recalled by Peter III., enjoyed the favour and protection of Catharine II., and died in 1767, in his eighty-fifth year.

whom Bestujef* deserves to be particularly mentioned, however hateful his character was, and however much the favour shown him by Austria and England made him an object of suspicion. Rasumofsky caused no uneasiness and gave no offence. The empress kept him apart from business from her attachment to his person, and afterwards, by a private solemnisation of marriage, made him her husband. Vorontzof, who was a man of estimable character, made himself acquainted with business, became vice-chancellor, and finally high-chancellor, and maintained his position even after the death of the empress. The others, after having been unreasonably favoured, were deprived of their situations, emoluments, and honours. All those grenadiers who had been favourites with the empress received the rank of officers, and formed the body-guard; of which the empress herself was captain; but by their insolence and brutality they at last became intolerable even to the Russians. Grünstein was first created adjutant and then major-general; Schwarz obtained estates; Lestocq was appointed physician to the empress and director of all the medical institutions, and received orders and estates; but unhappily for himself, notwithstanding his frivolous talkative nature, he sometimes intermeddled with state affairs. All those people who were instrumental in raising Elizabeth to the throne ruined themselves†, and even France and Sweden altogether failed in the

* In that *bufera infernale*, says Hertzen, which carried public personages away with such rapidity that people had not even time to become familiar with their features, what a climax of irony to see only one individual maintain his position, that person being Bestujef, the head of the secret chancery! That honourable dignitary kept his place in spite of all revolutions, and thus had opportunity to question, torture, and execute all his friends, all his benefactors, and all his enemies.

† Grünstein was ultimately banished; Schwarz, who had been made a colonel, was sent to his estates; Lestocq was arrested in 1748, and afterwards banished; and what Mannstein relates of the grenadiers of the body-guard who had received the rank of officers and been elevated to nobility, is very characteristic of a kingdom ruled wholly by force and totally destitute of moral principles. They frequented the common public-houses, were often found drunk in the streets, went into the houses of the most distinguished persons, extorted money, and carried off whatever pleased their fancy. The most important is what he subjoins: *when their conduct became too bad for longer endurance, the*

object for which they had effected the overthrow of Anne. From the 28th of December, the empress transferred the whole direction of affairs to the high-chancellor Tcherkaskoi and to the vice-chancellor Bestujef; but by the pardon and liberation of more than 20,000 banished and imprisoned persons, and by her refusal to sign any death-warrants, she raised great but delusive expectations of the mildness of her reign.

The empress made some splendid presents to the marquis la Chetardie; but Bestujef soon proved himself by far his superior in cabals, and even before the departure of her ambassador, France found herself wholly deceived respecting the advantages which had been expected. Sweden wished to satisfy Elizabeth's claims by a considerable sum of money, but the oligarchs desired the cession of some towns and their adjoining territory; this furnished the Russians with an opportunity of breaking the armistice which had been concluded in the winter, and the war commenced anew in the spring (1742).

The chief command of the whole army was conferred upon field-marshal Lascy. The second in command was the Scotchman Keith, who became renowned as the friend and companion in arms of Frederick II., and Löwendal, who was afterwards made a marshal of France and esteemed one of the best generals in the French service, as Lascy was in that of Austria. As the Russians advanced, Levenhaupt and Buddenbrock, who commanded the Swedes, had not even collected their forces, but sent messengers of peace to meet them, and sacrificed the fortress of Friederichshamm and all their stores and munitions of war, which in the existing condition of the Swedish finances it was quite impossible to replace. The Russians themselves were astonished when they found the passage of the Kymene, which might have been easily defended, wholly undisputed, and the Swedes rapidly retiring to Helsingfors, whither Lascy's army immediately pursued them.

In the camp at Helsingfors, the Swedes should have come to one of two resolutions, either to attack the Russians, or to retreat with all speed to Abo; they, however, did neither,

worst subjects were selected from the body-guard and distributed as officers among the regiments in service, in which many places had been made vacant.

but awaited the Russians in their camp. Regarding their position as inaccessible on account of the woods, the Swedes thought themselves secure in their camp, and there was no time to fell the trees; but one of the Finlanders, who were vehemently incensed against the Swedes, showed the Russians a path which had been cut by Peter I., but which was now completely overgrown with bushes; upon proceeding by this road, the Russians succeeded in surrounding and cutting off Levenhaupt's army.

The Swedish troops had been blockaded for fourteen days, when Levenhaupt and Buddenbrock, relying upon their influence in the council and the strength of their party, hit upon a singular expedient for relieving themselves from their difficult position: they left the army, under pretence of being obliged to yield ready obedience to the demands of the diet; the command then devolved upon the oldest major-general, Bousquet, who had no other course to pursue than to conclude a capitulation with Lascy. The army and the whole of Finland were now in the power of the Russians, and could only be preserved by endeavouring to win the favour of the empress of Russia, and by espousing the cause of her Holstein relation; and the peace party pressed for the adoption of this course.

Fortune at that time played a cruel game with the young duke of Holstein-Gottorp: she offered two crowns for his acceptance, and allured him to leave Holstein, where he would have been safe and contented, in order to make him unhappy and to devote him to a most cruel death in Russia. Charles Peter Ulrich, the son of the unfortunate Charles Frederick, was born in 1728, and succeeded his father in Holstein in 1739: his aunt Elizabeth was no sooner firmly seated on the throne than she sent for him to Russia (Feb., 1742). The empress named him as her successor in August, and the Swedes had at an earlier period offered him the crown, in order to induce the Russians not to insist upon the cession of Finland. On his refusal of the offer made him by the deputies from the diet, Elizabeth recommended the Swedes to choose her relation, the bishop of Lubeck, uncle to her successor, for their king; and the Swedes had reason to expect a peace on moderate terms, if they complied with the wish of Elizabeth.

The majority of the Swedish nation, however, had no inclination for this candidate proposed to them by Russia. There was, on the contrary, every appearance that Denmark and Sweden would again be united, as most of the Swedes were desirous of having the hereditary prince of Denmark on their throne; and the Dalecarlians even broke out in open insurrection on that account, rushed into the capital, and furiously insisted on the election of the Danish prince. Denmark, which wished for a renewal of the treaty of Kalmar, made a number of apparently advantageous proposals; and Russia, therefore, seeing the negotiation for peace was likely to be delayed, took up arms again in the year 1743. In this campaign it was resolved to attempt some great exploit with the fleet; but, as an armament was also fitted out by Sweden, the Russians contented themselves with making a few inconsiderable descents on the enemy's coasts. In July the election of the future king was to come on at Stockholm; and a Swedish ambassador, who was negotiating a peace with the Russian commissioners at Abo, at length, by a stratagem, took advantage of the approaching election, to determine the Russians for peace, by pretending that Denmark was using efforts to frustrate the measures of the present congress, in order to carry on her own designs; and, as the Russians were absolutely bent on making no compliances, he broke up the meeting. This the Russian delegates had not expected; but now, for the sake of gratifying the wishes of their sovereign, they concluded a peace, by which Elizabeth restored the greater part of Finland, occupied by her troops, on condition that the bishop of Lubeck should be appointed successor. The news of the peace arrived at Stockholm just before the election; the Dalecarlians were driven by the soldiers to Paaren; on the 4th of July, Adolphus Frederick, duke of Holstein and bishop of Lubeck, was elected king of Sweden, and the succession settled in his posterity; and, in August, the peace between Russia and Sweden was fully ratified.

The Swedes had reason to think themselves very fortunate that, by gratifying Elizabeth, showed in the election of her kinsman, they were enabled to procure better terms than they had otherwise reason to expect. They received back Finland, and only ceded the province of Kymmenegard, with all the branches and mouths of the river Kymene Nyslot, and

all the district around it in the province of Savolar. But even in the act of fulfilling the treaty, the diabolical spirit of Russian policy was signally displayed. Mannstein relates that before the Russian troops quitted Finland "they took care to squeeze from it everything they possibly could; the intention of the court being to ruin that province totally, and reduce it, notwithstanding the peace, into so wretched a condition as not to be able for a long time to hold up its head again; the generals had even repeated orders not to fail of attending to this point. The empress, however, feigning a desire to restore a good harmony with her neighbours, ordered some thousands of bushels of grain out of the magazines, which had been established in Finland, to be distributed to the peasants of Finland for sowing their grounds."

We have already observed, that Lestocq and La Chetardie had been mainly instrumental in elevating Elizabeth to the throne: but notwithstanding this, the Russian ministry, in the year 1742, demanded from Fleury La Chetardie's recal, and succeeded in their demand. In order not to appear ungrateful, the empress made so many and such valuable presents to him on his departure from Russia, that on Chetardie's arrival in Paris, the king himself thought it worth while to inspect and examine them; their value was computed at a million and a half of livres.

The circumstance of the war of succession induced the French court to send La Chetardie anew to St. Petersburg, in order, in connexion with Lestocq, to form intrigues against Bestujef; but the latter was far superior to both, in cunning and talents. They at first tried to prejudice the empress against Austria, and incidentally against Prussia, although Frederick at this very time had negotiated a marriage between the duke of Holstein, who was next in succession to the throne of Russia, and the princess of Anhalt-Zerbst. It was pretended that lieutenant Berger, who was entrusted with the safe keeping of Löwenwolde, in his imprisonment had discovered a wide-spread conspiracy, in which the marquis Botta, who had formerly been Austrian ambassador at St. Petersburg and afterwards in Berlin, was deeply implicated, and of which the king of Prussia had been informed. The most cruel torments were inflicted upon persons of the highest distinction, in order to extort con-

fessions and to furnish grounds for the imposition of the most horrible punishments; the whole conspiracy, however, was either a matter of pure invention, or at least the account of it greatly exaggerated. Berger, who was used as an accuser on the occasion, was, however, rewarded with an excellent appointment. Maria Theresa at first refused to exhibit any sign of displeasure against Botta, who firmly denied that he had had any participation whatever in this pretended conspiracy; but as Bestujef sought to avail himself of this affair to effect a reconciliation between the queen of Hungary and the empress, and to expose Frederick to double hatred, Botta willingly allowed himself to be made the scapegoat, and to be for a time banished from the court. Frederick continually protested that he knew nothing whatever of any such conspiracy as he was charged with according to some portions of Botta's letters, but still he remained suspected, and Maria Theresa satisfied the empress Elizabeth by sending Botta for some time to a fortress. He was afterwards fully indemnified by the queen for consenting to be made the scapegoat on the occasion.

La Chetardie, however, had scarcely returned to St. Petersburg, when he received a very sensible proof of having very much overrated his influence. Relying upon a degree of favour which he did not possess, he formed a most absurd and comprehensive plan for overthrowing the ministers, bringing about great changes in Russia, and laying a sure foundation for the preponderating influence of France. The French government was even blind and foolish enough to allow him to spend above a million of livres in Russia for the accomplishment of this most absurd plan, before he formally undertook the character of an ambassador. This revolutionary scheme was brought to light by La Chetardie's own letters; he was cited before the empress, and although he was still French ambassador, she caused him to be arrested, deprived him of all the presents, orders, and diamonds which she had previously bestowed upon him, and ordered him to be sent over the borders under a military escort (1744). Lestocq maintained his ground for four years longer, till Bestujef and general Apraxin united to effect his downfal.

CHAPTER XXXV.

MARRIAGE OF ELIZABETH'S HEIR — GROWING ANTIPATHY BETWEEN THE COURTS OF RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—DEATH OF ELIZABETH—HER CHARACTER.

THE king of Prussia, as ruler of six millions of men, understood how to maintain his dignity among the great powers without employing splendid embassies, or spending immense sums of money on his diplomatists, whose salaries were regulated by a very slender scale. He declined the proposal of the empress Elizabeth to unite his sister Amalia, abbess of Quedlingburg, in marriage with the grand-duke Peter, under the honourable pretence, that he regarded it as unbecoming his dignity that she should change her religion. As it is well known, he is said at the same time truly but bitterly to have expressed his opinion among his confidential companions respecting the manner in which the occupation of the throne of Russia had been effected. Bestujef is said to have made the empress acquainted with his remarks, and to have incensed her against the king, but, notwithstanding, he recommended as a wife for the grand-duke the daughter of the clever princess of Holstein, who was married to a prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, then in the Prussian service. This princess, Sophia Augusta, on her adoption of the Greek faith, assumed the name of Catharine (1744), and the Russian grand-duke was no sooner declared by the elector of Saxony, as vicar of the empire, to have attained his majority as duke of Holstein, than this unhappy union was solemnised with unexampled splendour (1745).

The Russians were no favourites with the grand-duke Peter; his own little territory was more an object of interest and affection in his eyes than the whole immense empire of Russia. In his youth, when he amused himself with soldiers in Holstein, he had been altogether won over to the cause of king Frederick and his military Prussians by Holstein officers who had been in the Prussian service, and he hoped for support from Prussia against Denmark. Having obtained permission to train some Holstein troops in Oranienbaum, not far from Petersburg, he put his little corps wholly upon

a Prussian footing, and manifested a disposition completely in contradiction to the system of Russian policy. Bestujef is said to have drawn great sums from England and Austria,* and he might also, upon mere personal grounds, have been desirous of raising a prejudice in the mind of the empress against her nephew as well as against Frederick; but it cannot be denied, that he had also very good political grounds for being unfavourable to Frederick. The latter could neither be bribed nor deceived, Sweden and Denmark were secretly supported by him, and he prevented both states from falling completely under the dominion of Russia; this embittered Bestujef against him. The Russian minister was continually engaged with Kaunitz and Brühl in laying plans and forming cabals, whilst the grand-duke on his part played the Prussian spy and communicated all he heard to Frederick; for this reason Bestujef endeavoured to alienate the empress from her nephew, to whom she was much attached, and he at length succeeded in his design. From the year 1746 Elizabeth caused her nephew to be carefully watched, surrounded him with spies, obliged him to send away all his Holstein servants, and suffered Pechlin and Brömbsen alone to remain as Holstein ministers, who were more zealous servants of Bestujef than of their own duke.

About this time George II. was displeased with Frederick on account of East Friesland; Russia suspected that he was desirous of supporting the king of Sweden; Bestujef in 1746 had drawn up the treaty which was concluded with Saxony and Austria in very equivocal terms as regards Prussia, and in 1747 Saxony entered into a new agreement, in which the article that had formed a part of the treaty with Austria in 1745, and which referred to the partition of the Prussian dominions, was introduced. It appears from the papers which Frederick carried away from the Saxon archives and caused to be printed on his invasion of Saxony, that this affair had been afterwards the subject of extensive correspondence; such a result, however, could not be obtained,

* The marquis de Hautefort, French ambassador in Vienna, in his manuscript correspondence, February, 1751, having given full details of all that Maria Theresa had verbally communicated, adds: "L'impératrice me confirma elle-même que c'étoit l'avarice de M. de Bestushef qui étoit la principale cause de l'accession de l'Angleterre au traité de Petersbourg." We must be persuaded she had the best reasons for being acquainted with the fact.

although Russia and Austria took every possible means of showing their dislike to Prussia.

With astonishing energy Frederick maintained the honour and dignity of his little kingdom against the greatest and most powerful ones in Europe without exception. Russia had recalled all her subjects from the Prussian service, and caused captain von Stackelberg to be arrested, who was secretly recruiting for Prussia: Frederick immediately returned like for like. He seized upon two or three Livonians as hostages for Stackelberg, did not suffer the Russian ambassador to publish his letters of recal in the Prussian newspapers, and gave him a very serious proof of his displeasure when he ventured to send the commands of his empress to individual officers. About the same time (1750) Russia had collected troops on the borders of Finland, and Frederick immediately sent Wahrendorf as chargé d'affaires only to Petersburg, in order to make some energetic representations respecting Swedish affairs. On this occasion Bestujef adopted a singular means of avoiding an explanation. He had recourse to etiquette, and refused not merely to present the ambassador to the empress, but even to receive his despatches or hear his proposals, till he had received the declaration of his sovereign with regard to his rank. In order further to relieve himself from the necessity of hearing him at all, he sent an immediate order to the Russian ambassador in Berlin to leave the capital without taking leave, on account of the disputes concerning the officers and soldiers, and the want of attention shown to him by Frederick: this would necessarily oblige Frederick to pursue the same course with regard to Wahrendorf in Petersburg.

This dispute had for the moment no other consequences than the absence of a Russian ambassador for a time from Berlin, and that of a Prussian one from Petersburg; but the more closely France and Austria afterwards drew the bonds of union, the more Russia became alienated from Prussia, and even England had at one time acceded to the threatening alliance of Austria and Russia. In 1751 Prussia forbad the circulation of Russian copper money in her territories; in 1752 Russia refused to the merchants trading to Dantzig the privilege of conveying their wares by Königsberg, and commanded them to take the way through Poland; and at length,

in May, 1753, a great conference* was held in Moscow, and a resolution adopted, to have recourse to all possible means to prevent the further growth of the Prussian monarchy, and to reduce it to its former limits and condition. This was intimately connected with the cabals which were carried on in Vienna, Versailles, and Dresden. In the year 1754 matters had been so far matured, that troops were collected in Russia, and held in readiness at a moment's notice, to make an attack upon Prussia in combination with Austria.† At that time Frederick was king of only seven millions of men; he was, however, the sole protector of Protestantism, the champion of the claims and rights of free minds, about which neither despots nor the selfish masses felt the slightest interest. He stood alone in opposition to the whole of ancient Europe, to despots and aristocrats, to all the powers and abuses of the middle ages. And modern history presents no grander spectacle, than the struggle which was commenced by him in this singular position.

England was at length induced, by her anxiety respecting Hanover, to favour the cause of Frederick; she had actually concluded a defensive treaty with Russia in September, 1755, and the latter power had agreed, for a compensation in money, to place 55,000 men at her disposal for the defence of Hanover. This treaty was annulled as soon as Russia formed an alliance with France, which was at war with England, and with Austria against the king of Prussia. In consequence of this alliance, George II. was compelled to look for the protection of Hanover through the instrumentality of Prussia. The grand-duke was at that time very useful to the king of Prussia, with whom he kept up a continual correspondence by letter. He gave him secret information, made him acquainted with all the secret plans which were

* This conference was composed of representatives of the Russian ministry and those of the various persons interested in trade.

† The correspondence of the marquis de Hautefort contains a very remarkable passage bearing on this point. He writes to the French ministry from Vienna under date of March 13, 1754, as follows:—"La cour de Vienne fera toujours ses efforts pour retenir dans le voisinage de l'Allemagne un gros corps de troupes Russes. Il paroît que cette cour est aujourd'hui dans l'intimité la plus étroite avec celle de Petersbourg. D'ailleurs le système favori du ministère Russe est depuis longtems de chercher à prendre part aux affaires d'Allemagne. Ainsi je pense que ces deux cours seront facilement d'accord sur ce point."

projected in Petersburg, threatened all those who promoted Bestujef's views against Prussia with his future vengeance, and as his aunt became weaker and more indisposed, he protested openly against the whole system. He united with the English ambassador to endeavour to withdraw his aunt from the coalition, and during her illness he even ventured to send commands to the generals-in-chief which were the very reverse of those which they received from the ministry of the empire. Frederick on his part did all in his power to serve the grand-duke by wise counsels; but Peter was far too narrow-minded to be able to follow the advice of so great a man as the king of Prussia.

It was not until 1757 that Russia took part in the war; and then the exploits of her army in Prussia Proper had only been dreadful to the poor inhabitants of that country. Sibilsky, the commander of the Saxons, who were united with the Russian army, was so indignant at the cruelties and devastations committed by the Russians, that he appealed to the empress against Apraxin, the commander-in-chief, and unwillingly relinquished his command. The Russians had long delayed commencing operations from want of money, and it was only when Austria allowed some portion of the stream of French subsidies to flow in that channel, that their army under Apraxin and Fermor took the field against Prussia. This force was so numerous, that great blame was thrown upon the aged field-marshal Lehwald for having met them in the open field and offered them battle. Lehwald had only 30,000 men when he attacked the Russians in their camp near Grossjägerndorf, on the 30th of August, and was beaten as had been foreseen. The Russians might now have taken possession of Prussia and have crossed the Oder, whereas they not only withdrew, but Apraxin retired with such precipitation, and made such efforts to reach the Russian frontiers, that his retreat had all the appearance of a disgraceful flight.

The singular conduct of the Russian general on this occasion was connected with the state of affairs at the court, because in Russia, as well as in France, the whole of the national concerns was intimately bound up with the persons and circumstances of the rulers. At this time the empress Elizabeth no longer interested herself about public affairs, and her successor was so indignant at the commencement

of the war, and so openly and foolishly devoted to the cause of Prussia, that Bestujef began to weave intrigues against him, in which even the wife of the grand-duke offered her aid. Catharine had previously offended the empress by her adulterous intercourse with the Pole, Stanislus Poniatowsky, who had come with the English ambassador to Petersburg, and was afterwards obliged to leave the city. Bestujef no sooner perceived that his plans might be promoted by Catharine's assistance, than he induced Brühl to send the former favourite of the grand-duchess in the character of chargé d'affaires back to Petersburg, and the grand-duke was to be the sacrifice of the cabals of the minister and his own wife. Moreover, Peter by his conduct furnished his wife with some excuse for the course which she pursued, because he had forsaken her and lived with Elizabeth Vorontzof as his wife.

We leave it undetermined whether Catharine was fully informed of Bestujef's plans, or whether he only foresaw that her concurrence was necessarily certain; but so much is clear, that when the illness of the empress assumed a dangerous appearance, he intended on her death to exclude the grand-duke from the succession, to raise the eldest of the young princes to the dignity of emperor, and to place the administration of the empire in the hands of his mother. The army which had been sent to Prussia was necessary for the due execution of these plans, and Apraxin and major-general Weymarn had been gained over to the conspiracy; hence arose the long hesitation and delay about marching to Prussia; and detentions or expedition on the march, according to the varying favourable or unfavourable news of the empress's health. Shortly before the battle of Grossjägerndorf, Apraxin had received intelligence that the empress's life was in danger, and hence the rapidity of his movements on his return into Russia, as well as his alarm and terror when he learned that the empress was recovered, and that he would be called upon to justify his arbitrary conduct.

Bestujef was now caught in his own snare: France and Austria united to trace out and disclose to the empress what they called the English cabals, and the use which had been made of Poniatowsky. Elizabeth, broken in health by debauchery of all kinds, lived so completely within her palace, that she was wholly unacquainted with what was passing

without, or with the place in which her army was. Sibilsky's accusations or remonstrances had never reached her; and the grand-duke Peter was too ignorant and narrow-minded to know what course to pursue, till Volkof and Vorontzof aided him by their advice. Volkof was one of the ablest and most cunning men in the empire; he had been long in the confidence of Bestujef, but now betrayed him in consequence of mutual misunderstandings and disputes; and the vice-chancellor Vorontzof informed the grand-duke of the plans which were being forged against him.

At the commencement of the year 1758, the empress, as soon as she had recovered, was informed by the grand-duke of the scandalous combination of ambitious men which had been formed for his destruction, and for paralysing or defeating the operations of the Russian army. Bestujef was immediately arrested and banished; Apraxin was called to account for his conduct, but escaped the punishment which awaited him by his death, which took place in August, 1758; Weymarn was dismissed; and Catharine was not suffered for months to appear in the presence of the empress. No doubt can be entertained with respect to Bestujef's guilt, because there was found among his papers a copy of the deed of renunciation which he wished to compel Peter to subscribe, and even of the order drawn up in the name of the empress, not only without but contrary to her will, in which Apraxin was commanded to retreat. As he was afterwards recalled from banishment by Catharine, and as much as possible indemnified for his sufferings, it is at least highly probable that she was privy to a plan, which if it had been carried into execution, would have spared her the commission of some of those dreadful crimes of which she was afterwards guilty. Her connexion with Stanislaus Poniatowsky, whom she afterwards made king of Poland, and suffered to be treated in the most contemptuous manner by her ill-mannered ambassador during the whole of his reign, led to a scene in the following year (1758) which necessarily caused a complete separation from her husband. Stanislaus, although he was now Saxon ambassador, was obliged immediately to leave the country; and the empress was so enraged that she was about to send Catharine to a convent.

Before Bestujef was overthrown (for he was not ar-

rested till February) the Russian army had again marched into Prussia, and under Fermor taken possession of Königsberg on the 22nd of January. The occupation of the whole kingdom from Memel to the Oder was rendered easy by the removal of the Prussian forces, which had been marched against the Swedes in Pomerania. The Russians, who advanced with incomprehensible slowness, appeared to calculate on making Prussia a Russian province, for they received everywhere the homage of the people, and treated the country with great consideration and mildness; but they no sooner entered the Mark, than they plundered and wasted the country with the same cruelty and rage as had been done in the time of Apraxin.

Frederick reached Silesia in the beginning of August, by his admirably conducted march through Bohemia with thousands of waggons and with all his artillery: there he learned that the Swedes had again taken the field, and that the Russians were pressing Cüstrin. Daun was to have supported the operations of the Russians and Swedes by an inroad into Saxony, but he delayed so long, that Frederick had time to settle affairs with the Russians, and then at length he first threatened Dresden. From the 15th till the 17th of August the Russians continued wantonly to destroy the town of Cüstrin; the fortress, however, still held out, when Frederick arrived at Frankfort on the 20th, collected his forces, and crossed the Oder. This step compelled the Russian general to withdraw the besieging army from Cüstrin, to concentrate his forces, and to await an attack from the king. In the engagement which was fought at Zorndorf, both parties boasted a victory; the Russians unquestionably suffered the greater loss in men, but they maintained their position for several days after the battle. Frederick found it the less necessary to venture upon a new assault, as the Russians, after a very short time, broke up of their own accord, withdrew their troops from Pomerania and the Mark, which they had devastated after a Turkish fashion, and after having made one more attempt to conquer Colberg, remained quiet in Poland and Prussia.

Poland was to be the scene of the next campaign. Thither, therefore, the Russians marched, and thence they afterwards spread themselves over all the Prussian territory (1759),

under the command of count Soltikof, who had been appointed chief of the army, in the room of marshal Fermor.* Frederick's German dominions, and Silesia, became now the scene of action. Fortified, in some measure, by the reinforcements he had received, general Wedel resolved, in pursuance of his orders, to attack the Russians on their march. They had got to Zulichau towards the latter end of July, and directed their course to Krossen in Silesia, to get before the Prussian army, and make good the passage of the Oder. The situation of the Russians was very advantageous; posted upon eminences, defended by a powerful artillery, and near seventy thousand strong. The Prussian army fell short of thirty thousand; and they had greater disadvantages to overcome than such as arose from inferiority of numbers. They had to pass a bridge, and so narrow a defile, that scarce a third of a battalion could march in front. The ground was such, that the cavalry could not support their infantry. Yet with all these difficulties, the attack was long and resolute. But this resolution made their repulse, which all these disadvantages had rendered inevitable, far more bloody and distressful. Four thousand seven hundred were killed or taken prisoners; and the wounded were at least three thousand. The Prussians were obliged to retire, but they were not pursued; and they passed the Oder without molestation. The Russians seized upon the towns of Krossen and Frankfort on the Oder.

Frederick now marched with ten thousand of his best troops to join the broken army of Wedel, in order to drive this formidable and determined enemy from his country. Prince Henry commanded the remainder of his army, which was too well posted to fear any insult during his absence. The eyes of all were fixed upon his march, and his soldiers who remembered Zorndorf, eagerly longed to try their strength once more with the same antagonists.

Marshal Daun, the Austrian general, was not unapprised of the motion of the Russians, or the designs of the king of Prussia. He knew that the great defect of the Russian troops was the want of a regular and firm cavalry, which might be depended upon in the day of action. This defect

* Fermor now served under him.

had been a principal cause of their misfortune at Zorndorf the last year; a misfortune which disconcerted all the operations of that campaign. As this was the only want which the Russians were under, so it was that which Daun was best able to supply at a short warning. With this view he selected about twelve thousand of his horse, and there is no better horse than that of the Austrians; which, with about eight thousand foot, he placed under the command of general Laudohn, one of the ablest officers in that service. This body was divided into two columns, one of which marched through Silesia, and the other through Lusatia. By extreme good fortune and conduct, with little loss or opposition, they both joined the Russian army, and were received with transports of joy.

In the mean time, the king of Prussia, who was unable to prevent this stroke, joined general Wedel at Muhlrose, and took upon him the command of the united armies. But, still finding himself too weak for the decisive action he was preparing to attempt, he recalled general Finck, whom he had sent some time before into Saxony with nine thousand men, in order to oppose the Imperialists in that country. With these reinforcements he was not able to raise his army to fifty thousand complete. That of the Russians, since the junction of Laudohn, was upwards of ninety thousand. They had, besides, taken a post, which they had so strongly entrenched, and defended with such a prodigious number of cannon, that it was extremely difficult and hazardous to attempt them; yet, under these accumulated disadvantages, it was absolutely necessary that he should fight. The detachments from count Daun's army already menaced Berlin; Saxony, which he was obliged to leave exposed, had become a prey to the Imperialists; and the Russians, united with the Austrians, encamped before his eyes in Silesia, the best and richest part of his dominions. In short, his former reputation, his present difficulties, his future hopes, every motive of honour and of safety, demanded an engagement; the campaign hasted to a decision, and it was evident that nothing further could be done by marches and choice of posts. The sanguine temper of other generals has often obliged them to fight under disadvantages; but the king of Prussia's circumstances were such, that, from the multitude of his enemies, he was neither

able to consult times nor situations. Rashness could hardly dictate anything, which, in his condition, would not have been recommended by prudence.

When the attack was resolved, the king's troops put themselves in motion on the 12th of August, at two in the morning; and, having formed themselves in a wood, advanced towards the enemy. It was near eleven before the action began. The principal effort of the king of Prussia was against the left wing of the Russian army. He began, according to his usual method, with a fierce cannonade; which having had the effect he desired from it, he attacked that wing with several battalions disposed in columns.

The Russian entrenchments were forced with great slaughter. Seventy-two pieces of cannon were taken. But still there was a defile to be passed, and several redoubts to be mastered, which covered the village of Kunnersdorf. These were attacked with the same resolution, and taken one after another. The enemy again made a stand at the village, and endeavoured there to preserve their ground, by pushing forward several battalions of horse and foot; but their resistance there proved not more effectual than it had done everywhere else; they were driven from post to post quite to the last redoubts. For upwards of six hours fortune favoured the Prussians, who everywhere broke the enemy with an unparalleled slaughter. They had driven them from almost all the ground which they had occupied before the battle; they had taken more than half their artillery; scarcely anything seemed wanting to the most complete decision.

The king in those circumstances wrote a note to the queen, to this effect: "Madam, we have beat the Russians from their entrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." This news arrived at Berlin just as the post was going out, and the friends of the king of Prussia throughout Europe exulted in a certain and conclusive victory. Meantime, fortune was preparing for him a terrible reverse.

The enemy, defeated in almost every quarter, found their left wing, shattered as it was, to be more entire than any other part of the army. Count Soltikof therefore assembled the remains of his right, and gathered as many as he could from the centre, reinforced that wing, and made a stand at a redoubt, which had been erected on a very advantageous

eminence. No more was wanting to terminate matters in favour of the king, than to drive the Russians from this their last hope. But this enterprise was difficult. It was confidently said, that the Prussian generals were unanimous in their opinion, that they should not endeavour at that time to push any further the advantages they had obtained. They represented to the king that the enemy was still very numerous, their artillery very considerable, and the post which they occupied of great strength; that his brave troops, who had been engaged for a long time, in the severest action perhaps ever known, and in one of the hottest days ever felt, were too much exhausted for a new attempt; an attempt of such extreme difficulty, as might daunt even troops that were quite fresh. That the advantage he had gained would be as decisive in its consequences as that at Zorndorf; and whilst the enemy filled the gazettes of their party with frivolous disputes of the field of battle, he would be reaping, as he did then, all the effects of an unquestioned victory. That the enemy would be obliged to retire immediately into Poland, and to leave him at liberty to act in other quarters, where his presence was full as necessary.

These reasons were very cogent, and for a few moments they seemed to have some weight with the king. But his character soon determined him to a contrary resolution. He could not bear to be a conqueror by halves. One effort more was alone wanting to that victory, which would free him for ever from the adversary which had leaned heaviest on him during the whole of the war.

Once more he put all to the hazard. His infantry, still resolute, and supported by their late success, were readily brought to act again. They drew on their bodies, fainting with heat and labour, to a new attack. But the enterprise was beyond their strength. The situation of the enemy was impregnable; and their artillery, which began to be superior to that of the Prussians, on account of the difficulty of the ground, which made it impossible for the latter to bring up any other than a few small pieces, repulsed these feeble battalions with a great slaughter. With an astonishing, perhaps with a blamable perseverence, the Prussian infantry were brought to a second attack, and were a second time repulsed, and with a loss greater than at first. These efforts being

unsuccessful, the affair was put to the cavalry. They made redoubled, but useless attacks; the horses were spent, as well as those they carried.

It was just at that time, when the Prussian horse was wasted by these fruitless exertions, that the greatest part of the Russian and the whole body of the Austrian cavalry, which had been hitherto entirely inactive, and was therefore quite fresh, rushed down upon them, broke them to pieces, forced them back upon their foot, and threw the whole into irreparable disorder. The army was universally seized with a panic; and in a few minutes those troops, so lately victorious and irresistible, were totally dispersed and defeated. The king did everything to restore the field, hazarding his person, even beyond his former daring, and prodigal of a life he seemed to think ought not to be separated from conquest. Thrice he led on his troops to the charge; two horses were killed under him; several balls were in his clothes. The utmost efforts of skill, courage, and despair were made, and proved ineffectual: a single error outweighed them all. Scarcely a general, hardly an inferior officer in the army was without some wound. That of general Seidlitz was particularly unfortunate; for to that wound the failure of the horse, which he commanded, was principally attributed. It was to the spirit and conduct of this able officer that a great part of the success at Zorndorf had been owing in the last campaign. It is known, that if it had not been for a seasonable movement of the horse, the whole Prussian army had then been in great danger of a defeat.

The night, and the prudent use of some eminences, which were defended as well as circumstances would admit, preserved the Prussian army from total destruction. However, their loss was far greater than any which they had sustained from the beginning of the war. All their cannon was taken. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, by the most favourable accounts, were near twenty thousand. General Putkammer was killed on the spot. Those generals whose names were so distinguished in that war, Itzenplitz, Hulsen, Finck, Wedel, and Seidlitz, were among the wounded; as was the prince of Wurtemberg, and five major-generals. The enemy could not have had fewer than ten thousand killed on their side. For hardly ever was fought a more bloody battle.

When the king of Prussia found himself obliged to quit the field, he sent another despatch to the queen, expressed in this manner:—"Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." It were vain to attempt to draw the picture of the court and city on the receipt of such news, in the midst of the joy which they indulged for the accounts they had received but a few hours before. The terror was increased by the indistinct relation that soon followed, which gave them only to understand, that their army was totally routed; that there was no account of the king, and that a Russian army was advancing to take possession of their city.

The day after the battle the king of Prussia re-passed the Oder, and encamped at Retvin. Thence he moved to Furstenwalde, and placed himself in such a manner that the Russians did not venture to make any attempt upon Berlin. He continually watched their army; a part of which, instead of turning towards Brandenburg, marched into Lusatia, where it joined that of the Austrians. Here the victorious Soltikof, for the first time, met marshal Daun, and amidst rejoicings and gratulations, consulted about the measures for improving their success.

The Russians profited no more by the advantages obtained at Kunnersdorf than they had done the preceding year by the victory at Yægersdorf, but remained stationary in that district, and demolished, according to custom, being ever intent on spreading ruin and desolation around them, all the sluices of the Frederick-William canal, which connects the Spree with the Oder. Marshal Daun was for passing the Oder: but he was overruled; and thus furnished another instance that the Austrian and Russian generals do not readily act in concert.* Soltikof excused himself by alleging that he had already done much: having in this year alone

* This dislike to the Austrians might probably be in part ascribed to the complaints which, in the seven-year war, the court of Vienna was perpetually making against the Russian generals at that of Petersburg. This being at length perceived by the former, attempts were made, by flattery and presents, to repair the union that had been thus dissolved; but it was too late.

twice routed the Prussians, and thereby extremely reduced his numbers, while the great Austrian army had remained totally inactive; and that therefore he ought not to remove far from Poland, for fear of being distressed by the want of provisions for his troops. Daun promised to send him provisions: a promise which, as the Russians kept advancing, he was unable to perform, especially since prince Henry endeavoured everywhere to destroy the Austrian magazines. Daun, who therefore had enough to do to provide for himself, now offered the Russians money: but Soltikof sent him word that his soldiers could not eat money; and as, moreover, the king was doing his utmost to prevent the junction of the Russians with the Austrians, Soltikof retired to winter quarters in Poland, without performing anything further. His army also on this retreat committed incredible outrages and cruelties, burning villages, the seats of noblemen, and several towns in Silesia and Brandenburg, so that smoking ruins now likewise marked the way by which they abandoned the Prussian territory.*

In the year 1760, the Russians marched into eastern Pomerania, where they invested Colberg both by land and sea, and pressed that city with a close and unremitted siege; but again without effect. In the mean time another corps, under the orders of count Chernichef, entered Berlin; and the king of Prussia at last saw his capital taken by his most cruel enemies, and put to ransom; his native country was wasted; they took up their quarters in his palaces, ruined all the royal manufactories, emptied the arsenal, and would have carried their wild outrages still further against the city and its inhabitants, had not general Tottleben, who had been formerly in the Prussian service, and lived some time in Berlin, acted the part of a mediator between them and their enemies, and exerted himself to the utmost to procure them a reprieve. The Russians, however, no sooner heard that the king was on his march to the succour of his distressed capi-

* They were resolved, it was said, to leave the Prussian subjects nothing but air and earth, and were actually making preparations to put their inhuman threats, unjustifiable even in war, into execution. Frederick on this occasion said, "We have to do with barbarians who are digging the grave of humanity."

tal, than they turned about and withdrew to Poland, after the command had been given to count Butturlin, in consequence of an opinion that prevailed even at St. Petersburg, and which had been corroborated by accounts from Vienna, that it was the fault of the *Russian* commanders that the combined forces of the two imperial courts had achieved no more.

Again, in the following year (1761), the Russians succeeded in effecting a junction with the Austrians near Strigau. But the want of provisions separated the two armies; when the Russians, having re-crossed the Oder, now made themselves masters of the fortifications of Colberg, which, though badly garrisoned, had been no less than ten times summoned to surrender in vain, and took up their winter quarters in Pomerania and the Neumark. The affairs of the king of Prussia were certainly at present in a far more calamitous situation than they had been at any period during the whole course of the war. The Austrians had spread themselves over all Silesia, while the Mark and Pomerania were submitted to the ravages of the Russians: nothing remained to him but Saxony. Frederick, too, felt his distresses more heavily than ever; he became suddenly reserved, speaking but little, even with his most confidential officers; and seemed now to apprehend that it would be extremely difficult, if not utterly impossible, for him any longer to make head against his enemies. But at the very moment when his condition seemed the most hopeless, the death of the empress Elizabeth, which happened on the 25th of December, 1761, opened to him all at once a brighter prospect, and rescued him from a labyrinth, out of which he could perceive no escape. So unfortunately circumstanced were the affairs of the king of Prussia, that his wisest schemes and happiest successes could hardly answer any other end than to vary the scene of his distress; when exactly in this critical conjuncture, that unexpected removal of his inveterate foe took place; and the very change thus effected in the person of the Russian sovereign, which suddenly snatched him from his lamentable condition, at the same time laid the basis of that honourable peace which two years after crowned his toils, and completely annihilated the plans and machinations of his numerous enemies.

The indolence of Elizabeth's character subjected her to the humours of favourites, who made a vile use of her authority. She withdrew for whole months from all attention to business; her passion for drinking was unbounded; it was with difficulty she could be brought to sign the orders which were written in her name, and which she never read. She not only never wrote letters of ceremony with her own hand to great princes, but she could seldom be induced to sign them; and three years were allowed to elapse before she sent an answer to the letter in which Louis XV. congratulated her on the birth of the grand-duke Paul. At the commencement of her reign Elizabeth made a vow never to punish a malefactor with death: the judges, therefore, who could not decapitate criminals, deprived them of their lives by the barbarous punishment of the knout; and never were there more tongues cut out or torn away from the root, and more wretches sent to Siberia, than under the reign of this princess, so unjustly extolled for her clemency. The panegyrists of Elizabeth (says Archdeacon Coxe) would certainly have entertained some doubts concerning her boasted clemency, if they had recollected that she did not abolish, but retained, the following horrid process for the purpose of extorting confession from persons charged with treasonable designs. The arms of the suspected person being tied behind by a rope, he was drawn up in that posture to a considerable height in the air; whence being suddenly lowered to within a small distance of the ground, and the motion being there as suddenly checked, the violence of the concussion dislocated his shoulders, and in that deplorable situation he underwent the knout. To this dreadful engine of barbarity and despotism, Elizabeth, amidst all her imputed lenity, gave unlimited scope; and, during her whole reign, it was ordinarily applied even at the discretion of inferior and ignorant magistrates; nor was it abolished until the accession of Peter III., who prohibited the use of torture in all criminal cases.

The commandant at Rogervyk had usually ten thousand malefactors under his care, all of them shockingly mutilated, either by having the tongue torn out, or the sides of the nostrils cut away by red-hot pincers, or their ears cut off, or their arms twisted behind them by dislocation at the

shoulders, &c. About 80,000 persons are said to have been sent to Siberia in the reign of Elizabeth, and it is supposed that her government cost every year to the empire at least 1000 of her subjects by private imprisonment. Nothing was more easy than to obtain a secret order for this purpose by the flatterers of all ranks that swarmed about her person. It was sufficient for one of the maids of honour to think herself slighted, to obtain an order to have a person taken out of bed in the night, carried away blindfolded, and gagged, and immured under ground, there to drag out the remainder of life in a solitary and loathsome dungeon, without ever being charged with any crime, or even knowing in what part of the country he was. On the disappearance of any such person from his family and acquaintance, it was highly dangerous to make any inquiries after him. "He has disappeared," was held a sufficient answer to questions of that nature. Many of these victims were known to be still miserably wearing out existence in Schlusselburg and other fortresses, so lately as the winter of 1780, not to mention the exiles to Siberia.

Elizabeth's childish vanity and extravagance were prodigious. It was treated as a crime against the state if any lady presumed to wear dresses of the same pattern as those of the empress, or to receive the newest French fashions before her. When she died, there were found in her wardrobe between fifteen and sixteen thousand dresses, some of which had been but once, and many never, worn; two large chests full of silk stockings, two others of ribands, some thousand pairs of shoes, and several hundred pieces of French and other rich stuffs. These were neither given away nor sold, but left undisturbed till they were spoiled; yet the new emperor was in pressing want of money—so nearly did penury and boundless profusion approach each other at that time in the Russian court. To all this it may be added, that the reign of Elizabeth was never marked by a single act which could justify the revolution that placed on her head the crown of Russia. In a word, she was fitter to have vegetated in the sloth of a convent, than to be seated on the throne of one of the chief empires of the world.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ACCESSION OF PETER III.—END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—GENEROUS ACTS OF PETER III.—MEDITATED EXPEDITION AGAINST DENMARK.

THE duke of Holstein, on his elevation to the throne as Peter III., showed such imprudence and precipitation, that notwithstanding all his good intentions, he must be regarded as having been wholly unfit to govern a great nation which he seemed to despise, for in fact he set more value on a small German duchy than on the whole of that immense empire. The king of Prussia from the very first suspected that Peter would probably meet with the same fate which had already befallen so many of his predecessors upon this dreadful throne; meanwhile, he profited by the short period of Peter's government to place himself in a better position of defence against Austria, and to dispense with the assistance of England. Peter immediately set all the Prussian prisoners of war at liberty, and on the very evening of his aunt's decease announced his accession to the king of Prussia before he communicated the news to any other power. By the new emperor's command, money was distributed to all the inhabitants of Pomerania who had suffered from the Russians, and even seed-corn was promised to the peasants; and in Prussia, every order of the Russian administration which could be disagreeable to the king was immediately recalled. Peter pushed his imprudent enthusiasm in favour of Prussia to such a length, that even at his own court he wore the Prussian uniform, appeared with Prussian orders, and decorated his rooms with pictures of the Prussian king.

In Sweden, the first effect of the accession of Peter, who was a cousin-german to the oppressed king, showed itself in a change in the composition of the council, and in the request preferred to king Adolphus Frederick to undertake negotiations with a view to a treaty of peace with Prussia. A truce was proclaimed on the 7th of April, 1762, and a peace signed with Prussia in Hamburg, precisely on the conditions

of the peace of Stettin, on the 22nd of May, at the very moment in which the peace with Russia was solemnly announced in Berlin.

Peter urged on the reconciliation with Prussia, like everything else which he undertook, with morbid impatience, although his able ministers, Vorontzof and Volkof, had at first declared to the other powers of the Austrian alliance that Russia would fulfil her obligations towards them. He was loud in the expression of his enmity to Denmark, and made preparations in Russia, as well as in Prussia and Pomerania, to take revenge on Denmark on account of the wrongs and insults which he and his father had suffered. He felt such repugnance to France, as never to allow the French language, but only Russian and German, to be spoken at his court, and pushed his admiration of Frederick to the highest degree of absurdity. He did not moreover leave his allies long in uncertainty as to his allowing himself to be bound by the declaration of his ministers, but formally announced to them on the 23rd of February, that he intended to restore all his conquests to Prussia, and at the same time expressly required that they should do the same.

A truce was agreed to between Russia and Prussia on the 16th of March at Stargard; Tchernitchef, separated from the Austrians in Silesia, was provided by the Prussians with all necessaries for his army, marched into Poland through the midst of the Prussian troops, and daily expected orders to unite with them, which orders he received in May. On the 20th of April prince Galitzin intimated to the court of Vienna that a peace between his own court and that of Prussia was about to be concluded; on the 5th of May the treaty was signed in Petersburg, and on the 24th of the same month proclaimed in Berlin. Peter was too impatient to wait till this offensive and defensive treaty of alliance should be formally drawn up and signed, but as soon as an agreement had been come to respecting its conditions, Tchernitchef received orders immediately to join the Prussians in Silesia. The terms of the peace had not yet been carried into execution, nor the fortresses evacuated in Prussia, when lieutenant-general Voyeikof, who commanded them, received intelligence of the dethronement of Peter III. and the accession of Catharine

his wife; and at the same time hostile orders against Prussia, which, however, were afterwards recalled.

By a proclamation of the 8th of July, Voyeikof had released the inhabitants of Prussia from the obligation of the oath which they had taken to the emperor of Russia, and given a formal promise that he would evacuate the fortresses and give them up to the Prussian troops; on the 15th, by a new proclamation, he recalled both these declarations, and only six hours later he received a countermand from the new empress. In this last document he was commanded to fulfil everything which he had promised on the 8th of July, and on the 8th of August he published a third proclamation, couched in the most peaceful and friendly terms. The empress Catharine herself, having recovered from her first erroneous impression that Frederick had given advice which might have been disadvantageous to her, announced her accession to the king in the most friendly expressions, and caused Colberg and the other Prussian fortresses to be restored to the Prussian troops on the 13th of August.

The armies of Lower Silesia took the field as early as March, but nothing was attempted on either side worth relating. In Upper Silesia the Prussians possessed the superiority, sent out detachments into Moravia, and Frederick made admirable use of the short time, three weeks, in which Tchernitchef was with him, for the promotion of his plans. Tchernitchef and his Russians had no sooner joined him in July, than he immediately marched against Daun, compelled him to retire behind Schweidnitz, sent detachments into Bohemia, and finally cut off Daun's army wholly from any communication with the fortress, in order that he might undertake its siege. This took place on the 21st of July, after Tchernitchef had received orders to leave the Prussian army, which he partially disobeyed, and remained three days for the pleasure of the king. In these decisive days, in which Frederick assailed the Austrians, the Russian general awed them merely by the position which he took, because they were unacquainted with the fact that he was not allowed any longer to act against them.

Peter III., as it appears, had inherited from his father an organisation peculiar to their family, and which had been proved unfortunate to many of its members. As a German prince

he would have governed the much-enduring Germans just as Catharine's brother Frederick Augustus governed in Zerbst and Jever; but an empire like Russia will not suffer itself to be ruled like Holstein-Gottorp and Jever, and the Russian nobles are not as enduring as the learned, loyal, and prudent Germans. Even the empress Elizabeth and the king of Prussia, who were both his hearty well-wishers, publicly and early acknowledged that Peter would find it impossible to maintain himself upon the throne. Frederick had brought about the marriage of the grand-duke with Catharine, and laboured anxiously to preserve a good understanding between them; earnestly recommending the grand-duke to be forbearing towards his wife, notwithstanding her licentious conduct, since he had publicly taken as a mistress one of Vorontzof's daughters. The grand-duke had early made himself ridiculous by his childish play with his Holstein guards at Oranienbaum, by his Prussian drills, spatterdashes and uniforms, and contemptible by his ignorance, his debts, and the miserable means to which he was obliged to have recourse to release himself from his difficulties. He was at that time generally regarded as a man whose mental faculties were not quite sound, and it cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise that he inspired no confidence when he mounted the throne.

In the manifesto by which he proclaimed this event to the empire, he mentioned neither his consort nor even his son; and interpreters were not wanting who clearly perceived in this omission the intended overthrow of the hereditary succession. A fact that made a still greater impression was, that he made no preparations for his coronation at Moscow, a solemnity of the utmost importance, as a practice of high antiquity, and as conferring an awful sanction on the authority of the sovereign in the minds of the people. Instead of this, he pushed his blind passion for imitating the king of Prussia so far, that he made preparations in this immature state of his government to quit Russia, and go into Germany, for the sake of an interview with that great monarch, whose genius, principles, and fortune he so extravagantly admired.

The impartial historian cannot withhold the tribute of praise from his conduct in other respects at the beginning

of his reign. To say that he revenged himself on no one, though he very well knew who were they who had taken pains to injure him with the late empress, would be but slight commendation, in comparison with the acts of beneficence and justice with which he signalised his first accession to the supreme command. He exercised kindness towards all who had been attached to the late empress his aunt. He continued in their posts almost all the great officers of state; he pardoned his enemies; raised Peter Shuvalof to the rank of field-marshal; left the place of grand-veneur to Alexis Razumofsky,* the favourite of Elizabeth; and even conferred benefits on Ivan Shuvalof, though he had frequently made an unworthy use of his influence. Prince Shakuskoi, advocate of the senate, of whom Peter III. had great reason to complain, was the only person he removed from his employment; but he exacted of him nothing more than a simple resignation, leaving him both his liberty and his possessions. At the same time a certain Glebof, who, from being but a common attorney, was appointed to transact the affairs of Holstein, and in that administration had obtained the goodwill of the prince, was put into Shakuskoi's place. Glebof afterwards but ill-requited so signal a mark of confidence.

Peter at once recalled all those unfortunate and numerous persons who had been sent into exile during the preceding reign, with the exception of those criminals who had been condemned by the ordinary legal tribunals, and he caused the estates which had not been alienated to be restored. Bestujef, indeed, was not recalled, but he lived in affluence on his country estate. Among the recalled were Biren, Munich, and Lestocq.

Immediately after the extension of pardon to all political offenders, Peter forbade the use of torture, and abolished that hateful police, which, under the name of the secret chancery, was appointed to watch over the existence and permanence of the Russian government, and for that purpose entrusted with the powers of a high court of justice. The rights and

* Alexis Razumofsky had often injured the grand-duke with the empress Elizabeth. The grand-duke one day sent him an axe upon a red satin cushion, as a hint of the catastrophe that awaited him; but when seated on the throne, Peter disdained every idea of revenge.

privileges of this tribunal have been very indefinitely stated: its duties seem to have been, to judge of all offences committed against the state and the monarch, and therefore it always held its sittings at the place where the sovereign happened to be. In the language of this bloody tribunal, every complaint was called *the word*. Whoever, therefore, had spoken the *word*, that is, whoever had made the slightest or most insufficient denunciation, was placed under the immediate protection of the monarch. The person against whom the complaint was made, even although he lived in the most remote part of the empire, was sent off with his whole house, perhaps the whole of the company who were accidentally present, to Petersburg. Such unfortunate persons were often a whole year upon the journey, and were obliged to remain years in prison before their case could even in appearance be investigated. During the investigation the accused was not allowed to plead in his own defence, and if a powerful friend succeeded in saving him, he was still sent to Siberia. No rank, no merit served to protect a man before this tribunal against the malice of the commonest and most wicked informer.

It served as a desirable instrument for ill-disposed persons to employ in the gratification of envy and revenge. Among servants, vassals, nay, to the destruction of all subordination, even among sailors and soldiers, while suffering some (frequently well-deserved) chastisement, or with persons who had cherished some grudge against their superiors, it was customary to make themselves formidable by the mischief it enabled them to commit. The practice of the populace on such occasions was, to cry out, "The word!" which signified, I have a secret of importance to discover. The most horrible, and among them the most ridiculous, stories are related of the application of this custom. A patient in the hospital employed it to prevent an operation the surgeon was about to perform. The sound was so awful and tremendous, that if, in the midst of a great crowd, any one called out, "The word," all present turned pale, and immediately separated, running and crossing themselves as fast as they could.

The history of this secret chancery sheds a light upon the nature of absolute governments and the measures they adopt. Catharine II. in appearance confirmed the abolition of this

tribunal, but, in fact, she merely modified its form, and allowed the thing itself to continue. Paul restored this chancery, now called police, and made it more severe and arbitrary than it had been even under Elizabeth; Alexander abolished it, but after his death it was again revived and became more terrible than before. The institution itself belonged to the times of old Russian barbarism, for it was founded by Ivan the Terrible, and completed by Alexis Mikhailovitch. We are obliged to conclude that some such institution as the secret chancery is absolutely essential to the existence of such a form of government as the Russian, inasmuch as it has always been revived and restored down to our own times under the most various names and forms. Peter III., therefore, indisputably committed a magnanimous error by abolishing one of the chief institutions of the Russian government, at the very moment in which he provoked the Russian clergy and offended the guards, and when his own wife was conspiring for his dethronement.

Peter III. dismissed the costly and licentious body-guard of Elizabeth, which was afterwards reorganised under a more decorous form by Catharine II., and called the chevalier guard. He caused its members to be distributed amongst the regiments of the line: this was wise and just, but the thought of naming his Holstein cuirassiers his horse-guards was in the highest degree unfortunate. The whole Russian army was to be clothed and disciplined after the Prussian model, and for this purpose the emperor appointed his cousin duke George of Holstein, who had been in the Prussian service, his generalissimo. At the very moment, however, of his appointment, he was imprudent enough to say to the duke's face, that he must have been a very bad general, otherwise Frederick would not have allowed him to leave his service. Peter himself made such a figure in his Prussian uniform, and particularly with his most ridiculous hat and spatterdashes, which compelled him to walk and sit as if he had stiff knees, that it gave some plausibility to the general report that he was crazed.

By a noble sacrifice he wished to give the Russian nobility a proper existence, by making them wholly independent of the caprices of the sovereign; he renounced all the monopoly-privileges of autocrats, and even ventured to make an at-

tempt which has ever proved perilous in all ends and corners of the world,—an attempt to reform the clergy and the ceremonies of worship. His attempt to abolish the custom among the Russian clergy of wearing long beards and a peculiar dress, as well as to change different things connected with the ceremonials of worship, met with a degree of resistance from Sertchin, archbishop of Novgorod, which alone prevented a rebellion among the people. Besides, Peter had previously excited universal discontent by the erection of a college or commission for the administration of all the estates and incomes of the clergy. Catharine II. afterwards established this college without resistance.

The first acts and ordinances of Peter III. gave proofs of a generous heart; but the noblest actions and the most admirable measures of his government only drew contempt and scorn upon their author; for everything he did wanted the true Russian stamp. In the business of government Peter possessed admirable advisers in Volkof and Vorontzof, but they were unable to restrain him from following up even what was good with a morbid zeal.

The clergy were enabled the more easily to rouse the passions of the people against the emperor, as he had, just at this unlucky moment, received and acted upon the dangerous counsel of imposing a poll-tax upon the peasants. He himself was cried down as a bad Greek Christian, and as a secret favourer of Lutheranism, and had fallen into the imprudence of formally abolishing all the fast-days at his court, and publicly neglecting many of the ceremonies of the Greek Church. Under the existing circumstances, the friendship of the king of Prussia was rather disadvantageous and burdensome to Peter than politically useful, for he offended all the other courts. All the foreign ministers, but especially the French ambassador, Breteuil, were accessory to the conspiracy which was formed against Peter long before the death of the empress Elizabeth; for all the European powers, and even Frederick, were afraid that the foolish plans which he had projected, and the campaign he had determined upon as an act of revenge upon Denmark, would disturb the balance of power in Europe.

This idea of vengeance, and of the reconquest of that portion of Sleswick and Holstein which had been seized by

Denmark in the northern war, had been cherished by Peter from his youth up; and unhappily all the attempts proved failures which were made whilst he was grand-duke, to relieve him from the pecuniary embarrassments in which he was involved by the curtailment of his duchy. As soon, however, as he had ascended the throne, his most faithful friends and advisers were unable to restrain him from undertaking this foolish expedition against Denmark and placing himself at its head. The Danes knew well that a revolution would break out in Petersburg as soon as Peter had left it; although, therefore, they equipped an army, they reckoned far less upon the service of their troops than upon the issue of the cabals in Petersburg. Meanwhile, the Russians, who, by the permission of Frederick, had remained behind in Prussia and Pomerania expressly for this purpose, began their march.

The Danish forces were under the command of the count St. Germain, whose army took up its position in the territory of Mecklenburg, with a view to throw the burden of its support on their neighbour state, according to the traditionary usage of those times. The Russian troops on their advance from Pomerania, had, in like manner, just passed the frontiers of Mecklenburg; but no actual hostilities took place, for Peter III. had been deprived of throne and life before the Danes and the Russians came into mutual collision.

Whilst Peter busied himself day and night with reforms, and inconsiderately disturbed, altered, and threw into confusion all existing relations,—while at the same time he indulged in a German student's or guard-room life with his officers and his mistress, Vorontzof, and sunk in these rude dissipations, never suspected what was going on around him, —his wife was following the true bent of a diplomatic and Russian life. Beautiful, sensual, and luxurious, she was mistress of all the splendid qualities of her age and sex. She had long reached that exalted height of genius at which all social virtues may be boldly despised: she never hesitated for a moment to compass the dethronement of her husband, to whom her conduct was offensive, and who had threatened to remove her. She selected for her companion and assistant in this bold undertaking, which was not to be accomplished without murder, the sister of her husband's mistress, the younger

Vorontzof, who called herself princess Dashkof, because for a short time she had concluded a diplomatic and political marriage. Catharine's friend resembled her, as her sister did the emperor, in her habits and morals: she enjoyed life as much, and after the same fashion, as the empress, and like her was idolised by the world and by cheaply-bought men of letters. In the time of the empress Elizabeth, Catharine had already conspired with Bestujef against her husband, of which Peter thought he possessed such decisive proofs that he excepted the ex-chancellor from the operation of the general amnesty for political offences which he proclaimed on his accession, and expressly declared this as his reason for the exception.

Peter's conduct towards his wife is perhaps the clearest proof of that unsoundness of mind which was always more or less perceptible: now impelling him to the adoption of extravagant and senseless measures, now causing him to fall into a state of the greatest timidity and irresolution. Sometimes he appeared wholly unconcerned about her private life, allowed himself to be deceived respecting her pregnancy, paid her debts, made her presents of estates, and increased her yearly income; sometimes again he threatened her with a cloister, and spoke publicly of her conduct in the strongest and coarsest terms. Her brother Frederick Augustus of Zerbst was a man of a similar stamp to his brother-in-law. He repaid the emperor in like coin for his want of civility towards his wife, and his capricious return to politeness towards her. When Peter, out of consideration for Catharine, made him the most splendid offers, he returned him an answer which no one could repeat in decent society, but which Göthe, in his "Götz von Berlichingen," has put into the mouth of his hero in reply to the chief of the empire.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PETER III. DETHRONED AND MURDERED — ACCESSION OF CATHARINE II.

UNDER these circumstances, the senseless and precipitate conduct of the emperor, the general discontent of the slighted Russian soldiers and nobles, and the ill-will of the clergy towards him, it could be no very difficult task for his incessantly active wife and her splendid friend Dashkof to organise a conspiracy of bold and unscrupulous partisans. The five brothers Orlof formed the centre of this conspiracy, among whom Gregory played the chief part. He afterwards became the avowed lover of Catharine; but long before the death of the empress Elizabeth she had visited him regularly by night, in the small house in which he resided in the neighbourhood of the winter palace. The emperor exhibited a degree of carelessness which astonished every one: he listened to the warning of no true friend. Even Munich, to whom Peter was attached, and who would undoubtedly have saved him if the emperor had put implicit confidence in him, was unable to render him any service. He himself even supplied the money which the conspirators used for the prosecution of their designs; for at the very time in which Gregory Orlof stood in need of large sums for bribing the soldiers, and neither he nor Catharine possessed money or credit, Peter suffered the military chest of the artillery, which contained considerable sums, to be placed in the hands of this dissolute lieutenant.

The corruption of the regiment of Ismailof, whose services were afterwards used against the emperor, was the more easily effected, as its commander, Kyrilla Rasumofsky, took part with the conspirators. He was brother of that one, among all her innumerable favourites, whom the empress Elizabeth made her husband; Kyrilla, the son of a peasant, was sent for some short time to Euler at Berlin, and then as a young man appointed president of the academy of sciences, with the same justice and propriety as he was subsequently made hetman of the Cossacks. He was afterwards obliged under Catharine to exchange the latter post for one

of inferior rank, that of a field-marshal, though in reality he had never been in service. The princess Dashkof was, moreover, the soul of the whole conspiracy: she first gained over count Panin, who was the chief tutor of the grand-duke Paul, then the attorney-general Glebof, although the latter possessed the complete confidence of the emperor, and together with Volkof and Vorontzof drew up and approved of all those ordinances which were published in his name.

The conspirators had at first no fixed plan. They were so imprudent as not only to postpone the execution of their purpose from one period till another, but they made so little secret of the whole affair, that Volkof, the Prussian ambassador Golz, colonel von Budberg, whom they sought to gain over to their cause as the commander of a regiment, Gudovitch, and even the king of Prussia himself, warned the unfortunate emperor of what was about to be attempted. Peter had sunk at that time from the morbid and restless activity displayed during the first weeks of his government, into an inconceivable degree of apathy and supineness. He despised every warning; whilst the conspirators carefully spread the report that he was determined to send his wife and his son, the grand-duke Paul, into a cloister, and to marry the countess Vorontzof, who was living with him in his palace, and was now pregnant.

According to the most trustworthy printed reports, the conspirators at first wished to wait till the emperor had departed from Petersburg, put himself at the head of the army, and begun the expedition against Denmark. If this were really the case their calculations were very foolish, and chance led them to adopt a much wiser course. If the former plan had been pursued, Catharine indeed would have had the advantage of not needing to take upon herself the crime of murdering her husband, and been spared the necessity of appearing publicly at the head of a band of bloody and reckless conspirators: all that, however, she regarded but little, as she was far exalted above those feelings of remorse or shame which influence ordinary minds. In this case Catharine could have remained behind the scenes, as the chief actors in such political tragedies are accustomed to do, until the piece had been played out, and then, washing her hands in innocency, she might have reaped the benefit of the enor-

mities which were perpetrated, and have entitled herself to the gratitude and thanks of the world for the restoration of order. This, however, could not be done, and she was obliged to come forward in open day in the capital as an exciter of sedition and treason, as the tool of the five ruffianly brothers Orlof, and as the companion of such villains as Passek and Bibikof, and of robbers and bandits such as the Piedmontese Odart.

Peter was passing his time in his country-house, thirty miles from Petersburg; and at the very moment in which the plot was ripe for execution, was conducting himself with all the obstinacy of an insane man. When he received secret but certain intelligence of all that his wife and the Orlofs were preparing to execute, he showed no energy. He did not order the Orlofs to be immediately arrested, and his wife at least to be summoned to his presence, but remained quietly in Oranienbaum, and direct a watch to be kept upon the movements of the conspirators by a miserable gambler and spendthrift named Persiliof, who was actually gained over to the cause of his enemies. Fortune did everything possible for his deliverance; but he himself perversely frustrated every means of escape or triumph which the course of events presented to him. He finally received a formal judicial notice, and still treated the affair as if it were one requiring no expedition, or which had reference to events of inferior moment alone.

The rude Russian Passek had boasted of the conspiracy in a fit of drunkenness: an accusation was brought against him before the court of his regiment on the 8th (19th N.S.) of July, and an incautious question put by one of his companions immediately proved to Ismailof, the captain of the guards, that they were endeavouring to gain over the troops. Both these facts were immediately communicated to Peter. Notwithstanding all this, the emperor allowed the conspirators time to anticipate the impending discovery. He had indeed caused Passek to be arrested the same evening; but instead of proceeding direct to Petersburg he remained quietly in Oranienbaum, and postponed a more minute investigation of the affair till after the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The conspirators, however, did not wait for the expiration of the time.

The Orlofs and Dashkof, whose lives were staked upon the cast, in some measure compelled Catharine to give the signal for the rising. Catharine was at that time in Petershof; Bibikof and Alexis Orlof were sent thither at midnight by Dashkof and Gregory Orlof to conduct her into the city, whither in the mean time those companies of the guards which had been gained over had been brought. Catharine reached the city about seven o'clock in the morning of the 9th (20th N.S.) of July, and immediately called upon the guards to take the oath of fidelity to herself, without its ever having occurred to any one to ask what right the princess of Anhalt Zerbst had to the throne of Russia?* For the purposes of the conspiracy, the services of two old favourites of the empress Elizabeth, who were in other respects insignificant persons, were employed—these were Rasumofsky and Shuvalof. Under the preceding reign these men had appeared so long and in such a splendid position near the throne, that by doing homage to Catharine on this occasion, they stamped some degree of propriety upon the cause of the usurpation in the eyes of a people like the Russians, among whom arbitrary assumption is really and seriously regarded as right. Before the emperor was informed of what was passing in Petersburg, as early as between nine and ten o'clock, this atrocious crime and rebellion was sanctified by religion, and the new empress consecrated. The archbishop of Novgorod, who performed the ceremony, was careful, after the priestly fashion, to preserve some appearance of justice in the transaction, and he proclaimed Catharine in the cathedral merely as the regent and guardian of her son. But in the same moment as this was taking place in the church, the Orlofs and Dashkof caused her to be proclaimed empress

* Decorated with the insignia of the order of St. Andrew, and the uniform of the guards, which she had borrowed for the occasion of a very young officer, named Talitzin, she rode on horseback through the ranks with princess Dashkof, who was also in uniform. A young ensign of the regiment of horse-guards, perceiving that Catharine had no plume in her hat, rode up to offer her his. This was Potemkin, who was then only sixteen. The horse on which he was mounted, being accustomed to form into the squadron, was some time before he could be brought to quit the side of that of her majesty, thereby affording her an opportunity of remarking, for the first time, the grace and agility of him who, in the sequel, gained such an ascendancy over her.

in her own right before the church, and the archbishop's voice was reckoned as nothing. But even on this occasion, and in Petersburg, all did not prove faithless or venal. Budberg and others offered a noble resistance, which indeed proved vain, and Bressan would have saved the emperor if the latter had been capable of forming any determinate resolution in this decisive moment, or been accessible to the admonitions of prudence and wisdom.

At the very moment when the troops which were then in Petersburg, and the senate also, pronounced the deposition of Peter III., who of all others knew least of what was passing in the capital, nothing was really lost. Munich, Vorontzof, Trubetzkoi, and the younger Shuvalof, were all with him in Oranienbaum, men able and willing to serve him; the whole empire was yet open to him, and would have acknowledged him as its emperor; the fleet and the whole of the army destined against Denmark were yet uncorrupted, and therefore it was that his enemies took so much pains to cut him off from all communications with the capital. Catharine caused all the roads leading from Petersburg to Oranienbaum and Petershof to be immediately occupied, especially the Kalinka bridge; but Peter's faithful servant had anticipated her. Bressan of Monaco had come to Petersburg as a hairdresser; Peter III. had favoured him, and conferred upon him rank and office, and he now remained true to his protector and patron in his misfortune, and sent him a careful messenger, who succeeded in passing over the Kalinka bridge at the very moment in which it was taken possession of by the troops. This messenger met Peter at Petershof, whither he had come to seek for his wife but had not found her, and gave him Bressan's note. From this moment the unfortunate emperor, who had previously shown some distraction of mind, lost the little courage and understanding which up to this time he had possessed. Such courtiers as Vorontzof, Trubetzkoi, and Shuvalof did not delay to seek pretences for going to Petersburg, where they assumed an air of neutrality, and apparently in arrest awaited the issue. Munich remained, and even then would have saved the emperor, if the latter had placed implicit confidence in him, or given him unconditional powers.

Peter afterwards delayed in Petershof without coming to

any resolution, or issuing any definite orders, till his enemies had taken all their measures in Petersburg, and issued commands to cut off his flight in all directions, and deprive him of every place of refuge. The gang of conspirators did not fail to have recourse to official lies and sophistry also, and a lying manifesto was published respecting the revolution, in which religion was used as a cloak. With all the recklessness of crime, the peace which Peter had concluded with Frederick of Prussia, and which nevertheless the new empress immediately afterwards confirmed, was assigned as a reason for the deposition of the emperor.* Whilst Peter was filled with alarm, and hesitated as to his course, the conspirators had issued commands to the army, and cut off all communication with Narva; they sent to Cronstadt to secure the fleet, and stimulated the soldiers, especially the guards, to the highest degree of rage. Even the foreign ministers assisted in giving glory to this triumph over the unfortunate Peter: they celebrated this horrible revolution in a way which was quite worthy of the event, and of the rude and brutal people who could rejoice in such events,—they caused brandy to be distributed to the mob at their doors. At the close of this day of eager and incessant activity, 9th (20th N.S.) of July, Catharine set out about nine o'clock in the evening, at the head of fifteen thousand men, to Petershof, in order to subdue by force her good-natured and weak husband, if he ventured resistance with the six hundred Holstein troops and the few Russians by whom he

* Inasmuch as this manifesto has the advantage of most similar documents in being short, we shall here insert its opening:—"All true sons of Russia have clearly perceived the dangers with which the empire is threatened. In the first place, the foundations of our orthodox Greek Church have been shaken, and its principles have been exposed to imminent destruction, so that there was great reason to fear that that system which has from old reigned in Russia should be abolished, and a new religion introduced. In the second place, the honour of the Russian empire, which has been gained and founded by the loss of so much blood, and by so many glorious victories, has been really trodden under foot *by the peace lately concluded with her bitterest enemy*, and at the same time the internal constitution upon which the well-being and solidity of our country rest, completely destroyed." And then follows what is usually appended in every case of atrocious crime, because no one willingly names the devil as his ally:—"CATHARINE HAS HAD RECOURSE TO GOD AND HIS JUSTICE."

was surrounded in Oranienbaum. She passed the night halfway between Petershof and Petersburg.

Neither Munich nor Gudovitch had in the mean time been able to induce the emperor to come to any rational decision. Had he immediately gone in person to Cronstadt, the fleet would have been in his power, but he delayed and hesitated, and the adjutant whom he at length sent either behaved with great want of prudence, or even proved treacherous, and did nothing till the admiral sent from Petersburg had arrived and taken possession of the fleet in the name and under the orders of the new empress. Peter went afterwards in person to Cronstadt, but it was too late; and even in this decisive moment he had not the resolution or courage to follow the advice of Munich, who urged him to despise the threats of the sentinels who forbade him to land, told him they would not venture to fire upon him, and that he ought to land and conduct himself like an emperor. In his dismay, Peter III. would consent to nothing but flight, and ran to hide himself in the cabin of the yacht, among the terrified women. They did not even give themselves time to raise the anchor; but cut the cable, and went off by the use of their oars.

When the yachts were at some distance from the port, the men rested on their oars. It was a fine night; and Munich and Gudovitch sat on deck, in mournful silence. The steersman went down into the cabin, to the czar, for his instructions. Peter ordered Munich to be called, and said to him, "Field-marshal, I perceive that I was too late in following your advice; but you see to what extremities I am reduced. You, who have escaped from so many dangers, tell me, I beseech you, what I ought to do."—"Proceed immediately to join the squadron at Revel," said Munich; "there take a ship, go on to Pomerania, put yourself at the head of your army, return to Russia, and I promise you, that in six weeks Petersburg and all the rest of the empire will be in subjection to you."

The women and the courtiers, as if they had come to an agreement to ruin the unfortunate Peter, began directly to cry out that the rowers would never have strength enough to reach Revel. "Well, then," replied Munich, "we will all row with them." But such generous counsel could not be

agreeable to this timid or treacherous court. They shuddered at it, and vied with each other in assuring the emperor that his danger was not so great as he imagined; that Catharine only wanted to come to an accommodation with him, and that it was far better to negotiate than to fight. The imbecile prince yielded to these representations, and gave orders to the pilot to make for Oranienbaum.

It was four in the morning (10th of July) when they reached that place. Some of the emperor's domestics, in great alarm, came to receive him. He commanded them not to divulge the news of his return, shut himself up in his apartment, strictly forbidding any person to be admitted, and secretly wrote two cowardly and supplicatory letters to his wife, to neither of which she sent any answer.

At ten o'clock he came out with a countenance tolerably calm and serene. Those of his Holstein guards who were come back to Oranienbaum, ran and surrounded him, shedding tears of affection and joy. They kissed his hands, embraced his knees, pressed him to march them against the army of the empress, and solemnly swore that they were all ready to a man to sacrifice their lives in defence of his. Old Munich seized this occasion once more to exhort Peter to make a bold stand in his own defence. But the marshal's persuasions had no more effect on the czar than the noble devotedness of his Holstein troops.

From what has been already stated, and from what follows, it will be evident that Peter was neither worthy nor capable of conducting the government of a great empire, and that sooner or later he must have been removed from his office; but the manner in which his deposition was effected was not therefore the less detestable and cruel. It is maddening to read, that his wife and her Orlofs behaved to this poor prince with more barbarity and cruelty than Louis XVI. endured from the Sans-culottes in Paris, upon whom the whole world and Catharine herself called down the vengeance of Heaven, and whose names are still spoken of with detestation. Yet the Parisians at least reproached Louis XVI. with having broken his oath, which no one alleged against Peter. The new empress received her husband's first letter just as she was attending service in the convent of St. Sergius, without thinking of the words of Isaiah to the

Jews, "When ye make many prayers I will not hear; your hands are full of blood." To this first letter she gave no reply. When she arrived at Petershof she received a second, which she handed over to Orlof, whom she commissioned to treat with its bearer respecting the honour and life of her husband. The bearer of the letter was Ismailof, who enjoyed the complete confidence of the unfortunate Peter: he now accepted the empress's silverlings and betrayed him.

The agreement entered into between Catharine and Orlof on the one part, and Ismailof on the other, was as follows:—"If he was able to prevail upon Peter to sign a document in which he should declare himself unworthy and incapable to rule, he should receive a fixed sum of money; but if he delivered up the person of the unfortunate emperor himself, then he was to receive the rank of a general, the order of Alexander Nevsky, several thousand peasants, and a pension of twenty thousand roubles." He did both, and received the stipulated price. The completion of the treachery was as scandalous as the treating respecting it. Ismailof returned to Oranienbaum, attended by a single servant. The czar had then with him his Holstein guard, consisting of six hundred men. These he ordered to keep at a distance, and shut himself up with the chamberlain, who exhorted him to abandon his troops and to repair to the empress, assuring him that he would be well received, and would obtain of her all that he wished. Peter hesitated for some time: but Ismailof telling him that he must make no delay, for that his life was in danger, he followed the advice of the traitor. Ismailof then helped him into a carriage with the countess Vorontzof and Gudovitch, and they drove to Petershof. On stepping out of the carriage there, his mistress was carried off by the soldiers, who tore off her riband,* with which princess Dashkof, her sister, was almost instantly decorated. His general aide-de-camp Gudovitch was likewise insulted; but he preserved the utmost tranquillity of mind, and in a dignified manner reproached the rebels with their insolence and treason.

The czar was led up the grand staircase. There the

* It has been by some alleged that it was princess Dashkof herself that pulled it off.

attendants stripped him of the marks of his order; they took off his clothes; and, on ransacking the pockets, found several diamonds and pieces of jewellery. After he had remained there some time in his shirt, and barefoot, a butt to the outrages of an insolent soldiery, they threw over him an old morning-gown, and shut him up alone in a room, with a guard at the door.

Count Panin, being sent by the empress, was admitted to the czar, and had a long conference with him. He told him that her majesty would not long keep him in confinement, but send him into Holstein according to his own request. To this promise he added several others, probably without the design of keeping any. He concluded his visit by making him write the following declaration, and sign it as duke of Holstein:—"During the short space of my absolute reign over the empire of Russia, I became sensible that I was not able to support so great a burden, and that my abilities were not equal to the task of governing so great an empire, either as a sovereign, or in any other capacity whatever. I also foresaw the great troubles which must thence have arisen, and have been followed with the total ruin of the empire, and my own eternal disgrace. After having therefore seriously reflected thereon, I declare, without constraint, and in the most solemn manner, to the Russian empire, and to the whole universe, that I for ever renounce the government of the said empire, never desiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an absolute sovereign, or under any other form of government; never wishing to aspire thereto, to use any means, of any sort, for that purpose. As a pledge of which, I swear sincerely, before God and all the world, to this present renunciation, written and signed this 29th of June, O.S., 1762."

Having obtained this fatal act, count Panin left him; and Peter seemed to enjoy a greater composure of mind. In the evening, however, an officer, with a strong escort, came and conveyed him a prisoner to Roptcha, a small imperial palace, at the distance of about twenty versts from Petershof. Thus was a revolution of such immense importance effected in one day, and without shedding a single drop of blood. The unfortunate emperor enjoyed the power, of which he had made so imprudent and impolitic an use, no longer than six

months; and his wife, without any hereditary title, became sovereign mistress of the empire. Peter's crime in the eyes of the Russians was, that he was too German; his clever wife, who was even less Russian than he, had the art to persuade the nation that she was the very incarnation of its own spirit. "Bleed me," she said, one day to her surgeon, "bleed me, that not a drop of German blood may remain in my veins."

Immediately on this revolution a number of manifestoes appeared, in which the conduct of the late czar was severely condemned, the weakness of his personal character exposed, and designs of the blackest kind, even that of murdering his consort, attributed to him. Those manifestoes were, moreover, filled with the strongest declarations of affection from the empress to the subjects of Russia, of regard to their interests, and of attachment to their religion; and they are all filled with such unaffected and fervent strains of piety, as must needs prove extremely edifying to those who are acquainted with the sentiments of pure religion by which great princes are generally animated on occasions of this nature.

Catharine slept that night at Petershof, no longer as a captive, but as absolute sovereign. The day following, she received at her levee the homages of the principal nobility, who had joined her the foregoing evening, and those of the courtiers and ladies who came from Oranienbaum. Among these were, the father, the brother, and several other relations of princess Dashkof, who, on beholding them prostrate before the empress, said, "Madam, pardon my family. You know that I have sacrificed them to you." Catharine commanded them to rise, and gave them her hand to kiss.

Marshal Munich also presented himself before her, to whom, as soon as her majesty perceived him, she called aloud:—"Field-marshal, it was you then who wanted to fight me?"—"Yes, madam," answered Munich, in a firm and manly tone; "could I do less for the prince who delivered me from captivity? But it is henceforward my duty to fight for you; and you will find in me a fidelity equal to that with which I had devoted my services to him."

In the afternoon, the victorious Catharine returned to Petersburg. Her entry was truly triumphant. She was on

horseback, preceded or followed by the chiefs of the conspiracy. The whole army was crowned with wreaths of oak; the shouts of joy and the applauses of the populace mingled with those of the soldiers. The crowd formed into lines for the empress, and she condescendingly gave them her hand to kiss, as she passed along. A great number of priests were assembled on the occasion about the avenues of the palace; and as she rode through their ranks, she stooped down to salute the cheeks of the principal clergy, while they were kissing her hand.

For some days after her return to the imperial residence, her majesty continued to show herself to the multitude with great condescension. She knew how easy it is to gain the applauses of the populace. She went to the senate, and heard several causes tried before her. She then held her court with a graceful and easy dignity, that effaced the remembrance of the sudden revolution that had just placed her on the throne. The foreign ministers had audiences of congratulation; and she received them with a particular address to each in the most flattering terms.

Her first care was to have prince Ivan conveyed from the house to which Peter III. had conveyed him, and to send him back to Schlusselburg. She next proceeded to bestow magnificent rewards on the principal actors in the revolt. Panin was made prime minister; the Orlofs received the title of count; and the favourite Gregory Orlof was appointed lieutenant-general of the Russian armies, and knight of St. Alexander Nevsky, the second order of the empire. Several officers of the guards were promoted. Four-and-twenty of them obtained considerable estates, with some thousands of boors. The finances were insufficient to give anything to the soldiers but brandy and beer: these were distributed among them; and Catharine behaved to them with the greatest affability. At times she even put herself under constraint in order not to disoblige them. Three days subsequent to the revolution a drunken soldier dreamed that the empress was carried off. He rose up, ran about the barracks, everywhere spreading alarm, crying out that the Holsteiners and the Prussians had got possession of the empress. The regiment immediately took up arms, ran to the palace, and loudly insisted on seeing her majesty. The hetman Razu-

mofsky, having learned the cause of this tumult, appeared at a window, assured them that the empress was not carried off, and that after the disturbances and fatigues she had undergone for some days, she was now reposing in peace and security. But the soldiers refused to believe him, and began to renew their clamours with redoubled violence. The hetman now went to the chamber of the sovereign, caused her to be awaked; and prayed her not to be frightened. "You know that I am frightened at nothing," she answered, boldly; "but what is the matter?"—"The soldiers imagine that you are not here: they insist upon seeing you."—"Well, they must be satisfied," she replied; and immediately rose up, dressed herself, called for her carriage, and gave orders to drive to the Kasanskoi church. On her way the soldiers surrounded her carriage, interrogating each other: "Is that indeed the empress? Is that indeed our mother?" Being come to the church, Catharine showed herself to them, harangued them, thanked them for their solicitude, and dismissed them highly satisfied.

She made a point of showing clemency towards the officers and friends of the emperor; and though some of them were forbid the court, not one was deprived of his property or his life. Only Gudovitch, the aide-de-camp-general, Volkof, and Milganof, were imprisoned.* Countess Vorontzof, who at first had been treated rudely by the soldiers, was sent to the house of the senator her father: and the empress expressly forbade a repetition of the like affronts. She was afterwards exiled for some time to a village one thousand versts beyond Moscow.

The most zealous partisans of Catharine were meanwhile not without uneasiness. Some regiments murmured, and began to repent the part they had acted against their lawful sovereign. The people, who easily pass from rage to compassion, now pitied the fate of this unfortunate prince. They forgot his defects and caprices in the recollection of his amiable qualities, and his sad reverse of fortune. The sailors cast it in the teeth of the guards that they had sold their master for brandy and beer. A great number of the towns-

* They were all afterwards liberated; the two last-named received lucrative appointments; Gudovitch alone would accept nothing from the murderess of his sovereign.

people who had been exceedingly active in the business, and loudest in their execrations of Peter, were now seized with remorse, and lamented the sufferings which they had brought upon their monarch. But among the guards the same sentiments displayed themselves in a still more violent manner: numbers of the soldiers, repenting of their abominable treason, for in that light they now beheld their late behaviour, expressed their resentment against their accomplices in the most abusive terms, imputing to their bad advice the crimes into which they had been led. From words they proceeded to blows, and even to murder. Though throughout the revolution no blood had hitherto been shed, several were now killed in these furious squabbles. The officers repeatedly interposed, at the hazard of their personal safety, to pacify the men, but in vain. Such are the populace in all ages and nations: rash to perpetrate what their fury suggests; repentant at the sight of the mischief they have done; then prompt in their accusations against others, instead of confessing their own misconduct. Nothing was wanting but some resolute leader to have now replaced Peter III. on the throne as suddenly as but three days ago he had been precipitated from it: the attachment of the common people to him was clearly evinced in the rebellion of Pugatchef, eleven years after. In short, apprehensions were entertained of a new insurrection.

While the public mind was thus agitated, the news brought from Moscow served only to increase the panic. The governor of that capital, being informed of the revolution by the emissaries of Catharine, ordered the five regiments that composed the garrison to be drawn up in the great place of the palace of the ancient czars, whither the people flocked together in crowds. He then read aloud the ukase by which the empress announced her accession, and the abdication of her consort; and concluded with the exclamation, "Long live the empress Catharine the Second!" But the people and the soldiers remained silent. He repeated the same cry; the same silence ensued. No sound but that of sullen murmurs was heard. The troops complained that the regiments of the guards had insolently dared to dispose of the throne. The governor, startled at these unexpected expressions of discontent, called upon the

other officers to join him. They cried out together, "Long live the empress!" This done, the multitude was dismissed, and the soldiers were sent back to their barracks.

The fears excited among the conspirators by these sinister appearances precipitated the inevitable catastrophe. On his removal from Petershof, the czar was still blind to the fate that awaited him. Thinking he should be detained but a short time in prison, previous to his being sent into Germany, he sent a message to Catharine, asking her to let him have a favourite negro who amused him by his oddities, together with a dog he was fond of, his violin, a Bible, and a few romances; at the same time telling her, that, disgusted at the wickedness of mankind, he was resolved thenceforward to devote himself to a philosophical life. Not one of these requests was granted, and his plans of wisdom were turned into ridicule. He was left in his prison at Roptcha.

He had been there six days without the knowledge of any but the chief conspirators and the soldiers by whom he was guarded, when Alexis Orlof, accompanied by an officer named Teplof, came to him with the news of his speedy deliverance, and asked permission to dine with him. According to the custom of that country, wine-glasses and brandy were brought previous to dinner; and while the officer amused the czar with some trifling discourse, his chief filled the glasses, and poured a poisonous mixture into that he intended for the prince. The czar, without any distrust, swallowed the potion; on which he presently experienced excruciating pains; a second glass being offered him, on pretence of its giving him relief, he refused it, with reproaches on him that offered it.

He called aloud for milk; but the two murderers offered him poison again, and pressed him to take it. A French valet, much attached to his master, ran to his assistance. The czar threw himself into his servant's arms, exclaiming, "It was not then enough to prevent my reign in Sweden, and deprive me of the Russian crown, but they will have my life also!"

The valet dared to intercede for his royal master, but the miscreants forced this dangerous witness to retire, and continued their ill-treatment. In the midst of the scuffle the youngest of the princes Baratinsky, who commanded the

guard, entered the room. Orlof had thrown the czar upon his back, and pressed his knee upon his breast; with one hand he seized his throat, and clenched his head with the other. Baratinsky and Teplof then passed a napkin about his neck with a running noose. Peter, in his struggle, scarred Baratinsky's face, and fixed a mark that was retained for some time by that villain; but the unfortunate czar soon lost his strength, and his murderers accomplished their diabolical purpose.*

Alexis Orlof, after he had strangled the emperor, mounted his horse, and eagerly rode off, to inform Catharine that her husband was no more. He arrived at the moment when the empress was going to show herself at court. She affected an air of tranquillity; and afterwards shut herself up with Orlof, Panin, Razumofsky, Glebof, and other cruel confederates. In this sinister council, the propriety of divulging the emperor's death to the senate and people, was the subject of deliberation; they decided upon deferring it until the next day. Catharine dined in public as usual, and in the evening held her court with great cheerfulness.

On the next day, the empress, still feigning ignorance of her husband's death, caused it to be announced when she was at table. At that instant she retired, overwhelmed with fictitious grief. She dismissed the courtiers and foreign ministers, retired to her apartment, and for several days together assumed the mask of profound sorrow. During that time the following declaration, in which cruelty is joined to the most consummate hypocrisy, was foisted upon the public:

"The seventh day after our accession to the imperial throne, we received intelligence that the late emperor was attacked by a most violent colic, occasioned by the hemorrhoids, of which he had suffered frequent returns. That therefore we might not be wanting in Christian duty, nor disobedient to the divine command, by which we are enjoined to preserve the life of our neighbour, we immediately ordered that the said Peter should be furnished with everything that might be judged necessary to prevent the dangerous conse-

* It has been falsely asserted that Potemkin was with them. Men of undoubted honour, who were then in Russia, deny the assertion; and Potemkin always treated it with disdain.

quences of that fearful complaint, and to restore his health by the aids of medicine. But, to our great regret and affliction, we were yesterday evening apprised that, by the permission of the Almighty, the late emperor departed this life. We have therefore ordered his body to be conveyed to the monastery of Nevsky, in order to its interment in that place. At the same time, with our imperial and maternal voice, we exhort our faithful subjects to forgive and forget what is past, to pay the last duties to his body, and to pray to God sincerely for the repose of his soul; willing them, however, to consider this unexpected and sudden death as an especial effect of the providence of God, whose impenetrable decrees are working for us, for our throne, and for our country, things known only to His holy will."

The body of the unhappy czar was conveyed to Petersburg, and for several days exposed at Saint Alexander Nevsky's. They took care to dress him in his Prussian uniform; and people of all ranks and conditions were permitted to render him their last expressions of duty, which in Russia consist in saluting the lips of the deceased. His face was very black. Extravasated blood exuded through the epidermis, and even penetrated the gloves that covered his hands. The poison administered to the czar must have been exceedingly violent, for such as had the sad courage to lay their mouths to his, returned from it with swollen lips.

The confederates knew very well that such frightful indications would not fail to discover the means used to abridge the czar's existence; but they were less anxious to save appearances than to prevent the insurrections which, without doubt, would have taken place had the people entertained a thought that Peter still survived.

The day of his funeral was a day, in Petersburg, of desolation and sorrow. The empress did not appear at the obsequies, out of regard to her health, as it was expressed in a notification published by the senate, she having already taken the death of the emperor so much to heart that she was continually dissolved in tears. The populace were very abusive to the soldiers of the guard, reproaching them with having basely shed the last drop of the blood of Peter the Great. The Holstein soldiers, who till this had remained at Oranienbaum, at liberty, but disarmed, followed their master's

corpse, venting their grief in tears. They were no longer regarded by the Russians as rivals, engrossing preference, but as faithful servants, in whose sorrow they participated themselves. Catharine, however, ordered this disconsolate band to embark the next day for their country. They were put on board a vessel that sank in leaving the port of Cronstradt; a small number saved their lives upon some rocks rising just above the surface of the waves, and were all left to perish by the barbarous Talitzan, under pretext that he must send to Petersburg before he could give them any assistance.

Prince George, whom Peter III. had named duke of Courland, was obliged to renounce that title; but he was indemnified by the empress for this privation; she confided to him the government of Holstein; to which he, and the rest of his family, were immediately sent. He served her majesty, in this appointment, with a zeal that she had no reason to expect from the czar's relation.

The ex-chancellor Bestujef, Peter's old and most inveterate enemy, but Catharine's trusty confidant and friend, was recalled from exile. He was restored to his rank of field-marshal, re-assumed his place at the council, and received a pension of twenty thousand roubles, with a dispensation from all official duty on account of his age. Bestujef made a great pretence of piety in his latter years, but it did not diminish his thirst for ambition and intrigue. He died at St. Petersburg in April, 1766.

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

SUCCESSION OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA, GRAND-PRINCES OR GRAND-DUKES, CZARS, AND AFTERWARDS EMPERORS.

	A.M.	A.D.
Rurik	6369	861
Igor, his son, at first under the regency of his uncle Oleg	6386	878
Sviatoslaf, son, first under the regency of his mother, Olga, who embraced Christianity. Kief was at this time the residence or capital	6453	945
Yaropolk, son of the grand-prince	6480	972
Vladimir, brother, first Christian prince, and apostle of his nation	6488	980
Yaroslaf, son of the grand-prince at Kief: his brothers have appanages: thence the different principalities or dukedoms	6523	1015
Isiaslaf, son	6562	1054
Vsevolod, brother	6586	1078
Sviatopolk, son of the grand-duke Isiaslaf	6601	1093
Vladimir II., brother of Vsevolod	6622	1114
Mstislaf, son	6633	1125
Yaropolk, brother	6640	1132
Viatcheslaf, brother, abdicates	6646	1138
Vsevolod II., great grandson of the grand-prince Yaroslaf	—	—
Isiaslaf II., son of Mstislaf	6654	1146
Rostislaf, brother of Vsevolod II.	6662	1154
Isiaslaf III., son of David, and great grandson of Yaroslaf	—	—
Youri, or Igor, or George, fourth son of Vladimir II. He built Moscow: his successors leave Kief, and reside at Vladimir	6663	1155
Michael, son, governs with his brother Andrew, and after his death alone	6665	1157
Vsevolod III., brother	6685	1177
Igor, or George II., son. Constantine, his brother, during two years	6721	1213
Yaroslaf II., brother, in subjection to the Tatars, as also the following	6746	1238
St. Alexander Nevsky, son	6753	1245
Yaroslaf III., brother	6771	1263
Vassili, or Basil, brother	6778	1270

	A.M.	A.D.
Dmitri, or Demetrius, brother. His brother Andrew set up by the Tatars	6785	1277
Daniel, fourth brother: since whom the grand-princes reside at Moscow	6802	1294
Igor, or George, son, deposed	6810	1302
Michael, son of Yaroslaf III.	6813	1305
Vassili, or Basil II., brother	6828	1320
Igor re-established	6833	1325
Ivan, or John, brother	6836	1328
Simeon, son	6848	1340
Ivan II., brother	6861	1353
Dmitri II., son. Dmitri, his relation, set up by the Tatars, two years	6867	1359
Vassili, or Basil III., son	6897	1389
Vassili IV., son. Igor, his uncle, usurps	6933	1425
Ivan III., son. The famous Ivan Vassilievitch who threw off the yoke of the Tatars	6970	1462
Vassili V., son	7014	1506
Ivan IV., son, surnamed the Terrible, assumes the title of Czar	7042	1534
Feodor, or Theodore, son; the last of the race of Rurik	7092	1584
The following are of different families:		
Boris Godunof	7106	1598
Feodor II., son	7113	1605
Dmitri V., falsely calling himself son of Ivan IV.	——	——
Vassili Shuiski, or Basil VI., elected	7114	1606
Vladislaus of Poland elected, afterwards rejected	7118	1610
Michael, of the family of Romanof (still reigning), elected	7121	1613
Alexèy, or Alexis, son	7153	1645
Feodor, or Theodore III., son	7184	1676
Ivan V. and Peter, brothers, together	7190	1682
Peter alone, afterwards styled the great emperor	7204	1696
Russians cease to reckon by the year of the world.		
Catharine, widow of Peter		1725
Peter II., grandson of Peter the Great		1727
Anne, daughter of Ivan		1730
Ivan IV., grandson of Ivan		1740
Elizabeth Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great		1741
Peter III., her nephew, deposed and murdered		1762
Catharine II., his widow		1762
Paul, son of Peter III., murdered		1796
Alexander, son of Paul		1801
Nicholas, son of Paul		1825

THE VARANGIANS.

The Varangian names which have come down to us are Scandinavian, and Nestor positively affirms that the Varangians were Russians.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus remarks the difference between the Russian and the Slavonian languages.

The leaders of the people, who, about 862, conquered Novgorod and Kief, were Scandinavians; this is proved by their names. Those leaders gave to their conquests the name of Russia (see Nestor). They were, consequently, Russians, and the Russians were Scandinavians.

The Russians who, in 839, accompanied the embassy which was sent by the Greek emperor Theophilus, to Louis, the son of Charlemagne, were recognised as Normans; and, as Luitprand tells us, were so recognised after a very jealous and minute investigation. Now, the Franks of that period had good reasons for knowing Normans. These Normans complained of the hostile countries and tribes through which they had been obliged to journey before they could reach Byzantium; and they desired to be sent back, *by sea*, from France to their native land.

Ville-Hardouin tells us, that, at the capture of Constantinople, by Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who was a crusader, and an ally of the Venetians, the Varangians, or, as he calls them, the Anglians and Danes, repulsed the Latins with their axes. These Varangians formed the body-guard of the emperors of the Lower Empire.

Besides, the ancient wars of the Scandinavians with the northern Slavonians and the Finnish tribes are not unknown to us. The Swedes made a descent in Esthonia in the fifth century, and often, both before and after. Sturlezon mentions several marriages between the princes and princesses of Suevia and Finland. These attacks and alliances in the north were terminated by a conquest. In 984, we see the Normans masters of Livonia and Esthonia, and the Russian Varangians in possession of all the rest of European Russia.

Did not Rurik commence his conquest by Ladoga and Bielozero? Why, then, should we believe that he came from Prussia, as is asserted by Lomonosof? And even if it were

true, as he affirms, that Rurik came from the Niemen and from Rugen, does not Prætorius tell us that Alaric and his Gothic successors were kings of the Rugians? and is not the name of Goths given to the Rugians by Procopius?

Oleg imposed a tribute on the Novgorodians for the support of his Varangians. Ivor sent to ask assistance from the insular Varangians. Vladimir sought an asylum among the Varangians, and returned with them. Yaroslaf had recourse to the Varangians beyond sea. Were not, then, the princes who threw themselves into the arms of the Varangians of the same origin with them? Now, is not this insular and transmarine origin Scandinavian?

Karamsin also (vol. i. p. 45) says, that the Varangians were Goths or Normans; that from time immemorial, there had been in Sweden a province named Rosslagen, the inhabitants of which were denominated Rhos or Rhotses, &c. Moreover, the Kurisch-haf, in old Prussia, is likewise called Russna; the northern branch of the Memel bears the name of Russ, and the country that of Po-Russia; for those Rhos, or Ross, were Swedes who, according to Karamsin's statement, had conquered Prussia. One of the oldest streets in Novgorod had the appellation of Prussia-street. Lastly, about 1560, Ivan, when laying claim to Sweden, as being the patrimony of his ancestors, affirmed positively that the Varangians of Yaroslaf were Swedes.

We know, besides, that Sigurd, the brother-in-law of the king of Norway, was a subject of Vladimir, and enjoyed his confidence; and that Trygvason, king of Norway, took refuge in Russia. All this might, indeed, happen, without the Russian grand-princes, and what they termed their court, or their guard, having been Scandinavians. But we have also a right to infer from it, that these princes were attracted to the abodes of each other by identity of origin.

The learned and judicious Levesque says, that the Russians cannot have been Slavonians. He adds, that it is barely possible that the Uigors, who were Siberian Huns, may have spread as far as Livonia, and have been the original Russians; that thus the Russians may be descendants of the Huns; but, as all their known names are Gothic, he states that, in that case, before they conquered the Slavonians, they must them-

selves have been conquered by the Goths; an opinion which is much less probable, than that of the laborious and accurate German writers, who assign a Gothic origin to the Russians.

In short, whatever may have been the primary origin of the Russians, it is indisputable that, as early as the ninth century, their alliances, their wars, their climates, and their names, had so completely, and for so long a time, blended them with the Scandinavians, that it is impossible to perceive any distinction between them. And are we to imagine that a people so famous in the north should have sprung from the Finnish tribes, which were always obscure, rather than from the Goths, who were the conquerors of the world?

How do we know that the appellation of Russian, generally adopted since the time of Rurik, was not derived from him? or, still more probably, may not the Slavonians, whose demi-gods of the waters were called Russalks, have given that name to the Scandinavian Varangian pirates, who were more truly the demi-gods of the billows which foamed under their keels?

But are more proofs required of the Scandinavian lineage of the Russians? Attend, then, to a literal translation from Nestor, their oldest annalist. "In the years 860, 61, and 62, the Varangians came from beyond sea, and the Novgorodians, &c., refused them the tribute which had been agreed upon." Read also the following quotation:—"The Novgorodians went beyond sea to the Ross Varangians; for these Varangians were called Ross, as others were Svie (Swedes), others Urmians (Normans), others Angles, and others Goths. They asked them for princes, and those princes went with all the nation; and from those Varangians, the territory of Novgorod was called the land of the Russians."

Strahlenberg, a Swedish officer of Charles XII., states that, in his time, the Finns still denominated Sweden Rosslagen, and the Swedes Ruedzalains. He has no doubt that the Russian Varangians were from Scandinavia.

As to Lacombe, he no doubt knows no better than I do why he says, that a prince named Russus gave his name to Russia.

Lisakewitz, a Russian, says positively (Hist. of Novgorod), that the Varangians were Goths, and called themselves Rus-

sians; that the Roxolani were Goths who moved to the south in the fourth century; and that a Swedish province formerly bore the name of Rosslagen.*

Struve, in his "Dissertation on the Ancient Russians," a scarce and very curious work, declares that the oldest Swedish authors (he cites Saxo-Grammaticus) speak of the existence of a Ross people in the first century; that, in the Celtic language, Riss or Ross signifies *loftiness*, whence he infers that the Riss or Ross were Scandinavian mountaineers; that their country was situated to the east of the Bothnic gulf; and that from thence they spread to the north and south of the Ladoga, in Esthonia, &c. In the monastery of St. Bertin, in Flanders, he found indubitable evidence that the Russians, who were sent by the Greek emperor Theophilus to Louis the Debonair, spoke the same language as the Swedes.

Out of the sixty-two names of the envoys sent by Oleg and Ivan to Byzantium, we see that only three are Slavonian, and that fifty-five are evidently Scandinavian.

Yaroslaf married Indigerga, daughter of the king of Sweden; an union to which he was doubtless prompted by gratitude for the succours which he had received from the Varangians. We remark, besides, that Harold, the brother of the king of Norway, commanded the Varangians, who were the guards of Yaroslaf, and that the same station was

* It must be mentioned here, that this opinion is controverted by Malte-Brun; he believes the Russians to be derived from the Roxolani, the ancient inhabitants of central Russia. These Roxolani were known by their wars against the Roman Empire, in 68, 166, and 270. About the middle of the fourth century, we find them sometimes in subjection to the Huns, and sometimes to the Goths, who were masters of that country after the time of Hermanric. It must be added, that Malte-Brun quotes Suhm and Snorro against the opinion which makes Scandinavia the cradle of the Russian nation. These authorities, however, do not seem strong enough, nor does the appellation of Roxolani bear a sufficient likeness to that of Russians, to destroy the body of proofs which are afforded by all the preceding quotations. That the Varangians were at once Russians and Scandinavians, we may, therefore, continue to believe, till the Russians of the present day shall have settled the question themselves; for it is said that they are now entering upon the inquiry with a degree of zeal, intelligence, critical spirit, and science, which is continually increasing in a remarkable manner.

afterwards held by Eleifur, the son of Rogvald. This arose from Scandinavian chiefs naturally being given to Scandinavian Varangians.

It is known that Luitprand was informed by his father-in-law, Vitricus, who witnessed, at Byzantium, the massacre of the Russians of Igor's army, that those Russians were from Scandinavia, and spoke its language.

Codinus tells us, that the Varangians of the Greek emperor's guard wished him long life in English.—See the curious Dissertation of Lerberge, on the double Russian names; that is to say, the Scandinavian and Slavonian names of the autocrats of the Borysthenes. Lastly, D'Anville also believes that the Russian Varangians were from Scandinavia.—*Ségur.*

SENTENCE OF THE COURT UPON THE CZAREVITCH ALEXIS.

Pursuant to the express order of his czarish majesty, and signed with his own hand the 13th of June, 1718, for the trial of the czarevitch Alexis Petrowitz, for his offences and crimes against his father and sovereign, the ministers, senators, military and civil officers, whose names are hereunto subscribed, after several meetings held in the chamber of the senatorial regency at Petersburg, having more than once heard the originals and extracts of the depositions against him formally read, as likewise the admonitory letters from his czarish majesty to the czarevitch, and his answers to them, written with his own hand; likewise the informations, confessions, and declarations of the czarevitch, both those written with his own hand, and those verbally made by him to his lord and father, and before the underwritten, appointed by his czarish majesty's authority to sit on the present important affair: have declared, that though according to the laws of the Russian empire it never has appertained to them, being natural subjects of the sovereign dominion of his czarish majesty, to take cognisance of an affair of this nature, which, from its importance, solely depends on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose power is derived from God, and not limited by any law; however, in obedience to the said order of his czarish majesty, their sovereign, which invests

them with this liberty, and after mature reflections, conscientiously, without fear or flattery, or respect of persons, having before their eyes the divine laws, both of the Old and New Testament, applicable to the present case, the sacred writings of the Gospel and of the Apostles, likewise the canons and decrees of councils, the authority of the venerable fathers and doctors of the church; besides the additional light received from the sentiments of the archbishops and clergy assembled at Petersburg by his czarish majesty's order, a duplicate of which is hereto annexed, and conforming themselves to the general law of all Russia, and particularly to the constitutions of this empire, to the military laws and the statutes which correspond with the laws of many other states, especially those of the ancient emperors, Roman and Greek, and other Christian princes; we, the underwritten, having put the case to the vote, unanimously, and without any contradiction, agree and resolve, That the czarevitch, Alexis Petrowitz, *deserves death*, for his many capital crimes and offences against his sovereign and his father; so that though his czarish majesty, in a letter sent to the czarevitch by M. Tolstoi of the privy council, and captain Romanzof, dated from Spa, the 10th of July, 1717, promised that he would forgive his elopement on his returning of his own accord and willingly, as the czarevitch himself, with thanks, acknowledged in his answer to that letter, written at Naples the 4th of October, 1717; wherein he says, that he thanked his czarish majesty for the pardon which related only to his elopement: he is since become unworthy of it by his continual opposition to his father's pleasure, and other offences repeatedly continued, as is set forth at large in the manifesto published by his czarish majesty on the 3rd of February in the present year; and because, among other things, he did not return of his own accord.

And though his czarish majesty, on the czarevitch's coming to Moscow with a written confession of his crimes, wherein he entreated forgiveness, had pity on him, as is natural for a father towards his son; and though at the audience, to which the czar admitted him in the hall of the citadel on the same day, the 3rd of February, his czarish majesty promised that all his offences should be forgiven; yet this promise was made in the presence of all the numerous assembly

then present, with this express proviso, that the czarevitch should, without any exception or reservation, declare and make known all that he had committed or devised against his czarish majesty till that day; and that he should discover all those who had been his advisers and accomplices; and in general all who knew anything of his designs and practice; but that on any concealment of persons or things, the pardon should be void, as if it never had been granted: which the czarevitch consented to, and received, at least in appearance, with tears of gratitude; and he promised on oath to declare everything without any reserve; in confirmation of which he, in the cathedral church, kissed the cross and scripture. The next day his czarish majesty, with his own hands, again signified to him the same thing in the interrogatory articles inserted above, which he ordered to be delivered to him, having written at the head of them the following words:

"Having yesterday received your pardon on condition that you should declare all the circumstances of your elopement, and whatever relates thereto; withal, that if you concealed anything, you should be deprived of life; and as you have already made some verbal declarations, you are ordered, as a fuller satisfaction, and that you may be acquitted, to set them down in writing, according to the articles specified underneath."

And at the conclusion, in the seventh article, the czar had again written with his own hand:

"Make known whatever relates to this affair, though not mentioned here, and clear yourself as you would at confession: but should you hide or conceal anything which may hereafter come to light, do not blame me for the consequence; for it was yesterday declared to you, before all the world, that in such case the pardon you have received would be void and revoked." Nevertheless, the czarevitch, in his answers and confessions, has observed no manner of sincerity; he has not only concealed many persons, but capital transactions, concerns, and offences, and particularly his rebellious designs against his father and his lord, and the unnatural contrivances he has long been carrying on for usurping his father's throne during his life, by many evil ways, and under evil pretences; grounding his hope and his wishes for the death of his father and lord, on the commonalty's declaring in his favour.

All this has been since discovered by legal informations, after he himself had refused to make any such declarations as appeared above.

Thus, by the whole behaviour of the czarevitch, and by his declarations, both verbal and written, and lastly, by that of the 22nd of last June, it is evident that he would not stay till the succession to the crown should come to him after his father's demise, in the manner that his father would have left it to him, agreeably to equity, and by those ways and means which God has prescribed; but that he has wished for it, and had a prepense design of seizing on it, even during the life of his father and lord, by opposing in everything his father's will; and not only by a domestic rebellion, which he relied on, but by the assistance of a foreign army, which he flattered himself to have at his disposal, and to be purchased even at the ruin of the state, and the alienation of everything which might have been required of the state for such assistance.

The above detail shows, that the czarevitch, in concealing all his pernicious designs, and secreting many persons who acted in concert with him, as he continued to do till the last examination, and till he was fully convicted of all his machinations, intended to reserve to himself, on any opportunity, means of resuming his designs, and thoroughly to put in execution this horrible attempt against his father and his lord, and against all this empire.

He has thereby rendered himself unworthy of pardon, which his worthy lord and father had, in his great clemency, promised him. He has also himself acknowledged, both before his czarish majesty and all the states, ecclesiastical and civil, and publicly before the whole assembly; and he has also, both verbally and in writing, declared before the underwritten judges appointed by his czarish majesty, that all the premises were true and manifest by such effects as had appeared.

Therefore, as the before-mentioned laws, divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, and particularly the two latter, condemn to death, without mercy, not only those whose attempts against their father and lord have been manifested by evidences, or proved by writings, but even those whose attempts reached no further than a rebellious intention, or the formation of a design to kill their sovereign, or seize on

the empire; what can be thought of a rebellious design, such as scarce has ever been heard of in the world, added to the horror of a twofold parricide against his sovereign, first as his political father, and then as his natural father (a most kind father, by whom the czarevitch has from his cradle been brought up, with every paternal care, with a tenderness and indulgence which have appeared on all occasions; who, with incredible pains, and unwearied application, has endeavoured to form him for government, and instruct him in the art of war, that he might be worthy of the succession, and capable of ruling over such a large empire), how much more then does such a design merit a capital punishment?

It is with grieved hearts, and eyes full of tears, that we, being servants and subjects, pronounce this sentence, seeing that as such it does not belong to us to take cognisance of so momentous a concern, and especially to pronounce a sentence against the son of our sovereign, and most bountiful lord, the czar. However, it being his will that we should pass our judgment, we by these presents declare our real opinion, and we pronounce this condemnation with a clear and Christian conscience, as we shall answer for it before the just and impartial tribunal of God. Submitting withal this sentence and condemnation to the supreme power, will, and merciful revision of his czarish majesty, our most gracious monarch.

THE TCHIN AND THE TCHINOVNIKS.

The Russian word *tchin*, or *tchinne*, signifies ceremony, ceremonial, order, rank. In Russia you may happen to be invited *beg tchinof*, that is to say, without ceremony; but in general they preserve the *tchin*, or order of rank. They are accustomed to see everything take place *tchinna*, according to the rule or ceremonial; and there is the *tchin tscrkovnii*, church ceremonial, as well as that for civil and military affairs.

The *tchin*, strictly speaking, is the order of rank introduced by Peter I. (Jan. 24, 1722, O.S.), with the desire of giving all classes of his subjects an interest in the new state of things he wished to bring about, and to inspire a salutary emulation among men capable of rising by their own merit, as well as among those who owed their position in life to the

accident of their birth only. In other words, it is the classification of military ranks and civil offices on one common standard, in which the grades that admit of personal or hereditary rank being conferred are pointed out. Peter the Great, wishing to secure the fidelity and attachment of his auxiliaries, who were chiefly strangers, and whose services he urgently required, declared that all honours in the state should be the reward of services rendered to him; that merit should take precedence of birth, and that the highest rank should be that in which both were united. He appointed sixteen degrees of military rank, with a corresponding scale for the civil service. These sixteen classes have since been reduced to fourteen, and the denominations slightly changed; but in every other respect the institution has remained the same as when it was established by the czar-reformer.

The following table will show the corresponding ranks in the civil and military services. It commences with the highest rank. We observe some blanks, for, in fact, there are some degrees which can belong but to one of the two services; and we also observe one of these grades without any particular name besides that of class, by which we specify it accordingly:

	Military Service.	Civil Service.
1.	Field-Marshal	Privy-Councillor (actual), 1st class.
2.	General-in-Chief	Privy-Councillor (actual).
3.	Lieutenant-General	Privy-Councillor.
4.	Major-General	Councillor of State (actual).
5.	————	Councillor of State.
6.	Colonel	Councillor of the College.
7.	Lieutenant-Colonel	Councillor of the Court.
8.	Major	Assessor of the College.
9.	Captain of the Staff	Titular Councillor.
10.	Captain	Secretary of the College.
11.	Lieutenant	———.
12.	Sub-Lieutenant	Secretary of the Government Class.
13.	Ensign Sword-bearer	———.
14.	Ensign	Register of the College.

In the army, personal nobility may be conferred on officers of the highest rank, and those above the rank of major may receive an hereditary title. In the civil service, until the year 1845, personal nobility was conferred on entering the 10th class, and hereditary nobility on arriving at the 8th,

which corresponds with the military rank of major; but this has since been changed, as will presently appear. To each class was attached a particular distinction (one is *blagorodnii*, well-born) from the moment of receiving the rank of personal nobility. When arrived at the 5th class, you are addressed *vaché vyçokorodié* ("your high birth"). In the 4th, "your excellence;" and above that, "your high excellence," *vyçoko-prevoskhoditchstvo.*

The ukase of June 23, 1845, occasioned new arrangements in the civil department. Thenceforth hereditary nobility has in great measure depended on the will of the sovereign, and the title of "honourable commoner" (*patchotnii grajedanine*) been frequently substituted for the rank of personal nobility. This distinction was introduced by the imperial manifesto of April 10, 1832, and confers various hereditary privileges, as exemptions from the poll-tax and conscription.

The *tchinovniks* are the subordinate class of officials of the *tchin;* they are the Russian bureaucracy, against whom so many just complaints arise, and who press so heavily on the poorer classes. These men, the greater part of whom, ignorant and proud though they be, and owing their advancement only to their birth, are the most strenuous upholders of the present order of things. Friendly to the abuses by which they live, habituated to violence, mercenary to a proverb, they have but little taste for improvement, and treat everything foreign, whether men, ideas, or customs, with a degree of arrogance of which M. de Custine has given an illustration, where he introduces his reader to the family circle of the engineer of Schlusselburg. He makes the following remarks on the same subject:—"Had not an aristocracy whose influence had for years been acknowledged in the country any better means of effecting its improvement than an exercise of the hypocritical obedience exacted by a body of commissioners? And," he adds, "from the privacy of their chambers, these invisible despots, these tyrannical pigmies, oppress the country with impunity, for their dominion reaches even to the emperor himself, who is well aware he does not possess the power attributed to him; and who, in the terror he would willingly conceal from himself, knows not at all times what limit may be placed to his authority. He feels it, and suffers

it without daring even to complain." This limit which is the bureaucratic ascendancy, a fearful power at all times, from its liability to abuse under the name of the love of order, is more to be dreaded in Russia than in any other country. When we see administrative tyranny substituted for imperial despotism, we tremble for the fate of a country in which the system of government propagated by the French nation throughout Europe has been established without any counterbalancing influence.

We have pointed out the disadvantages of the *tchin*, and they are serious; but it is not so easy, perhaps, to find the remedy. In a certain sense, the whole administrative system of Russia is founded on the *tchin*. It indemnifies officials for the insufficiency of their emoluments, while it subjects these to a certain rule of increase, in proportion to the years of service; it stimulates the self-love of all, gives an impetus to the energies and the will, and forms a close tie between the state and its members. In default of a more worthy object of ambition, it is a powerful lever, for the degree of *tchinovnik* is an object of desire to every man, and the advancement from one class to another is in itself the grand occupation of life. The thirst for exterior distinction is universal. "There is no system," says a Sclavonian writer, "so favourable to the promotion of personal ambition and self-love. The constant expectation of obtaining a rank, an order, a distinction of some sort, and the thirst for such things, so far from being appeased by success, is, on the contrary, increased by it, and becomes the ruling principle of life. Nevertheless, this system, incompatible with any individual advancement, renders man a mere instrument, a very automaton, which moves only at the will of the government."

As a political stimulant, the *tchin* is certainly of considerable value; but looked upon in a moral point of view, it gives occasion for criticism, and is the cause of much of the cruel thraldom in which the country is held.—*Schnitzler.*

The Russian nation is divided into two classes: the aristocracy, who enjoy all the privileges; and the people, who bear all the burdens of the state.

We must not, however, form to ourselves an idea of the Russian nobility at all similar to those we entertain of the aristocracies of Germany, or of anti-revolutionary France. In Russia, nobility is not exclusively conferred by birth, as in the other countries of Europe. There every freeman may become noble by serving the state either in a military or a civil capacity; with this difference only, that the son of a nobleman is advanced one step shortly after he enters the service, whilst the son of a commoner must wait twelve years for his first promotion, unless he have an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the mean while. Such opportunities indeed are easily found by all who have the inclination and the means to purchase them.

The first important modifications in the constitution of the noblesse were anterior to Peter the Great; and Feodor Alexievitch, by burning the charters of the aristocracy, made the first attempt towards destroying the distinction which the boyars wanted to establish between the great and the petty nobles. It was a curious fact that, at the accession of the latter monarch to the throne, most offices of state were hereditary in Russia, and it was not an uncommon thing to forego the services of a man who would have made an excellent general, merely because his ancestors had not filled that high post, which men of no military talent obtained by right of birth. Frequent mention has of late been made of the celebrated phrase, *The boyars have been of opinion and the czar has ordained*, and it has been made the theme of violent accusation against the usurpation of the Muscovite sovereigns. But historical facts demonstrate that the supposed power of the nobility was always illusory, and that the so much vaunted and regretted institution served, in reality, only to relieve the czars from all personal responsibility. The spirit of resistance, whatever may be said to the contrary, was never a characteristic of the Russian nobility. No doubt there have been frequent conspiracies in Russia; but they have always been directed against the life of the reigning sovereign, and never in any respect against existing institutions. The facility with which Christianity was introduced into the country, affords a striking proof of the blind servility of the Russian people. Vladimir caused proclamation to be made one day in the

town of Kiev, that all the inhabitants were to repair next day to the banks of the Dniepr and receive baptism; and accordingly, at the appointed hour on the morrow, without the least tumult or show of force, all the inhabitants of Kiev were Christians.

The existing institutions of the Russian noblesse date from the reign of Peter the Great. The innovation of that sovereign excited violent dissatisfaction, and the nobles, not yet broken into the yoke they now bear, caused their monarch much serious uneasiness. The means which appeared to Peter I. best adapted for cramping the old aristocracy, was to throw open the field of honours to all his subjects who were not serfs. But in order to avoid too rudely shocking established prejudices, he made a difference between nobles and commoners as to the period of service, entitling them respectively to obtain that first step which was to place them both on the same level. Having then established the gradations of rank and the conditions of promotion, and desirous of ratifying his institutions by his example, he feigned submission to them in his own person, and passed successively through all the steps of the scale he had appointed. * * *

With all the apparent liberality of this scheme of nobility, it has, nevertheless, proved admirably subservient to the policy of the Muscovite sovereigns. The old aristocracy has lost every kind of influence, and its great families, most of them resident in Moscow, can now only protest by their inaction and their absence from court against the state of insignificance to which they have been reduced, and from which they have no chance of recovery.

Had it been necessary for all aspirants to nobility to pass through the wretched condition of the common soldier, it is evident that the empire would not possess one-tenth of its present number of nobles. Notwithstanding their abject and servile condition, very few commoners would have the courage to ennoble themselves by undergoing such a novitiate, with the stick hanging over them for many years. But they have the alternative of the civil service, which leads to the same result by a less thorny path, and offers even comparatively many more advantages to them than to the nobles by blood. Whereas the latter, on entering the

military service, only appear for a brief while for form's sake in the ranks, become non-commissioned officers immediately, and officers in a few months; they are compelled in the civil service to act for two or three years as supernumeraries in some public office before being promoted to the first grade. It is true, the preliminary term of service is fixed for commoners at twelve years, but we have already spoken of the facilities they possess for abridging this apprenticeship.

But this excessive facility for obtaining the privileges of nobility has given rise to a subaltern aristocracy, the most insupportable and oppressive imaginable; and has enormously multiplied the number of *employés* in the various departments. Every Russian, not a serf, takes service as a matter of course, were it only to obtain rank in the fourteenth class; for otherwise he would fall back almost into the condition of the slaves, would be virtually unprotected, and would be exposed to the continual vexations of the nobility and the public functionaries. Hence, many individuals gladly accept a salary of sixty francs a year for the permission of acting as clerks in some department; and so it comes to pass that the subaltern *employés* are obliged to rob for the means of subsistence. This is one of the chief causes of the venality and of the defective condition of the Russian administrative departments.

Peter the Great's regulations were excellent no doubt in the beginning, and hardly could that sovereign have devised a more efficacious means of mastering the nobility, and prostrating them at his feet. But now that the intended result has been amply obtained, these institutions require to be modified; for, under the greatly altered circumstances of the country, they only serve to augment beyond measure the numbers of a pernicious bureaucracy, and to impede the development of the middle class. To obtain admission into the fourteenth class, and become a noble, is the sole ambition of a priest's or merchant's son, an ambition fully justified by the unhappy condition of all but the privileged orders. There is no country in which persons engaged in trade are held in lower esteem than in Russia. They are daily subjected to the insults of the lowest clerks, and it is only by dint of bribery they can obtain the smallest act of justice. How often have I seen in the post stations unfortunate mer-

chants who had been waiting for forty-eight hours and more for the good pleasure of the clerk, without daring to complain. It mattered nothing that their papers were quite regular, the noble of the fourteenth class did not care for that, nor would he give them horses until he had squeezed a good sum out of the *particularnii tchelovieks*, as he called them in his aristocratic pride. The same annoyances await the foreigner, who, on the strength of his passport, undertakes a journey without a decoration at his button-hole, or any title to give him importance. I speak from experience: for more than two years spent in traversing Russia as a private individual, enabled me fully to appreciate the obliging disposition of the fourteenth class nobles. At a later period, being employed on a scientific mission by the government, I held successively the rank of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel: and then I had nothing to complain of: the posting-clerks, and other *employés*, received me with all the politeness imaginable. I never had to wait for horses, and as the title with which I was decked authorised me to distribute a few cuts of the whip with impunity, my orders were fulfilled with quite magical promptitude.

Under such a system, the aristocracy would increase without end in a free country. But it is not so in Russia, where the number of those who can arrive at a grade is extremely limited, the vast majority of the population being slaves. Thus the hereditary and personal nobility comprise no more than 563,653 males; though all free-born Russians enter the military or civil service, and remain at their posts as long as possible; for once they have returned into private life they sink into mere oblivion. From the moment he has put on plain clothes, the most deserving functionary is exposed to the vexations of the lowest subalterns, who then omit no opportunity of lording over their former superior.

Such social institutions have fatally contributed to excite a most decided antipathy between the old and the new aristocracy: and the emperor naturally accords his preference and his favours to those who owe him everything, and from whom he has nothing to fear. In this way the new nobles have insensibly supplanted the old boyars. But their places and pecuniary gains naturally attach them to the established

government, and consequently they are quite devoid of all revolutionary tendencies. Equally disliked by the old aristocracy whom they have supplanted, and by the peasants whom they oppress, they are, moreover, too few in numbers to be able to act by themselves; and in addition to this, the high importance attached to the distinctions of rank, prevent all real union or sympathy between the members of this branch of Russian society. The czar, who perfectly understands the character of this body, is fully aware of its venality and corruption; and if he honours it with his special favour, this is only because he finds in it a more absolute and blind submission than in the old aristocracy, whose ambitious yearnings after their ancient prerogatives cannot but be at variance with the imperial will. As for any revolutions which could possibly arise out of the discontent of this latter order, we may be assured they will never be directed against the political and moral system of the country; they will always be, as they have always been, aimed solely against the individual at the head of the government. Conspiracies of this kind are the only ones now possible in Russia; and what proves this fact is, the impotence of that resentment the czars have provoked on the part of the old aristocracy, whenever they have touched on the question of emancipating the serfs.

The czars have shown no less dexterity than the kings of France in their struggles against the aristocracy, and they have been much more favoured by circumstances. We see the Russian sovereigns bent, like Louis XI., on prostrating the great feudatories of the realm; but there was this difference between their respective tasks, that the French nobles could bring armies into the field, and often did so, whereas the Russian nobles can only counteract the power of their ruler by secret conspiracies, and will never succeed in stirring up their peasants against the imperial authority.

What may we conclude are the destinies in store for the Russian nobility, and what part will it play in the future history of the country? It seems to us to possess little inherent vigour and vitality, and we doubt that a radical regeneration of the empire is ever to be expected at its hands. The influence of Europe has been fatal to it. It has

sought to assimilate itself too rapidly with our modern civilisation, and to place itself too suddenly on a level with the nations of the west. Its efforts have necessarily produced only corruption and demoralisation, which, by bastardising the country, have deprived it of whatever natural strength it once possessed.—*Hommaire de Hell.*

NOBLE FAMILIES OF RUSSIA.

The nobility of the Russian empire, like its population in general, is composed of families of divers origins, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, German, Swedish, Tatar, Georgian, Armenian, Tcherkess, &c.

Among the Polish nobility, historical names are so very numerous that we cannot undertake to give a list of them; but to the higher aristocracy of the provinces now Russian* belong principally the following:—Princes Radzivill, Sapieha, Sanguszko, Tablonowski, Lubomirski, Droucki, Czetwertinski, &c.; Counts Potocki, Branicki, Grabowski, Wielhorski, &c.

Princes Giedroyc (pronounced *Ghiédroïtz)*, the descendants of the Jagellons, more particularly represent Lithuania, properly so called, of which they have remained, with princes and counts Oginski, and a few others, one of the most important families.

At the head of the German nobility of the Baltic provinces are the families of Lieven, Medem, Sacken, Tiesenhausen, Essen, Toll, Stackelberg, Budberg, Buxhœvden, Benkendorff, Ungern-Sternberg, Sievers, Korff, Pahlen, Kayserlingk, and many others. The Wittgensteins, Nesselrodes, and Munichs belong to Germany, properly so called.

Among the Swedish families, we may mention the Steinbocks, Fersens, and Armfelds.

Princes Joussoupoff, Ouroussoff, Meschtcherski, and Doundoukoff are of Tatar origin; but their union with Russia is of such ancient date that these families ought to be considered as entirely mingled with the Russian nobility,

* We do not speak of those who, like prince Czartoryiski, have separated from Russia.

properly so called. The case is not the same with the Ghiraï and a few other illustrious Mussulman families; the latter, dispossessed of the countries under their dominion at a still recent period, have remained true to their nationality. The Ghiraï, as is well known, are of the dynasty that formerly reigned in the Crimea.

The countries where the Georgian language is spoken furnish a considerable number to the higher nobility of the empire; we may mention the czarevitch of Grousia and other members of the family of Bagrath, the Dadianoffs of Mingrelia, and princes Chervachidzé, Tchevtchévadzé, Orbélianoff, Eristoff, Bagrathion, and Tsitsianoff. The Lasareffs and a few more ancient families belong to Armenia.

The princes Tcherkasskoï settled in Russia several centuries, having come from the country of the Tcherkesses, a few *pchi* or princes of whom even now remaining in that country, might likewise be reckoned among the nobility of the empire.

As to the Russian families properly so called, the essentially national aristocracy, the case is the same as with the Polish families; and we should be led too far if we were to recount all their illustrious names. The most important of these families, and those which history has had to quote the most frequently, are the following:—First, princes Dolgorouki, Galitsin, Troubetzkoï, Kourakin, and others of the race of Rurik; next, counts and princes Saltikoff, princes Lapoukhin, Chérémétieff, Tolstoï, Golovin, Wormzom, Moussine-Pouschkin, Bourtourlin, Naryschkin, Tchernycheff, Apraxin, Stroganoff, Roumantsoff, Panin, &c. Other families, now very important, or who have been during the last century, such as Chouvaloff, Rasoumofski, Potemkin, Orloff, and Zouboff, are of much more recent celebrity.*—*Schnitzler.*

MORAL STATE OF THE RUSSIAN CLERGY.

During the last century the morals of the French clergy were, as is well known, excessively corrupt; but the evil,

* The orthography of the names in this article is French: they must be pronounced accordingly.

though very serious among the upper ranks, had not infected the majority of the *curés*, or officiating ministers of parishes. The conduct of the latter was generally satisfactory, and many among them furnished examples of the most virtuous conduct.

In Russia we remark the very reverse. The upper clergy are in general irreproachable and worthy of esteem; in their ranks there are, and have been at all times, very honourable, learned, enlightened, and pious men—in short, men every way qualified for their duty. But the case is not the same with the lower clergy, who, with a few exceptions, are still in a deplorable state of degradation.

Everybody is of the same opinion on this subject. "The parish curates," says Coxe in his "Travels,"* "who ought to be the most useful members in the social body, are in Russia generally *the very refuse* of the people." Most of the French authors express themselves to the same effect,† and an enlightened and patriotic Russian‡ has just described to us once more the state of the clergy as "next to degradation."

"In general the Russian clergy," says he, "are far from being equal to the importance of their mission. He who is in daily and permanent contact with the lowest orders of the people, is found to be in such a state of inferiority and insignificance, that he is scarcely sufficient to the performance of the material part of his duties. His position does not allow him ever to acquire the least moral influence over his flock, still less to direct their consciences."

"Nowhere," says M. Golovin,§ "is drunkenness so generally prevalent as in Russia." Formerly the clergy themselves set the example of it, as may be seen from the following passage in the "Travels of Olearius:"

"Being at Novogorod, at the time of our second embassy, I saw a priest come out of a tavern, who, on approaching our lodgings, wanted to give his benediction to the strelitz who were on guard before the door. But on raising his hand and

* "Travels," vol. ii. chap. v.

† See Fortia de Piles' "Voyage de Deux Français dans le Nord," t. iv. p. 72; Lesur's "Des Progrès de la Puissance Russe," p. 435, &c.

‡ N. Tourgueneff's "La Russie et les Russes," t. ii. p. 35. See also, t. iii. p. 230.

§ "La Russie sous Nicolas I.," p. 87.

bowing, his head was so heavy with the fumes of wine, that it overbalanced his body, and the poor priest tumbled into the mud. Our strelitz lifted him up respectfully, and received all the same this *muddy* benediction, *as a thing of common occurrence among them.**

VISIT OF PETER III. TO IVAN'S PRISON.

General Ungern Sternberg was aide-de-camp to Peter III., and accompanied him in a secret visit to the unfortunate Ivan at Schlusselburg, where he had been confined by Elizabeth. They found this wretched young man in a dungeon, the window of which admitted but a faint gleam of day, the light being intercepted by piles of wood heaped up in the court. He was in a very dirty white jacket, with a pair of old shoes on his feet. His hair was very light, and cut short like that of a Russian slave. He was tolerably well made, and his complexion had a paleness which showed that the sun had never shone on his face. He was then upwards of twenty, and had been confined ever since he was fourteen months old; but he had received some impressions and ideas which he still retained. Peter III., affected at his condition, put several questions to him; among the rest, "Who are you?"—"I am the emperor."—"Who put you into prison, then?"—"Vile, wicked people."—"Would you like to be emperor again?"—"To be sure; why not. I should then have fine clothes, and servants to wait upon me."—"But what would you do if you were emperor?"—"I would cut off the heads of all those who have wronged me." Peter III., having then asked whence he learned what he told him, he answered, that he had it from the Virgin and the angels, and began to enter into long stories of these pretended visions. Though alone, and confined from his infancy, he did not appear terrified at the sight of the emperor and his officers. He examined his dress and weapons with much curiosity and pleasure, as a bold child would have done. The emperor asked him again what he wished for, and he answered in his vulgar Russian dialect, "To have more air." Ungern

* "Liv. iii. trad. de Wicquefort," t. i. p. 216.

was left some time at Schlusselburg to gain his confidence, and find out whether his apparent imbecility were only assumed. He was soon convinced, however, that it was the natural consequence of his mode of life. He gave him, from the emperor, a silk morning gown. Ivan put it on with transports of joy, running about the room, and admiring himself as a savage would have done who had never been dressed before. As all his wishes centred in the requisition of more air, Peter III. sent the plan of a little circular palace, in the centre of which was to be a garden, with orders to have it built for Ivan in the court of the fortress. It was cruel that this act of humanity towards an innocent man should have served as a pretext against the unfortunate Peter. He was charged with having intended to build a prison for his wife and son, and this was made a pretext for his own assassination.

END OF VOL. I.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

MESSRS. BELL AND DALDY'S

CATALOGUE

OF

BOHN'S VARIOUS LIBRARIES

AND OF

THEIR OTHER COLLECTIONS,

WITH A CLASSIFIED INDEX.

LONDON:

No. 186, FLEET STREET,

AND 6, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1864.

BOHN'S VARIOUS LIBRARIES.

A complete Set, in 483 *Volumes, price* 121*l.* 13*s.*

No. of Volumes.	SEPARATE LIBRARIES.	*Price.* £	*s.*	*d.*
150	STANDARD LIBRARY (including the Atlas to Coxe's Marlborough)	26	15	0
13	HISTORICAL LIBRARY	3	5	0
6	LIBRARY OF FRENCH MEMOIRS	1	1	0
43	UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY	8	3	6
19	PHILOLOGICAL LIBRARY	4	0	0
29	BRITISH CLASSICS	5	1	6
8	ECCLESIASTICAL LIBRARY	2	0	0
40	ANTIQUARIAN LIBRARY	10	0	0
74	CHEAP SERIES	5	19	6
76	ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY	19	9	0
89	CLASSICAL LIBRARY (including the Atlas)	21	18	6
63	SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY	16	4	0

IN PREPARATION.

MISS AGNES STRICKLAND'S LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF England. A Popular Revised Edition, in six volumes (HISTORICAL LIBRARY).

LOWNDES'S BIBLIOGRAPHER'S MANUAL, Appendix Vol. containing the Lists of Books published by various Societies and Clubs, (PHILOLOGICAL LIBRARY).

FOSTER'S MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, including his Essay on Doddridge, &c. (STANDARD LIBRARY).

FESTUS, A POEM, by P. J. BAILEY. Seventh Edition, Revised. (Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY).

NOTICE.

MESSRS. BELL and DALDY beg to announce that they have purchased of Mr. H. G. Bohn, who is preparing to retire from business, after forty years of successful enterprise, the entire stock of his various Libraries, consisting of more than 600 different works, and comprising nearly half a million of volumes.

These Libraries have been created by Mr. Bohn during the past twenty years by an amount of energy and industry, bibliographical knowledge and literary skill never before united with the requisite amount of capital; and they represent an accumulation of valuable works unexampled in the history of literary undertakings.

Though Mr. Bohn was not the first to recognize the power of cheapness as applied to the production of books, he was the first to address his efforts exclusively to works of a standard character and enduring interest. He threw himself into the movement with characteristic energy; and in developing his aim he is known by those who have watched the progress of cheap literature to have distanced all competitors. During the time that his Libraries have been before the public, he has carried into all classes in all parts of the world where the English language is understood an unexampled choice of books, not only for students and scholars, but for readers who merely seek amusement.

Such a choice, so varied, and at so low a price, does not exist in this country or elsewhere; and Mr. Bohn is entitled to the gratitude of all who value the humanizing effects of literature. Since the commencement of these Libraries at

least three million volumes have been issued, and these may fairly be taken to represent thirty million readers.

In accepting the responsibility of so large an undertaking, Messrs. Bell and Daldy desire to carry on the projects of Mr. Bohn with the same spirit and energy which have influenced him, and they are happy to announce they will have the advantage of his bibliographical knowledge and large experience.

In addition to the Libraries of Mr. Bohn, this Catalogue comprises the various Collections published by Messrs. Bell and Daldy during the last nine years, and now in progress.

These Libraries and Collections together afford a choice from about 800 volumes on general literature and education.

To assist purchasers in making their selections a classified index is attached, by which they will be guided to the subjects of the books.

Messrs. Bell and Daldy venture to add, that the Aldine Poets, Aldine Series, British Worthies, Elzevir Series, and Pocket Volumes, are specially prepared for the lovers of choice books, and are specimens of careful editing combined with the most finished workmanship in all external features. They believe that they are not surpassed in these respects by any similar productions of the present day.

Many of the above works are adapted for prizes and presents; and they may be had through any bookseller, bound in a suitable style, by giving a short notice.

CLASSIFIED INDEX.

PAGE

AMUSEMENTS.
Angler, Walton 31, 41, 42
Angler's Manual, Hofland . . . 17
Chess Congress 38
—— Games of, Morphy . . . 40
—— Player's Companion . . . 40
———— Handbook 40
—— Praxis, Staunton 40
—— Tournament 40
Games, Handbook of 38
Manly Exercises, Walker . . . 31
Shooting, Recreations in . . . 30

ART.
Didron's Iconography 27
Holbein's Bible Cuts 27
———— Dance of Death . . . 27
Lanzi's Painting 12
Lectures on Painting 39
Michael Angelo and Raphael . . 28
Reynolds' (Sir J.) Works . . . 13
Schlegel's Æsthetic Works . . . 14
Stanley's Synopsis of Painters . . 40
Vasari's Lives of the Painters . . 15

ATLASES.
Classical Geography 36
———— Long . . . 46
Grammar School Atlas 47
Marlborough's Campaigns . . . 10

BIOGRAPHY.
Burke's Life 19
Cellini, Memoirs of 9
Foster's Life, &c. 10
Franklin's Autobiography . . . 23
Irving's Life and Letters . . 17, 24
Johnson's Life, &c 23
Locke's Life and Letters . . . 12
Luther's Life, Michelet 12
Nelson's Life, Southey . . . 30, 41
Pope's Life, Carruthers 30
Walton's Lives 41, 42
Washington's Life 17, 24
Wellington, Life of 31

BRITISH CLASSICS.
Addison's Works 19
Burke's Works 19
—— Speeches 19
Milton's Prose Works 12

DIVINITY.
Butler's Analogy 42, 44
———— and Sermons . . 9
——— Sermons 44
——— Works 44
Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants 16
Gregory's Evidences 11
Henry on the Psalms 17
Kitto's Scripture Lands 27
Krummacher's Parables 27
Neander's Christian Dogmas . . 13
———— Christian Life . . . 13

PAGE

DIVINITY—*continued.*
Neander's Life of Christ . . . 13
——— Light in Dark Places . 13
New Testament—Greek . 16, 47, 47
——— Lexicon to . . . 16
Sturm's Communings 14
Taylor's Living and Dying 14, 43, 45
Wheatley on the Common Prayer . 15

DRAMATIC LITERATURE.
Beaumont and Fletcher 9
Lamb's Dramatic Poets 22
——— Tales from Shakespeare . 41
Schlegel's Dramatic Literature . 14
Shakespeare's Plays 18, 42
———— Works 17
Sheridan's Dramatic Works. . . 14

FICTION.
Andersen's Tales 26
Berber, The 23
Bremer's Works 9
Cattermole's Haddon Hall . . . 26
Cinq-Mars 23
Classic Tales 16
Defoe's Works 20
Gil Blas 27
Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield . 41
Hawthorne's Tales 24
Howitt's English Life 27
Hunt's Book for a Corner . . . 27
Irving's Works 17, 24
Keightley's Fairy Mythology . . 22
Lamartine's Genevieve 25
——— Stonemason, &c. . . 25
Longfellow's Prose Works . . . 28
Marryat's Works 28
Mayhew's Image of his Father . 25
Mitford's Our Village 13
Modern Novelists of France . . 25
Munchausen's Life 25
Robinson Crusoe 30
Sandford and Merton 25
Tales of the Genii 31
Taylor's El Dorado 25
Uncle Tom's Cabin 18, 25
White Slave 25
Wide, Wide World 18
Willis's Tales 24
Yule Tide Stories 23

FRENCH AUTHORS.
Fénélon's Telémaque 48
La Fontaine's Fables 48
Picciola 48
Voltaire's Charles XII. 48

GERMAN AUTHORS.
German Ballads 48
Schiller's Wallenstein 48

GERMAN (THE), TRANSLATIONS FROM.
Goethe's Works 11
Heine's Poems 11
Schiller's Works 13

PAGE

GREEK AUTHORS.
Æschylus 45, 47
Demosthenes 45
Euripides 45, 47
Herodotus 45, 47
Hesiod 45
Homer 45
Plato 46
Sophocles 46
Thucydides 47
Xenophon's Anabasis . . . 47, 47
——— Cyropædia 47

GREEK (THE) TRANSLATIONS FROM.
Achilles Tatius 34
Æschines 16
Æschylus 32
Anthology, Greek 34
Aristophanes 32
Aristotle's Ethics 32
——— History of Animals . . 32
——— Metaphysics 32
——— Organon 32
——— Politics and Economics 32
——— Rhetoric and Poetics . 32
Athenæus 33
Bion 36
Callimachus 34
Demosthenes' Orations . . . 16, 33
Diogenes Laertius 34
Euripides 34
Heliodorus 34
Herodotus 34
——— Analysis of 18
——— Notes 18
Hesiod 34
Homer's Iliad 34
——— Pope 30
——— Odyssey 34
——— Pope 30
Longus 34
Moschus 36
Philo-Judæus 20
Pindar 35
Plato 35
Sophocles 36
Theocritus 36
Theognis 34
Thucydides 36
——— Analysis of 19
Tyrtæus 36
Xenophon 36

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.
Carafas of Maddaloni 9
Coxe's Life of Marlborough . . 10
——— Memoirs of the House of Austria 10
Guizot's Life of Monk 24
——— Monk's Contemporaries . 24
Irving's Life of Washington . 17, 24
James's Louis XIV. 11
——— Richard Cœur de Leon . 11
Kossuth, Memoirs of 11
Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages 28
Memoir of Colonel Hutchinson . 11
——— Duke of Sully . . . 16

PAGE

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS—*continued.*
Memoir of Hampden, by Lord Nugent 15
——— Philip de Commines . 15
Naval and Military Heroes of Britain 29
Pauli's Life of Alfred the Great . 22
Roscoe's Life of Leo X. 13
——— Lorenzo de Medici 13

HISTORY AND TRAVELS.
Anglo-Saxons, Miller 28
Antiquities, Popular, Brand . . 21
Arabs in Spain, Condé 9
Christianity, First Planting of, Neander 13
CHRONICLES.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Bede . 21
Florence of Worcester's . . 21
Geoffrey de Vinsauf . . . 21
Henry of Huntingdon's . . 21
Ingulph's Chronicle . . . 22
Matthew of Paris 22
——— Westminster . 22
Richard of Devizes 21
Roger de Hovenden . . . 22
Six Old English Chronicles. . 23
William of Malmesbury . . 23
Chronological Tables, Blair . . . 37
Church History, Neander . . . 13
Civilization, Guizot 11
Conquest of England, Thierry . . 14
Diary, Evelyn 15
——— Pepys 15
Ecclesiastical History, Bede . . 21
——— Eusebius . 20
——— Ordericus Vitalis . . 22
——— Socrates . 20
——— Sozomen . 20
——— Theodoret & Evagrius . 20
Egypt, Lepsius 22
England, History of, Hughes . . 48
——— Hume . . . 48
——— Smollett . . 48
English Constitution, Delolme . . 10
——— Revolution of 1640, Guizot 11
Florence, Machiavelli 12
French Revolution of 1848, Lamartine 12
French Revolution, Michelet . . 12
——— Mignet . . . 12
——— Smyth . . . 14
Germany, Menzel 12
Giraldus Cambrensis, Historical Works 21
Girondists, Lamartine 12
History Philosophically Considered, Miller 17
Hungary, History of 11
Index of Dates 37
India, Conquest of, Hall 41
Jesuits, History of, Nicolini . . . 29
Modern History, Schlegel . . . 14
——— Smyth 14
Naples under Spanish Dominion . 9

PAGE

HISTORY AND TRAVELS—*continued.*
Naval Battles, Allen 26
Nineteenth Century, Gervinus . . 24
Northern Antiquities, Mallet . . 22
Philosophy, Tennemann 19
——— of History, Hegel . . 18
——— Schlegel . 14
Popes, Ranke 13
Pretenders, Jesse 15
Representative Government, Guizot 11
Restoration of the Monarchy, Lamartine 12
Revolution, Counter, in England, Carrel 9
Roman Empire, Gibbon 20
——— Republic, Michelet . . . 12
Russia, History of 13
Saracens, Ockley 13
Servia, Ranke 13
Stuarts, Jesse 15
Three Months in Power, Lamartine 25
Tiers Etat, Thierry 15
Travels, Early, in Palestine . . 21
——— in America, Humboldt . 39
——— of Marco Polo 22
Wellington, Victories of . . . 28

ITALIAN (THE) TRANSLATIONS FROM.
Ariosto's Orlando Furiosa . . 26
Dante, Cary 16
—— Wright 26
Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered . . 31

LATIN AUTHORS.
Cæsar, De Bello Gallico . . . 46, 47
——— Bks. 1-3 . . . 46
Cicero's Cato Major 46, 47
——— Orations 45
Horace 45, 46, 47
Juvenal, Satires, 1-16 46
——— and Persius 45
Lucretius 47
Ovid's Fasti 46
Sallust 46, 47
Tacitus, Germania, &c. 46
Terence 46
Virgil 46, 47

LATIN (THE), TRANSLATIONS FROM.
Ammianus Marcellinus 32
Antoninus's Thoughts 44
Apuleius, the Golden Ass . . . 32
Boethius 21
Cæsar 33
Catullus 33
Cicero's Academics, &c. 33
——— Nature of the Gods, &c . 33
——— Offices, &c. 33
——— On Oratory 33
——— Orations 33
Cornelius Nepos 34
Eutropius 34
Florus 36
Horace 17, 34
Johannes Secundus 35
Justin 34
Juvenal 34
Livy 34

PAGE

LATIN (THE) TRANSLATIONS FROM—*continued.*
Lucan 35
Lucilius 34
Lucretius 35
Martial's Epigrams 35
Ovid 35
Persius 34
Petronius 35
Phædrus 36
Plautus 35
Pliny's Natural History 35
Propertius 35
Quintilian's Institutes 36
Sallust 36
Suetonius 36
Sulpicia 34
Tacitus 36
Terence 36
Tibullus 33
Velleius Paterculus 36
Virgil 36

LITERARY HISTORY, &c.
Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual 18
Schlegel's History of Literature . 14
Sismondi's Literature of South of Europe 14

MISCELLANEOUS.
Ascham's Schole Master . . . 45
Bacon's Essays 9, 44
Browne's (Sir T.) Works . . . 21
Cape and the Kaffirs 23
Coin Collector's Manual, Humphreys 39
Cotton Manufactures, Ure . . . 40
Cruikshank's Three Courses, &c. . 26
Dictionary of Obsolete Words . . 19
Emerson's Orations and Lectures . 23
——— Representative Men . 23
Epitaphs 21
Foster's Essays, &c. 10
——— Lectures, &c. 10
——— Miscellaneous Works . 10
Fosteriana 10
Fuller's Works 10
Gray's Works 44
Hall's (Basil) Lieutenant . . . 41
——— —— Midshipman . . . 41
——— (Robert) Works 11
Herbert's Works 41, 42
Jesse's Dogs, &c. 27
Junius's Letters 11
Lion Hunting 25
Locke's Conduct, &c. 45
Luther's Table Talk 12
Magic (Ennemoser's) 38
Manufactures (Philosophy of), Ure 40
Moral Sentiments, Smith . . . 14
Political Cyclopædia 18
Pottery and Porcelain 30
Preachers and Preaching . . . 25
Prout's (Father) Reliques . . . 30
Starling's Noble Deeds of Women. 30
Taylor's Logic in Theology . . . 45
——— Physical Theory . . . 43
——— Ultimate Civilization . . 45

PAGE

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued.*
Temperance, Carpenter 23
Wines, Redding on 30
Young Lady's Book 31

NATURAL HISTORY.
British Birds, Mudie 29
Cage Birds, Bechstein 26
Poultry, Dickson and Mowbray . 16
Seasons, Howitt 27
Selborne, White 31, 41
Warblers, Sweet 26

POETRY.
Akenside's Poems 43
British Poets—Milton to Kirke White 17
Burns's Poems 41, 42
——— Songs 41
Butler's Hudibras 26
Coleridge's Poems 41, 42
Collins's Poems 43
Cowper's Poems 43
——— Works 10
Dibdin's Sea Songs 23
Dryden's Poetical Works . . . 43
Ellis's Metrical Romances . . . 21
Goldsmith's Poems 41
Gower's Confessio Amantis . . . 43
Gray's Poems 41, 44
Herbert's Poems 41, 43
Kirke White's Poems 44
Longfellow's Poems 28, 41
Milton's Paradise Lost . . 28, 41, 42
——— ——— Regained . . 28, 41
Petrarch's Sonnets 29
Pope's Poetical Works 30
Robin Hood Ballads 41
Sea Songs and Ballads 41
Shakespeare's Poems . . . 18, 43
Spenser's Works 43
Thomson's Poems 44
——— Seasons 44
Vaughan's Poems. 41, 45
Young's Poems 44

PROVERBS AND QUOTATIONS.
Dictionary of Greek and Latin Quotations 34
Handbook of Proverbs 21
Polyglot of Foreign Proverbs . . 22

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.
Anatomy, Comparative, Lawrence . 17
Animal Physiology, Carpenter . . 38
Arts and Sciences, Joyce . . . 17
Astrology, Lilly 17
Astronomy, Carpenter 38
——— Hind 39
Bacon's Advancement of Learning 37, 44
——— Novum Organum . . 37, 44
Botany, Carpenter 38

PAGE

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY—*Continued.*
Botany, De Jussieu 39

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.
Chalmers on Moral Man . . 37
Kidd on Man 37
Kirby on Animals 37
Prout on Chemistry . . . 37
Whewell's Astronomy and General Physics 37

CHEMISTRY.
Agricultural, Stockhardt . . 40
Elementary, Parkes 18
Principles of, Stockhardt . . 40
Chevreul on Colour 38
Comparative Physiology, Agassiz . 37
Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences 38
Cosmos, Humboldt's 39

GEOLOGY.
General, Richardson . . . 40
Medals of Creation, Mantell . 39
Of Isle of Wight, Mantell . . 39
Of Scripture, Pye Smith . . 40
Petrifactions, &c., Mantell . . 39
Wonders of Geology, Mantell 39
Horology, Carpenter 38
Inventions, Beckmann's History of . 9
Joyce's Scientific Dialogues . . . 39
Kant's Pure Reason 18
Life, Philosophy of, Schlegel . . 14
Locke's Philosophical Works . . 12
Logic, Devey 18
Mechanical Philosophy, Carpenter . 38
Medicine, Domestic 38
Mineralogy, Richardson . . . 40
Natural Philosophy, Hogg . . . 38
Oersted's Soul in Nature . . . 40
Palæontology, Richardson . . . 40
Physics, Hunt 39
Races of Man, Pickering. . . . 29
Schouw's Earth, Plants, Man . 40
Science, Poetry of, Hunt. . . . 39
Technical Analysis, Bolley . . . 37
Vegetable Physiology, Carpenter . 38
Views of Nature, Humboldt . . 39
Zoology, Carpenter 38

TOPOGRAPHY.
Athens, Stuart and Revett . . . 31
China 26
Egypt, Lord Lindsay's Letters . . 27
Geography, Modern 29
——— Strabo 36
India 27
London, Pictorial Handbook of . . 29
——— Redding 25
Nineveh, Bonomi 26
Norway 29
Paris 29
Rome 30

Bohn's Standard Library:

A SERIES OF THE BEST ENGLISH AND FOREIGN AUTHORS, PRINTED IN A NEW AND ELEGANT FORM, EQUALLY ADAPTED TO THE LIBRARY AND THE FIRESIDE, AND PUBLISHED AT AN EXTREMELY LOW PRICE.

Each volume contains about 500 *pages, is printed on fine paper in post* 8*vo., and is strongly bound in cloth, at the low price of* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bacon's Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, and Henry VII., with Introduction and Notes. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Beaumont and Fletcher, a popular Selection from. By Leigh Hunt. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Beckmann's History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. Revised and enlarged, by Drs. Francis and Griffith, with Memoir by H. G. Bohn. *Portraits.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Bremer's (Miss) Works. Translated by Mary Howitt. New Edition, carefully revised. In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.
Vol. 1 contains The Neighbours, and other Tales. *Portrait.*
Vol. 2. The President's Daughter.
Vol. 3. The Home, and Strife and Peace.
Vol. 4. A Diary, the H—— Family, the Solitary, &c.

Butler's (Bp.) Analogy of Religion, and Sermons, with Analytical Introductions and Notes, by a Member of the University of Oxford. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Carafas (The) of Maddaloni: and Naples under Spanish Dominion. Translated from the German of Alfred de Reumont. *Portrait of Massaniello.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Carrel's History of the Counter Revolution in England, for the Re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II. Fox's History of James II. And Lord Lonsdale's Memoir of the Reign of James II. *Portraits of Carrel and Fox.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Cellini (Benvenuto), Memoirs of. Written by himself. Translated by Thomas Roscoe from the new and enlarged Text of Molini. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Condé's History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Translated from the Spanish by Mrs. Foster. In 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Cowper's Complete Works. Edited by Southey; comprising his Poems, Correspondence, and Translations, and a Memoir of the Author. *Illustrated with fifty fine Engravings on Steel, after designs by Harvey.* In 8 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vols. 1 to 4. Memoir and Correspondence; with General Index to same.

Vols. 5 and 6. Poetical Works, 2 Vols. *Fourteen Engravings on Steel.*

Vol. 7. Translation of Homer's Iliad. *Plates.*

Vol. 8. Translation of Homer's Odyssey. *Plates.*

Coxe's Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, 3 Vols. *Portraits of the Duke, Duchess, and Prince Eugene.* 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

*** An Atlas to the above, containing 26 fine large Maps and Plans of Marlborough's Campaigns, including all those published in the original Edition at 12*l.* 12*s.* may now be had, in one volume, 4to. for 10*s.* 6*d.*

——— History of the House of Austria, from the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, to the death of Leopold II., 1218—1792. With continuation to the present time. New and Revised Edition, including the celebrated work Genesis, and the trial of Latour's Murderers. *Portraits of Maximilian, Rhodolph, Maria Theresa, and the reigning Emperor.* In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

De Lolme on the Constitution of England, or an Account of the English Government, in which it is compared both with the Republican form of Government and the other Monarchies of Europe; Edited, with Life of the Author and Notes, by John Macgregor, M.P. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Foster's (John) Life and Correspondence, Edited by J. E. Ryland. *Portrait.* In 2 Vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Lectures, delivered at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, Edited by J. E. Ryland. In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Critical Essays, contributed to the Eclectic Review. Edited by J. E. Ryland. In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Essays: on Decision of Character; on a Man's Writing Memoirs of himself; on the epithet Romantic; on the aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion, &c. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— Essays on the Evils of Popular Ignorance. New Edition, to which is added, a Discourse on the Propagation of Christianity in India. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— Fosteriana: Thoughts, Reflections, and Criticisms of the late John Foster, selected from periodical papers, and Edited by Henry G. Bohn (nearly 600 pages). 5*s.*

——— Miscellaneous Works. Including his Essay on Doddridge. *Preparing.*

Fuller's (Andrew) Principal Works. With Memoir. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Goethe's Works. In 5 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vols. 1 and 2 contain Autobiography, 13 Books; and Travels in Italy, France, and Switzerland. *Portrait.*

Vol. 3. Faust, Iphigenia, Torquato Tasso, Egmont, &c. Translated by Miss Swanwick; and Götz von Berlichingen, by Sir Walter Scott, revised by Henry G. Bohn. *Frontispiece.*

Vol. 4. Novels and Tales; containing Elective Affinities, Sorrows of Werther, The German Emigrants, The Good Women, and a Nouvelette.

Vol. 5. Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship, a Novel, translated by R. D. Boylan.

Gregory's (Dr.) Letters on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Guizot's History of Representative Government, translated from the French by A. R. Scoble, with Index. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— History of the English Revolution of 1640, from the Accession, to the Death of Charles I. With a Preliminary Essay on its causes and success. Translated by William Hazlitt. *Portrait of Charles I.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— History of Civilization, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Translated by William Hazlitt. In 3 vols. *Portrait of Guizot, &c.* 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Hall's (Rev. Robert) Miscellaneous Works and Remains, with Memoir by Dr. Gregory, and an Essay on his Character by John Foster. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Heine's Poems, complete, translated from the German in the original Metres, with a Sketch of Heine's Life, by Edgar A. Bowring. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hungary: its History and Revolutions. With a copious Memoir of Kossuth, from new and authentic sources. *Portrait of Kossuth.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hutchinson (Colonel), Memoirs of, by his Widow Lucy; with an Account of the Siege of Latham House. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

James's (G. P. R.) History of the Life of Richard Cœur de Leon, King of England. *Portraits of Richard and Philip Augustus.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— History of the Life of Louis XIV. *Portraits of Louis XIV. and Cardinal Mazarin.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Junius's Letters, with all the Notes of Woodfall's Edition, and important additions; also, an Essay disclosing the Authorship, and an elaborate Index. In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Lamartine's History of the Girondists, or Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution, from unpublished sources. *Portraits of Robespierre, Madame Roland, and Charlotte Corday.* In 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— History of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France (a Sequel to his History of the Girondists), with Index. *Portraits of Lamartine, Tallyrand, Lafayette, Ney, and Louis XVII.* In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— History of the French Revolution of 1848, *with a fine frontispiece containing Portraits of Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Louis Blanc, and Cremieux.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lanzi's History of Painting: a revised translation by Thos. Roscoe, with complete Index. *Portraits of Raphael, Titian, and Correggio.* In 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Locke's Philosophical Works, containing an Essay on the Human Understanding, an Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding, &c., with Preliminary Discourse, Notes and Index by J. A. St. John, Esq. *Portrait.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Life and Letters, with Extracts from his Common-Place Books, by Lord King, New Edition, with a General Index. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Luther's Table Talk, translated and Edited by William Hazlitt. New Edition, to which is added the Life of Luther, by Alexander Chalmers, with additions from Michelet and Audin. *Portrait, after Lucas Kranach.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Machiavelli's History of Florence, Prince, and other Works. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Menzel's History of Germany. *Portraits of Charlemagne, Charles V., and Prince Metternich.* In 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Michelet's Life of Luther, translated by W. Hazlitt. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— History of the Roman Republic, translated by William Hazlitt. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— History of the French Revolution, from its earliest indications to the flight of the King in 1791. With General Index. *Frontispiece.* (646 pages.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mignet's History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814. *Portrait of Napoleon as First Consul.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Milton's Prose Works, including the Christian Doctrine, translated and Edited, with Notes (many additional), by the Right Rev. Charles Sumner, D.D., Bishop of Winchester, and General Index. *Portraits and Frontispieces.* In 5 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Mitford's (Miss) Our Village. Sketches of Rural Character, and Scenery; New and Improved Edition, complete. *Woodcuts and Engravings on Steel.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Neander's Church History, translated from the German; complete, with General Index. In 10 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Life of Christ, translated from the German. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— First planting of Christianity, and Antignostikus. Translated by J. E. Ryland. In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— History of Christian Dogmas, translated from the German, by J. E. Ryland. In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages (including his Light in Dark Places), translated by J. E. Ryland. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Ockley's History of the Saracens, revised and enlarged, with a Life of Mohammed, and Memoir of the Author, by H. G. Bohn. *Portrait of Mohammed.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Ranke's History of the Popes, translated by E. Foster. *Portraits of Julius II., Innocent X., &c.* In 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— History of Servia and the Servian Revolution. With an Account of the Insurrection in Bosnia. Translated by Mrs. Kerr. To which is added, The Slavonic Provinces of Turkey, from the French of Cyprien Robert, and other sources. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Reynolds' (Sir Joshua) Literary Works, with Memoir. *Portrait.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo. X., with the Copyright Notes, Appendices of Historical Documents, the Episode on Lucretia Borgia, and an Index. *Three fine Portraits.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Life of Lorenzo de Medici, called the Magnificent, including the Copyright Notes and Illustrations, and a new Memoir by his Son. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Russia, History of, from the earliest Period, compiled from the most authentic sources, including Karamsin, Tooke, and Segur, by Walter K. Kelly. *Portraits of Catherine, Nicholas, and Mentschikoff.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Schiller's Works. In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vol. 1, containing History of the Thirty Years' War, and Revolt of the Netherlands. *Portrait of Schiller.*

Vol. 2. *Continuation of* the Revolt of the Netherlands; Wallenstein's Camp; The Piccolomini; The Death of Wallenstein; and William Tell. *Portrait of Wallenstein.*

Vol. 3. Don Carlos, Mary Stuart, Maid of Orleans, and Bride of Messina. *Portrait of the Maid of Orleans.*

Vol. 4. The Robbers, Fiesco, Love and Intrigue, and the Ghost-Seer, translated by Henry G. Bohn.

Schlegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of Life and the Philosophy of Language, translated by A. J. W. Morrison. 3s. 6d.

——— Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern. Now first completely translated from the German, with a General Index. 3s. 6d.

——— Lectures on the Philosophy of History, translated from the German with a Memoir of the Author, by J. B. Robertson, Esq. New Edition, revised. *Portrait.* 3s. 6d.

——— Lectures on Dramatic Literature, translated by Mr. Black. New Edition, with Memoir, carefully revised from the last German Edition, by A. J. W. Morrison. *Portrait.* 3s. 6d.

——— Lectures on Modern History, translated from the last German Edition. 3s. 6d.

——— Æsthetic and Miscellaneous Works, containing Letters on Christian Art, Essay on Gothic Architecture, Remarks on the Romance Poetry of the Middle Ages, on Shakspeare, the Limits of the Beautiful, and on the Language and Wisdom of the Indians. 3s. 6d.

Sheridan's Dramatic Works and Life. *Portrait.* 3s. 6d.

Sismondi's History of the Literature of the South of Europe, translated by Roscoe. A New Edition, with all the Notes of the last French Edition. The Specimens of early French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Poetry are translated into English Verse by Gary, Wiffen, Roscoe, and others. Complete with Memoir of the Author, and Index. *Two fine Portraits.* In 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

Smith's (Adam) Theory of Moral Sentiments; with his Essay on the First Formation of Languages; to which is added a Biographical and Critical Memoir of the Author by Dugald Stewart. 3s. 6d.

Smyth's (Professor) Lectures on Modern History; from the irruption of the Northern Nations to the close of the American Revolution. New Edition, with the Author's last Corrections, an additional Lecture, and a complete Index. In 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

——— Lectures on the History of the French Revolution. New Edition, with the Author's last corrections, and Index. In 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

Sturm's Morning Communings with God, or Devotional Meditations for Every Day in the Year. Translated from the German. 3s. 6d.

Taylor's (Bishop Jeremy) Holy Living and Dying. *Portrait.* 3s. 6d.

Thierry's History of the Conquest of England by the Normans; its Causes, and its Consequences. Translated by William Hazlitt. *Portrait of Thierry and William I.* In 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

Thierry's History of the Tiers Etat, or Third Estate, in France. Translated from the French by the Rev. F. B. Wells. 2 vols. in one. 5s.

Vasari's Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. Translated by Mrs. Foster. In 5 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

Wheatley on the Book of Common Prayer. *Frontispiece.* 3s. 6d.

II.

Bohn's Historical Library.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, 5s. *per volume.*

Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, with the Private Correspondence of Charles I. and others during the Civil War. New Edition, revised and considerably enlarged, from the original Papers. *Now first Illustrated with numerous Portraits and Plates engraved on Steel.* In 4 vols. 5s. each.

"No change of fashion, no alteration of taste, no revolution of science have impaired, or can impair the celebrity of Evelyn. His name is fresh in the land, and his reputation, like the trees of an Indian Paradise, exists, and will continue to exist, in full strength and beauty, uninjured by time."—*Quarterly Review (Southey).*

Pepys' Diary and Correspondence. Edited by Lord Braybrooke. New and Improved Edition, with important Additions, including numerous Letters. *Illustrated with many Portraits.* In 4 vols. 5s. each.

Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. With General Index. *Upwards of Forty Portraits on Steel.* In 3 vols. 5s. each.

——— Memoirs of the Pretenders and their Adherents. New Edition, with Index. *Six Portraits.* 5s.

Nugent's (Lord) Memorials of Hampden, his Party and Times. Fourth Edition revised, with a Memoir of the Author, and copious Index. *Illustrated with twelve fine Portraits.* 5s.

Strickland's (Miss Agnes) Lives of the Queens of England. A Popular Revised Edition, with 6 Portraits. In 6 vols. *In the Press.*

III.

Bohn's Library of French Memoirs.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, 3s. 6d. *per volume.*

Memoirs of Philip de Commines, containing the Histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., Kings of France, and of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. To which is added, The Scandalous

Chronicle, or Secret History of Louis XI. Edited, with Life and Notes, by A. R. Scoble, Esq. *Portraits of Charles the Bold and Louis XI.* In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, Prime Minister to Henry the Great. Translated from the French. New Edition, revised, with additional Notes, and an Historical Introduction, by Sir Walter Scott. With a General Index. *Portraits of Sully, Henry IV., Coligny, and Marie de Medicis.* In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

IV.

Bohn's School and College Series.

New Testament (The) in Greek. Griesbach's Text, with the various readings of Mill and Scholz at foot of page, and Parallel References in the margin; also a Critical Introduction and Chronological Tables. By an eminent Scholar. Third Edition, revised and corrected. *Two fac-similes of Greek Manuscripts.* (650 pages.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— or bound up with a complete Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament (250 pages additional, making in all 900). 5*s.*

V.

Uniform with the Standard Library.

British Poets, from Milton to Kirke White. Cabinet Edition. *Frontispieces containing Twenty-two Medallion Portraits.* Complete in 4 vols. 14*s.*

Cary's Translation of Dante's Heaven, Hell and Purgatory. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Classic Tales. Comprising in one volume the most esteemed works of the imagination: Contents—Rasselas, The Vicar of Wakefield, The Exiles of Siberia, Paul and Virginia, The Indian Cottage, Gulliver's Travels, Sterne's Sentimental Journey, Sorrows of Werter, Theodosius and Constantia, and the Castle of Otranto. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Demosthenes and Æschines, the Orations of. Translated by Thomas Leland, DD. 3*s.*

Dickson and Mowbray on Poultry. Edited by Mrs. Loudon. *Illustrations by Harvey.* 5*s.*

Henry's (Matthew) Commentary on the Psalms. *Numerous Illustrations.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

Hofland's British Angler's Manual, including a Piscatorial Account of the principal Rivers, Lakes, and Trout-streams in the United Kingdom. Improved Edition, enlarged, by Edward Jesse, Esq. *Illustrated with sixty beautiful Steel Engravings and Lignographs.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

"A book of marvellous beauty. For practical information or pleasing detail it can hardly be exceeded."—*Bell's Life.*

Horace's Odes and Epodes. Translated literally and rhythmically, by the Rev. W. Sewell. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Irving's (Washington) Complete Works. In 10 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vol. I. Salmagundi and Knickerbocker. *Portrait of the Author.*
Vol. II. Sketch Book and Life of Goldsmith.
Vol. III. Bracebridge Hall and Abbotsford and Newstead.
Vol. IV. Tales of a Traveller and the Alhambra.
Vol. V. Conquest of Granada and Conquest of Spain.
Vols. VI. and VII. Life of Columbus and Companions of Columbus, with a new Index. *Fine Portrait.*
Vol. VIII. Astoria and Tour in the Prairies.
Vol. IX. Mahomet and his Successors.
Vol. X. Conquest of Florida and Adventures of Captain Bonneville.

——— (Washington) Life of Washington, Sequel to Washington Irving's Works. With General Index. *Portrait.* In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— (Washington) Life and Letters, by his Nephew, Pierre E. Irving. In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Joyce's Introduction to the Arts and Sciences. Containing a general explanation of the fundamental principles and facts of the Sciences, in Lessons, with Examination Questions subjoined. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lawrence's Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man. *Frontispiece, and* 12 *Plates.* 5*s.*

Lilly's Introduction to Astrology, with numerous emendations adapted to the improved state of the science of the present day, by Zadkiel. 5*s.*

Miller's (Professor) History, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution, philosophically considered. New Edition, revised and improved, with Index *and Portrait.* In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* per vol.

Parkes' Elementary Chemistry, on the basis of the Chemical Catechism. Revised Edition. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Political, The, Cyclopædia. In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Also bound in 2 vols. with leather backs. 15*s.*

Contains as much as eight ordinary 8vos. It was originally published in another shape by Mr. Charles Knight, under the title of Political Dictionary, at £1 16*s.*

Shakespeare's Plays and Poems, with Life, by Alexander Chalmers. In clear diamond type. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— or, *with forty beautiful outline Steel Engravings.* 5*s.*

Uncle Tom's Cabin, with Introductory Remarks by the Rev. J. Sherman. *Printed in a large clear type, with* 8 *Illustrations by Leach and Gilbert, and Frontispiece by Hinchliff.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

"Mrs. Beecher Stowe's incomparable tale."—*The Times.*

Wide, The, Wide World, by Elizabeth Wetherall. *Illustrated by* 10 *highly-finished Engravings on Steel.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

VI.

Bohn's Philological and Philosophical Library.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, *at* 5*s. per volume* (*excepting those marked otherwise*).

Hegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of History. Translated by J. Sibree, M.A. 5*s.*

Herodotus, Turner's (Dawson, W.) Notes to, for the use of Students; with Map, Appendices, and Index. 5*s.*

——— Wheeler's Analysis and Summary of; with a Synchronistical Table of Events, Table of Weights, &c. &c. 5*s.*

Kant's Critique of Pure Reason; translated by J. M. D. Meiklejohn. 5*s.*

Logic, or the Science of Inference; a Popular Manual; by J. Devey. 5*s.*

Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature; comprising an account of rare, curious, and useful Books published in England since the invention of Printing; with bibliographical and critical Notices and Prices. New Edition, revised and enlarged; by Henry G. Bohn. Parts I. to X. 3*s.* 6*d.* each. Part XI. (the Appendix Volume) *in the Press.*

Tennemann's Manual of the History of Philosophy; revised and continued by J. R. Morell.

Thucydides, Wheeler's Analysis of. With Chronological and other Tables. New Edition, with a General Index. 5*s.*

Wright's (Thomas) Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English (1048 pages). In 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

——— or, bound in one thick volume, *half morocco, marbled edges.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

VII.

Bohn's British Classics.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, 3*s.* 6*d. per volume.*

Addison's Works, with the Notes of Bishop Hurd. New Edition, with much additional matter, and upwards of 100 Unpublished Letters. Edited by Henry G. Bohn. With a very copious Index. *Portrait and eight Engravings on Steel.* In 6 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

*** This is the first time anything like a complete edition of Addison's Works has been presented to the English Public. It contains nearly one third more than has hitherto been published in a collective form.

Burke's Works. In 6 Volumes. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vol. 1, containing his Vindication of Natural Society, Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, and various Political Miscellanies.
Vol. 2. Reflections on the French Revolution; Letters relating to the Bristol Election; Speech on Fox's East India Bill; etc.
Vol. 3. Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs; on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts; the Catholic Claims, etc.
Vol. 4. Report on the Affairs of India, and Articles of Charge against Warren Hastings.
Vol. 5. Conclusion of the Articles of Charge against Warren Hastings; Political Letters on the American War; on a Regicide Peace, to the Empress of Russia.
Vol. 6. Miscellaneous Speeches, Letters and Fragments, Abridgments of English History, etc. With a General Index.

——— Speeches on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings; and Letters. With Index. In 2 vols. (forming Vols. 7 and 8 of the complete works). 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Life. By Prior; New Edition, revised by the Author. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

*** This is usually attached to the works, and forms a Ninth Volume.

Defoe's Works. Edited by Sir Walter Scott. In 7 Vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

Vol. 1. Life, Adventures, and Piracies of Captain Singleton, and Life of Colonel Jack. *Portrait of Defoe.*
Vol. 2. Memoirs of a Cavalier; Adventures of Captain Carleton, Dickory Cronke, &c.
Vol. 3. Life of Moll Flanders; and the History of the Devil.
Vol. 4. Roxana, or the Fortunate Mistress; and Life of Mrs. Christian Davies.
Vol. 5. History of the Great Plague of London, 1665, (to which is added, the Fire of London, 1666, by an Anonymous writer); The Storm; and The True Born Englishman.
Vol. 6. Life and Adventures of Duncan Campbell; Voyage Round the World; and Tracts relating to the Hanoverian Accession.
Vol. 7. Robinson Crusoe.

Gibbon's Roman Empire; complete and unabridged, with variorum Notes; including, in addition to the Author's own, those of Guizot, Wenck, Niebuhr, Hugo, Neander, and other foreign scholars; and an elaborate Index. Edited by an English Churchman. *Portrait and Maps.* In 7 volumes. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

VIII.

Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, 5*s*. *per volume.*

Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. With Notes. 5*s*.

Philo Judæus, Works of; the contemporary of Josephus. Translated from the Greek, by C. D. Yonge. In 4 vols. 5*s*. each.

Socrates' Ecclesiastical History, in continuation of Eusebius; with the Notes of Valesius. 5*s*.

Sozomen's Ecclesiastical History, from A.D. 324-440: and the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius; translated from the Greek. With a Memoir of the Author, by E. Walford, M.A. 5*s*.

Theodoret and Evagrius. Ecclesiastical Histories, from A.D. 332 to A.D. 427; and from A.D. 431 to A.D. 544. With General Index. 5*s*.

IX.

Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, *at 5s. per volume.*

Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. *5s.*

Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, rendered into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred, with the Anglo-Saxon Metres, and a literal English translation of the whole, by the Rev. Samuel Fox. 5s.

Brand's Popular Antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland. By Sir Henry Ellis. In 3 vols. 5s. each.

Browne's (Sir Thomas) Works. Edited by Simon Wilkin. In 3 vols. 5s. each.

Vol. 1. containing the Vulgar Errors.
Vol. 2. Religio Medici, and Garden of Cyrus.
Vol. 3. Urn-Burial, Tracts, and Correspondence.

Chronicles of the Crusaders; Richard of Devizes, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Lord de Joinville. *Illuminated Frontispiece.* 5s.

Chronicles of the Tombs. A collection of Epitaphs, preceded by an Essay on Monumental Inscriptions and Sepulchral Antiquities. By T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A. 5s.

Early Travels in Palestine; Willibald, Sæwulf, Benjamin of Tudela, Mandeville, La Brocquiere, and Maundrell; all unabridged. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. *Map.* 5s.

Ellis's Early English Metrical Romances. Revised by J. O. Halliwell, Esq. *Illuminated Frontispiece.* 5s.

Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, with the Two Continuations: comprising Annals of English History, from the Departure of the Romans to the Reign of Edward I. Translated, with Notes, by Thomas Forester, Esq. M.A. 5s.

Giraldus Cambrensis' Historical Works. Containing his Topography of Ireland; History of the Conquest of Ireland; Itinerary through Wales; and Description of Wales. With Index. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. 5s.

Hand-Book of Proverbs. Comprising all Ray's Collection of English Proverbs; with his additions from Foreign Languages, and a Complete Alphabetical Index, introducing large Additions, as well of Proverbs as of Sayings, Sentences, Maxims, and Phrases, collected and edited by Henry G. Bohn. 5s.

Henry of Huntingdon's History of the English, from the Roman Invasion to Henry II.; with the Acts of King Stephen, &c. Translated and edited by T. Forester, Esq., M.A. 5s.

Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and other Writers. Translated, with Notes and an Index, by H. T. Riley, B.A. 5*s.*

Keightley's (Thomas) Fairy Mythology. New Edition, corrected and enlarged by the Author. *Frontispiece by George Cruikshank.* 5*s.*

Lamb's Specimens of English Dramatic Poets of the Time of Elizabeth; including his Selections from the Garrick Plays. 5*s.*

Lepsius's Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai; also Extracts from his Chronology of the Egyptians, with reference to the Exodus of the Israelites. Revised by the Author. Translated by Leonora and Joanna B. Horner. *Maps of the Nile, and the Peninsula of Sinai, and Coloured View of Mount Barkal.* 5*s.*

Mallet's Northern Antiquities, by Bishop Percy. With an Abstract of the Eyrbiggia Saga, by Sir Walter Scott. New Edition, revised and enlarged by J. A. Blackwell. 5*s.*

Marco Polo's Travels; the translation of Marsden. Edited with Notes and Introduction, by T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c. 5*s.*

Matthew Paris's Chronicle. In 5 vols. 5*s.* each.

FIRST SECTION, containing Roger of Wendover's Flowers of English History, from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235. Translated by Dr. Giles. In 2 vols.

SECOND SECTION, containing the History of England from 1235 to 1273. With Index to the entire Work. In 3 vols.

Matthew of Westminster's Flowers of History, especially such as relate to the affairs of Britain; from the beginning of the World to A.D. 1307. Translated by C. D. Yonge. In 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

Ordericus Vitalis' Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy. Translated with Notes, the Introduction of Guizot, and the Critical Notice of M. Delille, by T. Forester, M.A. With very copious Index. In 4 vols. 5*s.* each.

Pauli's (Dr. R.) Life of Alfred the Great: translated from the German. To which is appended Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius. With a literal translation interpaged, Notes, and an Anglo-Saxon Grammar and Glossary, by B. Thorpe, Esq. 5*s.*

Polyglot of Foreign Proverbs; comprising French, Italian, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Danish; with English Translations, and a General English Index, bringing the whole into parallels, by Henry G. Bohn. 5*s.*

Roger De Hoveden's Annals of English History; from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. Translated and edited by H. T. Riley, Esq., B.A. In 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

Six Old English Chronicles, viz., Asser's Life of Alfred, and the Chronicles of Ethelwerd, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Richard of Cirencester. 5*s.*

William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England. Translated by Sharpe. 5*s.*

Yule-Tide Stories. A collection of Scandinavian Tales and Traditions. Edited by B. Thorpe, Esq. 5*s.*

X.

Bohn's Cheap Series.

Berber (The); or, The Mountaineer of the Atlas: a Tale of Morocco, by W. S. Mayo, M.D. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Boswell's Life of Johnson, including his Tour to the Hebrides, Tour in Wales, &c., edited with large additions and Notes, by the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker. The second and most complete Copyright Edition, re-arranged and revised according to the suggestions of Lord Macaulay, by the late John Wright, Esq., with further additions by Mr. Croker. *Upwards of* 40 *fine Engravings on Steel.* In 8 volumes. 2*s.* each.

*** The public has now for 16*s.* what was formerly published at 2*l.*

——— Johnsoniana: a collection of Miscellaneous Anecdotes and Sayings of Dr. Samuel Johnson, gathered from nearly a hundred publications; *a Sequel to the preceding, of which it forms Vols.* 9 *and* 10. *Engravings on Steel.* (Vol. 2 contains a General Index to the ten volumes.) In 2 vols. 2*s.* each.

Cape and the Kaffirs; a Diary of Five Years' Residence; with a Chapter of Advice to Emigrants. By H. Ward. 2*s.*

Carpenter's (Dr. W. B.) Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence. Being an Examination of the Effects of Alcoholic Liquors. 1*s.*

——— or, *on fine paper, bound in cloth.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Cinq-Mars; or, a Conspiracy under Louis XIII. An Historical Romance by Count Alfred de Vigny. Translated by William Hazlitt, Esq. 2*s.*

Dibdin's Sea Songs (Admiralty Edition), *Illustrations by Cruikshank.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Emerson's Orations and Lectures. 1*s.*

——— Representative Men. Complete. 1*s.*

Franklin's (Benjamin) Genuine Autobiography, from the Original Manuscript, by Jared Sparks. 1*s.*

Gervinus's Introduction to the History of the 19th Century, translated from the German, with a Memoir of the Author. 1*s.*

Guizot's Life of Monk. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Monk's Contemporaries:—Biographic Studies on the English Revolution of 1688, *Portrait of Lord Clarendon.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

Hawthorne's (Nathaniel) Twice Told Tales. 1*s.*

——— the same, Second Series. 1*s.*

——— Snow Image, and other Tales. 1*s.*

——— Scarlet Letter. 1*s.*

——— House with the Seven Gables, a Romance. 1*s.*

Irving's (Washington) Life of Mohammed. *Fine Portrait.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Successors of Mohammed. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Life of Goldsmith. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Sketch Book. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Tales of a Traveller. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Tour on the Prairies. 1*s.*

——— Conquests of Granada and Spain. 2 vols. 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Life of Columbus. 2 vols. 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Companions of Columbus. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Adventures of Captain Bonneville. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Knickerbocker's New York. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Tales of the Alhambra. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Conquest of Florida. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Abbotsford and Newstead. 1*s.*

——— Salmagundi. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Bracebridge Hall. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Astoria. *Fine portrait of the Author.* 2*s.*

——— Wolfert's Roost, and other Tales. 1*s.*

——— or, on fine paper, (uniform with the Complete Edition of Irving's Works). *Portrait of the Author.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Life of Washington, authorized edition (uniform with the Works). *Fine Portrait, &c.* 5 parts, with General Index. 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Life and Letters. By his Nephew, Pierre E. Irving. *Portrait.* In 4 Vols. 2*s.* each.

*** For Washington Irving's Works, with Memoir, collected in 16 vols., see page 17.

Lamartine's Genevieve; or, The History of a Servant Girl, translated by A. R. Scobel. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Stonemason of Saintpoint. A Village Tale. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Three Months in Power; a History and Vindication of his Political Career. 2*s.*

Lion Hunting and Sporting Life in Algeria, by Jules Gerard, the "Lion Killer." *Twelve Engravings.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

London and its Environs, by Cyrus Redding. *Numerous Illustrations.* 2*s.*

Mayhew's Image of his Father; or, One Boy is more Trouble than a Dozen Girls. *Twelve page Illustrations on Steel by "Phiz."* 2*s.*

Modern Novelists of France, containing Paul Huet, the Young Midshipman, and Kernock the Corsair, by Eugene Sue; Physiology of the General Lover, by Soulie; the Poacher, by Jules Janin; Jenny, and Husbands, by Paul de Kock. 2*s.*

Munchausen's (Baron) Life and Adventures. 1*s.*

Preachers and Preaching, in ancient and modern times, an historical and critical Essay, including, among the moderns, Sketches of Robert Hall, Newman, Chalmers, Irving, Melvill, Spurgeon, Bellew, Dale, Cumming, Willmott, &c. By the Rev. Henry Christmas. *Portrait.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

Sandford and Merton. By Thomas Day. New edition. *Eight fine Engravings on Wood, by Anelay.* 2*s.*

Taylor's El Dorado; or, Pictures of the Gold Region. 2 vols. 1*s.* each.

Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly: with Introductory Remarks by the Rev. J. Sherman. *Reprinting.*

White Slave. *Reprinting.*

Willis's (N. Parker) People I have Met; or, Pictures of Society, and People of Mark. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Convalescent, or Rambles and Adventures. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Life Here and There; or, Sketches of Society and Adventure. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Hurry-graphs, or Sketches of Scenery, Celebrities, and Society. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Pencillings by the Way. *Four fine plates.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

XI.

Bohn's Illustrated Library.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, *5s. per volume (excepting those marked otherwise).*

Allen's Battles of the British Navy. New Edition, revised and enlarged by the Author. *Numerous fine Portraits engraved on Steel.* In 2 vols. 5s. each.

Andersen's Danish Legends and Fairy Tales, containing many Tales not in any other edition. Translated from the Original by Caroline Peachey. *Illustrated with* 120 *Wood Engravings, chiefly by Foreign Artists.* 5s.

Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, in English Verse, by W. S. Rose. *Twelve fine Engravings, including an unpublished Portrait after Titian.* In 2 vols. 5s. each.

Bechstein's Cage and Chamber Birds, including Sweet's Warblers. Enlarged edition. *Numerous Plates.* 5s.

*** All other editions are abridged.

——— or, *with the plates coloured.* 7s. 6d.

Bonomi's Nineveh and its Palaces. New Edition, revised and considerably enlarged, both in matter and Plates, including a Full Account of the Assyrian Sculptures recently added to the National Collection. *Upwards of* 300 *Engravings.* 5s.

Butler's Hudibras, with Variorum Notes, a Biography, and a General Index. Edited by Henry G. Bohn. *Thirty beautiful Illustrations.* 5s.

——— or, *further illustrated with* 62 *Outline Portraits.* In 2 vols. 10s.

Cattermole's Evenings at Haddon Hall. 24 *exquisite Engravings on Steel, from designs by himself,* the Letterpress by the Baroness De Carabella. 5s.

China, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, with some Account of Ava and the Burmese, Siam, and Anam. *Nearly* 100 *Illustrations.* 5s.

Cruikshank's Three Courses and a Dessert; a Series of Tales, *embellished with* 50 *humorous Illustrations by George Cruikshank.* 5s.

Dante, translated into English Verse by I. C. Wright, M.A. Third Edition, carefully revised. *Portrait and* 34 *Illustrations on Steel, after Flaxman.* 5s.

Didron's Christian Iconography; a History of Christian Art. Translated from the French. *Upwards of* 150 *beautiful outline Engravings.* In 2 vols. Vol. I. 5*s.*

(Mons. Didron has not yet written the second volume.)

Gil Blas, the Adventures of. *Twenty-four Engravings on Steel, after Smirke, and* 10 *Etchings by George Cruikshank.* (612 pages). 6*s.*

Grimm's Gammer Grethel; or, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories, containing 42 Fairy Tales. Translated by Edgar Taylor; *numerous Woodcuts by George Cruikshank.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Holbein's Dance of Death, and Bible Cuts; *upwards of* 150 *subjects, beautifully engraved in fac-simile,* with Introduction and Descriptions by the late Francis Douce, and Dr. Thomas Frognall Dibdin. 2 vols. in 1. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Howitt's (Mary) Pictorial Calendar of the Seasons; exhibiting the Pleasures and Pursuits of Country Life, for every Month, and embodying the whole of Aikin's Calendar of Nature. *Upwards of* 100 *Engravings on Wood.* 5*s.*

Howitt's (Mary and William) Stories of English and Foreign Life. *Twenty beautiful Steel Engravings.* 5*s.*

Hunt's (Leigh) Book for a Corner. *Eighty extremely beautiful Wood Engravings and a Frontispiece on Steel.* 5*s.*

India, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, from the Earliest Times to the Present. *Upwards of* 100 *fine Engravings on Wood, and a Map.* 5*s.*

Jesse's Anecdotes of Dogs. New Edition with large additions. *Illustrated by numerous fine Woodcuts after Harvey, Bewick and others.* 5*s.*

——— or, *with the addition of* 34 *highly-finished Steel Engravings after Cooper, Landseer, &c.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Kitto's Scripture Lands, and Biblical Atlas. *Twenty-four Maps, beautifully engraved on Steel,* accompanied by a Consulting Index. 5*s.*

——— or, *with the Maps coloured.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Krummacher's Parables. Translated from the 7th German Edition. *Forty Illustrations by Clayton, engraved by the Brothers Dalziel.* 5*s.*

Lindsay's (Lord) Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land. New Edition, enlarged. *Thirty-six beautiful Wood Engravings, and* 2 *Maps.* 5*s.*

Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs. *Two Hundred and Forty Portraits, beautifully engraved on Steel*, with the respective Biographies unabridged. Complete in 8 vols. 5*s.* each.

Longfellow's Poetical Works, complete, including Hiawatha, Miles Standish, and The Wayside Inn. *Twenty-four full-page Wood Engravings, by Birket Foster and others, and a new Portrait engraved on Steel.* 5*s.*

——— or, without the illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— Prose Works, complete. *Sixteen full-page Wood Engravings by Birket Foster and others.* 5*s.*

Marryat's Masterman Ready; or, the Wreck of the Pacific. New Edition. *Ninety-three beautiful Engravings on Wood.* 5*s.*

——— Mission; or, Scenes in Africa. (Written for Young People). *Illustrated by Gilbert and Dalziel.* 5*s.*

——— Pirate and Three Cutters. New Edition, to which is prefixed a Memoir of the Author. *Illustrated with 20 beautiful Steel Engravings, from Drawings by Clarkson Stansfield, R.A.* 5*s.*

——— Privateer's-Man One Hundred Years Ago. *Eight highly-finished line Engravings on Steel, after Stothard.* 5*s.*

——— Settlers in Canada. New Edition. *Ten fine Engravings by Gilbert and Dalziel.* 5*s.*

Maxwell's Victories of Wellington and the British Armies. *Illustrations on Steel.* 5*s.*

Michael Angelo and Raphael, their Lives and Works. By Duppa and Quatremere de Quincy. *Illustrated with 13 highly-finished Engravings on Steel; including the Last Judgment, and "Cartoons," with Portraits.* 5*s.*

Miller's History of the Anglo-Saxons, written in a popular style, on the basis of Sharon Turner, with a General Index. *Portrait of Alfred, Map of Saxon Britain, and 12 elaborate Engravings on Steel, after Designs by W. Harvey.* 5*s.*

Milton's Poetical Works, with a Memoir and Critical Remarks by James Montgomery, an Index to Paradise Lost, Todd's Verbal Index to all the Poems, and a Selection of Explanatory Notes, by Henry G. Bohn. *Illustrated with 120 Wood Engravings by Thompson, Williams, O. Smith, and Linton, from Drawings by W. Harvey.* In 2 volumes. 5*s.* each.

Vol. I. Paradise Lost, complete, with Memoir, Notes and Index.
Vol. 2. Paradise Regained, and other Poems, with Verbal Index to all the Poems.

Mudie's British Birds; or, History of the Feathered Tribes of the British Islands. New Edition. Revised by W. C. L. Martin, Esq. *Fifty-two figures of Birds and 7 additional Plates of Eggs.* In 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

——— or, *with the Plates coloured.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per vol.

Naval and Military Heroes of Great Britain; or, Calendar of Victory: being a Record of British Valour and Conquest by Sea and Land, on every day in the year, from the time of William the Conqueror to the battle of Inkermann. By Major Johns, R.M., and Lieutenant P. H. Nicolas, R.M., with chronological and alphabetical Indexes. *Illustrated with* 24 *Portraits engraved on Steel.* 6*s.*

Nicolini's History of the Jesuits: their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Designs. *Fine Portraits of Loyola, Lainès, Xavier, Borgia, Acquaviva, Père la Chaise, Ricci, and Pope Ganganelli.* 5*s.*

Norway and its Scenery, comprising Price's Journal, with large Additions, and a Road-Book. Edited by Thomas Forester, Esq. *Twenty-two Illustrations on Steel by Lucas.* 5*s.*

Paris and its Environs, including Versailles, St. Cloud, and Excursions into the Champagne Districts. An illustrated Handbook for Travellers. Edited by Thomas Forester, author of "Norway and its Scenery." *Twenty-eight beautiful Engravings.* 5*s.*

Petrarch's Sonnets, Triumphs, and other Poems, translated for the first time completely into English verse. By various hands. With a Life of the Poet, by Thomas Campbell. *Illustrated with* 16 *Engravings on Steel.* 5*s.*

Pickering's History of the Races of Man, with an Analytical Synopsis of the Natural History of Man. By Dr. Hall. *Illustrated by numerous Portraits.* 5*s.*

——— or, *with the Plates coloured.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

*** An excellent Edition of a work originally published at 3*l.* 3*s.* by the American Government.

Pictorial Handbook of London, comprising its Antiquities, Architecture, Arts, Manufactures, Trade, Institutions, Exhibitions, Suburbs, &c. *Two hundred and five Engravings on Wood, by Branston, Jewitt, and others; and large Map, by Lowry.* 5*s.*

This volume contains above 900 pages, and is undoubtedly the cheapest five shilling volume ever produced.

Pictorial Handbook of Modern Geography on a Popular Plan. Compiled from the best authorities, English and Foreign, and completed to the Present Time. With numerous Tables, and a General Index. By Henry G. Bohn. *Illustrated by* 150 *Engravings on Wood, and* 51 *accurate Maps engraved on Steel.* 6*s.*

——— or, *with the Maps coloured.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Two large Editions of this volume have been sold. The present New Edition is corrected and improved, and, besides introducing the recent Censuses of England and other countries, records the changes which have taken place in Italy and America.

Pope's Poetical Works, edited by Robert Carruthers. New Edition, revised. *Numerous Engravings.* In 2 volumes. 5*s.* each.

——— Homer's Iliad, with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. *Illustrated by the entire Series of Flaxman's Designs, beautifully engraved by Moses (in the full 8vo. size).* 5*s.*

——— Homer's Odyssey, with the Battle of Frogs and Mice, Hymns, &c., by other translators, including Chapman, and Introduction and Notes by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. *Flaxman's Designs, beautifully engraved by Moses.* 5*s.*

——— Life, including many of his Letters. By Robert Carruthers. New Edition, revised and enlarged. *Illustrations.* 5*s.*

The preceding 5 *vols. make a complete and elegant edition of Pope's Poetical Works and Translations for* 25*s.*

Pottery and Porcelain, and other Objects of Vertu (a Guide to the Knowledge of). Comprising an Illustrated Catalogue of the Bernal Collection of Works of Art, with the prices at which they were sold by auction, and names of the possessors. To which are added, an Introductory Lecture on Pottery and Porcelain, and an Engraved List of all the known Marks and Monograms. By Henry G. Bohn. *Numerous Wood Engravings.* 5*s.*

——— or, *coloured*, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Prout's (Father) Reliques. New Edition, revised and largely augmented. *Twenty-one spirited Etchings, by D. Maclise, R.A.* Two volumes in one (nearly 600 pages). 7*s.* 6*d.*

Recreations in Shooting. By Craven. *Sixty-two Engravings on Wood, after Harvey, and* 9 *Engravings on Steel, chiefly after A. Cooper, R.A.* 5*s.*

Redding's History and Descriptions of Wines, Ancient and Modern. New and revised Edition. *Twenty beautiful Woodcuts, and fine Frontispiece.* 5*s.*

Robinson Crusoe. With Illustrations by Stothard and Harvey. *Twelve beautiful Engravings on Steel, and* 74 *on Wood.* 5*s.*

——— or, without the illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The prettiest Edition extant.

Rome in the Nineteenth Century. New Edition. Revised by the Author. With Complete Index. *Illustrated by* 34 *fine Steel Engravings.* In 2 Vols. 5*s.* each.

Southey's Life of Nelson. With Additional Notes, and a General Index. *Illustrated with* 64 *Engravings on Steel and Wood, from Designs by Duncan, Birket Foster, and others.* 5*s.*

Starling's (Miss) Noble Deeds of Woman; or, Examples of Female Courage, Fortitude and Virtue. *Fourteen beautiful Illustrations on Steel.* 5*s.*

Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens, and other Monuments of Greece: to which is added a Glossary of Terms used in Grecian Architecture. *Illustrated in* 71 *Plates engraved on Steel, and numerous Woodcut Capitals.* 5*s.*

Tales of the Genii; or, the Delightful Lessons of Horam. Translated from the Persian by Sir Charles Morell. New Edition, collated and edited by Philo-juvenis (H. G. Bohn.) *Numerous Woodcuts, and* 8 *Steel Engravings, after Stothard.* 5*s.*

Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered. Translated into English Spenserian Verse, with a Life of the Author. By J. H. Wiffen. New Edition. *Eight Engravings on Steel, and* 24 *on Wood, by Thurston.* 5*s.*

Walker's Manly Exercises; containing Skating, Riding, Driving, Hunting, Shooting, Sailing, Rowing, Swimming, &c. Tenth Edition, carefully revised by "Craven." *Forty-four Plates, engraved on Steel, and numerous Woodcuts.* 5*s.*

Walton's Complete Angler. Edited by Edward Jesse, Esq. To which is added an Account of Fishing Stations, &c., by Henry G. Bohn. *Upwards of* 203 *Engravings on Wood.* 5*s.*

——— or, *with the further addition of* 26 *Engravings on Steel.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Wellington, Life of. By "An Old Soldier," from the materials of Maxwell. *Eighteen highly-finished Engravings on Steel by the best Artists.* 5*s.*

White's Natural History of Selborne. With Notes by Sir William Jardine and Edward Jesse, Esq. *Illustrated by* 40 *highly-finished Wood Engravings.* 5*s.*

——— or, *with the Plates Coloured.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Young, The, Lady's Book; a Manual of Elegant Recreations, Arts, Sciences, and Accomplishments. Edited by distinguished Professors. *Twelve Hundred Woodcut Illustrations, and several fine Engravings on Steel.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— or, *cloth gilt, gilt edges.* 9*s.*

Includes Geology, Mineralogy, Conchology, Botany, Entomology, Ornithology, Costume, Embroidery, the Escritoire, Archery, Riding, Music (instrumental and vocal), Dancing, Exercises, Painting, Photography, &c., &c.

XII.

Bohn's Classical Library.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, *5s. per volume (excepting those marked otherwise).*

Æschylus. Literally Translated into English Prose by an Oxonian. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— Appendix to. Containing the New Readings given in Hermann's posthumous Edition of Æschylus. By George Burges, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Ammianus Marcellinus. History of Rome during the Reigns of Constantius, Julian, Jovianus, Valentinian, and Valens. Translated by C. D. Yonge, B.A. With a complete Index. Double volume, 7*s.* 6*d.*

*** This is a very circumstantial and amusing history, to which Gibbon expresses himself largely indebted.

Apuleius, the Golden Ass; Death of Socrates; Florida; and Discourse on Magic. To which is added a Metrical Version of Cupid and Psyche; and Mrs. Tighe's Psyche. *Frontispiece.* 5*s.*

Aristophanes' Comedies. Literally Translated, with Notes and Extracts from Frere's and other Metrical Versions, by W. J. Hickie. In 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

Vol. 1. Acharnians, Knights, Clouds, Wasps, Peace, and Birds.

Vol. 2. Lysistrata, Thesmophoriazusæ, Frogs, Ecclesiazusæ, and Plutus.

Aristotle's Ethics. Literally Translated by the Venerable Archdeacon Browne, late Classical Professor of King's College. 5*s.*

——— Politics and Economics. Translated by E. Walford, M.A. With Notes, Analyses, Life, Introduction, and Index. 5*s.*

——— Metaphysics. Literally Translated, with Notes, Analysis, Examination Questions, and Index, by the Rev. John H. M'Mahon, M.A., and Gold Medallist in Metaphysics, T.C.D. 5*s.*

——— History of Animals. In Ten Books. Translated, with Notes and Index, by Richard Cresswell, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford. 5*s.*

——— Organon; or, Logical Treatises, and the Introduction of Porphyry. With Notes, Analysis, Introduction, and Index, by the Rev. O. F. Owen, M.A. In 2 vols., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Rhetoric and Poetics, literally Translated, with Examination Questions and Notes, by an Oxonian. 5*s.*

Athenæus. The Deipnosophists; or, the Banquet of the Learned. Translated by C. D. Yonge, B.A. With an Appendix of Poetical Fragments rendered into English Verse by various Authors, and General Index. In 3 vols. 5*s*. each.

Cæsar. Complete, with the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. Literally Translated, and accompanied by Notes, and a very copious Index. 5*s*.

Catullus, Tibullus, and the Vigil of Venus. A Literal Prose Translation. To which are added Metrical Versions by Lamb, Grainger, and others. *Frontispiece.* 5*s*.

Cicero's Orations. Literally Translated by C. D. Yonge, B.A. 4 vols. 5*s*. each.

Vol. 1. containing the Orations against Verres, &c. *Portrait.*

Vol. 2. Catiline, Archias, Agrarian Law, Rabirius, Murena, Sylla, &c.

Vol. 3. Orations for his House, Plancius, Sextius, Cœlius, Milo, Ligarius, &c.

Vol. 4. Miscellaneous Orations, and Rhetorical Works; with General Index to the four volumes.

—— on Oratory and Orators. By the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. With General Index. 5*s*.

—— on the Nature of the Gods, Divination, Fate, Laws, A Republic, &c. Translated by C. D. Yonge, B.A., and Francis Barham, Esq. 5*s*.

—— Academics, De Finibus, and Tusculan Questions. By C. D. Yonge, B.A. With Sketch of the Greek Philosophy. 5*s*.

—— Offices, Old Age, Friendship, Scipio's Dream, Paradoxes, &c. Literally Translated, on the basis of Cockman, by Cyrus R. Edmonds. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Demosthenes' Orations. Translated, with Notes, by C. Rann Kennedy. In 5 Volumes. 5*s*. each.

Vol. 1. The Olynthiac, Philippic, and other Public Orations. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Vol. 2. On the Crown and on the Embassy.

Vol. 3. Against Leptines, Midias, Androtion, and Aristocrates.

Vol. 4. Private, and other Orations, viz., against Timocrates, Aristogiton, Aphobus, Onetor, Zenothemis, Apaturius, Phormio, Lacritus, Pantænetus, Nausimachus, Bœotus, Spudias, Phænippus, and for Phormio.

Vol. 5. Miscellaneous Orations. Containing Marcartatus, Leochares, Stephanus I., Stephanus II., Euergus, and Mnesibulus, Olympiodorus, Timotheus, Polycles, Callippus, Nicostratus, Conon, Callicles, Dionysodorus, Eubulides, Theocrines, Neæra, and for the Naval Crown; the Funeral Oration; the Erotic Oration, or the Panegyric upon Epicrates; Exordia; the Epistles With a General Index to the Five Volumes.

Dictionary of Latin Quotations; including Proverbs, Maxims, Mottoes, Law Terms and Phrases; and a Collection of above 500 Greek Quotations. With all the quantities marked, and English Translations. 5s.

———, with Index Verborum (622 pages). 6s.

——— Index Verborum to the above, with the *Quantities* and Accents marked (56 pages), *limp cloth*. 1s.

Diogenes Laertius. Lives and Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers. Translated, with Notes, by C. D. Yonge, B.A. 5s.

Euripides. Literally Translated from the Text of Dindorf. In 2 vols. 5s. each.

Vol. 1. Hecuba, Orestes, Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestis, Bacchæ, Heraclidæ, Iphigenia in Aulide, and Iphigenia in Tauris.

Vol. 2. Hercules Furens, Troades, Ion, Andromache, Suppliants, Helen, Electra, Cyclops, Rhesus.

Greek Anthology. Translated into Literal English Prose by a Westminster Scholar, and others. With Metrical Versions by various Authors. 5s.

Greek Romances of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius, *viz.*, The Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea; Amours of Daphnis and Chloe; and Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe. 5s.

Herodotus. A New and Literal Translation by the Rev Henry Cary, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford. With Index. 5s

Hesiod, Callimachus, and Theognis. Literally Translated into Prose, with Notes, by the Rev. J. Banks, M.A. To which are appended the Metrical Versions of Hesiod, by Elton; Callimachus, by Tytler; and Theognis, by Frere. 5s.

Homer's Iliad; literally translated into English Prose, by an Oxonian. 5s.

——— Odyssey, Hymns, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice; literally translated into English Prose, by an Oxonian. 5s.

Horace; literally translated by Smart. New Edition, carefully revised by an Oxonian. 3s. 6d.

Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius. Literally translated, with Notes, and Index, by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 5s.

Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia, and Lucilius. By L. Evans, M.A. With the Metrical Version by Gifford. *Frontispiece*. 5s.

Livy. A new and literal Translation, by Dr. Spillan and others. In 4 volumes. 5s. each.

Vol. 1. containing Books 1—8.
Vol. 2. Books 9—26.
Vol. 3. Books 27—36.
Vol. 4. Book 37 to the end; and Index to the four volumes.

Lucan's Pharsalia. Translated, with Notes, by H. T. Riley. 5*s*.

Lucretius. Literally translated into English Prose; with Notes, by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. To which is adjoined the Metrical Version by John Mason Good. 5*s*.

Martial's Epigrams, complete. Literally translated into English Prose; each accompanied by one or more Verse translations selected from the Works of English Poets, and other sources. With a copious Index. Double volume (660 pages). 7*s*. 6*d*.

Ovid's Works, complete. Literally translated into English Prose. In 3 volumes. 5*s*. each.

Vol. 1. containing Fasti, Tristia, Epistles, &c.
Vol. 2. Metamorphoses.
Vol. 3. Heroides, Amours, Art of Love, &c. *Frontispiece.*

Persius. Literally translated into Prose, by Dawson W. Turner. To which is added the Metrical Version, by Abraham Moore. *Portrait.* 5*s*.

Plato's Works. Translated by the Rev. H. Cary, M.A. and others. In 6 volumes. 5*s*. each.

Vol. 1. containing The Apology of Socrates, Crito, Phædo, Gorgias, Protagoras, Phædrus, Theætetus, Euthyphron, Lysis. Translated by the Rev. H. Cary.
Vol. 2. The Republic, Timæus, and Critias; with Introductions. Translated by Henry Davis.
Vol. 3. Meno, Euthydemus, The Sophist, Statesman, Cratylus, Parmenides, and the Banquet. Translated by G. Burges.
Vol. 4. Philebus, Charmides, Laches, The Two Alcibiades, and Ten other Dialogues. Translated by G. Burges.
Vol. 5. The Laws. Translated by G. Burges.
Vol. 6. The Doubtful Works: viz. Epinomis, Axiochus, Eryxias, on Virtue, on Justice, Sisyphus, Demodocus and Definitions; the Treatise of Timæus Locrus on the Soul of the World and Nature; Lives of Plato, by Diogenes Laertius, Hesychius, and Olympiodorus; and Introductions to his Doctrines by Alcinous and Albinus; Apuleius on the Doctrines of Plato; and Remarks on Plato's Writings, by the Poet Gray. Edited by G. Burges and H. G. Bohn. With General Index to the six volumes.

Plautus's Comedies. Literally translated into English Prose, with copious Notes, by H. T. Riley, B.A. In 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

Pliny's Natural History. Translated, with copious Notes, by the late John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. Riley, B.A. With General Index. In 6 vols. 5*s*. each.

Petronius, Petronius, and Johannes Secundus. Literally translated, and accompanied by Poetical Versions, from various sources. To which are added, the Love Epistles of Aristænetus; translated by R. Brinsley Sheridan and H. Halhed. Edited by Walter K. Kelly. 5*s*.

Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory; or, Education of an Orator. Literally translated, with Notes, &c., by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 5*s.*

Sallust, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus. With copious Notes, Biographical Notices and Index, by J. S. Watson, M.A. 5*s.*

Sophocles. The Oxford translation revised. 5*s.*

Standard Library Atlas of Classical Geography, 22 *large coloured Maps according to the latest authorities.* With a complete Index (accentuated), giving the latitude and longitude of every place named in the Maps. Imperial 8vo., chiefly engraved by the Messrs. Walker. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Strabo's Geography. Translated, with copious Notes, by W. Falconer, M.A., and H. C. Hamilton, Esq. With a very copious Index, giving Ancient and Modern Names. In 3 vols. 5*s.* each.

Suetonius' Lives of the Twelve Cæsars, and other Works. The translation of Thomson, revised, with Notes, by T. Forester Esq. 5*s.*

Tacitus. Literally translated, with Notes. In 2 vols. 5*s.* each.
Vol. 1. The Annals.
Vol. 2. The History, Germania, Agricola, &c. With Index

Terence and Phædrus. By H. T. Riley, B.A. To which is added, Smart's Metrical Version of Phædrus. *Frontispiece.* 5*s.*

Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and Tyrtæus. By the Rev. J. Banks, M.A. With the Metrical Versions of Chapman. *Frontispiece.* 5*s.*

Thucydides. Literally translated by the Rev. H. Dale. In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Virgil. Literally translated by Davidson. New Edition, carefully revised, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Xenophon's Works. In 3 volumes. 5*s.* each.
Vol. 1. containing the Anabasis, or Expedition of Cyrus, and Memorabilia, or Memoirs of Socrates. Translated, with Notes, by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. And a Geographical Commentary, by W. F. Ainsworth, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., &c. *Frontispiece.*
Vol. 2. Cyropædia and Hellenics. By the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A., and the Rev. H. Dale.
Vol. 3. The Minor Works. By the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

XIII.

Bohn's Scientific Library.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, *5s. per volume (excepting those marked otherwise).*

Agassiz and Gould's Comparative Physiology. Enlarged by Dr. Wright. *Upwards of* 400 *Engravings.* 5s.

Bacon's Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning. Complete, with Notes, by J. Devey, M.A. 5s.

Blair's Chronological Tables, Revised and Enlarged. Comprehending the Chronology and History of the World, from the earliest times. By J. Willoughby Rosse. Double volume (upwards of 800 pages). 10s.

——— or, *half bound morocco.* 12s. 6d.

Index of Dates. Comprehending the principal Facts in the Chronology and History of the World, from the earliest to the present time, alphabetically arranged; being a complete Index to Bohn's enlarged Edition of Blair's Chronological Tables. By J. W. Rosse. Double volume. 10s.

——— or, *half bound morocco.* 12s. 6d.

Bolley's Manual of Technical Analysis: a Guide for the Testing of Natural and Artificial Substances. By B. H. Paul. 100 *Wood Engravings.* 5s.

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.—Kirby, on the History, Habits, and Instincts of Animals. Edited, with Notes, by T. Rymer Jones. *Numerous Engravings, many of which are additional.* (In 2 vols.) 5s. each.

——— Kidd on the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man. 3s. 6d.

——— Whewell's Astronomy and General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology. *Portrait of the Earl of Bridgewater.* 3s. 6d.

——— Chalmers on the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man. With Memoir of the Author. By the Rev. Dr. Cumming. 5s.

——— Prout's Treatise on Chemistry, Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion. Fourth Edition. Edited by Dr. J. W. Griffith. 5s.

Carpenter's (Dr. W. B.) Zoology; a Systematic View of the Structure, Habits, Instincts, and Uses, of the principal Families of the Animal Kingdom, and of the chief forms of Fossil Remains. New edition, revised and completed to the present time (under arrangement with the Author), by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. With a General Index. *Illustrated with many hundred fine Wood Engravings.* In 2 vols. (nearly 600 pages each). 6*s.* each.

——— Mechanical Philosophy, Astronomy, and Horology. A Popular Exposition. *One hundred and eighty-one Illustrations.* 5*s.*

——— Vegetable Physiology and Systematic Botany. A complete introduction to the Knowledge of Plants. New edition, revised (under arrangement with the Author), by E. Lankester, M.D., &c. *Several hundred Illustrations on Wood.* 6*s.*

——— Animal Physiology. New Edition, thoroughly revised, and in part re-written, by the Author. *Upwards of* 300 *capital Illustrations.* 6*s.*

Chess Congress of 1862. A Collection of the Games played, and a Selection of the Problems sent in for the Competition. Edited by J. Lowenthal, Manager and Foreign Correspondent. To which is prefixed an Account of the Proceedings, and a Memoir of the British Chess Association. By. J. W. Medley, Hon. Secretary. 7*s.*

Chevreul on Colour. Containing the Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and their application to the Arts. Translated from the French, by Charles Martel. Third and only complete Edition, with Introduction by the Translator. *Several Plates.* 5*s.*

——— or, with an additional series of 16 Plates in Colours. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences. Edited, from the "Cours de Philosophie Positive," by G. H. Lewes, Esq. 5*s.*

Ennemoser's History of Magic. Translated from the German, by William Howitt. With an Appendix of the most remarkable and best authenticated Stories of Apparitions, Dreams, Table-Turning, and Spirit-Rapping, &c. In 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

Hand-Book of Domestic Medicine; popularly arranged. By Dr. Henry Davies. (700 pages). With a complete Index. 5*s*

Hand-Book of Games. By various Amateurs and Professors. Comprising treatises on all the principal Games of chance, skill, and manual dexterity. In all, above 40 games (the Whist, Draughts, and Billiards being especially comprehensive). Edited by Henry G. Bohn. *Illustrated by numerous Diagrams.* 5*s.*

Hogg's (Jabez) Elements of Experimental and Natural Philosophy. Containing Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Acoustics, Optics, Caloric, Electricity, Voltaism, and Magnetism. New Edition, corrected and enlarged. *Upwards of* 400 *Woodcuts.* 5*s.*

Herd's Introduction to Astronomy. With a Vocabulary, containing an Explanation of all the Terms in present use. New Edition, revised, and enlarged. *Numerous Engravings.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Humboldt's Cosmos; or, Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. Translated by E. C. Otté and W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. *Fine Portrait.* In 5 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each, excepting vol. V. 5*s.*

*** In this edition the notes are placed beneath the text, Humboldt's analytical Summaries and the passages hitherto suppressed are included; and new and comprehensive Indices are added.

——— Personal Narrative of his Travels in America. In 3 vols. 5*s.* each.

——— Views of Nature; or, Contemplations of the Sublime Phenomena of Creation. Translated by E. C. Otté and H. G. Bohn. With a fine coloured view of Chimborazo; a fac-simile Letter from the Author to the Publisher; translations of the quotations, and a very complete Index. 5*s.*

Humphrey's Coin Collector's Manual; a popular Introduction to the Study of Coins. *Highly-finished Engravings.* In 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

Hunt's (Robert) Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature, by Robert Hunt, Professor at the School of Mines. New Edition, revised and enlarged. 5*s.*

——— Elementary Physics. 5s.

Index of Dates. *See* Blair's Chronological Tables.

Joyce's Scientific Dialogues. Completed to the present state of Knowledge by Dr. Griffith (upwards of 600 pages). *Numerous Woodcuts.* 5*s.*

Jussieu's (De) Elements of Botany. 6*s.*

Lectures on Painting, by the Royal Academicians, with Introductory Essay, and Notes by R. Wornum, Esq. *Portraits.* 5*s.*

Mantell's (Dr.) Geological Excursions through the Isle of Wight and Dorsetshire. New Edition, by T. Rupert Jones, Esq. *Numerous beautifully-executed Woodcuts, and a Geological Map.* 5*s.*

——— Medals of Creation; or, First Lessons in Geology and the Study of Organic Remains: including Geological Excursions. New Edition, revised. *Coloured Plates, and several hundred beautiful Woodcuts.* In 2 vols. 15*s.*

——— Petrifactions and their Teachings; an Illustrated Handbook to the Organic Remains in the British Museum. *Numerous beautiful Wood Engravings.* 6*s.*

——— Wonders of Geology; or, a Familiar Exposition of Geological Phenomena. New Edition, revised and augmented by T. Rupert Jones, F.G.S. *Coloured Geological Map of England, Plates, and upwards of* 200 *beautiful Woodcuts.* In 2 vols. 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

Morphy's Games of Chess, being the Matches and best Games played by the American Champion, with explanatory and analytical Notes, by J. Löwenthal. *Portrait* and Memoir. 5*s*.

It contains by far the largest collection of games played by Mr. Morphy extant in any form, and has received his endorsement and co-operation.

Oersted's Soul in Nature, &c. *Portrait.* 5*s*.

Richardson's Geology, including Mineralogy and Palæontology. Revised and enlarged by Dr. T. Wright. *Upwards of* 400 *Illustrations on Wood.* 5*s*.

Schouw's Earth, Plants, and Man; and Kobell's Sketches from the Mineral Kingdom. Translated by A. Henfrey, F.R.S. *Coloured Map of the Geography of Plants.* 5*s*.

Smith's (Pye) Geology and Scripture; or, the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science. New Edition, with Life. 5*s*.

Stanley's Classified Synopsis of the Principal Painters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools. 5*s*.

Staunton's Chess-player's Handbook. *Numerous Diagrams.* 5*s*.

——— Chess Praxis. A Supplement to the Chess-player's Handbook. Containing all the most important modern improvements in the Openings, illustrated by actual Games; a revised Code of Chess Laws; and a Selection of Mr. Morphy's Games in England and France; critically annotated. (636 pages.) 6*s*.

——— Chess-player's Companion. Comprising a new Treatise on Odds, Collection of Match Games, and a Selection of Original Problems. 5*s*.

——— Chess Tournament of 1851. *Numerous Illustrations.* 5*s*.

Stockhardt's Principles of Chemistry, exemplified in a series of simple experiments. *Upwards of* 270 *Illustrations.* 5*s*.

——— Agricultural Chemistry, or Chemical Field Lectures; addressed to Farmers. Translated, with Notes, by Professor Henfrey, F.R.S. To which is added, a Paper on Liquid Manure, by J. J. Mechi, Esq. 5*s*.

Ure's (Dr. A.) Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, systematically investigated; with an introductory view of its comparative state in Foreign Countries. New Edition, revised and completed to the present time, by P. L. Simmonds. *One hundred and fifty Illustrations.* In 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

——— Philosophy of Manufactures, or an Exposition of the Factory System of Great Britain. New Edition, continued to the present time, by P. L. Simmonds (double volume, upwards of 800 pages). 7*s*. 6*d*.

XIV.

Bell and Daldy's Pocket Volumes.

A Series of Select Works of Favourite Authors, adapted for general reading, moderate in price, compact and elegant in form, and executed in a style fitting them to be permanently preserved. Imperial 32mo.

Now Ready.

Burns's Poems. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Songs. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Coleridge's Poems. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Sea Songs and Ballads. By Charles Dibdin and others. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Midshipman.—Autobiographical Sketches of his own early Career, by Capt. Basil Hall, R.N., F.R.S. From his "Fragments of Voyages and Travels." 3*s.*

The Lieutenant and Commander. Ditto, ditto. 3*s.*

George Herbert's Poems. 2*s.*

——— Works. 3*s.*

Lamb's Tales from Shakspeare. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Longfellow's Poems. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Milton's Paradise Lost. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——————— Regained, and other Poems. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Robin Hood Ballads. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Southey's Life of Nelson. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Walton's Complete Angler. *Portraits and Illustrations.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, &c. 3*s.*

White's Natural History of Selborne. 3*s.*

In cloth, top edge gilt, at 6*d.* per volume extra; in half morocco, Roxburgh style, at 1*s.* extra; in antique or best plain morocco, at 4*s.* 6*d.* extra.

Preparing.

Goldsmith's Poems.

——— Vicar of Wakefield.

Gray's Poems.

The Conquest of India. By Capt. Basil Hall, R.N.

Henry Vaughan's Poems.

And others.

XV.

Bell and Daldy's Elzevir Series of Standard Authors.

Small fcap. 8vo.

Messrs. Bell and Daldy, having been favoured with many requests that their Pocket Volumes should be issued in a larger size, so as to be more suitable for Presents and School Prizes, have determined upon printing New Editions in accordance with these suggestions.

They will be issued under the general title of "Elzevir Series," to distinguish them from their other collections. This general title has been adopted to indicate the spirit in which they will be prepared; that is to say, with the greatest possible accuracy as regards text, and the highest degree of beauty that can be attained in the workmanship.

They will be printed at the Chiswick Press, on fine paper, with rich margins, and will be issued in tasteful binding at prices varying from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.*

Most of the Volumes already published in the "Pocket Volumes" will be issued in this Series, and others of a similar character will be added. Some will contain a highly-finished Portrait, or other Illustration.

Ready.

Longfellow's Poems. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Burns's Poems. 4*s.* 6*d.*

This edition contains all the copyright pieces in the Aldine Edition.

Coleridge's Poems. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Shakspeare's Plays. Carefully edited by Thomas Keightley. Vols. I. and II. 5*s.* each. Vol. III. immediately.

This Edition will be completed in six volumes before the end of the year.

Shortly.

Milton's Paradise Lost.

Walton's Angler.

——— Lives of Donne, Hooker, Wootton, Herbert, and Sanderson.

And others.

Irving's Sketch Book.

——— Tales of a Traveller.

XVI.

The Library of English Worthies.

A Series of reprints of the best Authors, carefully edited and collated with the Early Copies, and handsomely printed by Whittingham in Octavo.

Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion; with Analytical Index, by the Rev. Edward Steere, LL.D. 12*s.* Antique calf, 1*l.* 1*s.*

"The present edition has been furnished with an Index of the Texts of Scripture quoted, and an Index of Words and Things considerably fuller than any hitherto published."—*Editor's Preface.*

Gower's Confessio Amantis, with Life by Dr. Pauli, and a Glossary. 3 vols. 2*l.* 2*s.* Antique calf, 3*l.* 6*s.* Only a limited number of Copies printed.

This important work is so scarce that it can seldom be met with even in large libraries. It is wanting in nearly every collection of English Poetry.

Herbert's Poems and Remains; with S. T. Coleridge's Notes, and Life by Izaak Walton. Revised, with additional Notes, by Mr. J. Yeowell. 2 vols. 1*l.* 1*s.* Morocco, antique calf or morocco, 2*l.* 2*s.*

Spenser's Complete Works; with Life, Notes, and Glossary, by John Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A. 5 vols. 3*l.* 15*s.* Antique calf, 6*l.* 6*s.*

Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying. 2 vols. 1*l.* 1*s.* Morocco, antique calf or morocco, 2*l.* 2*s.*

Uniform with the above.

The Physical Theory of Another Life. By Isaac Taylor, Esq., Author of "Logic in Theology," "Ultimate Civilization," &c. *New Edition.* 10*s.* 6*d.* Antique calf, 21*s.*

XVII.

The Aldine Edition of the British Poets.

The Publishers have been induced, by the scarcity and increasing value of this admired Series of the Poets, to prepare a New Edition, very carefully corrected, and improved by such additions as recent literary research has placed within their reach. Fcp. 8vo.

Akenside's Poetical Works, with Memoir by the Rev. A. Dyce, and additional Letters, carefully revised. 5*s.* Morocco, or antique morocco, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Collins's Poems, with Memoir and Notes by W. Moy Thomas, Esq. 3*s.* 6*d.* Morocco, or antique morocco, 8*s.* 6*d.*

Cowper's Poetical Works, including his Translations. Edited, with Memoir, by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. 3 vols. [*In the Press.*

Dryden's Poetical Works, with Memoir by the Rev. R. Hooper, F.S.A. Carefully revised. 5 vols. [*In the Press.*

Gray's Poetical Works, with Notes and Memoir by the Rev. John Mitford. 5*s.* Morocco, or antique morocco, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Shakespeare's Poems, with Memoir by the Rev. A. Dyce. 5*s.* Morocco, or antique morocco, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Thomson's Poems, with Memoir by Sir H. Nicolas, annotated by Peter Cunningham, Esq., F.S.A., and additional Poems, carefully revised. 2 vols. 10*s*. Morocco, or antique morocco, 1*l*. 1*s*.

——— Seasons, and Castle of Indolence, with Memoir. 6*s*. Morocco, or antique morocco, 11*s*. 6*d*.

Kirke White's Poems, with Memoir by Sir H. Nicolas, and additional Notes. Carefully revised. 5*s*. Morocco, or antique morocco, 10*s*. 6*d*.

Young's Poems, with Memoir by the Rev. John Mitford, and additional Poems. 2 vols. 10*s*. Morocco, or antique morocco, 1*l*. 1*s*.

Books uniform with the Aldine Edition of the Poets.

The Thoughts of the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus. Translated by George Long. 6*s*.

Bacon's Advancement of Learning. Edited, with short Notes, by the Rev. G. W. Kitchin, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford. 6*s*. Antique calf, 11*s*. 6*d*.

——— Essays; or, Counsels Civil and Moral, with the Wisdom of the Ancients. With References and Notes by S. W. Singer, F.S.A. 5*s*. Morocco, or antique calf, 10*s*. 6*d*.

——— Novum Organum. Newly Translated, with short Notes, by the Rev. Andrew Johnson, M.A. 6*s*. Antique calf, 11*s*. 6*d*.

Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion; with Analytical Introduction and copious Index, by the Rev. Dr. Steere. 6*s*. Antique calf, 11*s*. 6*d*.

——— Complete Works; with Memoir by the Rev. Dr. Steere. 2 vols. 12*s*.

——— Sermons and Remains; with Memoir by the Rev. E. Steere, LL.D. 6*s*.

*** This volume contains some additional remains, which are copyright, and render it the most complete edition extant.

The Works of Gray, edited by the Rev. John Mitford. With his Correspondence with Mr. Chute and others, Journal kept at Rome, Criticism on the Sculptures, &c. *New Edition.* 5 vols. 1*l*. 5*s*.

The Temple and other Poems; by George Herbert, with Coleridge's Notes. *New Edition.* 5*s*. Morocco, antique calf or morocco, 10*s*. 6*d*.

Locke on the Conduct of the Human Understanding; edited by Bolton Corney, Esq., M.R.S.L. 3*s.* 6*d.* Antique calf, 8*s.* 6*d.*

"I cannot think any parent or instructor justified in neglecting to put this little treatise into the hands of a boy about the time when the reasoning faculties become developed."—*Hallam.*

The Schole Master. By Roger Ascham. Edited, with copious Notes, and a Glossary, by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A. 6*s.*

Logic in Theology, and other Essays. By Isaac Taylor, Esq. 6*s.*

Ultimate Civilization. By Isaac Taylor, Esq. 6*s.*

Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Holy Dying. 2 vols., 2*s.* 6*d.* each. Morocco, antique calf or morocco, 7*s.* 6*d.* each. In one volume, 5*s.* Morocco, antique calf or morocco, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Vaughan's Sacred Poems and Pious Ejaculations, with Memoir by the Rev. H. F. Lyte. *New Edition.* 5*s.* Antique calf or morocco, 10*s.* 6*d.* *Large Paper*, 7*s.* 6*d.* Antique calf, 14*s.* Antique morocco, 15*s.*

"Preserving all the piety of George Herbert, they have less of his quaint and fantastic turns, with a much larger infusion of poetic feeling and expression."—*Lyte.*

XVIII.

Bibliotheca Classica.

A Series of Greek and Latin Authors. With English Notes. 8vo. Edited by various Scholars, under the direction of G. Long, Esq., M.A., Classical Lecturer of Brighton College: and the late Rev. A. J. Macleane, M.A., Head Master of King Edward's School, Bath.

Aeschylus. By F. A. Paley, M.A. 18*s.*

Cicero's Orations. Edited by G. Long, M.A. 4 vols. 3*l.* 4*s.* Vol. I. 16*s.*; Vol. II. 14*s.*; Vol. III. 16*s.*; Vol. IV. 18*s.*

Demosthenes. By R. Whiston, M.A., Head Master of Rochester Grammar School. Vol. I. 16*s.* Vol. II. *preparing.*

Euripides. By F. A. Paley, M.A. 3 vols. 16*s.* each.

Herodotus. By J. W. Blakesley, B.D., late Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. 32*s.*

Hesiod. By F. A. Paley, M.A. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Homer. By F. A. Paley, M.A. Vol. I. *Preparing.*

Horace. By A. J. Macleane, M.A. 18*s.*

Juvenal and Persius. By A. J. Macleane, M.A. 14*s.*

Plato. By W. H. Thomson, M.A. Vol. I. *Preparing.*

Sophocles. By F. H. Blaydes, M.A. Vol. I. 18*s.* Vol. II *preparing.*

Terence. By E. St. J. Parry, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford. 18*s.*

Virgil. By J. Conington, M.A., Professor of Latin at Oxford. Vol. I. containing the Bucolics and Georgics. 12*s.* Vol. II. containing the Æneid, Books I. to VI. 14*s.* Vol. III. *preparing.*

An Atlas of Classical Geography, containing 24 Maps; constructed by W. Hughes, and edited by G. Long. *New Edition*, with coloured outlines, and an Index of Places. Imperial 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

XIX.

Grammar-School Classics.

A Series of Greek and Latin Authors. Newly Edited, with English Notes for Schools. Fcp. 8vo.

J. Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Gallico. *Second Edition.* By G. Long, M.A. 5*s.* 6*d.*

Caesar de Bello Gallico, Books I. to III. With English Notes for Junior Classes. By G. Long, M.A. 2*s.* 6*d.*

M. Tullii Ciceronis Cato Major, Sive de Senectute, Laelius, Sive de Amicitia, et Epistolae Selectae. By G. Long, M.A. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia. By A. J. Macleane. 6*s.* 6*d.*

Juvenalis Satirae XVI. By H. Prior, M.A. (Expurgated Edition.) 4*s.* 6*d.*

P. Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex. By F. A. Paley. 5*s.*

C. Sallustii Crispi Catilina et Jugurtha. By G. Long, M.A. 5*s.*

Taciti Germania et Agricola. By P. Frost, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Xenophontis Anabasis, with Introduction; Geographical and other Notes, Itinerary, and Three Maps compiled from recent surveys. By J. F. Macmichael, B.A. *New Edition.* 5*s.*

——— Cyropaedia. By G. M. Gorham, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 6*s.*

Uniform with the above.

The New Testament in Greek. With English Notes and Prefaces. By J. F. Macmichael, B.A. 730 pages. 7*s.* 6*d.*

A Grammar School Atlas of Classical Geography. The Maps constructed by W. Hughes, and edited by G. Long. Imp. 8vo. 5*s.*

XX.

Cambridge Greek and Latin Texts.

This series is intended to supply for the use of Schools and Students cheap and accurate editions of the Classics, which shall be superior in mechanical execution to the small German editions now current in this country, and more convenient in form. 16mo.

Aeschylus, ex novissima recensione F. A. Paley. 3*s.*

Cæsar de Bello Gallico, recensuit G. Long, A.M. 2*s.*

Cicero de Senectute et de Amicitia et Epistolæ Selectæ, recensuit G. Long, A.M. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Euripides, ex recensione F. A. Paley, A.M. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Herodotus, recensuit J. W. Blakesley, S.T.B. 2 vols. 7*s.*

Horatius, ex recensione A. J. Macleane, A.M. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Lucretius, recognovit H. A. J. Munro, A.M. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Sallusti Crispi Catilina et Jugurtha, recognovit G. Long, M. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Thucydides, recensuit J. G. Donaldson, S.T.P. 2 vols. 7*s.*

Virgilius, ex recensione J. Conington, A.M. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Xenophontis Anabasis recensuit, J. F. Macmichael, A.B. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Novum Testamentum Graecum Textus Stephanici, 1550. Accedunt variae Lectiones editionum Bezae, Elzeviri, Lachmanni, Tischendorfii, Tregellesii, curante F. H. Scrivener, A.M. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Also, on 4to. writing paper, for MSS. notes. Half bound, gilt top, 12*s.*

XXI.

Foreign Classics.

With English Notes for Schools. Uniform with the GRAMMAR SCHOOL CLASSICS. Fcp. 8vo.

Aventures de Télémaque, par Fénélon. Edited by C. J. Delille. *Second Edition, revised.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

Select Fables of La Fontaine. *Third Edition, revised.* Edited by F. Gasc, M.A. 3*s.*

"None need now be afraid to introduce this eminently French author, either on account of the difficulty of translating him, or the occasional licence of thought and expression in which he indulges. The renderings of idiomatic passages are unusually good, and the purity of English perfect."—*Athenæum.*

German Ballads from Uhland, Goethe, and Schiller, with Introductions to each Poem, copious Explanatory Notes, and Biographical Notices. Edited by C. L. Bielefeld. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Picciola, by X. B. Saintine. Edited by Dr. Dubuc. *Second Edition, revised.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

This interesting story has been selected with the intention of providing for schools and young persons a good specimen of contemporary French literature, free from the solecisms which are frequently met with in writers of a past age.

Schiller's Wallenstein, complete Text. Edited by Dr. A. Buchheim. 6*s.* 6*d.*

Histoire de Charles XII. par Voltaire. Edited by L. Direy. *Third Edition, revised.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

In 18 Vols., cr. 8vo. 3*l.* 12*s.*

Hume, Smollett, and Hughes's History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Accession of Queen Victoria. New edition, containing Historical Illustrations, Autographs, and Portraits, copious Notes, and the Author's last Corrections and Improvements.

Or Separately,

Hume's Portion to 1688. In 6 Vols. 1*l.* 4*s.*
Smollett's Portion to 1760. In 4 Vols. 16*s.*
Hughes's Portion to 1837. In 8 vols. 1*l.* 12*s.*

In 7 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

History of England, from the Accession of George III. to the Accession of Queen Victoria. By the Rev. T. S. Hughes, B.D. New edition, almost entirely re-written.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.