



LEABHARLANN LÁIR,
NA MBRÁITHRE CRÍOSTAÍ.

Siad Bráithre,

Abra
a bhronn an leabhar seo.



J. Chapman sc.

THE
L I F E
OF
CATHARINE II.
EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

WITH ELEVEN ELEGANT PORTRAITS,
A VIEW OF THE FORTRESS OF SCHLUSSELBURG,
AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE,

THE FOURTH EDITION,
WITH GREAT ADDITIONS, AND A COPIOUS INDEX,

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed by H. Baldwin and Son, New Bridge-street.

FOR T. N. LONGMAN AND O. REES, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1800.

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L I F E

OF THE

EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

C H A P. VII.

The ottoman porte declares war against Russia.—Prince Henry of Prussia at Petersburg.—A russian squadron, under the command of count Alexius Orlof, sails to the Archipelago.—Victories of count Romantsof.—Capture of Bender.—Count Alexius Orlof returns to Petersburg.—His conduct in Italy.—Prince Dolgoruky enters the Krimea.—Pestilence at Mosco.—Attempt to assassinate the king of Poland.—Congress at Fokshiani.—Vassilchikof becomes favourite of the empress.—Gregory Orlof is dismissed from court; with other events from 1768 to 1772.

ON the first menaces held out by Turkey, Catharine, who felt herself not yet in a condition to make war with advantage, suspended the settlement of the limits between Russia and Poland; without, however, abandoning the hope of seiz-

ing on a part of that kingdom, where her officers were continually harassing and dividing the inhabitants. The flattering and sanguine expectations which had been formed on the conclusions of the late diet, and the intervention of the Russians in the affairs of the republic, were totally overthrown almost as soon as they were conceived; and that unfortunate country became the theatre of the most cruel and complicated of all wars; partly civil, partly religious, and partly foreign. Indeed the measures relative to the diet, as well as those which had for some time past directed all the transactions in that country, seemed pregnant with such seeds of discontent, as might well be expected to produce, sooner or later, some very extraordinary consequences. We have seen a foreign army, under colour of friendship, take possession of a country to which no just claim was even pretended; we have seen them, for a course of years, peremptorily dictate to the members of a once great and free nation the measures they should pursue, and the laws they should establish for their own internal government; and we have seen them seize the senators of that nation, and send them prisoners to a foreign country, for daring to have an opinion in their own national councils. It is not then to be wondered at, that the Poles, a brave and haughty nation, long nursed in independence, and whose nobles had exercised in their respective districts an almost unlimited sovereignty,

sovereignty, should ill brook a submission to such unnatural acts of foreign power.

The consequences were accordingly fatal. The resentment excited by patriotism from a sense of national injury and dishonour, being embittered, and enflamed by the spirit of cruelty and animosity, which is almost always inseparable from religious disputes, that unhappy country exhibited, in the course of the year 1768, the scenes of horror, calamity, and desolation, which are the common concomitants of civil war. Citizen destroying citizen, foreigners drenching the vast plains of a great country in the best blood of its inhabitants, and the fields covered with the unburied bodies of those who used to till them, are but a part of the horrors of this dreadful picture. Some that were most impatient of the Russian yoke at several times attacked their armies. Encouraged by Austria, and particularly by France, they made themselves masters of the city of Cracow, of a part of Podolia, and united in the fortress of Bar, the name whereof was then given to that confederation, which became so famous by its enormities and its misfortunes. The empress caused reinforcements of the troops to enter Poland, giving the command of them to lieutenant-general Soltikof. The affrighted confederates made a second application to the Turks. The count de Vergennes, being informed of this step, renewed his remonstrances to the divan, to determine it to succour

succour the Poles, and to oppose the ambitious designs of Catharine : in which he succeeded. The ambassador of that princess was shut up in the prison of seven towers, and the reis effendi delivered to the foreign ministers a manifesto*, by which the grand signior declared war against Russia, accusing it of having infringed the treaties, and violated the territory of the ottoman empire. The Turks at the same time, announced that they were about to open the campaign with an army of five hundred thousand men.

It does not appear that the court of Russia was at all desirous of entering into this war, if peace could have been possibly preserved, without giving up its favourite system in Poland; and the occasional disorders committed by its troops on the ottoman frontiers, do not seem to have proceeded from any fixed design of giving umbrage to that court; at least till matters were carried to such lengths, that there were no longer any hopes of preserving harmony. There is no doubt, however, but that this court foresaw that war would be the probable consequence of its conduct in that country; an event, which the repeated remonstrances of the porte, and the anxiety it shewed at the pursuit of those measures, sufficiently indicated. It was accordingly well prepared for this event; its armies were in good condition, its

* This manifesto was inclosed in a purse. See the appendix, No. VIII. at the end of this volume.

stores and magazines well provided, and the disposition of its troops such, that they might be readily assembled in bodies upon the frontiers.

The empress dreaded now neither the threats nor the undisciplined multitudes of the ottoman forces. On the contrary, she shewed great dignity and firmness. Upon the occasion of the arrest of her minister* at Constantinople, she loudly justified his conduct, and applauded his spirit in not making any humiliating concessions, or submitting to conditions that were derogatory to the honour and glory of the empire.

The conduct of the grand signior, in regard to the transactions in Poland, was blameless and irreproachable, and entirely consistent with the character of a good neighbour and faithful ally. The affairs of that country had, for some years past, greatly attracted the attention of the porte; nor could it indeed have been an indifferent spectator of the measures there lately pursued. The great and growing power of the russian empire, and the supreme ascendant it had acquired in all the transactions of the north, were in themselves sufficient objects of jealousy to so near a neighbour. But the almost absolute dominion which it had lately acquired, and the unlimited authority it exercised, in so considerable and extensive a country, and possessed of such great natural power,

* The 12th of October 1768.

as Poland, was an object of such moment, as the sultan could not possibly have overlooked, without giving up every pretension to true policy, and even to common prudence.

In fact, while its kings were elected, its laws passed, and its states governed under the influence of a russian army, Poland could be considered in no other light than as a province to that empire; and the splendid titles of kingdom and republic were only a mockery and cruel insult on its degradation. The Poles might have urged, and the Turks might have been convinced, that the pretences of fulfilling treaties, protecting the dissidents, and guarding the freedom of election, was an useful sort of official language, which made a very good figure on paper, and had a plausible effect in manifestos, to the vulgar, or to those who were but little concerned. But these glosses could bear no political test of examination; as reasons of the same or a similar nature might be everlastingly found for the keeping of an army in any country, under pretence of friendship or protection, and at the same time converting it to all the purposes of a conquered province. In truth, the same reasons would have held, for sending a russian army to Constantinople, to protect the divan, to prevent riots among the janissaries, and to restore the christians in that empire to their ancient rights and privileges.

There

There is no doubt but that the applications which had been repeatedly made for some years past by numbers of the polish nobility to the grand signior, had their weight with him. The proposals lately made by the nobility of Podolia and some other provinces, who, it was said, had offered to put themselves and their countries under the turkish government upon certain conditions, must also have been flattering to the ambition of that prince. Without entering farther into the motives, it is certain that the preparations for the war in the turkish empire exceeded any thing of the same nature that had been known for more than an age; that no expence was spared in the military departments; and that the sultan himself attended to every thing with a care and assiduity which sufficiently shewed how deeply he interested himself in the consequences.

Catharine, however, had lost no time in preparing for her defence; and her preparations were formidable. Accordingly, she caused a manifesto to be delivered to all the ministers of the powers neutral or allied, and published a declaration of war, with the usual forms, in the public places of Petersburg.

1769. The russian armies began to march, and soon extended from the banks of the Danube to those of the river Kuban. The Tartars of the Crimea, who had embraced the party of the Turks, were the first against whom the armies of Catharine

rine displayed their prowess. General Izaakof drove twelve thousand of them out of New Serbia, which they had entered under the command of their khan *. Masters of Azof and Taganrok, the Russians put these two places into a condition of resisting their ancient possessors, and laboured with unremitting industry, in augmenting the little squadrons, which have since given them the dominion of the Euxine.

The kozaks of the Ukraine penetrated into Moldavia. Prince Gallitzin, who commanded the principal body of the Russian army, passed the Dniestr, and attacked thirty thousand Turks even under the ramparts of Khotyim; but he was repulsed; and the conquerors pursued him to the other side of the river.

That general then published a manifesto, inviting all the Poles, who were not of the confederation of Bar, to take arms against that confederation. Soltikof had already solemnly announced to his army, that such officers or soldiers as should take a confederate, and grant him his life, should be severely punished.

Such is the faint view which our limits allow us to take of the situation of affairs in that unhappy country. A nearer inspection would represent a picture more disgraceful to human nature; sullied with the most dreadful exorbitances, and stained with the most horrid cruelties. These charges

* In the month of March 1769.

were

were at the time reciprocally made; and it is to be feared with too much truth on both sides. One instance however deserves to be particularly marked, in hopes that it may stand as a perpetual record of the infamy of the perpetrator.

Nine Polish gentlemen, whose arms had been cut off at the wrists, presented in the capital city of their native country this new and shocking spectacle: a spectacle that would disgrace a nation of savages, and that, even amongst them, would excite every latent seed of pity, indignation, and horror, into action. The Russian general Drevitch was the detested author of this inhuman and execrable act; and some accounts state him to have been the immediate operator in it. The barbarian had acted in the double capacity of their judge and their executioner.

Catharine recalled from Warsaw prince Repnin, whose arrogance was disgusting to all the Poles, without even excepting the warmest partizans of Russia. That ambassador was succeeded by prince Volkonsky *, who exerted himself in vain to effect the re-confederation already proposed in the manifesto of prince Gallitzin. The empress clearly saw how dangerous it would be for her, if all the Poles should unite against the Russians. But the efforts of her generals and the intrigues of her mi-

* Mikhaila Nikititch Volkonsky, nephew of the famous chancellor Bestuchef. He was afterwards made governor of Mosco.

nisters

niers were now of less service to her than the weakness and inattention of the court of Versailles. If that court had been so inclined, the confederation of Bar would have been generalized, the porte powerfully defended, and Poland still have been in the number of the powers of Europe*.

Long before the plan for the partition of Poland was put into execution, the empress and the king of Prussia equally felt the necessity of conferring on that grand design. But, thinking that an interview between them would not fail of giving umbrage to the other potentates, and that they might perhaps find means for discovering the motives of it, they thought it most advisable to decline it altogether. Frederic, then giving his instructions to prince Henry, his brother, charged him with a commission to go to Russia. The better to conceal the object of his journey, prince Henry gave out, that he intended only to make a visit to his sister the queen of Sweden. While he was at Stockholm, he mentioned that he should

* In order to raise all Poland in one confederacy, the very eloquent and very able general Mokronosky requested of the duke de Choiseul no more than two million livres tournois as a subsidy, the acknowledgment of count Vilheorsky as minister of the confederation of Bar, and the mission of an agent to it, commissioned to see that the subsidies were well applied. The duke de Choiseul approved of the plan; but was dissuaded from it by the court of Vienna, who had doubtless already formed secret views, as the partition of Poland afterwards made it appear.

return

return to Prussia by the way of Denmark. But all at once he seemed to change his resolution, and yield, from complaisance to Catharine; who, hearing that he was so near her dominions, gave him pressing invitations to come and see her at Petersburg. Thus, though prince Henry had quitted Berlin in no other design than to proceed to Russia, he found means to make it believed that he was now going upon an unpremeditated journey.

Prince Henry embarked at Stockholm in a galley*, that conveyed him as far as Abo, the capital of Finland. Thence he repaired to Petersburg. A chamberlain of the empress was dispatched to meet him on the frontiers of Russia. General Bibikof received him at the last station, before the entrance of Petersburg, and conducted him to the palace that had been prepared for his reception, and where the minister Panin was waiting for him. The prince entered Petersburg under a discharge of cannon, and every where received the same honours that are paid to sovereigns.

1770. The next day he presented himself at court with a numerous suite, and dined in public with the empress. All that passed this day was conducted with the most rigorous attention to

* The prince royal of Sweden, who reigned afterwards under the name of Gustavus III. and prince Frederic his brother, passed the first day in the galley with prince Henry. The duke of Sudermania was at that time in France.

ceremony;

magnificence of which is deserving to be remembered.

Tzarisko-selo, or the seat of the tzars, the fixed summer-residence of Catharine II. lies in an open, pleasant country, diversified by gentle elevations and spots of forest, at the distance of twenty-four versts from Peterburg. The space of the whole grounds belonging to the palace comprises four hundred and twenty thousand square fathoms. This princely seat owes its origin to Catharine I. and its extension and embellishment to the empress Elizabeth; but for its elegant completion and the

morning.—Besides the masquerade and other festivities, in honour and for the diversion of prince Henry, we had lately a most magnificent show of fire-works. They were exhibited in a wide space before the winter palace; and in truth, “beggared description.” They displayed, by a variety of emblematical figures, the reduction of Moldavia, Vallakhia, Bessarabia, and the various conquests and victories achieved since the commencement of the present war. The various colours, the bright green, and the snowy white, exhibited in these fire-works, were truly astonishing. For the space of twenty minutes, a tree adorned with the loveliest and most verdant foliage, seemed to be waving as with a gentle breeze. It was entirely of fire; and during the whole of this stupendous scene, an arch of fire, by the continued throwing of rockets and fire balls in one direction, formed as it were a suitable canopy. On this occasion a prodigious multitude of people was assembled; and the empress, it was surmised, seemed uneasy. She was afraid, it was apprehended, lest any accident, like what happened at Paris at the marriage of the dauphin, should befall her beloved people.” *Anecdotes of the Russian empire*, p. 327.

greater

greater part of its present magnificence, it is indebted to the creative reign of Catharine II.

The columns that mark the versts on the road from town to Tzarisko-selo, are like those on the Peterhof road, of marble, jasper, and granite. On the two sides of the way are eleven hundred globular lamps, which on public occasions, when the court is at Tzarisko-selo, are lighted. Along the road the traveller is entertained with the view of private gardens and country houses, though neither in number nor elegance and diversity to be compared with those on the road to Peterhof. Between the sixth and seventh verst-stones are seen the walls of the palace of Tschesimé, rising from a swampy plain overgrown with bushes. This palace which is in the form of a triangle, is built entirely in the old gothic taste, with ornaments of that style, lofty windows, painted glass, little turrets. The inside is remarkable for a very good collection of portraits of all the princes of Europe that were reigning about the year 1775, and their families, the greater part whereof were presents from the several princes themselves. The grounds about it are laid out in the english manner.

Five or six versts farther on is a village of german colonists; after which there is no other object of consequence, till, at the extremity of a thick forest, Tzarisko-selo, the grandest of all the imperial palaces, appears. On the left hand is the wall of the park, and opposite two lofty portals, practised through

through a steep and rugged artificial rock, on the top of the highest whereof is a chinese temple. On passing through this entrance, on the right hand is a canal, beyond it the palace, and on the left is a chinese village, through which the road lies over a chinese bridge into the park. The road extends to the neighbouring town of Sophia, through a colossal gate of cast iron. The palace itself forms an amphitheatre, with the building opposite to the principal front. On the east side of the garden are two rows of large houses for the people belonging to the palace, and for the entertainment of travellers.

The outside of the palace is grand from its magnitude, and dazzling by its gilded ornaments. It consists of three stories, and has a wing on either side, one of which is the chapel, and the other the imperial baths. The central part was inhabited by her majesty. Here a marble staircase leads up to the second story, in which are the state apartments to the side of the court-yard, and the proper dwelling-rooms look to the gardens. The generality of the former are elegantly fitted up, and their furniture is of the richest and costliest materials of every kind, and with such magnificence, that travellers, after visiting other countries, unanimously declare, they know nothing of the kind with which it can be compared. A description of these, with the gardens, will certainly not be expected here; as it would require a peculiar work of several volumes for

for that purpose. Only this cannot be overlooked, that Catharine, amidst the creations of her capacious mind, had here devoted a little temple of simple architecture to solitary retirement and calm reflection, in which, surrounded by books and the beautiful scenery of nature, she sometimes forgot her immense sphere of action, to indulge in the quiet enjoyments of meditation.

From the south wing of the palace projects an arcade, fifty fathoms in length, over which is a covered colonnade of marble columns.—The gardens are laid out in the english manner, and are unusually spacious. Among the remarkable works in these gardens that are susceptible of description are principally the following objects: a small temple, containing a choice collection of antique and modern statues; a solitude for a rural repast; together with a hermitage; a superb bath, which may vie with any thing that ancient Rome could produce; picturesque ruins; a little town, with its streets and squares, &c. in memory of the taking possession of Tavrida, with many others. Two artificial lakes, connected by a rivulet, across which is a marble bridge, copied from that in Stowe gardens. On an island in one of these lakes is a turkish mosque, on the other a spacious hall for musical entertainments. In a wood appears a pyramid of granite in the ægyptian form, in the neighbourhood of which are two lofty columns.

Tzarisko-felo, the magnificent sanctuary of nature and art, pretends also to be the grandest temple of merit. Formed of the radical mountains of our earth, monuments of great achievements here tower aloft, fearless of the destructive revolutions of time. A marble obelisk records the victory near Kagul, and the conqueror Romantzof-Sadunaïskoï. To the day of Tschesniè and the hero Orlof-Tschesmenskoï a marble pillar on a pedestal of granite is dedicated. A superb triumphal arch proclaims the patriotic courage of prince Orlof, with which he opposed himself to the insurrection and the pestilence that raged in the capital, and overcame them both. A rostral column perpetuates the conquest of the Morea and the name Feodor Orlof. The rest of the gardens are filled with objects that keep the admiration of the beholder on its utmost stretch.

It was at this grand feat of magnificence and taste, that Catharine gave the famous entertainment to prince Henry of Prussia. At the coming on of the night, the empress, the grand duke, prince Henry, and several persons of the court, to the number of sixteen, seated themselves in an immense sledge drawn by sixteen horses, covered and inclosed by double glassè, which reflected the numberless images of the objects both within and without. The sledge, followed by upwards of two thousand others, set out from Petersburg: every person

person of the whole company being masked, and dressed either in a fancy-habit or a domino.

At the distance of two versts from town, the train of sledges passed under a grand triumphal arch, illuminated with lamps of various colours, and adorned with transparent emblems. At every succeeding verst was some grand structure, a pyramid of lamps, a magnificent temple, illuminated colonnades, or fireworks in full display; and opposite to these at every verst on the other side of the road was a house of public entertainment erected for the purpose, where rustics of both sexes, shepherds and shepherdesses, were seen dancing and amusing themselves in various ways as at a country wake: every public-house of this sort representing some different nation, all the people being habited in the dress of the country the inhabitants of which they personated; the music and the dances likewise in strict conformity with the habits. At other intervals, vaulting, tumbling, interludes, &c. were performing.

At about two versts from the palace of Tzarisko-felo a high mountain rose to view, seen through an avenue cut in the wood, representing mount Vesuvius during an eruption, darting torrents of flames, and illuminating the atmosphere to a great distance. This artificial eruption continued during all the time the sledges passed in sight of the mountain, till they entered the lofty portal through the rock into the chinese village, and proceeded to the palace.

The inside of the palace of Tzarisko-felo was lighted by an infinite number of wax-lights. In various apartments the company danced two hours. All at once a grand discharge of cannon was heard, on which the ball ceased, the candles were extinguished, and all the people ran to the windows, where they enjoyed the sight of magnificent fireworks the whole length of the palace. This having lasted for some time, a thundering discharge of artillery was heard again; when all the candles were alight once more as if by enchantment, and a splendid supper was already served up. After rising from table, the dances were renewed and continued till a late hour in the morning.

Catharine, during the whole of her reign, gave frequent entertainments to the public, which, though inferior to this, were yet conducted with a magnificence not to be exceeded in any court of Europe.

Prince Henry, during his stay at Petersburg, passed all his evenings in company with the empress, in the favourite suite of apartments which that princess called her hermitage.

We ought not perhaps any longer to delay giving some account of this sumptuous edifice, for so it should be styled; or rather, a suite of apartments, which, under the modest appellation of an hermitage, contains every thing that the most exquisite luxury could combine. It occupies a spacious building contiguous to the imperial palace, with which it communicates by a covered passage over an

an

an arch. This structure, which Catharine devoted to social recreation and the pleasures of familiar converse, is perhaps the only one of its kind that has ever been built by queens and empresses for this purpose. It had every property that could render it delightful to the elect circle that formed her private parties. The treasures of art and industry with which it abounds are not here to be described; but a short account of some of the remarkable particulars of this palace it would be unpardonable to omit. Here is the private library of the empress; the picture-gallery, in which the famous Houghton-collection makes but a small figure; Raphael's gallery, built precisely to the dimensions of that of the Vatican, with excellent copies of all the paintings, corner-pieces, and other ornaments of exactly the same size and in the same situations; a cabinet of medals, and another of coins; a collection of copper-plate engravings; a collection of natural history, particularly mineralogy; a collection of curious pieces of art; a collection of models of mechanical inventions; a cabinet of antique and modern gems; not to mention the extraordinary works of art which compose the furniture of these apartments*. Here and there are placed the busts of great men. It is in

* A great part of the paintings in the hermitage are from the famous cabinet of Crozat, which the empress caused to be bought at Paris.

one of these rooms that the elegant bust of Mr. Charles James Fox stands in the middle of a marble chimney-piece between two others. Some chambers are destined to musical entertainments, one to billiards, and others to various games. One of them opens into a pleasure-garden upon arches, with furnaces beneath them in winter to keep up a genial heat; so that in the most rigorous seasons, here are gathered the peach and the ananas, the hyacinth and the rose. The whole of this garden is covered with a fine brass wire, that the beautiful and rare birds from all countries that fly among the trees and bushes, or hop about the grass-plots and gravel-walks, and which the empress used frequently to feed from her hand, may not escape. Here, in the midst of winter, Catharine, with those whom she admitted to her conversation, would walk on lawns and gravel, beneath the branches of verdant trees, and amidst fruits and flowers of every kind.

Above this is a terrace, where is a second garden, in the Asiatic taste; but this can only be enjoyed during the summer season. A covered gallery leads from this enchanted palace into the court-theatre, at the performances of which, likewise, only a select company ever appeared.

The other apartments of the hermitage are two large halls ornamented with great elegance, and a dining-room, in which dinner is served by a mechanical apparatus, rendering the attendance of

servants

servants entirely unnecessary, by presenting the dishes on small tables which rise through trap-doors. At these the company take their seats; and each person, on wishing to change his plate, has only to strike it in the centre, and it falls through the table, and through the floor, starting up again and settling in its place, having upon it whatever was written on the scrap of paper that descended with it. At a certain signal all the plates and dishes descend, and others with the second course presently appear.

Prince Henry expressed his desire to see Mosco. The sledges were immediately prepared; and he was transported thither with extraordinary celerity. Three weeks afterwards he was already back in St. Petersburg.

Among the various presents which he received of the empress was observed the star of the order of St. Andrew, full of very large brilliants, together with a single diamond valued at forty thousand rubles. The portrait of Catharine was inclosed in this ring*.

However, neither festivities nor pleasures prevented prince Henry from accomplishing the secret object of his journey. In the private conversations which he had with the empress, the dismem-

* The empress, moreover, presented him with a collection of medals in gold, and a variety of rich furs. She also made great presents to all the persons of his suite.

berment of Poland was resolved on*. Catharine and Frederic were equally desirous of undertaking this

* A letter written at the time by Mr. professor Richardson, of Glasgow, then in the family of the late lord Cathcart, ambassador at St. Petersburg, as tutor to the present lord, discovers such perspicacity, and has been so verified by events, that it is impossible to resist the temptation of making the following extract from it. It stands the xlii in his collection, and bears date Jan. 4, 1771:—This city, since the beginning of winter, has exhibited a continued scene of festivity and amusements; feasts, balls, concerts, plays, operas, fireworks, and masquerades in constant succession; and all in honour of, and to divert, his royal highness prince Henry of Prussia, the famous brother of the present king. Yet his royal highness does not seem much diverted. He looks at them as an old cat looks at the gambols of a young kitten; or as one who had higher sport going on in his own mind, than the pastime of fiddling and dancing. He came here about the beginning of November, on pretence of a friendly visit to the empress, to have the happiness of waiting on so *magnanimous* a princess; and to see with his own eyes the progress of those immense improvements so highly celebrated by Voltaire, and those french writers who receive gifts from her majesty. As the queen of Sheba had heard of king Solomon's "acts and wisdom," and "came to see whether she had heard a true report of them in her own land;" so also this royal prince hath come to visit this mighty princess. It may be too that, like the queen of Sheba, he is come to prove her majesty with "hard questions;" if so, he may depend upon getting answers to all his questions; and if he has any desire which she can grant, she will "grant him his heart's desire." I could, with the greatest ease, make out an exact parallel, in which the precious stones, the camels, and asses, brought by the sheban potentate to Jerusalem, would, I assure you, make no contemptible figure. But do you seriously imagine, that this creature of skin and bone should travel through Sweden,

this dismemberment; but they could not do it without a third ally. If Maria Theresa had been sole

Sweden, whence he is come at present, and Finland and Poland, all for the pleasure of seeing the metropolis and empress of Russia? Other princes may pursue such pastime; but the princes of the house of Brandenburg fly at a nobler quarry. Or is the king of Prussia, as a tame spectator, to reap no advantage from the troubles of Poland and the turkish war? What is the meaning of his late conferences with the emperor of Germany? Depend upon it, these planetary conjunctions are the forerunners of great events. Time, and perhaps a few months, may unfold the secret. You will recollect the signs, when you shall hear after this of changes, usurpations, and revolutions. Prince Henry of Prussia is one of the most celebrated generals of the present age. So great are his military talents, that his brother, who is not apt to pay compliments, says of him, that in commanding an army he was never known to commit a fault. This, however, is but a negative kind of praise. He reserves to himself the glory of superior genius, which, though capable of brilliant achievements, is yet liable to unwary mistakes; and allows him no other than the praise of correctness. To judge of him by his appearance, I should form no high estimate of his abilities. But the scythian ambassadors judged in the same manner of Alexander the great. He is under the middle size, very thin, he walks firmly enough, or rather struts, as if he wanted to walk firmly; and has little dignity in his air or gesture. He is dark complexioned; and he wears his hair, which is remarkably thick, clubbed, and dressed with a high toupée. His forehead is high; his eyes large, with a little squint; and when he smiles, his upper lip is drawn up a little in the middle. His look expresses sagacity and observation; but nothing very amiable: and his manner is grave and stiff, rather than affable. He was dressed, when I first saw him, in a light

sole mistress of the empire, they would not, perhaps, have succeeded in making her a sharer in so unjust a spoliation. Joseph II. was not so difficult. Turkey, France, England, might also have maintained the treaties of which they were the guarantees; but these powers were so easily deceived, or so indifferent to the fate of other nations, that Catharine said to prince Henry, "I will frighten Turkey; I will flatter England; do you take upon you to buy over Austria, that she may amuse France."

Prince Henry knew so well the dispositions of Joseph II. and of his minister Kaunitz, that he acted as if he had been already in concert with them. He settled with Catharine the conditions to be observed in the dismemberment of Poland, and fixed the extent of territory that each of the powers in this copartnership should appropriate to

light blue frock, with silver frogs; and wore a red waistcoat and blue breeches. He is not very popular among the Russians; and accordingly their wits are disposed to amuse themselves with his appearance, and particularly with his toupée. They say he resembles Sampson; that all his strength lies in his hair; and that, conscious of this, and recollecting the fate of the son of Manoah, he suffers not the nigh approaches of any deceitful Dalilah. They say he is like the comet, which, about fifteen months ago, appeared so formidable in the Russian hemisphere; and which, exhibiting a small watery body, but a most enormous train, dismayed the northern and eastern potentates "with fear of change."

itself.

itself. However, the treaty between them was not signed till two years afterwards*.

The war continued to rage with fury on the frontiers of Turkey; and while it cherished in the mind of Catharine the ambition of conquest, it served also as a military school to the Russians. Prince Gallitzin, humiliated at his defeat, made a fresh attempt against Khotyim. It was not more successful than the former. Sixty thousand Turks marched for the defence of that place: they defended it bravely, and pursued the Russians quite into Poland: but being vanquished in their turn, they retreated to Moldavia.

At the beginning of this campaign the Turks fought with great courage and obstinacy; but the ignorance of their generals, and the disorder that reigned in their armies, often cost them a defeat. After ten months of war, their army was almost entirely destroyed, and the fortress of Khotyim, which it had at first so valiantly defended, was abandoned without resistance to two hundred Russian grenadiers.

The empress, on hearing that, when the Turks were pursuing prince Gallitzin, they had entered on the Polish territory, pretended that Poland ought not to suffer with impunity this infraction of the treaty of Carlovitz. Stanislaus Augustus and the senate of Warsaw, always submissive to the

* It was signed at Petersburg in the month of February 1772.
good

good pleasure of Catharine, declared war against the porte. This procedure, however, added nothing to the forces of the Russians. What exertions could be made by a country without an army, without money, and a prey to all the horrors of anarchy?

But Catharine conceived a project more worthy of her genius. While her armies were harassing the Ottomans on the banks of the Pruth, the Danube and the Dniestr, and her fleets were triumphing on the Euxine, she resolved to attack them even in the isles of Greece. Her ministers were against this plan, excepting count Ivan Chernenich and Gregory Orlof. Catharine, however, set about the proper measures for executing her darling scheme. The dock yards of Archangel, of Cronstadt, and Reval, now swarmed with workmen from all parts of the country; and the keels of as many ships as could be begun at one time were immediately laid; the main timbers of these ships were of oak, and the other parts of fir. She exerted herself to keep up the best understanding with the two maritime powers, England and Denmark. For the improvement of her sea-officers, she had before engaged Englishmen in her service, the number of whom was now doubled. Others she sent to Malta, to make themselves acquainted with the art of managing the gallies. In order to accustom the lower classes of the marine, from the captain to the cabin-boy, to seas as yet unknown

to

to them, she ordered a new-built frigate, the *Nadejda* *Blogopolutshik* (the *Successful Hope*) to be got ready for sea, and invited some merchants of Peterburg to make ventures in it for a direct commerce with the ports of the Mediterranean. The empress undertook to provide the crew, and in all other respects to be an equal partner in the trade with the rest. This being settled, the command was given to captain *Plesscheyef*. This was the first ship which bore the russian flag in the Mediterranean: it was out on the voyage two years, and in that time visited almost all the ports of that sea. Able and experienced officers, especially from the british navy, readily entered into the imperial service; *Elphinston*, *Greig*, *Tate*, *Dugdale*, and many others, not to mention sir *Charles Knowles*, who acted more as superintendent and director of the dock yards than in a strictly naval capacity*: even the pilots on board the fleet, besides native Russians, consisted of Englishmen, Danes, and Dutch. The empress concluded

* To the zeal and abilities of admiral sir Charles Knowles, Russia is indebted for the present improved state of the art of ship-building in that country. The admiral had much to reform in the admiralty; and what he effected was really surprizing.—Sir Charles Knowles brought over with him, as his secretary, Mr. John Robison, who was shortly afterwards appointed inspector of the marine cadet corps at Cronstadt, into which he introduced considerable improvements during the few years he remained in that station, and now worthily fills a professor's chair at Edinburgh.

a par-

a particular treaty with Denmark, by which that kingdom was to keep in constant readiness eight hundredseamen for the service of Russia. And lastly, she requested of the maritime powers a friendly reception and assistance to her ships of war. England and Tuscany complied with this request; Malta consented that three russian men of war, but no more at one time, should enter the port of la Valletta; France, Spain, Venice, and Naples, would admit only merchant-ships from that country in their ports.

Accordingly, in September 1769, what no one would have believed, two squadrons of russian men of war sailed from Archangel and Reval, which were soon followed by others from the Baltic, and steered their hitherto unattempted course for the Mediterranean. The fleet now consisting of twenty sail of the line, six frigates, several transports, a number of bomb-ketches, gallies, and vessels with troops for land-service, left the Baltic, crossed the north sea, passed the straits of Gibraltar, and, after having been dispersed by a tempest, collected again, and displayed in the Archipelago its victorious flag. This fleet was commanded by admiral Spiridof: but that admiral himself was under the orders of Alexèy Orlof, whose share in the revolution had raised him all at once from a simple soldier to the rank of general, and whose audacity served him instead of experience and talents.

All

All Europe was astonished to see a nation, which till the present century was hardly known but by the map, now entering its harbours and braving its coasts. From the bottom of the Baltic a russian fleet issued out to shake the remotest parts of the Mediterranean: to excite and support the insurrections of the greek christians, and to leave nothing in any part of the vast empire of enemies, free from alarm and confusion. This naval expedition of Russia stands particularly distinguished amongst the events of the times, and forms indeed a remarkable æra in naval history. What a change of fortune! Russians landing in Paros, Melos, and other islands, and even on the continent of antient Greece. Russians conquering Nestor's Pylos*, and the famous Sparta†; laying siege to Corinth, and capturing Lemnos and Mytelene‡. Russians were fighting in Syria and Ægypt, where, from 1770 to 1773, they supported the enterprising Ali-bey.—But here indeed many errors were committed, whereby seve-

* At present Navarino. † Now Misra.

‡ Captain Ployart, who commanded one of the ships in this expedition, and is now an admiral in the danish fleet, going on shore at Naxos, took with him a Homer, an old school-book which he happened to have on board, and shewed it to some of the natives, who begged it of him with the most earnest importunity. The captain complied with their desires; and on going again on shore the next day, he saw an elderly man with his back to a wall, reading the speeches of the first Iliad with all the fury of declamation, to an audience of fourteen or fifteen persons.

ral

ral of the advantages that had been gained were obliged to be abandoned. A great part of the fault lay with the unsteady Greeks, Mainots, and Montenegrins, who at first declared themselves very warmly against the Turks, but, more inclined to robbery and depredation than regular fighting, shewed neither discipline, fidelity, nor courage.

A long time before the sailing of this fleet for the Archipelago, the empress had been preparing the way by settling a good understanding with the principal isles of Greece. Her emissaries flattered them with the hopes of exciting a general revolt in those countries. Marquis Maruzzi, banker at Corfu, and attached to the greek religion, came to St. Petersburg, where he was decorated with the order of St. Anne, and the title of minister from Russia to Venice. He promised in gratitude, to advance the sums that were necessary for the expedition of Alexèy Orlof, and he actually furnished a capital of thirty-five millions of livres tournois*.

On

* The empress procured, besides, several considerable loans at Leghorn, at Genoa, at Lucca, and at Amsterdam. The merchants of Holland had at first shewn reluctance at lending their money. Piqued with resentment that Mr. William Gomm, the banker of the court of Petersburg, had thought fit to dispense with their assistance, and to establish a course of exchange direct between Russia and England, they caused bills of exchange of his for three hundred thousand florins to be protested in one day, and occasioned him to stop. But they were offered an especial

On the event of the war against the Turks depended the fate of Poland, and the consideration in which Russia should henceforth be held in Europe. Catharine was not ignorant of it. Accordingly she employed every effort of her power, and every exertion of her mind, in order to ensure success.

New squadrons were built, numerous recruits were raised and sent to join her camps. Not altogether satisfied with prince Gallitzin, the empress recalled him, and gave the command of her army to count Romantzof, who was succeeded in the Ukraine by general Panin*. Prince Dolgoruky had a third army under his command.

Neither were the Turks backward in reinforcing their armies, and putting at their head generals whom they thought the most capable of leading them on to battle. The grand vizir took upon himself the general command. They received also powerful succours from the Crimea. The famous Kerim-Gueray was lately dead, and his nephew had succeeded him. The new khan was weak and of a pacific disposition. The Turks caused him to be deposed; and in his room was elected Kaplan-Gueray, a warlike prince, who presently

pecial mortgage on the custom-houses of Petersburg and Riga; and allured by this bait, they lent them all that they desired.

* Brother of the minister.

put himself at the head of a combined army of Turks and Tartars.

The Russians opened the campaign by the siege of Bender, a place celebrated for the retreat and the long sojourn of Charles XII. But, harassed by the Tartars, they were obliged for some time to relinquish the hope of capturing that town. More successful on another side, they got possession of Yassi and of Ibraïlof.

These advantages were of but small importance. Two signal battles decided the fate of the campaign, and secured the glory of Romantzof. The first was fought on the borders of the Pruth. The Turks, to the number of eighty thousand men, were commanded by the khan of the Crimea, who had dexterously intrenched himself, on a hill, where it was not possible to attack them. Romantzof encamped on an opposite station, and for the space of a month was vainly endeavouring to bring them to a battle. At length they lost all patience. A movement of Romantzof led them to imagine that he was on the point of retreating; and a body of twenty thousand men having gone down to pursue him, they were repulsed with loss into their very camp, which they reached in terror and disorder.

Animated by this success, the Russians lost no time in mounting the hill by escalade; and after a vigorous resistance, their enemies abandoned to them their intrenchments and a considerable part of their baggage and artillery.

After

After this the Turks retired towards the Danube, where they expected to be reinforced by detachments from the grand ottoman army. Indeed the grand vizir, who commanded it, did pass the river, and came to the assistance of the vanquished.

Romantzof, who thinking he was in pursuit of an army in confusion, had advanced towards the mouth of the River Pruth*, found himself all at once in the face of one hundred and fifty thousand Turks. His situation was the more dangerous, as he had been forced to detach a corps of his army for the protection of a convoy he was hourly expecting. The khan, who was indulging in the hopes of revenge, spread his forces to the left of the russian army, and surrounded it in such a manner, as to cut off all possibility of retreat.

Though the russian troops consisting only of eighteen thousand men, were far inferior in numbers to those of the Turks, the latter took the same precautions as if they had had to contend with an enemy who amounted to an equal number with themselves. During the night, they surrounded their camp with a triple intrenchment. The following day the grand vizir gave the signal of battle; and the Russians were attacked on all sides at once. The firing was kept up for five hours, without any decided advantage to either party. But general Romantzof, judging that the cannon and the musquetry would complete the destruction of his

* The Pruth flows into the Danube.

army, gave orders to fall upon the enemy with bayonets fixed. The Turks gave way, and retreated within their intrenchments, where they defended themselves a long time with great bravery; but numbers were at length obliged to yield to discipline and skill. The defeat of the Ottomans was complete*. They retreated carrying off the vizir in their flight, and leaving almost a third of their army on the field of battle. The greater part of the baggage, and the stores of this army, one hundred and forty three pieces of brass cannon, and seven thousand waggons loaded with provisions, remained in possession of the Russians, and supplied them with the means of obtaining new victories.

Soon after this Romantsof passed the Dniestr. Prince Repnin made the conquest of Ismailof. Panin laid siege to Bender; and that place, well fortified and defended by a numerous garrison, but entertaining no longer any hope of being relieved, surrendered† after a resistance of nearly three months; the capture of this fortress brought with it the submission of the Tartars of Budziak and Otchakof to the russian sceptre.

General Igelftrohm took the important town and fortress of Ackerman‡, the capital of Bessara-

* In the month of July. The camp of the Turks was at Kagul, whence the battle had its name.

† At the beginning of September.

‡ Towards the end of the same month.

bia,

bia, by assault, which is situated on the Euxine, at the mouth of the Dniestr*.

The news of such great and repeated successes augmented the pride and the security of Catharine. The disaffected, who surrounded her throne, dared no longer conspire against a princess who was triumphing at such a distance over her most formidable enemies. The provinces of Valakhia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia, submitting to the russian arms, sent deputies to Petersburg to do homage to the empress. She received them with magnificence, and loaded them with benefits.

These three provinces, along with Transylvania, formed much the greatest and most considerable part of the ancient Dacia. They lie between the 43d and 48th degrees of latitude, and are defended on three sides, by the Dniestr, the Euxine, and the Danube; the former on the north separates Moldavia and Bessarabia from Poland and Little Tartary, the Black Sea is the boundary on the east, and the Danube shuts in Valakhia, from Bulgaria and Servia on the south; Transylvania and the bannat of Temeswar from the western boundary. These countries, whether we consider the happiness of the climate, the extraordinary fertility in general of the soil, or the excellency of the products, are perhaps equal to any, and are certainly superior to most in Europe. From the surprising

* Ackerman signifies the white town.

luxuriancy of their pastures, which are scarcely to be paralleled in any part of the world, they produce, besides admirable horses, almost incredible numbers of excellent oxen and sheep, with which, notwithstanding the repeated calamities they have undergone, they have long supported the markets of Constantinople. Their other products in corn, wine, oil, honey, and wax, besides a great variety of mines, were, in a state of culture, equal to those we have already mentioned. The people were calculated to enjoy these blessings, being able-bodied, brave, and warlike. Their power was such, that notwithstanding their groaning under a cruel and execrable domestic government, the prince of Valakhia, a few centuries ago, was able, at a short notice, to bring from that province only seventy thousand men into the field against the Turks.

All these advantages were insufficient to protect them against sinister events. The primary cause of their ruin was the cruel and arbitrary conduct of their despots: the bad neighbourhood of the Germans and Turks, equally insidious and oppressive in their designs, and ever watchful to take an advantage of their dissensions, precipitated their destruction; the wretched policy and cruel government of the porte completed it. Thus have these fine countries been reduced to little better than a desert; and such are the unhappy effects of a cruel and despotic government, to render vain all the

bounties of nature, and to make the finest parts of the globe equally sterile and inhospitable with its barren mountains.

At the same time several other foreign officers came to offer their services to Catharine, and obtained employment in her armies; among whom were, general Lloyd*, major Thomas Carlton†, and other Englishmen of tried courage and conduct, together with some naval officers from England and Denmark, and captain Kinbergen from Holland. These officers, distinguished by their talents and experience, were incorporated into the russian navy.

We have seen that, a little after her accession to the throne, Catharine had drawn from the conversations of marshal Munich the idea of getting possession of Constantinople, and of driving the Turks out of Europe. The old soldier had even offered to conduct the enterprize. But too many obstacles were at that time in the way of the execution of so great an attempt. The propitious moment seemed now at last arrived. However, unable to cherish the hope of keeping under her dominion all the grecian isles, the empress determined at least to ravish them from the ottoman power; and the most despotic of sovereigns resol-

* Well known as the author of "Reveries," a work on "the possibility of invading England,"—"history of the campaigns of the war in Germany," &c.

† Now governor of New Brunswick in America.

ved to be the patron of liberty in these fine countries, and to be the founder of a republic there *.

We have already observed, that secret agents had been disposing the Greeks to rise up in arms. That people, anciently so proud and now so debased, expected the Russians as their deliverers; and the instant their squadron had got the height of cape Matapan †, the whole Archipelago thought itself free. The Mainots, descendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, were the first that took arms. Their neighbours soon followed their example; and the Turks were massacred in several of the islands. But the latter cruelly revenged themselves for the insurrection of the Greeks. Some thousands of these miserable people were exterminated by the sabre of the janissaries.

The squadron of admiral Spiridof was soon joined by that of Elphinston, a native of England, vice-admiral in the service of Russia, and far more capable of commanding than the officer under whose orders he served.

To this double squadron was opposed that of the capudan-pasha ‡, a man of extraordinary intrepidity,

* Afterwards she determined Joseph II. to second this project, which nevertheless was not put in execution.

† Formerly the promontory of Tenaros.

‡ The capudan-pasha was Yaffer-bey. He was degraded, and Gazi-Hassan put in his place. The sultan was so pleased with his courage in the engagement with admiral Spiridof, that he gave him the surname of Gazi, or the Victorious.

dity,

dity, and who, on several occasions, only wanted, for gaining the victory, to have been better seconded.

He first forced the Russians to retire from Lemnos. Afterwards the two fleets met * in the channel that separates the isle of Scio from Natolia. The turkish ships were superior in number, and were in a manner intrenched behind some small islands and rocks on a level with the surface of the water. The Russians, however, were not afraid to attack them. The capudan-pasha, whose flag was flying on board the Sultan, of ninety guns, led the van, and offered battle to admiral Spiridof. The ships came alongside of each other. The efforts of courage were terrible on both sides. Showers of balls and grenades interchangeably crossed, with rapidity, on the decks of the two admirals. The ship of the capudan-pasha caught fire; that of the russian commander could not disengage itself from it. They blew up together; and the sea was covered with their smoking fragments. The admirals and some other officers were the only persons that escaped the disaster.

While the ships were burning, the other vessels, struck with terror, abandoned the fight; but soon after renewed the attack with redoubled fury. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate.

* The 5th of July.

The

The Turks had now the imprudence to enter the narrow and slimy bay of Tschesmè, where some of their vessels ran aground, and the others were so pressed for room, that they found it impossible for them to act. The Russians, who had observed their mistake, made every preparation for turning it to their advantage.

The day following*, vice-admiral Elphinston took his station at the entrance of the bay, to prevent the Turks from coming out. The next step he took was to order four fire-ships to be got ready, commanded by the english lieutenant Dugdale, and protected by the vessels of another Englishman, vice-admiral Greig. Towards midnight Greig began the attack with four ships of the line and two frigates. Presently after, Dugdale came up with his fire-ships; and braving the vigorous fire of the enemy, and encouraging by his example the Russians who seconded him, he himself fastened the grapplings of a fire-ship to one of the turkish vessels; and, with his hands, his face, and his hair, all burnt, he threw himself into the sea, and swam to the russian squadron. The turkish ships were so close together, that they all became a prey to the flames†. The sun at its rising saw no more of their flag.

So

* The 6th of July.

† The fire took place so effectually, that in five hours, the whole fleet, except one man of war and a few galleys that were towed off by the Russians, was totally destroyed; after which they

So far from endeavouring to stop the progress of the combustion, the turkish crews thought of nothing but their own safety. Several sailors got off in boats, others threw themselves into the sea and took to swimming, and all of them who gained the shore dispersed themselves about the countries, and were guilty of such depredations and excesses towards the wretched inhabitants, that even the Russians themselves could not perhaps have surpassed them. It was found necessary to send a party of troops to put an end to their ravages.

After the entire destruction of the turkish squadron, the Russians went to anchor at Paros; whence they might easily command all the grecian seas, and where not a single vessel was suffered to appear without lowering its top-sails.

The Turks were the more uneasy by the vicinity of such an enemy, as a rebellion had broke out in

they entered the harbour, and bombarded and cannonaded the town, and a castle that protected it, with such success, that a lucky shot having blown up the powder magazine in the latter, both were reduced to a heap of rubbish. Thus, there was scarcely a vestige left at nine o'clock, of a town, a castle, and a fine fleet, which had been all in existence, at one, the same morning.—It is certain that this famous conflagration was the work of three Englishmen, Elphinston, Greig, and Dugdale. The empress, nevertheless, thought fit to ascribe the idea of it to Alexius Orlof. She wrote so to Voltaire; she repeated it again in 1788, to the ambassador of France.

several

several parts of their empire. The pashas of Caramania, almost always at variance with the porte, took advantage of its disasters for withdrawing themselves entirely from its authority. That part of Syria which is below Sidon and Tripoli followed their example, and the old sheik Daher excited all the country which reaches from Acre to the plains of Esdraelon, and to the frontiers of Egypt.

But of all those who signalized themselves by their rebellion against the grand signior, he who undoubtedly shewed himself the most formidable, and who was most in capacity to be of service to Russia, was Ali-bey. Raised from the rank of a simple mammeluk to that of bey, he distinguished himself by his courage, and had experienced, though still very young, the favours and the reverses of fortune. The rivals of his power succeeded so far as to remove him from Cairo; but he soon returned thither again and banished them in his turn. He knew that the porte had been hostile to him, and, animated with an implacable resentment, he desired nothing better than to be able to contribute to the ruin of the ottoman empire. The arrival of the russian squadrons seemed to offer him a favourable opportunity for satisfying his vengeance.

Perhaps there never was an enterprize in a distant country more successfully carried on than that of the Russians on the coasts of Asia Minor. But perhaps also never were generals more ignorant,
more

more incapable of appreciating the character of foreign nations, more jealous of a vain ostentation, and more addicted to debauchery, than Alexey Orlof and his principal officers. If they had had the skill to profit by their victories, and the superiority of their forces, Syria and Egypt would for ever have been lost to the ottoman empire.

Ali-bey used every effort to induce them to support the rebellion, and to send him troops to assist him in driving the Turks out of Egypt. But instead of seconding his exertions, Alexius Orlof amused himself with insisting on his acknowledging the empress for his sovereign.

A young venetian merchant, named Carlo Rofetti, had possessed himself of the confidence of the bey, and was the first whom he employed to treat with the Russians. No one was more disposed, nor more fit to bring such a negotiation to a happy issue. Orlof had not the sense to take advantage of such an opportunity. Negligent of the advices which this artful Italian might have given him, and disgusting him by his arrogance, he took Greeks and Jews into his pay, who cheated and deceived him. He was mistrustful of Ali-bey, and forced him, by his artifices to be mistrustful of him.

It was only a short time before he quitted the Archipelago, that Alexius Orlof sent Plestscheyef*
into

* Plestscheyef obtained in the sequel the rank of vice-admiral. He drew up an account of his expedition in Egypt; but in it he

into Egypt. Plestscheyef was favourably received by the bey. He flattered himself with being able to draw from his mission great advantage to the Russians: but it was too late. Peace intervened to interrupt his negotiations.

A courier dispatched directly to the empress, brought her the news of the burning of the turkish fleet; so that she was the first person in Petersburg informed of the event. Count Ivan Chernichef, whom the empress had long since recalled from London, and put at the head of the marine department, was then deeply engaged in a quarrel with the college of admiralty, and that quarrel had occasioned some delay in the expedition of an affair of little consequence. Catharine complained of this delay, and thought no more of it. She was well acquainted with the obstinacy and the extreme incapacity of Chernichef: but she continued him in his place, because she had laid it down as a settled principle to change as seldom as possible her ministers and her ambassadors. When she sent for Ivan Chernichef to communicate to him the news of the affair of Tschesmè, the minister imagining that she meant to speak again to him of his quarrel, began, as he entered the

he mentions not a word of the money that he gave to the Cophr Risk, to procure for him the favour of Ali-bey. See the whole of this narrative in the "Varieties of Literature," vol. i. p. 477.

apartment:—

apartment:—"I assure you, madam, that it was "not my fault."—"Oh! I know that very well," returned the empress, "but it is not the less certain."—"Alas! yes, madam, and I am very "sorry for it."—"What! are you sorry that the "Turks have no longer any fleet?" said the empress, smiling; and she then communicated to him the contents of the dispatches which she had just received.

The joy was extreme at the court of Petersburg. Magnificent festivities were given to celebrate the victory of Tschesmè; and the empress afterwards caused a palace to be built*, and the foundations of a town to be laid, for consecrating to posterity the remembrance of so glorious an event.

1771. Count Alexius Orlof returned in all haste to Petersburg†, to repose upon his laurels, to enjoy his triumphs, and to solicit new means for extending his conquests in the Archipelago. On his appearance the festivities were renewed, and he was decorated by his sovereign with the grand ribband of St. George.

He laid before the council a plan by which he proposed to render himself master of all Greece, and to rescue Egypt from the ottoman empire. He concluded by saying, that he would pass the

* See before, p. 15.

† He arrived there the 15th of March, 1771.

dangerous

dangerous passage of the Dardanelles, and that for all these important purposes he requested no more than ten millions of rubles.—“I grant you “twenty,” immediately replied Catharine; “for “I am resolved that you shall want for nothing.” At the same time orders were issued for the equipment of a new squadron, to reinforce that which was already in the Archipelago.

During the state of extreme loss and misfortune to which the Turks were reduced by the war, that empire seemed convulsed in all its parts; order, submission, and respect to government, seemed totally at an end; massacre and confusion took place; and, to fill up the measure of calamity, the plague now made the most cruel ravages; above a thousand persons dying daily in Constantinople for several weeks. The destruction of their fleet was better known in that metropolis, and was in itself more immediately alarming, than any other misfortune that could have happened: and, as if the dangers from without were not sufficiently terrible, the run-away sailors filled it with slaughter and confusion, and actually set fire to the city and suburbs at several times. At length these miscreants were so strengthened, by the accession of vagabonds and villains of all sorts, particularly by the crowds of deserters from the Danube, who had nothing to subsist on but plunder, that they came to an open engagement with the janissaries in the suburbs of Pera, where some
thousands

thousands of them were cut to pieces, and the rest dispersed.

In the mean time, every proper measure was adopted for the security of the Dardanelles, and all the remaining ships and galleys were fitted out with the greatest expedition to assist in defending the passage. The late vizir, Moldavangi Ali-pasha, was recalled from his exile, and sent at the head of fifteen thousand men for the same purpose; where the first enemies he had to encounter were the rebellious sailors, who landed in a body in spite of the capudan-pasha; and, making zeal for their religion a cloak for their avarice and licentiousness, intended to have plundered and burnt the city of Gallipoli, and to have massacred the Greeks. They were however happily disappointed in this cruel design by the vigour and resolution of the late vizir, who severely chastised their profligacy; and, after killing a great number of them, reduced the remainder to order. Baron Tot, a french nobleman who had been consul in Tartary, and was an engineer of the first abilities, together with several others of his countrymen, were also procured, to erect new batteries on the straits, and to put the castles into a proper state of defence. By these means, together with the uncertainty of the winds and currents necessary to facilitate such an enterprise, all the attempts of the Russians, to force their passage, had hitherto proved fruitless.

Nor was the revolution in Egypt, nor the interception of the trade from the lesser Asia and Syria by the Russians, attended with the fatal consequences to the metropolis that were expected; as amidst all its calamities it was constantly and plentifully supplied with provisions; a felicity for which it is principally indebted to the long extent of sea-coast from the mouth of the Hellespont to the Euxine. In the mean time the winter season having obliged the Russians to quit their station near the Dardanelles, the trade through the straits was of course again opened.

While the porte was thus fatally experiencing all the vicissitudes and havoc of war, the calamities of pestilence, and the precipitate destructive evils of anarchy, in their european dominions; the same ruinous system of policy, and weakness and relaxation of government, extended their effects into other parts of that great empire, and produced a new and extraordinary revolution in Egypt. Ali-bey, who had so long made a distinguished figure among the factions that for some years past had torn that country to pieces, at length threw off the mask; and, taking advantage of the present state of distress and danger, boldly mounted the throne of the antient sultans of that kingdom.

The ottomans had from the beginning made but a lax use of their authority in the government of Egypt. The distance and climate made it

difficult to support there any considerable number of troops; while, from its peculiar situation, and the number of barbarous nations on its borders, who would naturally join the natives, or at least afford them shelter and protection if overcome, nothing less than an army could enforce a very strict obedience. Satisfied with the very great benefits that resulted from its being a granary to Constantinople and other parts of their dominions, as it had formerly been to antient Rome, the Turks were content with a very moderate tribute, not above one-third of which came into the treasury. A garrison of janissaries was kept at Cairo, where a pasha with the title of governor, but with little more power than what the great men of the country chose to allow him, constantly resided. The princes and grandees of the country had absolute power in their respective territories, and held a general assembly or council every year at Cairo, where they settled the payment of the revenues, and debated upon such other national matters as demanded consideration. To prevent any restraint from the governor, or their being overawed by the janissaries, as well as from the continual quarrels among themselves, they all came attended by their armed vassals. Such assemblies, among so barbarous a people, naturally disposed to faction and treachery, presented continual scenes of bloodshed and confusion; while the governors, by occasionally supporting one party

against the other, endeavoured to derive that power and consequence from their dissensions which the authority of office was incapable of procuring.

Ali-bey, a man of strong natural parts and considerable abilities, improved upon the line of policy struck out by the governors; and, by dextrously shifting for a number of years from one side to the other, and destroying by degrees such parties as were obnoxious to him, he at length formed one great one which swallowed up all the others. Not content with the kingdom of Egypt, he laid claim to Syria, Palestine, and that of Arabia which had belonged to the antient sultans. The usurper accordingly marched at the head of an army to support those pretensions, and actually subdued some of the neighbouring provinces both of Arabia and Syria.

At the same time that he was engaged in those ambitious pursuits, he was not less attentive to the establishing of a regular form of government, and of introducing order into a country that has been so long the seat of anarchy and confusion. His views were equally extended to commerce; for which purpose he gave great encouragement to the christian traders, and took off some shameful restraints and indignities, to which they were subject in that barbarous country: he also wrote a letter to the republic of Venice, with the warmest assurances of his friendship and that their merchants should meet with every degree of protec-

tion and safety. His great design was to make himself master of the Red Sea; to open the port of Suez to all nations, but particularly to the Europeans, and to make Egypt once more the great centre of commerce.

Proud of the favour of the empress, of victories of which he took the honour to himself, and of those he still intended to gain, count Alexèy Orlof departed from St. Petersburg, in order to return to the Archipelago. Having stopped some time at Vienna, he there displayed an extravagant luxury, and gave himself up to indiscretions very little worthy of the minister of a princess so discreet as Catharine. One evening being at supper with the ambassador of Russia and a numerous company, he spoke of the revolution that had cost the throne to Peter III. No one dared to put the least question concerning the death of the unfortunate czar. Alexèy Orlof related it of his own accord; and, perceiving that all who heard him shuddered with horror, he thought he cleared himself of the crime which he had committed, by saying, "That it was a lamentable thing for a man of so much humanity as he possessed, to be forced to do what he had been commanded." But this repentance could not be thought sincere. The character of Alexèy Orlof was too well known; and the whole of his conduct proved that his conscience was not apt easily to take the alarm.

On leaving Vienna, Alexèy Orlof went to rejoin

the russian squadron which lay expecting him at Leghorn; and, though in a shattered condition, continued to complete the ruin of the marine and the commerce of the Turks.

The empress had commissioned Alexèy Orlof to cause to be painted in Italy four pictures, representing the engagements of her squadron and the burning of the turkish fleet. Orlof made application to a painter named Hackert. This artist having told him that he had never seen a ship blow up, the Russian made no hesitation of affording him an opportunity of contemplating such an object, and hazarded the firing of all the vessels in the road of Leghorn for furnishing the painter with the means of exhibiting with greater truth the disaster of the capudan-pasha and admiral Spiridof*.

Acts of extravagance are not always crimes. But there is no crime which such an extravagant character is not capable of committing. On his departure from Petersburg, he had received orders to send thither a young unfortunate lady who had been rescued from tyranny. This barbarous order was now to be accomplished.

It has already been mentioned that the empress Elizabeth had three children by her clandestine marriage with the grand-veneur Alexèy Gregorievitch Razumoffsky. The youngest of these chil-

* The four pictures by Hackert are at present hanging in the hall of audience at Peterhof.

dren

dren was a girl, brought up under the name of princess Tarrakanof. Prince Radzivil, informed of this secret, and irritated at Catharine's trampling under foot the rights of the Poles, conceived that the daughter of Elizabeth would furnish him with a signal means of revenge. He thought that it would not be in vain if he opposed to the sovereign, whose armies were spreading desolation over his unhappy country, a rival whose mother's name should render dear to the Russians. Perhaps his ambition might suggest to him yet more lofty hopes. Perhaps he might flatter himself with being one day enabled to mount the throne on which he intended to place the young Tarrakanof. However this be, he gained over the persons to whom the education of this princess was committed, carried her off, and conveyed her to Rome*.

Catharine, having intelligence of this transaction, took immediate steps to frustrate the designs of prince Radzivil. Taking advantage of the circumstance of his being the chief of the confederacy of the malcontents, she caused all his estates to be seized, and reduced him to the necessity of living on the produce of the diamonds and the other valuable effects he had carried with him to Italy. These supplies were soon exhausted. Radzivil set out in order to pick up what intelligence he could concerning affairs in Poland, leav-

* In 1767 mademoiselle de Tarrakanof was about twelve years of age.

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ing the young Tarrakanof at Rome, under the care of a single gouvernante, and in circumstances extremely confined. Scarcely had he reached his own country, when an offer was made to restore him his possessions, on condition that he would take his young ward to Russia. He refused to submit to so disgraceful a proposal; but he had the weakness to promise that he would give himself no farther concern about the daughter of Elizabeth. This was the price of his pardon.

Alexey Orlof, charged with the execution of the will of the empress, seized the first moment on his arrival at Leghorn, of laying a snare for the princess Tarrakanof. One * of those intriguers who are so common in Italy, repaired immediately to Rome; and, after having discovered the lodgings of the young Russian, he introduced himself to her in a military dress and under the name of an officer. He told her that he had been brought thither by the sole desire of paying homage to a princess whose fate and fortunes were highly interesting to all her countrymen. He seemed very much affected at the state of destitution in which he found her. He offered her some assistance which necessity forced her to accept; and the traitor soon appeared to this unfortunate lady, as

* It was a Neapolitan, named Ribas. He afterwards came to Russia where he married mademoiselle Anastasia, reputed daughter of M. de Betskoï, and has since been made knight of Malta, and promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Black Sea.

well

well as to the woman that waited on her, in the light of a saviour whom heaven had sent to her deliverance.

When he thought he had sufficiently gained their confidence, he declared that he was commissioned by count Alexius Orlof to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne that had been filled by her mother. He said that the Russians were discontented with Catharine; that Orlof especially could never forgive her for her ingratitude and her tyranny; and that, if the young princess would accept of the services of that general, and recompense him by the grant of her hand, it would not be long ere she saw the breaking out of that revolution which he had prepared.

Proposals so brilliant ought naturally to have opened the eyes of the princess Tarrakanof, and shewn her the treachery of him that made them. But her inexperience and her candour permitted her not to suspect any guile. Besides, the language of the emissary of Alexius Orlof seemed analagous with the notions she had imbibed from prince Radzivil. She imagined herself destined to the throne; and all the airy dreams that any way related to that opinion could not but encourage the deceit. She accordingly gave herself up to these flattering hopes, and with a grateful heart concurred in the designs of him who addressed her only to her destruction.

Some time after this Alexius Orlof came to Rome.

Rome. His emissary had already announced him. He was received as a benefactor. However, some persons to whom the princess and her gouvernante communicated the good fortune that was promised them, advised them to be on their guard against the designs of a man whose character for wickedness had been long established, and who doubtless had too much reason to remain faithful to the empress to think of conspiring against her. Far from profiting by this good counsel, the princess was so imprudently frank as to speak of it to Alexius Orlof, who with great ease delivered his justification, and thenceforth drew a deeper shade of dissimulation and address into his speeches and behaviour. Not satisfied with fanning the ambition of the young Russian, he put on the semblance of a passion for her, and succeeded so far as to inspire her with a true one. So soon as he was assured of it, he conjured her to enter into a union with him by the most sacred ties. She unhappily consented; and it was even with joy that the poor unfortunate lady promised to solemnize a marriage which must consummate her ruin. She thought that the title of spouse of count Alexius Orlof would shelter her invincibly from those treacheries which she was taught to apprehend. She entertained not the least suspicion that a man could make religion and the most sacred titles subservient to the destruction of an innocent victim. But, alas! was any religion, was any title sacred to the barbarian

rian into whose snares she had fallen? He who could strangle the unfortunate Peter III. could he dread to dishonour the daughter of Elizabeth*?

Feigning a desire that the marriage ceremony should be performed according to the ritual of the greek church, he suborned subaltern villains to disguise themselves as priests and lawyers. Thus profanation was combined with imposture against the unprotected and too confident Tarrakanof.

When Alexius Orlof was become the husband or rather the ravisher of this unhappy princess, he represented to her that their stay at Rome exposed her to too close observation, and that it would be advisable for her to go to some other city of Italy, to wait for the breaking out of the conspiracy that was to call her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, she answered that she would follow him wherever he chose to conduct her. He brought her immediately to Pisa, where he had previously hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with marks of tenderness and respect. But he permitted none to come near her except persons who were entirely at his devotion; and when she went to the play or to the public promenades, he accompanied her always himself.

The division of the russian squadron under the

* The fate of the young Tarrakanof may be compared to that of the daughter of Sejanus: " a carnifice laqueum
* juxtâ, compressam" Tacit. Ann. lib. v.

command of admiral Greig, had just entered the port of Leghorn. On relating this news to the princess, Alexius Orlof told her that his presence was necessary at Leghorn for the purpose of giving some orders, and offered to take her with him. To this she the more readily consented, as she had heard much talk of the beauty of the port of Leghorn and the magnificence of the russian ships. Imprudent lady! the nearer she approached the catastrophe of the plot, the more she trusted to the tenderness and the sincerity of her faithless betrayer!

She departed from Pisa with her customary attendance. On arriving at Leghorn, she landed at the house of the english consul, who had prepared for her a suitable apartment, and who received her with marks of the profoundest respect. Several ladies were early in making their visits, and sedulously attended her on all occasions. She saw herself presently surrounded by a numerous court, eager to be beforehand with all her desires, and seeming to make it their only study incessantly to procure her some new entertainment. Whenever she went out, the people ran in her way. At the theatre all eyes were directed to her box. All circumstances conspired to lull her into a fatal security. All tended to dispel the idea of any danger at hand.

It is doubtless impossible to believe that an english consul, an english admiral, and ladies of their family or acquaintance, could be so base, so inhuman,

inhuman, as to draw into the snare, by deceitful respect and caresses, a victim whose youth, whose beauty, whose innocence, was capable of affecting the most insensible heart. It is not to be imagined that they were in any degree privy to the plot contrived against her, and that they studiously inspired her with confidence, only the more infallibly to betray her.

This young Tarrakanof was so far from suspecting her unfortunate situation, that, after having passed several days in a round of amusements and dissipation, she asked of herself to be shewn the russian fleet. The idea was applauded. The necessary orders were immediately given; and the next day, on rising from table, every thing was ready at the water-side for receiving the princess. On her coming down, she was handed into a boat with magnificent awnings. The consul, and several ladies, seated themselves with her. A second boat conveyed vice-admiral Greig and count Alexius Orlof; and a third, filled with russian and english officers, closed the procession. The boats put off from shore in sight of an immense multitude of people, and were received by the fleet with a band of music, salutes of artillery, and repeated huzzas. As the princess came alongside the ship of which she was to go on board, a splendid chair was let down from the yard, in which being seated, she was hoisted upon deck; and it was

was observed to her, that these were particular honours paid to her rank.

But no sooner was she on board than she was handcuffed. In vain she implored for pity of the cruel betrayer, whom she still called her husband. In vain she threw herself at his feet, and watered them with her tears. No answer was even vouchsafed to her lamentations. She was carried down into the hold; and the next day the vessel set sail for Russia.

On arriving at Petersburg, the young victim was shut up in the fortress; and what became of her afterwards was never known*.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Leghorn, who had seen the princess embark, heard shortly after with horror, that instead of a grand entertainment, which she was led to expect, on board the fleet, she was put into irons. The grand duke

* It was affirmed by some, that the waters of the Neva, six years afterwards, put an end to her misfortunes, by drowning her in the prison, in the inundation of 1777. On the 10th of September of that year, a wind at S. S. W. raised the water of the gulph of Finland towards the Neva, with a violence so extraordinary that it swelled that river to the height of ten feet above its usual level, and drove many vessels on shore. The author of the interesting, "*Memoires secrets sur l'Italie*," who some time since printed a part of these particulars, surmises that the young Tarrakanof fell in prison by the hands of the executioner. The truth is, the grounds are but very slight for rendering credible either the one or the other account.

of Tuscany, whose territory was thus so shamefully insulted, wrote immediately to Vienna and to Petersburg to complain of the outrage. But Alexius Orlof insolently braved both the complaints of Leopold and the public indignation.

An adventure that happened during count Orlof's stay at Rome, may serve to throw some light on the brutal character of the man. One evening that he was at supper in a house * with a large company, he wished to display his extraordinary strength. He with great ease broke in his hand several pieces of crystal and iron. He then took between two of his fingers an apple, which he broke into several pieces. A royal duke, brother of an illustrious monarch, was at table; one of the pieces of apple struck the prince on his face and hurt him. Every one present was extremely affected at this accident. Alexius Orlof alone seemed entirely unmoved, and even deigned not to make the slightest apology to the duke.

Though repeatedly vanquished, the ottoman armies were easily recruited, and resisted the efforts of the Russians; like a terrible hydra, whose heads increased under the reiterated blows of Romantsof and his inferior commanders. The russian general Veissmann crossed the Danube, and beat the Turks near Isaakia. Soon after this the grand vizir forced him to repass that river, and advanced

* At the house of the marchioness Gentili Bocca Paduli.

to Bukharest with an army of one hundred thousand men. There the Turks were completely victorious. But no long time was allowed them to rejoice in their successes. In three successive battles the Russians regained the upper hand.

The grand vizir retreated into the mountains of the Bulgarians; and Romantzof, leaving the right bank of the Danube, took up his winter-quarters in Moldavia and Valakhia.

The khan of the Crimea fought valiantly for the Turks. Catharine resolved to be revenged on him, and deprive the enemy of this assistance. She had already for some time established a sort of intelligence in the Crimea. Her emissaries were secretly working to sow dissensions among the Tartars, and to draw off from the khan the confidence of his subjects. They succeeded in these endeavours; and valour completed what had been begun by intrigue.

The famous lines of Perekop had submitted, forty years before, to the intrepidity of Munich. Learning prudence by this example, the khans of the Crimea rendered this passage more difficult than it had hitherto been. Nevertheless, neither a ditch of seventy-two feet in width, and forty-two in depth, nor fifty thousand Tartars who defended it, were able to check the career of prince Dolgoruky. By forcing this barrier that general made himself master of all the Crimea: and as the reward

ward of his victory, he received of the empress the surname of Krimsky*.

The khan, forced to abandon his country, to avoid falling into the power of the conqueror, retired to the dependencies of Turkey. Prince Dolgoruky immediately caused a new khan to be elected; but neither was this such an one as the Russians wanted; and he detached himself from their party without delay.

The grand signor, incensed that Abaza-pasha, and some other of the turkish commanders, had basely abandoned the Crimea, sent them the fatal bow-string, and caused their bleeding heads to be exposed on the gates of the seraglio.

The desertion of the Krim by the turkish commanders was not the only act of treachery of which the porte had at that time to complain. It had just concluded†, with the cabinet of Vienna, a secret treaty, by which that court engaged to take up arms offensively in its behalf, on condition that it would defray the expences of the war, and that it would restore at the peace a part of Valakhia

* This is an ancient custom in Russia. Prince Dolgoruky received the surname of Krimsky, because he conquered the Krim; marshal Romantzof, that of Sadunaisky, because he crossed the Danube; Alexius Orlof, that of Tschesmenskoï, because of the victory at Tschesmè; marshal Suvarof, that of Rimnitsky; as the famous duke Alexander had anciently received that of Nevsky or Nessky, on account of his gaining a victory over the Swedes on the banks of the Neva.

† The 6th of July.

and some other austrian territories which it had conquered. Faithful to these engagements, the porte began by paying the court of Vienna five millions of imperial florins *. The court of Vienna made use of it immediately : but, to the shame of the professors of the christian faith, it was in making preparations for turning its arms against the porte itself, and to unite with Russia.

While war thus assumed his most savage form, in the contest between those rude and wide extended empires, and appeared disposed rather to exterminate than barely to thin the human species, the pestilence, that other dread foe to mankind, also claimed his share of the spoil, and seemed too impatient to wait for the gleanings of the sword.

For some time past this dreadful scourge had been ravaging the interior of Russia. The plague had manifested itself in Mosco ; and the ignorance of the physicians, in conjunction with the superstition of the people, increased its fury. The physicians at first mistook the distemper for nothing more than an epidemical fever ; and the people, who saw that the physicians were not able to cure it, pursued them on all sides, and forced them into concealment in order to escape their rage.

* This sum makes one million ninety-three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling. Some persons pretend that the porte reckoned only six thousand purses, or seven hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling. But the procedure of the court of Vienna is not at all the less odious.

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But it will be necessary to speak somewhat more particularly on this subject. It is well known that the turkish dominions, whether from a want of due attention to cleanliness, or from whatever other cause, are more subject to this malady than the countries of Europe. The russian army, after defeating the Turks, on their entering their territories and towns as conquerors, were met by the contagion, and brought it with them to their country ; where the folly of several of their generals contributed to its propagation, as if they thought, by a military word of command to alter the nature of things. Lieutenant-general Stofeln, at Yassy, where the pestilence raged in the winter of 1770, issued peremptory orders, that its name should not be pronounced : he even obliged the physicians and the surgeons to draw up a declaration in writing that it was only a spotted fever. One honest surgeon, of the name of Kluge, refused to sign it. In this manner the season of prevention was neglected ; the men fell dead upon the road in heaps. Several thousand russian soldiers were by this means carried off : the number of burghers that died was never known, as crowds of them had run into the country and into the heart of the forests. At length the havoc of death reached the general's own people ; he remained true to his persuasion, left the town, and went into the more perilous camp, but his intrepidity availed him nothing ; he died of the plague in

July 1771. Assistance now arrived; but it was too late: almost all the sick were sent to die in lazarets. The desertion of the place was the only remaining remedy. Two regiments of infantry and one battalion amounted only to four hundred men. To the same small number were likewise in September the regiments at Khotyim reduced, also from want of precaution. The baggages that had been packed up in the time of the plague were brought out and opened, that the soldiers who had served the campaign in their waistcoats alone might have their coats against winter; the clothes were so infected, that the people who were employed in unfolding them were immediately attacked with mortal ulcers. In Kief none of the physicians or surgeons had ever seen the plague; they therefore took it for a putrid spotted fever. Afterwards, but when too late, they were better advised. The free intercourse at the markets and in the churches had already universally spread the miasma. Add to this, the soldiers were not restrained from robbing the infected houses of the dead; thus infecting themselves and others. Even the commandant was negligent of his duty in not taking care, by regulations and punishments, that the houses were duly cleansed and ventilated; nay, he was covetous enough to cause whole chests of linen and other goods to be brought out of these houses, and stowed in the vaults of his. The governor gave rise to a shameful

ful and stupid piece of superstition, to which he was persuaded by a turkish officer taken prisoner, who purchased his freedom by it. This man wrote tickets, containing these words: "O great Muhammed, have pity for this once on the christians, for the sake of our deliverance from captivity, and free them soon from the pestilence!" The governor caused the writing to be stuck on poles against the belfries of the christian churches; the people trusted to the remedy, and were still more careless of themselves than before: the pestilence, therefore, naturally spread farther and wider. Within a few months of the year 1770, one quarter of the town alone lost upwards of six thousand persons.

With such miserable doings, it is no wonder that the dreadful distemper came by the army from Poland and from the Ukraine, about christmas 1770, even to Mosco. Unfortunately here too at the beginning, an ukase was printed and published, to assure the people that there was no pestilence, and that a false alarm had been wickedly raised among the burghers. Besides, some physicians and surgeons maintained the same thing much later. But when the empress was informed of the truth of the matter, she dispatched assistance with all speed to Kief and to Mosco. The calamity had already risen to its height in this great metropolis. The principal families quitted it betimes, went into the country, and with them all that

were able: the former might indeed have gone out of clean houses; but who would answer for the others? Hence the contagion was spread through the neighbouring villages and towns, where at least thirty thousand persons perished. But it may be computed, that in Mosco, only the fourth part of the ordinary number of its inhabitants were left alive: however, afterwards, in December 1771, just upon the stopping of the plague, it was found by calculation, that upwards of sixty thousand died there within a year not yet complete. The dead lay for three or four days in the streets where they had fallen, or where they had been thrown out from the houses; as the police had neither carts nor people enough to carry them away. The worthy general Yeropkin was making every exertion in his power, when in September the empress, who, as it is expressed in the proclamation, preferred the welfare of her subjects to every other consideration, in this perilous time sent her favourite Gregory Orlof, with extraordinary full powers, to check the further incursions of the malady of that place, and to put an end to the evil on the spot. On this pressing exigency the sum of an hundred thousand rubles was immediately issued. Orlof went daily to the senate; and every week a ukase came out. He appointed a commission of health, of which, besides a general and a state-counsellor, the most skilful physicians were members. In addition to the

the two pest-houses, monasteries and palaces were turned into lazarets, a building was appropriated to orphan children from the infected houses, several of the public offices were converted into places for the keeping of quarantine, and other salutary measures were adopted. At these establishments the necessary persons were put immediately upon stipends; and all physicians and surgeons who were conspicuous for their diligence and zeal were handsomely rewarded. A new turn was given to the whole business; and all the precautions for safety were visibly attended with due effects. But methods of cure were still apparently not to be found: very few of such as once caught the infection escaped with their lives; their being inclosed, however, prevented its farther progress. It was only the severe winter that put an end to the calamity in Mosco, as well as in the other infected places. At the beginning of September, in Mosco, died every day eight hundred persons; about the middle of October seven hundred to six hundred; the 21st of October only four hundred. The frost continued to grow more intense: on the 15th of November the plague carried off one hundred and fifty persons; on the 30th still seventy-five: but on the 4th of December only ten died, and so continually fewer: two, three, five, and on some intervening days, not even one; till the 6th of January 1772, when the plague entirely ceased.—In the night of the 30th of December,

F 4 during

during a violent storm of wind, a fire broke out in the imperial palace, inhabited by the newly-appointed governor, prince Volkonsky. As the structure was chiefly of timber, the whole of it, together with the church, was entirely consumed.

A more calamitous history of this unfortunate time to Mosco still remains to be related. It should seem as if the afflictive visitations to which the human race is subject from the course of Nature, and to which nature herself at length applies the most effectual remedies, were not sufficient; the most horrid distortion of mind, fanaticism, must be brought in to increase the calamity. The superstitious populace in this metropolis despised the precautions recommended by government, and the prescriptions of the physicians. The latter, especially such as were foreigners, frequently, as they passed through the streets, were not sure of their lives. Prayers to the pictures of the saints were held to be the only true methods of cure*. This, which at first was no

* It is difficult to imagine to what length the Russians carry their fanaticism for these pictures of the saint, which they call *bohgs* or gods. The figure of some saint is painted in gaudy colours on a piece of board, and the silver, gold, or diamonds about the hands and face of it constitute its value. When a Russian enters a room, the first thing he does is to salute the god, which is placed against the wall in one corner, by bowing and crossing himself. St. Nicholas, St. John the baptist, St. Sergius, and St. Alexander Nessky, are the figures in most request except

no more than an unhappy folly, soon grew into a criminal fury. In September, a fortnight before the arrival of Gregory Orlof, a hot-brained enthusiast of the vulgar class of people, got together a number of the rabble, and declared to them that the picture of God's mother, near the Varvarskoi gate (the bride-gate of St. Barbara leading to a chapel) had appeared to him, complaining of neglect in the worship of it, and promising by

except the *bogoroditza*, the mother of God. Every one has his particular patron, to which he applies in cases of need. When his neighbours see that he succeeds in the culture of his fields or in trade, they borrow or hire his god, to which they attribute his prosperity. They then pay the borrowed figure all sorts of reverence and offerings. There are in some towns god-markets, and the sole difference between the chaffering, is, that in this the word money must never be pronounced. Some people will never go to their daily labour, or set out on a journey, without taking their god with them; and if a stranger call at their house in the mean time, and asks to salute the *bog*, the wife replies that he is gone into the fields, or on a journey. St. George is a protector of horned cattle. The horses are looked after by St. Anthony, and the fish by St. Jonas: one cures one disease and another another.—But perhaps it is unjust to deride any religion for its superstitions; all national religious establishments have them under one form or another;

Facies non omnibus una

Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse fororum.

The Russian peasants, notwithstanding, are extremely tolerant. "Your God," say they to those who are not of the same religion with them, "your God commands you to serve him thus: our God orders us differently."

a miracle

a miracle to quell the pestilence if that worship was zealously revived. At this gate he continued standing and declared the same thing to the priests and passengers as they passed through it. The story was spread from one to the other, and none of the hearers thought of raising a doubt whether or not the man was in his right mind. The faithful from all parts of the town flocked in astonishing multitudes to St. Barbara's gate, addressing the picture in vociferous cries, bringing ornaments of dress to hang about it, and on that and the following days made many considerable presents to it in gold and jewels. Now began processions, which were continued in endless succession. The sick particularly pressed forward on this occasion, and such as were not sick mingled among them. The daemon of pestilence could have found no better a helpmate than the daemon of superstition. The primate of Mosco, the archhierèy or archbishop Amvrofi, (Ambrosius,) a virtuous and enlightened man, wishing to put an end to this dreadful commotion, applied for assistance to general Yerapkin, who gave him five soldiers. These he sent in silence late in the winter-evening to the Varvarskoï gate, to fetch away the picture that was now become the cause of such public affliction. But neither night nor day was the gate free from a fanatical tumult before the painted mother of God. The soldiers were driven off. The mob poured invectives on the archhierèy; and, one and all

all crying out that he was an heretic, ran to the church-belfries and rang all the bells, to rouse the whole populace of the city, and bring them together to inform them of the intended violation of the holy figure. Every one rose in haste, and ran into the streets imagining it to be an alarm of fire; but upon inquiry were informed of what had happened; the prudent were but few in number, and the rest made a common cause with the insurgents and joined the throng. The prelate in the mean time had fled to the Donskoï monastery without the city. Unfortunately, a child, seeing him pass by, ran and told where he was. The wild rabble tumultuously ran thither, rushed into the church, and found the archbishop in the celebration of divine worship. Neither the place, nor the station, nor the age of the man, neither his dress nor his present employment, made any impression on the enthusiastic barbarians; they fell upon the venerable prelate, threw him to the ground, beat him on the head, and completed his murder with knives. The body remained till the following day lying before the gate of the monastery. Some of the ring leaders in this shocking transaction were taken up and knotted to death.

The furious multitude now ran back into the city. A party of them attacked the Daniilofskoï monastery, now converted into a lazaret, drove the pestilent out of it, and ill-treated the surgeons.

The

The same thing they did at the quarantine house. The archiepiscopal residence was plundered, the most valuable of the goods were taken away, the rest destroyed: the store-cellars under it, hired by a merchant for wine and other liquors, were emptied. Several officers who attempted to check their excesses, turned back with bleeding heads. The madness increased every moment, and the cry was now against the physicians and surgeons, whom they imagined to have occasioned the pestilence. An Italian dancing-master happened to come in their way: he must certainly be a doctor; they broke both his arms and his legs, and in that condition inhumanly left him lying in the street. The house of a physician was attacked and plundered. They then proceeded to the principal hospital, from which the director and attendants, and even the soldiers who amounted to a hundred men with loaded fire-arms, all ran away. The physicians and surgeons had already made their escape into the country.—But now, towards evening, the brave general Yeropkin, at the head of a hundred and fifty soldiers, carbineers and hussars, with two field-pieces, marched up to the turbulent crew; the fight was obstinate and lasted till midnight: two hundred and fifty rebels were laid down upon the street, three hundred taken prisoners, and of those that dispersed many were afterwards found wounded and dead. Early on the following morning, the general paraded at

the head of his men with drawn sabres through the streets of Mosco, and placed picquets in proper places. The day after, a regiment of infantry, from the villages, entered the town. The governor, the deputy-governor, police-master, general of artillery, and all whose duty it was to be vigilant in preserving peace and order in the city, had prudently forsaken Mosco. Catharine rewarded the brave Yeropkin in a truly imperial manner.

It is easier to imagine than to describe the state of that enormous city while these tumults lasted; when the mind of every man was oppressed with grief at the dreadful visitation of the plague, knowing that each day eight hundred persons fell around him. But during this confusion it was impossible to think of enumerating the dead, or of visiting the sick. The number of those who died must have been very great, as the pestilence increased beyond all proportion by the confluence of the people. From the 1st to the 9th of October, the calculation was renewed, and the dead were computed at five thousand four hundred: till the numbers afterwards decreased in the above-mentioned ratio, by the counteraction of the frost:—At the re-appearance of spring 1772, the return of the calamity was apprehended; and the care of the government was therefore redoubled. It was published throughout the city, that whoever kept in concealment any goods or other things

in houses that had been infected, even though they were stolen, he might freely produce them; and, instead of punishment, should receive from ten to twenty rubles: farther, that such articles as had been in the possession of infected persons, and consequently must be burnt, should be paid for according to their full value. This had the desired effect: the people very readily produced what they had, according to the tenor of the proclamation, as by so doing they got money and lost nothing. The visiting of the sick, whatever was the nature of their complaints, was sedulously continued. Travellers underwent a strict examination, and were obliged to remain a certain time in quarantine houses, of which, between Mosco and Petersburg alone, there were no less than seven. However, at the close of January 1772, the plague had entirely disappeared, which, according to some statements, during its continuance, from December 1771, to December 1772, had cost the Russian empire one hundred and thirty-three thousand two hundred and ninety-nine persons.

Great praise was certainly due to count Gregory Orlof for his conduct while the plague was raging at Mosco. The empress, as we have seen, had already sent assistance to stop the progress of the contagion; but it was attended with no effect. It was necessary that some man of authority should go thither to awe the populace, and make them submit to the regulations prescribed, and to the observance

observance of more cleanliness than usual. Count Orlof had the courage to go and brave both the pestilence and the superstitious fury of the people. He repaired to Mosco with extraordinary promptitude; he prohibited and prevented all kinds of assemblies; he himself visited the persons afflicted with the epidemical distemper; he procured them all the assistance they wanted; and he took particular care to order the surgeons and the officers who seconded him, to see to the burning of the clothes of the sick who fell victims to this terrible scourge; till the malady at last yielded to the unceasing attentions of count Gregory Orlof, and the severity of the winter.

On his return to St. Petersburg, the count found in Catharine a grateful sovereign. That princess caused a triumphal arch * to be erected, and a medal to be struck, as memorials to posterity of the service he had rendered his country.

The pestilence had not only attacked the interior parts of Russia: the Russian and Ottoman armies, who were fighting on the banks of the Danube, were infected with it. They spread it in Poland; and this it was that served as a pretence for the invasion which had long been meditating by the king of Prussia.

* The triumphal arch is at the entrance to Tzarisko-selo, with this inscription: "Mosco delivered from the contagion by Orlof."

The empress was adding from day to day to the weight of the yoke which she had lain upon Poland. Her troops pursued on all sides the routed confederates of Bar, and pillaged or ravaged their possessions. That princess herself did not disdain to partake in the spoil. They carried off the famous library of prince Radzivil, containing an invaluable collection of lithuanian history, and it was transported to Petersburg, whence it undoubtedly will never return. But at the very time that so odious a depredation was carrying on, Catharine transmitted to Warsaw declarations, in which she spoke of nothing but her equity, her beneficence, and the desires she was cherishing for the pacification of Poland.

The Poles, irritated at the tyranny of the Russians, were incessantly making new efforts to free themselves from it. They believed their unhappy king was in concert with the empress; and in that persuasion they attempted to revenge upon him the miseries which she was bringing on them. The confederates had elected for their general a polish nobleman named Pulaufsky, a man of consummate intrepidity, and so passionately devoted to the cause of liberty, that he made no hesitation of serving the most righteous of causes by criminal means.

Pulaufsky resolved to get possession of the king's person, and trusted the execution of his project
to

to three other confederates*, of whose boldness and capacity he was well acquainted. After having taken an oath to their general either to deliver to him the king, or to put him to death if they could not bring him off alive, the three chiefs and forty dragoons, disguised as peasants, entered Warsaw by different routes. They learnt on the following sunday † that the king was to pass the evening at prince Chartorinsky's, his uncle. Some of them then went and posted themselves without the city, while the others were lurking in ambush along the way which the king was to pass. At about ten o'clock at night, as that prince, accompanied by fourteen or fifteen persons, and with one of his aides-de-camp in his carriage, were returning to the palace, all at once the conspirators advanced, and bade the coachman stop. At the same time pistols were several times discharged at the carriage. One of the heyduques being struck with a ball fell down ‡. The rest of the king's suite, without excepting the aide-de-camp, took to flight. One of the assassins fired a pistol at the king, and pierced his hat. Another made a stroke at his head, and gave him a deep wound. After this they took him by the collar, and dragged him between their horses along

* Lukaufsky, Stravenky, and Kofinsky.

† The 3d of September.

‡ He died the day after.

the darkest streets. Perceiving soon that he began to breathe hard, and that it was impossible for him to keep up with them on foot, they made him get upon a horse, and on their coming to the moat which surrounds Warsaw, they forced him to take the leap with them. The horse on which the king rode, fell and broke his leg. The king received a hurt in his foot. They then mounted his majesty on another horse. One of the chiefs plucked off his order of the black eagle of Prussia, and the cross of diamonds that was appendant to the ribband. This done, the greater part of the conspirators dispersed. Seven of them alone, under the orders of Kofinsky, remained with the king, and wandered about with him a long time in the dark, endeavouring to avoid the beaten paths. Soon after, they found themselves in a forest only one league distant from Warsaw. The voices of some russian patrols were heard. The conspirators were frightened, and fled. The king remained alone with Kofinsky: but, not daring to call for assistance, for fear that Kofinsky might kill him, he tried to persuade him to let him escape. Kofinsky hesitated a considerable time. His oath stood in his way. At length, however, he yielded to the solicitations of the king; and, after having implored his pardon on his knees, he conducted him to a mill which stood at no great distance. The king, without making himself known, immediately wrote a billet, which he dis-

patched

patched by a countryman to the colonel of his guards.

Warsaw was in the utmost consternation. The king's hat had been found all covered with blood; this naturally led to the belief that his majesty was dead. But as soon as it was heard that he had escaped from his assassins, the people gave themselves up to transports of joy.

Several of the villains were taken, and perished on the scaffold. Kofinsky obtained his pardon. He retired into Italy, where the king settled on him a pension. As to general Pulaufsky*, he published a manifesto, in which he declared that he had taken no share in the atrocious attempt against the polish monarch. This declaration was believed by no one.

The danger which Stanislaus Augustus had run, furnished the Russians with a new pretext for pursuing the confederates of Bar, and for preparing the dismemberment of Poland. But was Catharine in want of pretexts? It will presently be seen that she had so ordered matters as to be able to do without them.

1772. The Russians and the Ottomans were equally in want of peace. Their armies, weakened

* Pulaufsky went afterwards to America, where he had the command of a legion in the service of the united states; and being on a visit to M. d'Estaing at the siege of Savannah, in 1779, he was killed by a cannon-ball by the side of that general.

by numerous battles, by successive fatigues, and by the contagious distemper, were always recruiting and always diminishing in greater proportion. The squadron of Alexius Orlof still maintained the dominion of the grecian seas; but the long sojourn of the Russians in a climate so different from their own, and the intemperance in which they indulged, had brought on an epidemic disease which threatened to carry off every sailer of the fleet. The capudan-pasha, ambitious to retaliate the disasters he had suffered, was busily employed in preparing new armaments in Constantinople, and was in hopes to bring out against his conquerors a squadron more formidable than that which had fallen a prey to the flames. Baron Tot, a french officer in the service of the porte, overcame the ignorance of the Turks, and had introduced into their arsenals such order and activity as was dangerous to their enemies. The valiant Mussoum Oglou had risen, for the second time, to the post of grand vizir, and had resumed the command of the army of the Danube. Notwithstanding this, the two powers entered upon a negotiation by the intervention of the austrian and prussian ministers. An armistice was agreed upon*; and a congress was appointed to meet at Fokshiani.

* This armistice was signed by the russian minister Simolin, and by Seïd Abdukerim effendi Mukabedladzi, grand notary of the divan.

This

This appeared to be a favourable opportunity to the schemes of count Gregory Orlof. He procured the honour of being sent to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the divan. He had long been desirous of sharing the throne which he had secured to Catharine. He thought that, by obtaining peace for Russia, he should acquire an everlasting claim upon the gratitude of the empire, and surmount the difficulties that had been opposed to his ambition. But it was this precisely which gave birth to new ones.

Catharine had been, and was still, much attached to Orlof. Orlof, on the contrary, had never felt any affection for Catharine, but what arose from gratitude and ambition. Proud of the favour of his sovereign, he shewed himself zealous to deserve it: but when once he thought that he had acquired sufficient grounds for his pretensions, his ardour began to cool; and he even assumed a distant behaviour. The more Catharine wished to bring him back to his usual attentions, the more he seemed inclined to retreat, and to seek his amusement in the company of other ladies. The empress could not but resent this ungrateful conduct, and be shocked at the insensibility whence it proceeded. However, on account of her fondness for Bobrinsky, the child of Orlof, she did not discard him at once. This boy she privately brought up in one of the suburbs of the city, often going to see him under a borrowed name, and

in an artful disguise. It was said that, to remedy his inconstancy, and from affection to the child, a proposal was made him of a clandestine marriage: that he rejected the offer with disdain, presuming himself not unworthy of sitting beside her on a throne which he at first procured her, and had hitherto upheld. Catharine, surprised, dissembled her displeasure for a time; but conceiving that the pride of her favourite might be attended with consequences fatal to her repose, she resolved, without farther delay, to get the better of an attachment which exposed her to too great humiliation.

Though there was no open misunderstanding between Panin and count Gregory Orlof, he was not the less desirous of the downfall of this favourite. Too sagacious, and certainly too timid, to attack him to his face, he missed no opportunity for giving him a side-blow. Orlof was far from imitating the minister in this procedure. He never hated any one, though he was hated by many. His arrogance had procured him a great number of enemies; his favour had raised him up many more. All were pleased at seeing him retire from court; and the empress partook in the satisfaction of her courtiers. She was in hopes that his absence would completely put an end to the remainder of the attachment she had cherished for him.

Panin,

Panin, who attentively watched the inclination of her majesty, was not long in perceiving that she often looked with complacency on a sub-lieutenant of the guards, named Vassiltchikof. The thought immediately occurred to him of bringing forward this young man to the overthrow of Orlof. Zakhar Chernichef*, to whom the arrogance of the favourite was still more odious than to Panin, gladly seconded the scheme of the minister. Both of them thought that the grand duke, who was not ignorant that Orlof had the presumption to aspire to the throne, would not fail to behold with satisfaction whatever had a tendency to keep him from it. Every art was therefore employed to flatter the new inclination of the empress. Orlof was at the same time represented to her as a man of unbounded ambition, who had only solicited to be employed in negotiating the peace at Fokshiani, in order to betray the interests of Russia, by artfully procuring for himself the sovereignty of Moldavia and Valakhia. It was the easier to raise suspicions against him in the mind of Catharine, as she found his rival more agreeable to her from day to day.

Vassiltchikof pleased because he was young and well made: but he was deficient in intellectual improvement, in talents, in experience, and even

* Zachariah Chernichef was brother to the Ivan Chernichef who was first ambassador at London, and then placed at the head of the marine.

in boldness. Perhaps, if it had depended on himself alone, he would never have succeeded with the empress: but he was not left without support. Prince Baratinsky, expert in the arts of intrigue, was on this occasion neither sparing of his counsels nor of contrivances*. Vassiltschikof was benefited by his cares; as his docility served him instead of merit. The empress was so satisfied with him, that she appointed him her chamberlain, made him magnificent presents, and treated him often in public with a familiarity that easily betrayed the understanding which subsisted between them.

When Catharine proposed to the imperious Orlof to enter into secret nuptials, that favourite was pleased with the thought that his refusal would only sharpen the desire of the sovereign, and that the access to the throne would be easier to him. Accustomed to an affection of which he had the tenderest pledges, he imagined it impossible to lose the heart of the empress. What was he to think on learning that she had taken advantage of his absence for accepting the officiousness of a new admirer? His mind was at first divided between astonishment and rage: but his pride soon came to his relief; and he thought that his presence would be sufficient to revive a flame which could

* Prince Baratinsky, one of the assassins of the unhappy Peter III. took upon him to bring about the first interview of the empress and her new favourite.

not be quite extinct. Full of this idea, he forgot the negotiations, the peace, all the concerns of the empire, and left Fokshiani without even asking permission of the empress, and arrived at the gates of Petersburg. At the instant of his appearance, the officer on guard advanced towards his carriage, and shewed him the order which he had not to let him enter the city. Orlof kept a profound silence, and took the road to Gatschina* one of his country-seats.

Two days previous to the coming of Orlof to Petersburg, intelligence was received that he had quitted Fokshiani. This sudden return had excited much uneasiness at court. The empress, well acquainted with the violence of his temper, and apprehensive that he might make his appearance in spite of her, gave orders to double the guard of the palace, and to place centinels at the gate of the new favourite. Not yet put completely at ease by these precautions, she caused the locks of his apartments to be changed, of which Orlof had the key. But these cares were useless: there was nothing to fear from Orlof. The moment it was known that he was out of favour, he had not a partizan left, and his enemies stepped forward from all quarters.

Orlof beheld his situation in the full extent of its danger; but his courage remained unshaken.

* The same that is now the summer residence of the czar Paul.

When count Zakhar Chernichef came, in the name of the empress, to require the demission of his employments, he haughtily refused to comply. Her majesty could easily punish the subject who resisted her will: she rather chose to treat with indulgence the man for whom she had long entertained a regard. A compromise was entered upon with Orlof; and, overcome by the bounty which his sovereign still vouchsafed to shew him, he consented to retire from Petersburg, and set out upon a journey through various parts of Europe. As a recompence for his submission, he received one hundred thousand rubles, the brevet of a pension of an hundred and fifty thousand, a magnificent service of plate, and an estate with six thousand peasants upon it. He had already obtained a patent of prince of the roman empire. Catharine chose that he should take the title, desirous, doubtless, that her former favourite should appear to the eyes of foreign nations with a splendor worthy of the situation which he had enjoyed*.

* Gregory Orlof displayed the utmost pomp and magnificence when on his travels. He appeared at Paris in a coat all the buttons whereof were large diamonds, and with a sword having the hilt also set with diamonds; at Spa he quite eclipsed the duke de Chartres (since known under the names of Orleans and Egalité) and all the other princes there, and he played for such stakes as frightened the most intrepid gamesters. He afterwards made his appearance at Versailles at a ball given on occasion of the marriage of madame Clothilde, dressed in a plain frock of coarse cloth,

This part of Catharine's conduct seems to indicate a degree of weakness. But no: it was not inconsistent with the firmness of her character to yield to circumstances, when a different conduct must oblige her to compliance. Knowing that, by punishing prince Orlof, she would intimidate all those who had served her, she rather chose to persuade them that her gratitude was even paramount to her affections.

C H A P. VIII.

Rupture of the congress of Fokshiani.—Conferences at Bukharest.—Partition of Poland.—Peace of Kainardgi.—Emigration of the Kalmuks.—Dismissal of the favourite Vassiltschikof.—Duke Anthony Ulric refuses his liberty.—First marriage of the grand duke.—Journey of Diderot to St. Petersburg.—Magnificence of Catharine.—Description of her person.—Her way of life.—Patriotic exertions.

THE congress of Fokshiani was opened* in such a manner as to afford great hopes of an approaching peace. The ottoman ministers presented the Russians with superb carpets, many rich stuffs, and excellent arms: and Osman effendi, who first broke

* The congress opened the 2d of August. The plenipotentiaries were under tents; and the conferences were held in a kiosk, which the Russians had caused to be constructed for that purpose. Fokshiani is at the distance of about sixteen miles to the north of Bukharest in Valakhia. Nothing could afford a stronger contrast, than the magnificence of the russian ministers, opposed to the ottoman simplicity. The former approached in four grand coaches, preceded by hussars, and attended by one hundred and sixty domestics suitably habited. The turkish ministers were on horseback, with about sixty servants, as plainly appareled and accoutred as themselves. Prince Orlof was all over

broke silence, said, "That the grand signor his master had recommended him to serve God, and to love peace."

The Russians offered to Osman and his colleagues diamonds and precious stones elegantly set, a variety of trinkets of gold, and a quantity of valuable furs; on delivering which they answered, that they also were lovers of peace and justice. However, they demanded such great sacrifices, that the Turks were disgusted with their proposals. After much fruitless altercation, the plenipotentiaries separated.

Some time afterwards, the negotiations were resumed at Bukharest between marshal Romantzof and the grand vizir Mussim Oglou. These two warriors, who had so often fought against each

over one blaze of jewels: on his breast was the empress's portrait set with brilliants, together with the ensigns of the several orders with which he had been invested; all of which, as well as his epaulet and buckles, and several other parts of his dress, shone with diamonds. On the other hand, Osman effendi was clothed in a robe of green camlet faced with ermine, and had nothing to distinguish him but a gold-headed cane. It would appear as if riches and magnificence had displayed their treasures in the wilds of Scythia; and that ancient simplicity had retired to the voluptuous nations of Asia. M. Obreskof, late minister at the porte, attended prince Orlof. The austrian and prussian ministers at the same place, having received a present of fifty purses, amounting to about twenty-five thousand dollars each, from the grand signor, besides a fixed daily allowance for their expences, attended also at the opening of the congress.

other, were not ignorant how much their armies were in want of rest; but their conferences were as unfruitful as those of Fokshiani. The term of the armistice was expired. The pacificators had no longer any thoughts of war.

During all the time that these negotiations were going on, new preparations had been making for recommencing hostilities. The Russians had concluded, with a new khan of the Crimea, a treaty by which that prince declared himself independent on the grand signor, and threw himself under the protection of the empress. The porte, incensed at the defection of the Tartars, no less than at the cession they had made to the Russians of the forts of Kertsch and Yenicaly, which command the straits of Kefa, together with the territories belonging to them, sent into the Euxine a strong squadron of galliots and chebecs. Catharine had already sent thither a considerable fleet, and had dispatched it to several english and dutch officers, particularly the captains Dennison, Perry, and Kinsbergen, under the command of admiral sir Charles Knowles.

But an object of higher importance at that time occupied the mind of Catharine. She saw herself at length on the point of reaping the fruit of the troubles and divisions which she had been sowing among the Poles. For a long time in agreement with the king of Prussia, she left to that prince the care of procuring the consent of the court
of

of Vienna to the dismemberment of Poland. She was, moreover, very sure that she would have but few obstacles to overcome on the part of the other powers. France had then a minister not much endowed with foresight*. England was bound to Russia by its commerce. The states bordering on the Baltic might be jealous at seeing the Russians and the Prussians gaining ports upon that sea; but none of them had either the means or the temerity to make head against them. The Ottomans were scarcely more to be dreaded. How should they be in a condition to send succours to Poland, when they were so badly able to defend themselves, and saw themselves attacked in all parts of their vast empire? Catharine, in short, was only afraid of the refusal of the court of Vienna; but Frederic promised her the accession of that court.

Frederic, without hazarding any thing, might make her that promise. He had been long acquainted, by the relations of his ministers, with the character of the heir of the house of Austria.

When Joseph II. in 1769, had an interview with him at Neiss in Silesia, the prussian monarch, profiting by the ascendant he had acquired from

* The duke d'Aiguillon, who had been put at the head of the department of foreign affairs, was more qualified for paying attendance on the intrigues of the boudoir and court cabals, than to balance the interests of Europe, and to support the honour of the french nation.

his experience and his fame, proposed to the young emperor the first partition of Poland. Joseph II. pleased with the idea of extending his dominion, heard with complacency the project of the king of Prussia; but deferred to enter into any engagement to concur in it, till he should have conferred upon the subject with the old prince Kaunitz, by whose counsels he was guided. Kaunitz applauded the predatory plan. Some time after this* the monarchs had a second interview at Neustadt in Austria; and the dismemberment of Poland was finally settled.

The plague, which had been ravaging the frontiers of Poland since the foregoing year, furnished the king of Prussia with an occasion for advancing his troops pretty far into polish Prussia. The emperor had the same pretext for marching his into such of the provinces as lay most conveniently for him.

Joseph II. seemed about to give succours to the confederates of Bar. His last treaty obliged him even to join with the Turks against the Russians; but that prince entertained very different designs; and he was so well practised in the arts of dissimulation, that the confederates, deceived by his promises, regarded for a long time as their defenders the soldiers who were come to make a prey of their country.

* In 1770.

The foreign armies extended from one end of Poland to the other, and acted equally against the confederates, who were soon obliged to disperse. The greater part of them returned to their homes. The rest went abroad to publish among foreign nations their complaints and their misfortunes.

All Europe had its eyes fixed on Poland. It could not be conceived why three formidable powers, in a time of profound peace, should seize upon a country, the independence whereof had been guaranteed by the most solemn treaties. Mankind were likewise at a loss to know what might be the drift of the negotiations which continually employed these powers. It was at length discovered. The minister of the emperor was the first who notified the treaty of Petersburg to the king and the senate of Poland. The ambassador of Russia and the envoy of Prussia presented to them, almost immediately upon it, declarations in support of that treaty*.

The conduct of the great partitioning powers gradually unfolded their designs during the negotiations at Fokshiani. They proceeded silently in carrying on those arrangements which they had lately concluded; while they seemed restrained by their enormity from making a public avowal of them. It seemed as if they endeavoured to

* See the Appendix No. XIII. at the end of this volume.

feel the general temper and disposition of Europe : and by a climax of successive exorbitancies to prevent the surprise which attends novelty, and prepare the public for those greater which were still to succeed. Deformity wears off by acquaintance ; and perhaps they found it necessary to familiarize themselves with their own designs, before they could arrive at a resolution of exposing them nakedly to the view of the world.

The time was at length arrived, when the actors in this state farce had attained confidence enough to throw off their masks, and to appear in their proper forms without any disguise. The king of Prussia, who was less attentive to appearances, had for some time made no secret of his intention, and had dignified his acquisitions, as if they had been countries lately discovered, by the title of New Prussia. A manifesto was delivered at Warsaw *, by the russian and prussian ministers, in the name of their respective sovereigns, which was seconded a few days after by the minister from the empress queen, in which the three powers openly avowed their intentions. This declaration was soon after succeeded by specifications from the different powers of the countries which they had agreed respectively to appropriate.

It would afford little use or entertainment to enter into a long or particular discussion of those

* Sept. 18th.

state formulas, which are published in compliance with established customs, and to blindfold the vulgar, without any intention that they should convey either truth or argument. The manifesto sets out with a detail of the laudable intentions and friendly offices of the empress of Russia, in all of which she is said to have been either openly or tacitly seconded by the other two powers ; general complaints are made of losses sustained, and expences incurred, in consequence of the frequent troubles in Poland ; the spirit of discord which has seized the nation is greatly lamented, and a moving description given of the miseries it has undergone, and of its present deplorable situation ; at the same time that the total dissolution of the state is foretold to be the consequence of the present anarchy and disorder, if not timely prevented. It is acknowledged, that this event would probably destroy the harmony and friendship at present subsisting between the three great powers, which puts them under a necessity of taking a decisive part in such critical circumstances, and with one accord, to take such effectual measures as would re-establish tranquillity and good order in Poland, and put the ancient constitution of that kingdom, and the liberties of the people, on a sure and solid foundation.

Thus far, nothing can appear more generous or laudable than the conduct and intentions of the great allied powers. We are however soon

informed, that as Poland is to be so highly benefited by the mutual friendship and harmony which now so happily subsists between them, it is also right they should derive some advantage themselves from this fortunate concord, while it lasts, the uncertainty of its continuance being most emphatically acknowledged. Thus circumstanced, as they have respectively very considerable claims on the possessions of the republic, they will not expose them to the hazard of future possible contingencies, and have therefore determined among themselves to assert those rights and claims which each of them will hereafter be ready to justify in time and place, by authentic records, and solid reasons.

That having reciprocally communicated their respective rights and claims, and being mutually convinced of their justice, they have determined to secure to themselves a proportionable equivalent, by taking immediate and effectual possession of such parts of the territories of the republic, as may serve to fix *more natural and sure bounds* between her and the three powers. They also promise that they will, hereafter, give an exact specification of what they intend respectively to seize upon as an equivalent; and most generously discharge the Poles from all other debts, dues, demands, and claims, of whatever nature, whether on the possessions or subjects of the republic; at the same time inviting all ranks and orders of them

them to banish, or at least suspend, the spirit of discord and delusion: in order, that a diet being legally assembled, they might co-operate with their said majesties, in establishing, on a firm and solid foundation, the good order and tranquillity of the nation, and may at the same time ratify, by public acts, the exchange of the titles, pretensions, and claims of the three powers, against the equivalents of which they have taken possession.

It seemed by the delay in presenting the specifications, as well as by their subsequent conduct, that the usurping powers had not been able in all this time to agree among themselves upon the shares which they should respectively seize of the spoil in the division of this miserable country. We accordingly find the same studied obscurity in these notifications, that are observable in the manifesto.

The causes which excited an equivocal description of limits did not, however, continue long to operate; the declarations themselves being no longer considered as binding, than till the three powers could agree upon an arrangement more advantageous to themselves.

Notice was given by the empress-queen in her specification, that the count de Pergen was appointed commissary, plenipotentiary, and governor, in the new provinces, and the people were strictly commanded to pay ready and chearful obedience

to every thing he should ordain. They were also informed, that though the day was not yet appointed for their taking the oath of allegiance to her imperial majesty, it should however be soon determined upon: and they were charged, in the mean time, to conduct themselves as quiet and obedient subjects, in the same manner as if the oath had been already administered; in failure of which they were threatened with those punishments due to rebellious subjects.

The specifications delivered by the empress of Russia were as little adhered to as those presented by the empress-queen. She also, by way of indemnification and exchange for divers ancient rights, and just and indisputable pretensions, seized on various provinces and people, whom she incorporated for ever with her empire.

The empress not only solemnly promised her new subjects the free and public exercise of their religion, and security in their property, but also declared, that looking upon them now as her dear children, she rendered them all in general, and without exception, equal shares in all the rights, liberties, and prerogatives which her ancient subjects enjoy. In return for all these graces and benefits, it is only expected that they will render themselves worthy of them, by a sincere love of their new country, and an inviolable attachment to so magnanimous a sovereign. All the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, were at

the same time strictly commanded to take a solemn oath of allegiance to her tzarian majesty, in the course of a month; but if any of the nobility or landholders should not chuse to conform thereto, they were allowed three months to sell their lands, and to retire freely; after which time, all unsold lands and goods were to be confiscated. The declaration also secures to the jews the free exercise of their religion, promises that a strict discipline shall be observed by the troops, and orders that the empress and the grand duke should be prayed for in all the churches.

As the king of Prussia, it was supposed, would be considered as highly in the character of a royal philosopher and writer, as in that of a warrior, a more clear and learned illustration of his rights was accordingly expected from him, than from the other partitioning powers. His specifications were issued under the appellation of letters patent, and were addressed to the different orders and estates by name, whether ecclesiastical or secular, and to all the inhabitants in general of the territories of Prussia and Pomerania, hitherto possessed by the kings of Poland, and also to those districts on this side of the Nottée, hitherto appropriated to Great Poland.

In these letters, the king lays down the following positions, which, he says, are facts notorious to all who are conversant in history, viz. That the kings of Poland did many ages ago violently dis-

seise the dukes of Pomerania of that part of the duchy called Pomerellia; and that they have also with equal injustice usurped and detained a considerable district of the New Mark, lying on this side of the river Nottée; that the dukes of Stettin were the legal and natural heirs of the dukes of Dantzic; that the latter line being extinguished, so early as the year 1295, their territories, which consisted of that city and Pomerellia, fell into the hands of the knights of the teutonic order, from whom (in the course of some ages) they passed into those of the kings of Poland; by all which means the house of Stettin was deprived of its rights, and prevented ever after from recovering them; and that the house of Brandenburg are the heirs and universal successors of all those dukes we have mentioned.

Without entering into the system of northern jurisprudence, many objections will arise to claims founded upon these principles; among which the darkness of the history of ignorant and barbarous nations in those remote times, and the uncertainty in attempting to trace marriages, settlements, and descents, through the families of petty lords, whose names are doubtfully preserved in books of heraldry, and were scarcely heard of beyond their own districts when they lived, are sufficiently obvious. It might also be observed, that long and unimpeached possession is acknowledged, by the universal consent of mankind, as the most certain

certain and equitable title by which a right can be claimed in any thing, and would in itself be sufficient to preclude any claims set up in the darkness, and founded upon the rubbish of a blind antiquity.

Historical facts, however, militate as strongly against those claims, as any reasons drawn from their nature, or the opinions and practice of mankind. It appears that Mestvin, the last duke of Dantzic, four years before his death, appointed his nephew Premislaus, then duke, and afterwards king of Poland, to be his heir, and to succeed to all his territories; that having communicated this disposition to the states of the country, they agreed to it, and were in his lifetime sworn to Premislaus, who accordingly succeeded him, upon his death, in the year 1295. It also appears that neither the dukes of Stettin, nor those of Volgaft, who were the possessors of what is properly called Pomerania, ever pleaded their rights, if they had such, or laid any claim to those territories, though they frequently shifted their masters, and were more than a century and a half in the possession of the teutonic knights. It might not be unworthy of observation, that Premislaus succeeded to the territory of Pomerellia, one hundred and twenty-two years before Frederic, the burgrave of Nurenburch, and ancestor to the present royal family of Prussia, had purchased the marquisate of Brandenburg from the emperor Sigismund.

It

It is also a question of much doubt, whether Pomerellia was ever considered as a part of Germany, much less as a fief of the duchy of Pomerania; the empire has always been excessively tenacious of its paramount rights, and its neglect of them in this instance would be as extraordinary as the silent acquiescence of the dukes of Stettin in the loss of a fief, which was guaranteed to them by its laws and constitution. Perhaps it may be needless to observe, that in the volumes of treaties, to which, in the course of several ages, the kings of Poland and the electors of Brandenburg have been parties, no notice was ever taken of those claims now made by the latter; that if any such claims had really existed, they must have been long since cut off, by repeated and exact specifications of limits and territories, or renounced, in common with all others, in return for those valuable grants and considerations which the electoral house had the address to obtain in its concerns with the republic; and that some of these treaties took in, either as parties or guarantees, almost all the great powers in Europe. Or if it should be supposed, that those claims might arise from the king's possession of Ducal Prussia, it should be remembered that his right to that province is founded upon no better title, than what proceeded from the perfidy and treachery of Albert of Brandenburg, who having, in breach of his trust and oath as grand master of the teutonic order,

order, betrayed the possessions which they had so dearly earned with the sword, into the hands of the king of Poland, received that province from him as a fief in reward of his conduct, and as his share of the spoil.

The king of Prussia was well aware that these objections, as well as many others, might be made to the nature and justice of his claims; he accordingly, in the letters patent, took the trouble to obviate one of the former, by shrewdly observing, that the dukes of Stettin had never made any renunciation of their rights to Pomerellia; a fact which must be as readily admitted, as that they never claimed or pretended any such rights. As to all others, he referred the public, as well as the parties concerned, to a work, which he said was then in the press, (but which has not yet been published) in which he had given to all Europe incontestible proofs of his rights, confirmed by authentic records, and the strongest arguments drawn from history and law.

We shall enter into no particular discussion of the claims of this prince, upon that part of Great Poland which lies between the Draga and the Nottée, which he pretends to have been originally a part of the New March of Brandenburg; the rights here seem to be founded upon similar principles, and liable to many of the objections which we have already mentioned. From this state, however, of proofs and deductions, his prussian majesty

majesty concludes "that the rights of Poland
 "to these provinces, having been thus in its
 "origin unjust and vicious, cannot, according to
 "the unanimous opinion of all civilized nations,
 "be corrected or amended by a long prescription;
 "but rather that the rights of the house of Bran-
 "denburgh, not only to those provinces, but also
 "to the other great and important claims, set
 "forth in the manifesto, remain in full force and
 "integrity."

Having thus established the clearness of his titles, and the equity of his claims, this prince declares, that as neither his inclinations lead, nor any law compels him, to suffer any longer such great and various acts of injustice, he will make use of the means in his hands, not only to recover the provinces thus torn by Poland from his duchy of Pomerania and the New March of Brandenburg, but that he will also indemnify himself for the fruits and revenues of those extensive provinces during this long detention of them.

To this end he therefore seizes all that part of Great Poland situated on this side of the Nottée, and also all the territories of Prussia and Pomerania on this and on the other side of the Vistula, which the kings of Poland have hitherto possessed under the name of Polish Prussia; excepting only Dantzic and Thorn. As the king is fully persuaded that the republic of Poland, having well weighed his demands, as well as the *circumstances*
 attending

attending them, will yield to his rights, finish all differences between them by amicable treaties, and be ready and disposed to make equitable conventions therein; he therefore exhorts and commands the people to submit themselves voluntarily to his dominion, to acknowledge him for their lawful king and master, demean themselves as faithful and obedient subjects, and abstain from all communication with the kingdom of Poland. As a farther and immediate pledge of their submission, they are commanded to do homage, and to take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity, in such manner as shall be specified to them, at so short a date as the 27th of September, though the letters patent were only signed on the 13th of the same month.

Upon a strict and immediate compliance with these conditions, the inhabitants of those provinces are promised to be maintained in their possessions and rights, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and especially those of the church of Rome, in the free exercise of their religion; and that in general they shall be so governed, that every sensible inhabitant shall find reason to be content and happy, and have no cause to regret this change. But if, on the contrary, any person should presume to disobey those orders, either by any act or neglect, or should in anywise render himself guilty, or even *suspected* of infidelity and disobedience, such delinquents are threatened, without exception of persons,

persons, with all those punishments, which are usual in such cases.

No security, either of person or property, is granted by the letters patent, to those who from principles of honour or conscience, or a dislike to foreign laws and a military government, would sooner abandon their country than be guilty of a violation of the one, or submit to a compliance with the other; as little regard is shewn to the rights of those who are absent in other countries, and who, from the shortness of the time, cannot possibly comply with the terms prescribed. The same disregard to the established rights of mankind are shewn in the Austrian specifications, by which no alternative is allowed to those who do not chuse to accept of the terms proposed, nor are they even informed, whether they are to be governed by their own laws, or by any other, the will of the count de Pergen being the only code that was then communicated to them. The empress of Russia, indeed, allowed three months to those who should not be willing to submit to her government, to dispose of their effects, with liberty then to depart where they please, which, though much too short a time to answer any effectual purpose, carried with it, however, some appearance of equity and humanity, of which the other two powers seemed totally regardless. These, however, are matters that could only affect the landholders or the opulent traders, the bulk of the people

people being considered as annexed to the soil, which they must till, and raise recruits for the armies: as for the others, in the present righteous system of disposing of the rights of nations and of the property of mankind, confiscations might, probably, form no inconsiderable part of the great objects in view.

Whilst the three great powers were thus making a spoil of Poland, the unhappy king of that country was a sort of an honourable prisoner in his capital: surrounded with foreign troops, it was not yet time he should quit it; and he must not only wait to be a spectator of the dissolution of his country, but was also doomed to light the funeral pile with his own hand. Such is the power of habit, that those who have lost all regard to the essence of justice, are still scrupulous admirers of its forms. Thus the powers in question, not satisfied with the title to their new acquisitions, which they derived from force in the first instance, apply to the same force, for a better, in the second; and think to sanctify their violence, by obtaining some of the outward forms of a legal right: as if the violence that makes a man deliver his right was less justifiable than that which obliges him to sign a writing to his own destruction.

1773. The indignant Poles cried out against the injustice. They claimed the intervention of the potentates guaranties of the treaty of Oliva; a treaty

a treaty that had assured to them the integrity of their territory, and which had long been regarded as the grand charter of the north. Some of these potentates made remonstrances, no less unavailing than the complaints of the Poles. Not content with having already seized on a part of the provinces of Poland, the three imperial and royal spoliators insisted that a diet should solemnly make to them the cession of these provinces.

Under the influence, therefore, of this tender regard to the forms of equity, the miseries of an undone king and of a ruined people were to be aggravated by an unprofitable and unheard-of insult. A diet was to be summoned with the bayonet at its breasts. Some persons were forced, a few others procured, and the king himself obliged to attend this meeting. The business was but short. The justice, equity, magnanimity, and friendship of the partitioning powers were extolled in the highest degree; their undoubted right to every thing they chose to take acknowledged in the fullest terms; and every instrument they thought proper to present immediately executed.

Of all the extraordinary acts of the three partitioning powers, none seemed more so, or were perhaps more incomprehensible, than their conduct respecting the convocation of a diet. They urged in the manifesto, with the most pressing earnestness, the whole polish nation to lay aside their

their animosities, in order that a diet might be legally assembled, one of the principal avowed objects of which was to ratify those arrangements they had already decreed, and to acknowledge their right in the equivalents they had seized. Upon finding that the king and the senate did not enter into this measure with the alacrity which they wished, they lost all appearance of temper; and, forgetful of the respect due either to a king or a republic, renewed the demand in terms, and enforced it with menaces, equally unworthy of both.

The diet was immediately convoked and assembled*. Promises and money were lavished to gain over the deputies. Nevertheless the majority of the diet for a long time refused their consent to the dismemberment. Provoked at a resistance which had not been expected, the ministers of the three courts threatened the diet with the full animadversion of their sovereigns. They said, that they would cause the king to be arrested and deposed; and it was privily circulated by their emissaries, that if the diet refused its compliance, Warsaw should be delivered up to pillage. By repeated allurements and stratagems, the consent of the diet was at length obtained. It issued at the same time a decree to confine to a small num-

* The 19th of April 1773.

ber of days the time of their sittings*, and it appointed commissioners to settle with the ministers of the three courts the conditions of the partition. It may easily be imagined that these conditions were dictated by the ministers themselves. They were signed in the month of September following.

Some nobles of the usurped provinces had the courage to protest against the treaty, and to publish manifestos. But of what avail were these solitary exclamations against numerous armies?

Previous to the convocation of the diet, and during the whole of its continuance, the king had loudly declared against the partition. Notwithstanding this, it was pretended that he secretly favoured it, and persons who knew his former devotion to Russia, could not persuade themselves that he would now give it up.

As soon as the accession to the treaty of partition was voted, several of the principal members of the diet repaired to the king, and reproached him sharply with the ruin of their country. The monarch at first answered them with gentleness. But, soon perceiving that his moderation only served to embolden them and to provoke fresh insults, he rose up, threw his hat upon the floor, and said to them haughtily, "Gentlemen, I am weary of harkening to you. The partition of

* It broke up in the month of May.

"our

"our unhappy country is a consequence of your ambition, of your dissensions, and your eternal disputes. It is to yourselves alone that you ought to attribute your misfortunes. As for me, if no more territory should be left me than could be covered by this hat, I should nevertheless be still, in the eyes of all Europe, your lawful, but unhappy king."

By the dismemberment of Poland, it lost nearly five millions of inhabitants. The country that fell to Russia, and which was the most extensive, contained one million five hundred thousand. That which Austria had, two million five hundred thousand, on a territory far less extensive. Prussia acquired only eight hundred and sixty thousand souls*; but she was compensated by the commerce and the vicinity of the Vistula, and by the city of Dantzic,

* Russia acquired three thousand four hundred and forty square leagues, Austria two thousand seven hundred, and Prussia nine hundred. The country usurped by Russia had for its limits the river Vella, from its source to the place where it falls into the Niemen, and the river Bercezina, as far as Rjesicka, where it empties itself into the Dniepr.—Austria took the whole of the left bank of the Vistula, from the salt mines as far as the mouth of the Virotz, the palatinate of Belch, Red-Russia, and the greater part of Volhynia.—Frederic took possession of Elbing and the whole of polish Prussia, excepting the cities of Dantzic and Thorne, which he afterwards seized on.

of which Frederic had already laid the plan of rendering himself master*.

The three courts who thus appropriated to themselves the spoils of Poland, were not unmindful at the same time of putting it in a state of impossibility ever to regain what they had now been usurping from it. However dangerous the form of its government might have been, they were determined to render it still more corrupt. They caused full powers to be granted to the commissioners of the diet, to employ themselves, in concert with them or their ministers, in making the changes required by the constitution of the republic; and, under the specious pretext of cor-

* Even so late as the year 1767, the empress of Russia concluded a treaty with the Dantzickers, by which she engaged them to join in the confederation of the dissidents, and in which, besides renewing and confirming the former guarantees, she engages in the strongest terms, for the maintaining of that city, in all its rights, liberties, privileges, customs, religious or civil; and especially in the possession of its territories and lands; also in its right of navigation, commerce, port, coinage, and garrison, without any diminution thereof; she also engages, that if a war should be the consequence of the present dissensions, and that it should sustain any injury, either as to its goods, revenues, or rights, thereby, it should not only receive full reparation for its losses at the conclusion of a peace; but that besides, all its rights and privileges shall be again most strongly guaranteed, not only by herself, but also by all the other high powers who were engaged with her in the cause of the dissidents. Such is the faith and security of treaties.

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recting its defects, they aggravated them so as to render them incurable.

After conferences prolonged by repeated delays, a new diet was assembled, in which the ministers of the three courts proposed their plan of reform. The diet was more tumultuous and more untractable than the preceding; and, in spite of the influence of the russian minister, who caused his secretary to read the new project of the constitution, this project was at first rejected*.

By

* It is too curious for us not to introduce here the bases of it, as well as the preamble of the captious memorial which the ministers of the three courts presented at the same time.

“ The courts are so strongly interested in the pacification of Poland, that while the business is in hand of preparing the treaties for being signed and ratified, their ministers think that not an instant should be lost of that inestimable interval, for restoring order and tranquillity to that kingdom. We shall now therefore communicate to the commission, a part of those fundamental laws, to the acceptance whereof our courts will not permit any obstacle or delay.

“ 1. The crown of Poland shall be elective *for ever*, and all order of succession shall remain prohibited. Any person who shall attempt to infringe this law shall be declared an enemy of the country, and prosecuted as such.”

“ 2. Foreigners who aspire to the throne, occasioning most frequently divisions and troubles, shall henceforward be excluded, and a law shall be passed, that in future none but a Pole by parentage, born a gentleman, shall be capable of being elected king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania. The son or grandson of a king shall not be eligible immediately after

By these laws the house of Saxony and other foreign princes, who might have preserved the integrity of the remnant of Poland, were excluded from the throne, the liberum veto, with the other dangerous privileges of the nobility, confirmed, and all the disorders perpetuated.

Stackelberg was still ambassador from Catharine at Warsaw*. More pliant than Repnin, he was neither less haughty nor less addicted to in-

" the death of his father, or of his grandfather; and he shall not be so till after the interval of two reigns.

" 3. The government of Poland shall be, and shall continue for ever a free and independent government, and of the republican form.

" 4. The true principles of that government consisting in an exact observance of the laws, and in the equilibrium of the three orders, viz. the king, the senate, and the nobility, a permanent council shall be established to which shall be attributed the executive power. Into this council shall be admitted persons of the rank of nobility, who have been hitherto excluded from the administration of affairs, in the interval of the diets," &c.

* It is well known that of all the Poles, the king was him for whom Stackelberg had the least respect. Whenever he was in company with that prince, he used to place himself without ceremony before him, with his back to the fire, and holding up the skirts of his coat.—The king one day paid a visit to Stackelberg. He was dealing the cards at a game of pharao, and without quitting his play, he sat still and shewed the king a chair, making a sign to him to sit down. Every person at Warsaw was plainly convinced that the Russian minister was the real king in that capital.

trigue,

trigue. By dexterity and corruption he gained over the majority of the deputies, and the diet approved of the new form of government. It seemed proper now that this pernicious plan of government, established by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, should be maintained and upheld by those powers: but they delayed not to take advantage of its defects to bring it to total destruction.

The Prussian troops, from their first entrance into the dominions of Poland, without the pretence or colour of war, acted in every respect as if they had come to revenge unparalleled injuries in the country of the most odious enemy; and even exceeded what is practised upon those occasions between civilized nations. Their monarch seemed upon this occasion to have exhausted the whole of his fertile genius, in finding out new modes of rapine, oppression, and tyranny. No forms were observed, no measures were kept, and even the ordinary appearances and trappings of justice were shamelessly thrown by.

It has been computed, that at a moderate estimation he carried off, in the course of the year 1771, from the province of Great Poland and the adjoining districts, twelve thousand families, who were sent, with their effects, to stock the barren sands and bleak wilds of his hereditary dominions. In the same year he published an edict, commanding every person, under the severest penalties, and even corporal punishment,

to take in payment for forage, provisions, corn, horses, &c. the money which should be offered by his troops and commissaries. This money was either silver bearing the impress of Poland, and worth only one-third of its nominal value, or else ducats, struck in imitation of the dutch ducats, (which from their intrinsic worth are current in every part of Germany and the north), that were seventeen per cent, below them in value. With this base money he bought up corn and forage enough, not only to supply his army for two whole years, but also to stock magazines in the country where the provisions were bought which were afterwards converted into markets, where the inhabitants were obliged to come and re-purchase corn, at an advanced price, for their daily subsistence, and to pay for it with good money; his commissaries refusing to take back the same coin, which they had before obliged the people to receive. It is said, that the king gained, in this single article of extortion and injustice, seven millions of dollars; which, though an amazing sum, and that the calculation may be large; yet if we recollect, that by being master that year of the Vistula, he became possessed of all the corn in Poland that was intended for the Dantzic market, besides what his troops could lay hands on in Great Poland and Prussia, and remember at the same time the exceeding scarcity and great price of that commodity, both in
Germany

Germany and all the neighbouring countries, we may perhaps find reason not to think the sum much exaggerated.

Excessive contributions were at first extorted, which were afterwards doubled and trebled, both in Great Poland and Royal Prussia. Unheard-of gabelles were at length imposed, and the protestant cities of Dantzic and Thorne*, surrounded with custom houses, at which exorbitant duties were levied upon all the necessaries of life, as they were carried into market. In a word, the exactions from the abbies, convents, cathedrals, and nobles, were so exorbitant, and at length grew so much beyond their abilities, that the canons of Gnesna shut up the church, and abandoned their cathedral; the priests fled from their cures, the monks from their monasteries, and the nobles from their estates. Those whom age or infirmities prevented from flying, were bound hand and foot, and carried off as criminals.

In the mean time, the young men were every

* The city of Thorne found as little security in the king of Prussia's declaration, as that of Dantzic. The same solemn mockery of reason and justice was however preserved upon this occasion, which had been displayed upon the other; and the delicacy was still to be observed of not taking the city by force, at the same time that their territories and revenues were seized upon, custom and excise officers erected at their gates, and heavy gabelles (which would have amounted to prohibitions, if they had been laid upon any thing but the necessaries of life) levied upon every article that entered them.

where

where seized, and sent off to fill up the prussian armies. When all the ingenuity of device, and all the resources of oppression, rapine, and tyranny, seemed at length to be exhausted, a new one was discovered, which was before unheard-of in the history of mankind. Every town and village was obliged to furnish a certain number of marriageable girls, to each of whom the parents were to give, as a portion, a feather-bed, four pillows, one cow, two hogs, and three ducats in gold; all of which were sent to stock the king's dominions. One small town in Poshania, with its district, was obliged to furnish general Belling with fifty marriageable girls and their portions; and the roads were covered with waggons, loaded with this new species of contribution. Thus were the children torn from the arms of their unhappy parents, and the wretched brides obliged to abandon their country, their religion, their language, their friends, and all the dear connections of life, to be transported to unknown countries, married to men they never saw, and to live in a state of mutual hatred with people whom they could not understand. These oppressions continued from the latter part of the year 1770, to the same time in the year 1772, when the partition of Poland was formally declared*.

Nothing

* It is the interest of all the potent states that surround this large and once great country, never to suffer it to emerge out of

Nothing could now be added to the descriptions we have already given of the calamities of Poland, that would not appear a tiresome repetition. A great part of the country was finally reduced to a desert, and the inhabitants either totally exterminated, or carried off to stock remote russian plantations, from whence they can never return. The russian ambassador was in reality the king of that unhappy country; and every commander of a party, whether russian or confederate, an absolute and most arbitrary despot, so far as the force in his hands was capable of extending his power.

Here let us pause to remark, that the period of which we are now treating, though it adds but little to the splendour of history, abounds with those materials which form the most serious and important parts of it. It presents us with a revolution, as unexpected as important, in that general system of policy, and arrangement of power

of its present wretched situation. The officious neighbours have too great a regard for its constitution, to admit the natural physicians to prescribe any thing for its benefit. Its original misfortune was the pride and tyranny of the nobles, which prevented them for several ages, while it was in their power, from establishing a happy form of government. If this had been done, they might have been one of the greatest nations in Europe: they are now the most miserable; and little less than a miracle can ever afford another opportunity of making trial of their virtue.

and dominion, which had been for some ages an object of unremitting attention with most of the states of Europe. It shews us the ruin of one great and ancient state, and an almost unparalleled revolution in the internal government of another*. While the statesman may here behold the inefficacy of treaties, guarantees, and sanctions, the philosopher and citizen of the world will shed a tear on the utter subversion of almost all the remaining monuments of public liberty; and tremble for the very few that yet continue.

The violent dismemberment and partition of Poland, without the pretence of war, or even the colour of right, is to be considered as the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe. It is not (said the politicians of the continent) sapping by degrees the constitution of our great western republic; it is laying the axe at once to the root, in such a manner as threatens the total overthrow of the whole. Such is the condition of mankind, that we are ever in extremes; and when we have carried any one to its greatest extent of evil or folly, we fly back with equal violence to its opposite. The surprise of a town, the invasion of an insignificant province, or the election of a prince, who had neither abilities to be feared, nor virtues to be loved, would some years ago have armed one half of Europe, and called forth all the attention of the other.

* Sweden, 1772.

We

We now behold the destruction of a great kingdom; with the consequent disarrangement of power, dominion, and commerce, with as total an indifference and unconcern, as we could read an account of the exterminating one horde of Tartars by another, in the days of Tschinghis-khan or Tamerlane.

The idea of considering Europe as a vast commonwealth; of the several parts being distinct and separate, though politically and commercially united; of keeping them independent, though unequal in power; and of preventing any one, by any means, from becoming too powerful for the rest, was great and liberal, and, though the result of barbarism, was founded upon the most enlarged principles of the wisest policy. It is owing to this system, that this small part of the western world has acquired so astonishing (and otherwise unaccountable) a superiority over the rest of the globe. The fortune and glory of Greece proceeded from a similar system of policy, though formed upon a smaller scale. Both her fortune and glory expired along with the system.

Some of the most desert provinces in Asia have been repeatedly the seats of arts, arms, commerce, and literature. These potent and civilized nations have repeatedly perished, for want of any union or system of policy of this nature. Some Scythian, or other barbarian, has been suffered, unnoticed, to subdue his neighbouring tribes; each new conquest

conquest was made an instrument to the succeeding; until at length become irresistible, he swept whole empires with their arts and sciences off the face of the earth. In the same manner a banditti, who were afterwards called Romans, were suffered to accumulate power, until they had subdued the bravest and fiercest nations, and became the masters and destroyers of the best part of the world. Each state looked on with indifference, or enjoyed a malignant pleasure at the ruin of its neighbour, without reflecting that the weapons and power of which he was deprived would be quickly employed to its own destruction.

It will not be denied, that the idea of supposing a balance of power has in some cases been carried to an extreme; that by artfully employing it to operate upon the passions and jealousies of mankind, it has been made an engine subservient to the designs of interested and ambitious persons, and has perhaps thereby been productive of some unnecessary wars. The same objections, with others, might be made to that glorious jealousy, with respect to civil liberty, which has been the admiration and envy of all ages; which for the happiness of mankind should subsist in full vigour in every state in the world, and to their misfortune and punishment is scarcely alive in a few. Even that, the noblest quality of the human mind, has been productive of wars and of other evils.

We are not to look for perfection in any thing that

that we are capable of understanding. All human regulations are intermixed with evil and error; and all that is in our power, is to adopt those which are the clearest from both. The same principles that make it incumbent upon the patriotic member of a republic to watch with the strictest attention the motions and designs of his powerful fellow-citizens, should equally operate upon the different states, in such a community as Europe, who are also the great members of a larger commonwealth. Wars, however it may be lamented, are inevitable in every state of human nature; they may be deferred, but they cannot be wholly avoided; and to purchase present quiet at the price of future security, is undoubtedly a cowardice of the most degrading and basest nature.

We find however, that it has been at all times the language of a voluptuous and frivolous age, that while a state is flourishing within itself, and suffers no immediate injury from others, it has no concern in the quarrels, interests, or misfortunes of its neighbours. At such a time, that selfishness which looks only to the present moment, becomes a fashion, if not the standard of policy; it is as painful then to look forward, as it is to those who have weak nerves to look down a precipice; treaties, alliances, and a common cause, are exploded, as matters which do not concern the present day; and all enlarged ideas, of general justice, of a political equality, and of remote, though certain

certain consequences, are ridiculed as the dreams of lunatics.

How far such a description may be at present applicable to a considerable part of Europe, we shall not pretend to determine; in particular, how far the insular situation of Great Britain weakens the application of these general principles with regard to her, may be a question. It may not, however, be altogether an hazardous opinion, that a single man, cast out from the laws, the protection, and the commerce of his whole species, might in that solitary situation, with as rational and well-grounded a probability, propose to himself convenience and security, as any single state, in the present political and physical state of Europe, could expect independence and safety, unconnected with all the others.

It will be difficult for posterity to know which most to admire, the great power of Russia, or the magnificence of its empress, when they are informed, that in the course of so long, so expensive, and so widely extended a war, her disbursements, whether in rewards to her generals and officers, in presents to learned men, in the encouragement of arts, or in the purchase of libraries, statues, pictures, antiques, and jewels, infinitely exceed those of any late or present european prince except Lewis XIV. Among many instances of this nature which might be given, a diamond of an enormous size which she purchased this year may be

be sufficient. This diamond, which weighs seven hundred and seventy-nine carats, was brought some years before by a greek gentleman from Ispahan to Holland, and deposited for security in the bank, till he could meet with a purchaser; the greatness of the price would have made this difficult, if the empress of Russia had not existed. She paid upwards of one hundred thousand pounds sterling for it, besides settling a pension for life upon the gentleman, amounting to little less than a thousand pounds sterling a-year.

While Catharine was acquiring by negotiations a part of the provinces of Poland, her armies continued to ravage the frontiers of Turkey. Fortune however was not always favourable to her. Fourteen thousand Russians, in attempting to pass the Danube at Georgefsn, were surprised * by Daghestan-Ali pasha, and six hundred of them remained prisoners with the Turks. The young prince Repnin was of that number. He was conveyed to Constantinople, and shut up in the castle of seven towers, to which he was led in cavalcade, with the other prisoners who had been formerly taken, amounting in the whole to about three thousand, through the streets of that city; exhibiting by this means a kind of political triumph, calculated to flatter national vanity, and to keep up the spirits of the people. An Englishman,

* At Giurgevo.

named Elliot, in the service of Russia, distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner at Georgefsn. He sprung, with no less agility than boldness, over the heads and the sabres of the spahis, and fell into the river, which he crossed by swimming.

Marshal Romantsof crossed the Danube, in order to march direct to Silistria. Four-score thousand Turks were encamped on the adjacent heights. General Veiffmann attacked them; they shut themselves up in the town. Romantsof marched up to it the following day. The grand vizir had already detached from his army fifty thousand men for the purpose of relieving Silistria. Romantsof effected his retreat during the night; but he was harassed by the Turks, who killed a great number of his people. Obligated to repass the Danube, that general went and encamped near Yablonitch in Valakhia.

The grand vizir occupied the left bank of the Danube. A detachment of his army defeated a considerable body of Russians at Roskana. These separate battles often turned out to the advantage of the Ottomans.

As the Danube was the boundary between the hostile armies, it became of course the scene of continued action; its wide extended waters, its islands, and its banks, affording endless opportunities for that desultory kind of war, which consists of surprises by night and ambuscades by day, of
alternate

alternate flight and pursuit, and in which from the vicinity of the hostile troops, and the facility of embarkation and descent, neither rest nor security is to be obtained on either side. A bloody, ruinous kind of war, which soon devours great armies; and in which lives are lost without effect, and courage exerted without honour.

This destructive kind of war was not, however, a matter of choice with the Russians; and the Turks were too skilfully commanded to forego the advantages which the nature of the country and the river afforded. To them, who were at home, and abounded with men, the loss of lives, if attended with no other consequence, was productive of no real weakness; while on the side of the Russians every loss was irreparable, or, at best, could scarcely be supplied sooner than the end of the campaign. In such circumstances, it would be wrong to judge from events: nor were the Russian generals blamable for using their utmost efforts to bring matters to an immediate crisis on the other side of the Danube, as it was the only means by which they could change the nature of the war, and preserve their best troops from mouldering away in ineffectual service. On the other hand it must be acknowledged, that the grand vizir, by not foregoing any of the advantages, and by making the best use of the means that were in his power, by preserving the grand army whole, and by wisely abstaining from a general engagement,

ment, though frequently urged to it, at the same time, that by repeatedly pouring detachments upon them, he kept the Russians in hot and continued action, undoubtedly performed in this campaign the part of a great captain.

Discontented, however, at perceiving that her armies had not lately been gaining new victories, Catharine sent dispatches to marshal Romantsof, desiring to be informed why he did not give battle. The general returned for answer, that it was because the grand vizir had three times more people than he, and might easily find his advantage in such an event.—Catharine wrote immediately in reply, “The Romans never asked after the number of their enemies, but where they were, in order to fight them.”

Some trifling engagements which happened between the hostile powers on the Euxine, answered no other purpose than to shew, that from the badness of their vessels, and the wretchedness of their sailors, the one was nearly as ill framed to acquire, as the other was to preserve, the dominion of that boisterous gulf.

The Russian operations in the Levant were not this year attended with any great eclat, or productive of any considerable advantages. Their force, however, at the beginning of the campaign, seemed, by the accounts of it that were published, to have been pretty considerable; and it is said to have consisted of seventeen ships of the line, of which

which three were unfit for service, thirteen stout frigates from twenty-two to forty-four guns, three English vessels (which they had purchased) of twenty guns each, and a number of small Russian and Duleignot vessels, which, with galliots, chebeques, and chebequins, amounted in the whole to about fifty. The complement of men which the Russian ships brought from the Baltic was about fourteen thousand: but of these many had died, and numbers were unfit for service: the smaller vessels of different kinds were manned by three thousand five hundred Greeks and Albanians. These, who were fit for nothing but a piratical war, committed many robberies on the ships of all nations, and had long been the scourge and ruin of the Grecian islands.

The isle of Paros, antiently famous for its wine and its marble, but rendered immortal by its statues, had long been the principal station of the Russians. Though the situation of this island, it lying about midway between the Morea and the Lesser Asia, might seem in some respects to render it an eligible station, it seems in many others to be greatly defective: among these, its distance from either coast, particularly from that of the Lesser Asia, might be considered as a principal objection; and its smallness and barrenness made it an uncomfortable place of refreshment and recovery for such great numbers. It indeed seems surprising, that after the extraordinary fortune by which they destroyed the Turkish fleet, and thereby became

the uncontrolled sovereigns of those seas, the Russians should not, in so many years, have been able to possess themselves of any one considerable island, which by its products might have been a support in their enterprises, and by its strength a security in case of misfortune.

A strict connexion and alliance had long subsisted between the Russians in the Mediterranean, Ali-bey, and the sheik Daher; and the latter were frequently assisted in their attempts upon the turkish ports on the coasts of Syria and Palestine, by the russian ships, who occasionally landed troops and artillery for that purpose. They also supplied them with some officers, engineers, and a few hundreds of Greeks and Albanians, to manage their artillery. Previous to Ali-bey's departure for the invasion of Egypt, he sent, in the beginning of the year, one of his principal officers and bosom friends, to the isle of Paros, to renew and strengthen the alliance with count Orlof, and to negotiate the assistance he should require in the progress of his enterprise, as well as to discover the extent of the friendship and protection he might expect in case of misfortune. This envoy having met with as kind a reception as he could wish, carried back a letter from count Orlof, in which he promised Ali-bey every assistance in his power, and pledged himself, in the most sacred manner, that he should never be abandoned, and that in the worst extremity he should find an asylum in the russian empire,

pire, where he should be as highly respected as he had been in Egypt. The defeat and death of this bold and unfortunate adventurer, put an end to the hopes of advantage which the Russians would have had a right to entertain, if he had succeeded in recovering the possession of that country.

The Russians, in the month of April, or the beginning of May, made an unsuccessful descent upon the island of Negropont, in which they suffered great loss, the Turks having totally cut off all the men that were landed. They soon afterwards quitted the island of Paros entirely, the sick, with part of the fleet, being sent to Leghorn, where they fixed an hospital, and the ships were refitted; the rest were employed in cruizes or expeditions. They likewise made several descents upon the islands of Cyprus, Candia, and others, which were attended with no other advantage than the obtaining plunder; they were not, however, at all times successful in these attempts, and four sacks full of russian heads were sent from Stanchio to Constantinople, as a proof of the reception which they met with in that island.

Catharine had for some time been meditating a marriage for the grand duke: but as that prince seemed to be of a weak habit, and a cold constitution, she feared lest he might be little disposed to give heirs to the empire. Her confidants soon found the means for dispelling her fears. They engaged a young polish widow, named Sophia

Offipovna Ufhakova Chartorynska*, to make an attempt with her charms on the heart of the prince. Mademoiselle Sophia consented; and she bore him a son, who received at the font the name of Simeon Velikoï†.

From that time the empress bent her thoughts on the choice of a fit consort for the grand duke. In this, however, she found herself somewhat embarrassed. She wished not for a princess who might probably become her rival, and who, profiting by her example, was capable of forming attempts on her throne and her life. She was rather in search of one who had neither the faculties nor the desire of rendering herself formidable. The empress at length fixed her views on the three daughters of the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. Catharine invited the three sisters, with their mother, to accompany them to her court. How contrary soever to long-established custom this proposal might appear, the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt accepted it with-

* The widow Chartorynska was afterwards married to count Gregory Razumofsky, who was with her at Paris in 1788, and retired to Lausanne at the beginning of the French revolution.

† Simeon Velikoï was of a gentle and modest disposition, and great care had been taken with his education. Entered at an early period in the navy, he served during the swedish war under that deserving english officer, captain Trevenen, in the capacity of lieutenant of a man of war, then being one of the twelve officers sent by the empress to learn the art of navigation in England: he acted as a volunteer in the english navy, and died in the West-Indies in 1797.

out hesitation. That princess was ambitious; and therefore she listened only to the hope of placing one of her daughters on the throne of Russia: she set out for Petersburg. The empress received her with magnificence, and loaded her with presents*. After having had time to form a judgment of the three young princesses, Catharine chose for the spouse of the grand duke the princess Wilhelmina, who embraced the Greek orthodox system of faith†, and was joined in wedlock to the heir of the tzars‡.

Prince

* She even insisted that the landgrave should permit her to defray the whole expence of her journey thither.

† The ceremony of the future grand duchess's profession of the greek faith was performed August 26, in the chapel of the winter palace. After abjuring her former religion, and making a short speech to the metropolitan archbishop of St. Petersburg, she was anointed by him according to the rites of the orthodox greek church, and baptized into that faith by the name of Natalia Alexievna, and the next morning was betrothed to the grand duke in the chapel of the summer palace. This ceremony consisted in the exchanging of rings: these, having first had the benediction pronounced on them by his eminence the archbishop of St. Petersburg, were delivered to the grand duke and the princess, and by them to the empress; who, taking the grand duke's, presented it to the princess, giving the princess's to the grand duke in exchange: which done, they both kissed the empress's hand. After mass was over, (which was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, on account of its being the festival of the holy handkerchief, a great day in this church,) the foreign ministers had the honour of kissing her imperial majesty's hand, and making their compliments to her: soon after which, her majesty, attended by the whole court, proceeded to the great saloon, where she dined

Prince Orlof and his party were in hopes that this marriage would be presently followed by the disgrace of Panin. Orders were sent him to leave the apartments which he occupied in the palace in quality of governor of Paul Petrovitch. His friends took the alarm. The courtiers became

upon the throne with the grand duke and duchess, and was served on this occasion by the great officers of the household. The four first classes of the nobility dining at different tables in the same room, and the foreign ministers with the vice-chancellor at his house. In the evening there was a ball at court, and the gardens of the summer palace were finely illuminated, as was the whole town, and the ships in the river. It is scarcely possible to exceed the splendor and magnificence which appeared on this occasion.

‡ The 10th of October being the day appointed for the celebration of the marriage of his imperial highness the grand duke with the eldest princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, the four first classes of the nobility assembled in the Kasanskoy church at Petersburg, the streets of that city being lined with guards and some regiments of foot. About noon, upon a signal being given, the procession set out from the winter palace, and proceeded to the church, in the centre of which was a throne richly decorated for the empress, and on the right hand a gallery for their imperial highnesses, with their princely attendants; and on the left, another for the foreign ministers. The body of the church was filled with the four first classes of nobility. His eminence Gabriel archbishop of Novgorod and St. Petersburg performed the marriage ceremony, and afterwards preached a sermon suitable to the occasion. The conclusion of the whole was proclaimed by a running fire of the musquetry; and the procession returned in the same order in which it came. The festivities on this occasion were continued from the 10th to the 21st, with only three days' intermission.

thy of him. He imagined himself undone: but his pupil had the generosity to oppose himself to the storm; and hastening to his mother, represented to her, that Panin had been always a faithful servant of the empire, and that it would be too cruel an act to dismiss him from the court, at the very moment when he had the greatest right to expect substantial rewards. This procedure wrought a change in the mind of the empress. Instead of retaining her resolution of sending an order to Panin to retire from the court, she wrote to him a letter full of testimonies of affection; and, thanking him for the care he had bestowed on the education of the grand duke, she confirmed him in his post of minister of foreign affairs.

It was a few days prior to the grand duke's marriage, and on the anniversary of her coronation, that the empress conferred upon count Panin, who had been his governor, several honours and emoluments. She bestowed upon that nobleman, in perpetuity, an estate valued at near seven thousand pounds a-year, and a pension for life to the same amount, besides an appointment of about half that sum for conducting the department of foreign affairs, together with the choice of any house in Petersburg, to be purchased for his residence, and an allowance of money for plate and furniture, of about thirty-five thousand pounds. She also shewed a proportionable munificence

nificence to all the officers of the grand duke's late household.

The famous count Biren, duke of Courland, died at a great age on the last day but one of the preceding year, and was succeeded by his son. As the reigning duke was known to be in no degree of favour at the court of Petersburg, his possession of that duchy was held to be very precarious; while it was generally thought, that it would have been thrown in as an equivalent on one side or other in the partition of Poland, and probably might, by some marriage arrangement, be formed with some of the adjoining provinces into an independent state. It is probable, that whatever difficulties prevented the execution, more than one design of this nature was in contemplation; and the duke himself was so sensible of the dangerous ground he stood on, that he attempted to bring about a match with one of the remaining princesses of Hesse-Darmstadt, in hopes thereby to strengthen his interest. This design was crushed as soon as it was known, by the empress, who is said to have sent him word, that he had no occasion to think yet of matrimony. In this hopeless situation he was summoned to Petersburg, and his ruin was thought to be decided; but a change soon appeared in the conduct and designs of the court; from whatever cause it proceeded he suddenly became a favourite

favourite at court, and the empress concluded a marriage for him with the Russian princess Yusupoff.

Those who were unacquainted with the motives by which the empress had been swayed in determining to retain count Panin, found an inexplicable contradiction in her conduct. Orlof had the presumption to reproach her with it: but she did not vouchsafe to inform him better. Unwilling that this favourite should know that a mother had yielded to the solicitations of her son, she told him that it behoved him to sacrifice the satisfaction of removing a minister who failed of pleasing, to the necessity there was for his service. Always ingenious in disguising her sentiments, Catharine made no scruple of deceiving the favourite, who fancied he engrossed the whole of her confidence. Though she seemed to have restored him her former tenderness, yet she secretly cherished in her heart a passion which speedily broke out. She felt some inclination to dismiss Orlof a second time: but she prudently kept terms with him still.

Of the learned and literary men with whom Catharine kept up a regular correspondence, Voltaire and Diderot were those whom she most distinguished. She invited them several times to come and visit her. The philosopher of Ferney had learned by experience the dangers of courts: he would not submit to the temptation of seeing that

that of Russia. The philosopher of Paris was more open to persuasion. He travelled to St. Petersburg. Catharine lavished on him largeesses and encomiums. During the whole time of his stay at her court, she discoursed with him every day at the conclusion of dinner. Philosophy, legislation, politics, were commonly the subject of these conversations. Diderot unfolded his principles on the liberty and the rights of nations with his usual enthusiasm* and eloquence. The empress seemed to be delighted with them; but she was not at all the more disposed to put them in practice.

"Monsieur Diderot," said she, "is a hundred years old in many respects; but in others he is no more than ten."

Perhaps her majesty's private opinion was not more in favour of the wisdom of Voltaire; though she never spoke of it but with all the deference that is due to the foremost dispenser of fame. The manner in which she was wont to write to him is well known. We have already cited several fragments of her letters; we shall, nevertheless, transcribe one of them here, as a further proof of the artful disguise she put on before that celebrated author, and how she strove to obtain

* The empress made him sit beside her. In his moments of enthusiasm, Diderot has sometimes hit her knee with the back of his hand: she never seemed to take offence at it.

those

those flatteries which he so lavishly bestowed upon her.

" * Now we are speaking of haughtiness, I have a mind to make my general confession to you on that head. I have had great successes during this war: that I am glad of it, you will very naturally conclude. I said, Russia will be well known by this war; it will be seen how indefatigable a nation it is; that she possesses men of eminent merit, and who have all the qualities that go to the forming of heroes; it will be seen that she is deficient in no resources; but that she can defend herself, and prosecute a war with vigour, whenever she is unjustly attacked.

"Brimful of these ideas, I have never once thought of Catharine, who, at the age of forty-two, can increase neither in body nor mind, but, in the natural order of things, ought to remain, and will remain, as she is. Do her affairs go on well? She says, so much the better! If they prosper less, she would employ all her faculties to put them in the best train possible.

"This is my ambition, and I have none other; what I tell you is the truth. I will go farther: I will tell you that, for the sparing of human blood, I sincerely wish for peace. But this

* This letter is dated the 22d of July—the 2d of August 1771.

" peace

“ peace is still a long way off, though the Turks,
 “ from different motives, are ardently desirous of
 “ it. Those people know not how to go about it.

“ I wish as much for the pacification of the
 “ unreasonable contentions of Poland. I have
 “ to do there with brainless heads, each of which,
 “ instead of contributing to the common peace,
 “ on the contrary throws impediments in the way
 “ of it by caprice and levity. My ambassador
 “ has published a declaration adapted to open
 “ their eyes. But it is to be presumed, that
 “ they will rather expose themselves to the last ex-
 “ tremity, than adopt without delay a wise and
 “ consistent rule of conduct. The vortices of
 “ Descartes never existed any where but in Po-
 “ land. There every head is a vortex, turning
 “ continually round itself. It is stopped by chance
 “ alone, and never by reason or judgment.

“ I have not yet received either your ques-
 “ tions*, or your watches from Ferney. I have
 “ no doubt that the work of your artificers is per-
 “ fect, since they work under your eyes.

“ Do not scold your rustics for having sent me
 “ a surplus of watches: the expence of them will
 “ not ruin me. It would be very unfortunate for
 “ me, if I were so far reduced as not to have, for
 “ sudden emergencies, such small sums whenever

* The “ Questions sur l'Encyclopedie.”

“ I want

“ I want them. Judge not, I beseech you, of
 “ our finances by those of the other ruined po-
 “ tentates of Europe. Though we have been
 “ engaged in a war for three years, we proceed in
 “ our buildings; and every thing else goes on as
 “ in a time of profound peace. It is two years
 “ since any new impost has been levied*. The
 “ war at present has its fixed establishment; that
 “ once regulated, it never disturbs the course of
 “ other affairs. If we capture another Kefa or
 “ two, the war is paid for.

“ I shall be satisfied with myself whenever I
 “ meet with your approbation, Monsieur. I like-
 “ wise a few weeks ago read over again my in-
 “ structions for the code, because I then thought
 “ peace to be nearer at hand than it is, and I
 “ found that I was right in composing them. I
 “ confess that this code, for which a great quan-
 “ tity of materials are preparing, and many others
 “ are now ready, will yet give me a considerable
 “ deal of trouble before it is brought to that de-
 “ gree of perfection at which I wish to see it.
 “ But no matter: it must be completed, though
 “ Taganrok has the sea to the south and moun-
 “ tains to the north.

* With all due deference for her imperial majesty, this does not exactly tally with the augmentation of the capitation-tax of eighty kopecks, which she was obliged to abolish at the peace; any more than with the extraordinary taxes laid on several manufactures, and on all works in iron.

“ However, your designs upon that place cannot be brought to effect till a peace shall have secured its environs against all apprehension on the side of the land and the side of the sea ; for till the Krimea was taken, it was the frontier place against the Tartars. Perhaps in a little time the khan of the Krimca will be brought to me in person. I learn this moment that he did not cross the sea with the Turks, but that he remained in the mountains with a very small number of followers, nearly as was the case with the pretender in Scotland after the defeat at Culloden. If he comes to me, we will strive to polish him this winter; and, to take my revenge of him, I will make him dance, and he shall go to the french comedy

“ Just as I was about to fold up this letter, I received yours of the 10th of July, in which you inform me of the adventure that happened to my ‘Instruction*’ in France. I knew that anecdote, and even the appendix to it, in consequence of the order of the due de Choiseul. I own that I laughed on reading it in the newspapers, and I found that I was amply revenged.

“ The conflagration that happened at Peterfburg has, according to the report of the police, consumed in all an hundred and forty houses, among which about twenty were brick buildings;

* Her majesty’s instruction for a code of laws.

“ the rest were only barracks constructed of wood. The high wind waisted the flames and the burning splinters on all sides, which occasioned the fire to break out again the following day, and gave it a supernatural appearance. But there is no doubt that the high wind and the excessive heat were the sole causes of this disaster, which will be soon repaired.

“ With us buildings are raised with greater celerity than in any other country in Europe. In 1762 a fire happened of twice the extent, which consumed a large quarter of the town, consisting of wooden buildings. The whole was rebuilt in brick within less than three years.”

The successes of the turkish war raised in the hearts of the nation an enthusiastic love and veneration for their sovereign; the sentiments of joy at the humiliation of the oriental pride were universal; and it must be confessed that many truly heroic achievements in these campaigns, both by sea and land, might well excite the russian patriots to jubilation. To perpetuate the memory of them, Catharine caused medals to be struck, and columns to be erected*.

1774.

* On the 7th of September a magnificent representation of the taking of the fortrefs of Giurgevo was exhibited before the empress and the whole court. The siege was conducted in the regular forms by the train of artillery, under the direction of the grand master prince Orlof, assisted by the préobaginsky regiment of guards. After a cannonade and bombardment of near two

1774. Soon after the close of the year, the grand signior Mustapha III. emperor of the Turks, departed this life at Constantinople*, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the seventeenth of a reign, which had in its latter part been the most unfortunate of any in the turkish annals from the time of Bajazet. His son, sultan Selim, being then only entered into his thirteenth year, seemed too young to sustain the reins of government in the present critical situation of affairs. The emperor accordingly, with a wisdom and disinterestedness which does honour to his memory, appointed his brother Abdulhamet to succeed him in the throne. To this prince, under the strongest terms of recommendation, he confided the care of his infant son : a trust rendered sacred by all

hours, during which time the regular approaches were made, the outworks of the fortress silenced, and a breach effected by the battering cannon, the soldiers were seen to mount to the assault, and the place surrendered. In the course of the siege several mines were sprung, the magazines of powder in the place took fire, and no incident was omitted which could contribute to give the spectators a perfect idea of the manner in which such an attack is carried on. Afterwards a magnificent firework was played off on a stage built on the river for that purpose, which concluded the entertainment of the day, at the whole of which the empress was pleased to express great satisfaction. On the day following her imperial majesty, attended by the court, went to assist at a solemn mass at the church of the fortress of Petersburg, and to offer up her prayers for the souls of those killed in battle, according to annual custom in time of war.

* The 21st of January.

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the ties of gratitude ; but precarious from the barbarous maxims of the ottoman family.

It is a justice due to humanity to rescue the character of the late emperor from the oblivion or contempt which too generally attend misfortune. If he was not possessed of those great, dazzling, and fatal qualities which excite the admiration of mankind, and in which, to their misfortune, too many of his ancestors were superiorly eminent, he was blessed in a great degree with those happier ones, of humanity, justice, and benevolence. Numberless instances of these occurred during his reign, which would not have been omitted in an eulogium on the most exalted characters. His moderation and clemency with regard to his christian subjects, notwithstanding their avowed disaffection, and the assistance they gave to a conquering enemy, when the very existence of the empire was in question, cannot be easily paralleled in the histories of the most refined civilization, and under the influence of the purest religion. His last act with respect to the succession, shewed a patriotism which will be more admired than imitated, and a greatness of mind equal to the most renowned of his predecessors.

The new prince having taken the necessary measures for the preservation of public order and tranquillity, which, in that empire, is always a matter of moment and difficulty upon such occasions, seemed to turn his attention with great diligence to the

carrying on of the war. Numerous levies were accordingly made; and an order being passed that all persons who were guilty of tumults or disorders should be sent to serve on board the fleet in the Euxine, the terror of that punishment operated so strongly on the profligate, as to produce a surprising effect in preserving the peace of the metropolis. The emperor also issued a rescript signed by himself, commanding the officers, governors of provinces, and military tenants, to act with the utmost diligence in their respective departments for the carrying on of the war, and those whose immediate duty it was, to join the army forthwith, at the head of chosen bodies of the best troops they could procure, and to act with the utmost zeal and valour for the service of the state and religion, and the recovery of those provinces which had been wrested from the empire.

Disturbances broke out at Adrianople, and other places where the army lay, through the mutiny of some of the janizaries, who were dissatisfied with the accession of Abdulhamet, and wanted to place the young prince Selim upon the throne. Though these commotions were easily quelled, it does not seem impossible, that the discontent which appeared upon this occasion might have some share in the subsequent ill conduct of the army.

Several actions which took place on the Danube early in the spring, seemed to indicate a vigorous campaign. Detachments from the contending armies

mies frequently crossed that river, and these expeditions, though productive of no essential benefit, were attended with considerable loss on both sides.

The porte, however, was not inattentive to the advantages which might be derived from Pugatshof's rebellion, and was accordingly indefatigable in exciting the various nations of Tartars, who surround or are intermixed with the russian empire, to increase the internal disturbances. It is not difficult to persuade people who seem to have been born for nothing but war, to take up arms. The Tartars, however, are not now in the condition which at different periods enabled them to conquer a great part of the world. That overgrown empire, which has sprung up among them has, by degrees, either swallowed up, broken, or separated their different nations, in such a manner as to render an union of arms or councils, or any general and formidable alliance, impracticable. Their being also cut off from the modern improvements in war, arms, and discipline, is an insuperable bar to their becoming again terrible.

They could, nevertheless, be troublesome, and increase the confusion already caused by Pugatshof. The porte accordingly sent Doulet Gheray, the late khan of the Crimea, with a considerable sum of money, and attended by several officers of his kindred and friends among the nogais and kuban Tartars, where he was soon joined by above ten thousand men. This body was attacked and routed by a

russian detachment, before any effective junction of these nations could take place. As the Tartars still dream of their ancient glory, and fancy themselves before trial, to be as invincible now as they were in the days of Tamerlane, they were so much surprized and dispirited by this defeat, that no farther service could be expected from them, and the tartar prince found matters so hopeless, that having divided his money among his friends and adherents, he quitted the country. Similar measures were pursued, and attended with similar success, among the Bashkirs, Kirghises, and some other tribes, all of whom were ready for insurrection or war; but were unequal to the purpose.

A considerable armament was also prepared at Constantinople, for the support of the Tartars, and their confederates the kozaks, and other insurgents in the Crimea. In the mean time, such diligence was used in reinforcing the grand army, that it became more numerous than it had been since the commencement of the war, and the grand vizir was said not to have less than four hundred thousand combatants under his command on the Danube.

Nor was the court of Petersburg less diligent in exertions for enabling marshal Romantsof to open the campaign with vigour. Though the rebellion of Pugatshof seemed a considerable impediment, yet Russia was now freed from some other material embarrassments. The heavy clouds which hung on the

the side of Sweden were now dispersed, and it was no longer necessary to keep an army on that frontier; while the Austrians and Prussians so effectually occupied Poland, and overawed the inhabitants, that the Russians were freed from all apprehensions in that country. Marshal Romantsof's army was accordingly rendered very formidable.

He resolved once more to cross the Danube, and attack the Turks. The latter disputed his passage with signal valour: but their efforts were ineffectual. General Soltikof* was the first who reached the opposite shore. Suvarof and Kamenskoï followed close at his heels. The Turks were repulsed. Romantsof was soon after encamped at the gates of Silistria.

Not many days after this, the Turks attacked Soltikof. They were twenty-five thousand strong, and fought a long time with the greatest intrepidity: but they were at length obliged to submit to the superior skill and bravery of the Russians.

The same day generals Kamenskoï and Suvarof gained an advantage over the reis effendi, who was at the head of forty thousand Turks, and took away with them his artillery.

All these disasters were greatly distressing to the Ottomans; as a spirit of insubordination and revolt is usually, with them, the consequence of a defeat. The troops of the army of the grand vizir were

* Since become field-marshal.

either engaged in bloody contests among themselves, or deserting by whole detachments. That general was encamped at Shumala, where he was at a great distance from the other bodies of the turkish army. Romantzof, who remarked the disadvantage of that position, so opportunely surrounded the camp of the vizir, that he cut off his communication not only with the detached corps, but also with his magazines. The vizir, unable therefore to receive any succours, or to retire, or to stand a battle, determined to sue for peace.

The plenipotentiaries met accordingly at Kutfuk-Kainardshi in Bulgaria. The Russians persisted in the demands they had made at the last congress. The Turks agreed to them; and the preliminaries of the treaty were signed* by marshal Romantzof and the kiaya of the grand vizir†. By this treaty Russia obtained the free navigation of the Euxine, and in all the ottoman seas, together with the passage of the Dardanelles; on condition, however, that she should never have more than one armed vessel in the seas of Constantinople. Retaining Azof, Taganrok, Kertsch, and Kinburn, she restored the rest of her conquests. The independence of the Krimea‡ was one of the principal clauses

* About the month of July.

† In order to avoid appearing again in the presence of his conqueror, the haughty Mussim-Oglou feigned a sickness.

‡ The peninsula of the Krimea, or Krim, antiently called the Taurica Chersonesus is surrounded on all sides by the Euxine and the

clauses of the treaty, and that which was most severely felt by the Turks. Certainly they were very far from perceiving

the Palus Mæotis, except where it is joined to the continent of the lesser Tartary by a narrow isthmus, something less than five english miles in breadth. This isthmus has received its name from the antient city of Perekop, which is built at its entrance on the side of the peninsula, and has been celebrated for the strong lines made for its defence by the Turks, which extend quite across from the Euxine to the Palus Mæotis, and were the labour of five thousand men for a course of several years. The Tartars considered these lines as inexpugnable, until the famous count Munich convinced them of their error in the year 1736, when he forced them without much difficulty. This must however in a great measure be attributed to the badness of the defence, as the ditch was seventy-two feet broad, and forty-two deep; the height from the bottom of the ditch to the crest of the parapet was seventy feet, and the parapet of a proportional thickness. The lines were also, at that time, besides the fortifications of the city, strengthened with six towers mounted with cannon, and the whole was defended by an army. The peninsula lies between 33 and 37 degrees of eastern longitude, and between 44 and 46 degrees of northern latitude; is naturally fertile, and was, at first under the government of the Greeks, and afterwards in the hands of the Genoese and other italian nations, a place of great trade, and filled with populous towns and cities. The Tartars of the Krim were a free people, governed by khans of their own election, acknowledging the grand sultan as khalif: only in regard to religion, without any influence on the rest of the government. Europe therefore saw in the list of her states a new sovereign prince, Sahim-Gueray, a mohammedan, and a descendant of the mongole conquerer Tschinghis-khan. He resided at Bachtsheseray. Russia would now no longer be necessitated to defend its borders, by
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perceiving the policy of Catharine in its full extent; but they seemed to foresee that she was only desirous of obtaining the independence of the Krim, as thereby she might be the better enabled to bring it into subjection. Besides these concessions, Catharine obtained from the porte that tract of land lying on the Euxine between the Bogue and the Dniepr, a large sum of money to defray the expences of the war, and the title of padishah, or empress, to be no longer refused to the russian monarch.

Catharine had thus the twofold advantage of increasing her power and of weakening her enemy. The commerce of the Euxine and the mart of the Levant opened to her a source of immense riches. The protection which she granted the Tartars, furnished her with the means of dividing them, and of conquering their country. The acquisition of the polish Ukraine put her in a capacity of more easily carrying on a war in the regions of the Danube, of overawing the ottoman empire, and of completing the ruin of Poland. The establishment of discipline among the kozaks added to her

the usual expensive lines, against these Tartars, or even to continue the old tribute-like presents. On the contrary, she was now become a friendly and protecting neighbour, (just as she was towards Poland,) and in order the more effectually to do this, she altered the form of government, dissolved the relationship between the Krim and porte, and granted the Tartars the freedom of election, with several other privileges to the detriment of their khans.

armies

armies an excellent cavalry. The good understanding which she kept up in the islands of the Archipelago, and in Valakhia and Moldavia, became a never-ceasing source of disquiet and annoyance to the Turks. In a word, the empress beheld her influence and her glory extending throughout Europe.

Nothing could exceed the joy and festivity which prevailed at Petersburg upon the confirmation of this happy peace. The empress ordered that eight days should be devoted to public feasts and rejoicing; rewards were distributed as usual, in the magnificent spirit of that court; and that even the wretched might partake of the public joy, the doors of the prisons were set open to all who were not charged with high treason. Even those miserable outcasts of mankind, who languished unknown and unpitied in the frozen wilds of Siberia, were thought of in this season of benevolence; and an order was issued, that all those who since the year 1746 had been condemned to that natural prison (which, like the other world, admits of no escape) should be released.

But while the empress was in the enjoyment of a condition so prosperous without, deep and cruel wounds were consuming the interior of her empire. Her finances were in a dilapidated state. She received no succours from England, but by granting immense advantages to their commerce. The pestilence had made dreadful ravages at Mosco and in

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adjacent

adjacent countries. That horrible disease had long been devouring the russian armies; and the fleet of the Archipelago was not exempted from its fury. The provinces of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Orenburg, were a prey to revolt, which even threatened Mosco; and a remarkable emigration* changed countries that were flourishing with commerce into waste and deserted tracts. All these calamities at once explain to us likewise how it happened, that during the war against the Turks, the russian forces did not every year display equal activity, and were not attended with equal success.

But this emigration is of consequence sufficient to detain us a while. The asiatic territory of this enormous empire presents far other scenes than those which the inhabitants of Europe are accustomed to survey; and as Russia in a manner connects both quarters of the world in the completest contrast, so we behold it one while as a political exemplar of civilized human nature, but at other times involved in situations which appear quite strange to us, and such as we only know from the history of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus, in the year 1771, an emigration took place, by which a very considerable number of subjects were lost to the empire.—Of the Kalmuks or

* This emigration took place towards the close of 1770 and the beginning of 1771. Yet the mention of it was deferred, in order that it might not interrupt the account of the progress of the war.

Eleuts,

Eleuts*, brethren of like race with the Mongoles, several branches are in subjection to the russian empire. Their original abode, if we may use such an expression in speaking of nomadic hordes is the Kalmuckia: lying westward toward the proper Mongolia, and in the north and east of the lesser Bukharia. At the latter end of last century, two tribes of them, the Torgot and Derbet, drew up in the steppe on the Volga above Astrakhan. Till very modern times, they remained however only as protected neighbours, and were tolerably independent on the government. But in 1757 the vice-khan Dondudidaschi, contrary to the established custom of all the khans of receiving their appointment from the dalailama in Tibet, thought fit, though they are of the lama religion, to apply to Russia for the nomination of his son as his successor. At Petersburg the request was granted with great satisfaction, which perhaps would not have been the case on an application to Tibet: the father was constituted actual khan; and the son, only thirteen years old, without hesitation declared successor, with an allowance of five hundred rubles *per ann.* and installed with the usual solemnities. On the death of the father in 1761, Russia thought she had a right to meddle in the affairs of the young sovereign; instead of the accustomed council of eight salsians, it was made to consist of a larger

* Improperly, Eleuts.

number,

number, whom the court easily retained by paying each of the members a salary of one hundred rubles. The friendly protection was thus (as has happened in various other cases) changed into an actual sovereignty. In consequence of fresh regulations, the khan lost his former unlimited authority, and became nothing more than the president of his council; nor had he any longer the right to dismiss this council; he could only complain to the imperial college of Russia; and he was taught to esteem it advantage enough that the sovereign tribunal stood open to his appeal. In all other respects these Kalmuks retained their religion and their manners; they roamed about the steppe, had an aversion to permanent dwellings, and lived on the produce of their flocks and herds. These consisted in sheep, camels, and principally in horses; the whole nation was armed and mounted; and their favourite drink, like that of all these tartar tribes, was a spirituous extract of mare's milk, called in their language kumish*. The pasture of these horses requires this roving life; as a father of

* The ordinary drink, thus called, is prepared in the following manner: taking a given quantity of mare's milk of one day, they added to it a sixth part of water, an eighth part of the fourest cow's milk that can be procured, but at any time afterwards a smaller portion of old kumish will better answer the purpose of acidulating; they then cover the vessel with a thick cloth, and set it in a place moderately warm; here they leave it to rest for four-and-twenty hours, at the end of which period the

of a family may possess from one hundred to one thousand, and some of them even four thousand heads. Many of them were in good circumstances, and very respectable people; kind, generous, and hospitable: this last quality they possess in an eminent degree, and shew it to every one who peaceably enters their tents. But they are quite the reverse to such as attack them as foes, especially to nations, whom they acknowledge not as brothers. Accordingly, Russia employed them in hosts in the prussian war; and Germany still recollects with horror the asiatic savages that were let loose upon her without regard to morals and the rights of humanity. In the turkish war they likewise fought for Russia in the district of the

the milk will have got sour, and a thick scum will be formed on the surface. They now beat it with a stick resembling at the lower end a churnstaff, till the forementioned scum be entirely blended with the subjacent fluid; which done, it is set to remain twenty-four hours in a tall vessel shaped like a churn. The beating is now repeated till the liquor appears to be thoroughly homogeneous, and in this state it is called kumish, the proper taste whereof is an agreeable mixture of sweet and acid. Whenever it is wanted for use it is first shaken. Being duly prepared in tight vessels, and put in a cold place, it will keep three months and upwards without detriment to its quality.—It serves both for meat and drink; is an excellent stomachic, and a remedy for disorders of the nervous system, of the breast, &c. The Tartars also make a distillation of this fermented milk, by which process they obtain a spirituous liquor, supplying to them the place of brandy.

Kuban. Such was the situation of them till the year 1770.

In the mean time great heart-burnings had long subsisted among the most considerable of them on account of the innovations introduced by the Russians. The circumscription of their primitive liberty; the reducing their khan to a state of dependence; the intermeddling of a foreign nation in their constitution and laws, which begot dissensions and obedience in the horde; the injuries (real or imaginary) which some princes had received from Russian officers: all this awakened an irresistible hankering after their former condition; and as it was not to be hoped for where they were, no choice was left, but they must seek it in their ancient plains where their ancestors knew of no Europeans. Just at this time the governor of Astrakhan appointed a lieutenant named Kischenskoï, as inspector of these peaceful Kalmuks. Kischenskoï, a man of insatiable rapacity, by insensible degrees got possession of a great part of their cattle, and sold them to his own benefit. His exactions soon procured him an immense fortune. But his avarice, far from diminishing, seemed rather to increase with the means of its gratification.

One of their princes*, a venerable old man, who had shed his blood in the service of Russia, in recompence for which the empress had given him

* His name was Ubaché.

her

her miniature portrait set round with brilliants, and which he wore suspended to his neck, was one day applied to by Kischenskoï for some presents in addition to those which he had already given him. The old man, irritated at his insolence, could not refrain from breaking out into reproaches on his injustice and the vexations he employed to the ruin of the unhappy Kalmuks. Kischenskoï, offended at the truth of these reproaches, had the temerity to strike him on the face, and having at the same time ordered one of the *saïssans*, the minister of the khan who interposed in his behalf, to be seized by his soldiers, ordered him the punishment of the *battogues**.

The Kalmuks had, if not patiently, at least quietly, suffered the rapacity and peculations of the Russian officer; but they could not endure the insult that had been put upon this venerable old man, who stood in great respect among them. The priests and the elders of the horde having held a consultation, resolved to abandon the territory of the Russian empire, and retire to the foot

* *Battogues*—a sort of punishment used in Russia for inferior offences. The sufferer is laid on his face upon the ground, stripped to his waist, and the arms and legs extended. Two men, one of whom sits on his neck, and the other on his legs, beat him alternately on the back with the *battogues*, which are rods of the thickness of the little finger. Persons having any authority over others may inflict this punishment upon them without any form of trial or legal process. Nobles and peasants are equally liable to it, when it is ordered by superiors.

of the mountains of Tibet, the country of their progenitors. The common people were easily persuaded; especially as they were told that the Russian regulations were introduced for no other purpose than to compel them to the three things which they most abhorred: christianity, agriculture, and the raising recruits. A little priestcraft was also had recourse to on this occasion. The noyons or princes set up a lama, whom they raised in a moment to be the immortal high-priest or dalailama, in the following manner: It was propagated abroad, that a famous kalmuk priest, who had died three years before, had now appeared again alive, and had issued a proclamation to the people, that he was risen from the dead at Tibet, in the residence of the great dalailama; of all which a written testimony was brought from the immortal pontiff; in which it was declared, that, as he was now become a being of a superior order, he foreknew the fates and fortunes of the nation, and required them, in the name of their gods, to return, and again take possession of their antient territory. This happened towards the close of the year 1770, just when they thought it the proper moment for the grand rupture; otherwise they would have suffered the lama to have slept quietly in his grave for a longer or a shorter time.

It was an unpardonable neglect in the commanding officer in those parts not to put a stop to the proceedings of the horde, so as to prevent the emigration, as their intention was publicly known in those

those parts. He even suffered himself to be duped by the Kalmuks, to whom, on their forging some pretext of apprehension from the Kirghises, their neighbours, he gave two pieces of cannon, with ammunition, and some engineers. Accordingly, in the autumn, they began their march: a prodigious troop, with wives, children, and servants, having their droves, horses, flocks, goods, huts, and tents. The captain under the command of the khan was forced to migrate with them at the head of his kozaks. The march was conducted regularly enough, in three troops, who constantly kept in fight; the flanks of each were particularly covered, and besides this they had a van and a rear guard. At the beginning they plundered the fisheries and the trading houses on the borders of the Volga and the Caspian: but, on their progress into the southern Siberia, they came upon the kozaks of the Yaik, who stopped and pursued the flying horde, cut thousands of them to pieces, and forced thousands to return. In the spring 1771, they were attacked by the Kirghises, their inveterate enemies, and, after a bloody engagement, took many of them prisoners. In the summer they proceeded through the ancient Mongolia to the Chinese borders; where an army of the Mandchu * received them, and afforded them protection.

The secret of their flight was so well kept, that

* The present emperor of China.

it was not known to the Russians till two days after their departure. Three regiments were sent in pursuit of them to no purpose. The Kalmuks were more in haste than they; and, besides, they were two days before them. These regiments wandered a long time in the deserts, and a considerable part of the soldiers perished.

When the news of the emigration was brought to St. Petersburg, a corps of troops was ordered by the court to go in quest of them. But, if the former pursuits were too late, it was not likely that these should come up with them: the lamentable particulars of this expedition are related in captain Rytshkof's journal; where it may be seen what difficulties and hardships these indefatigable pursuers of the fugitive horde encountered, in their devious marches on this unavailing expedition, and what variety of distresses they suffered in the dreary, inhospitable regions and waterless deserts through which they passed. At length nothing farther was to be done but to make application by a written memorial to China, to demand the restitution of the runaways. But the supreme tribunal of Peking answered the rescript of the Russian senate abruptly, in a scornful and derisory manner, and concluded by saying, that "their sovereign was not a prince so unjust as to deliver up his subjects to foreigners, nor so cruel a father as to drive away children who returned to the bosom of their family. That he had no intimation of

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" the design of the Kalmuks till the moment of their arrival; and that then without delay he caused to be restored to them the habitations that had belonged to them from time immemorial. That, in short, the empress had no reason to complain of the Kalmuks, but certainly of the officer who had dared to lift his hand against a servant of the khans, and to order their ministers to undergo the battogues." The letter was thus subscribed: "In the 36th year, the 7th month, and the 13th day of the reign of Kien-Long." On various occasions Catharine frequently received from these her neighbours answers in a style which must have struck her the more sensibly, as she was accustomed to hear from all the other monarchs in the world a very different language. On her applying for a fresh treaty for the renewal of the commerce with China by the caravans, which for several years had been interrupted, on account of some differences that had arisen between the subjects of the two potentates, the answer given to her envoy was:—"Let your mistress learn to keep old treaties, and then it will be time enough to apply for new ones." Accordingly we see, from her private communications*, how sensible she was upon this subject; and she could scarcely endure to hear any praise, even jestingly, bestowed on the emperor

* For example, in her correspondence with Voltaire.

of China, who was otherwise known as an author and poet.

Concerning the number of persons lost to Russia by this emigration, accounts do not agree. Some state it at a hundred and thirty thousand families; which is certainly exaggerated. More accurate statements say, that the horde in general consisted of not much above seventy thousand tents, or hearths, or families. Those who voluntarily returned, (for doubtless many of them, on the fatiguing and painful expedition over the deserts, panted after the more quiet abode on the Volga, and turned back) and those who were brought in by the kozaks, are reckoned together at twelve thousand three hundred and forty-two tents. Those that escaped therefore, estimating them at the highest, were sixty thousand hearths. But how great the number of the individuals that died upon the road, and of those who were carried into captivity by the Kirghises, can never be known.

A council of war was held to examine into the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Kischenskoï, and to pronounce upon it. But the business was conducted with negligence and every possible delay. Kischenskoï employed a part of the fruit of his rapine in procuring himself friends at court, or in corrupting his judges: and to the great scandal of the majority of the Russians, this man, who had occasioned the loss of such a number of subjects

to

to the country, was recompensed by the title of colonel.

Amidst the grand concerns by which it was occupied, the court of Petersburg betrayed no neglect of its little intrigues. Attentive as she was to the business of government, Catharine had not bidden adieu to pleasures. She went frequently from the council to the ball-room and the theatre, and from the important sittings of the senate to the most frivolous amusements. She gave audience to the ambassadors of foreign powers, without having need of any other dress than that she wore for receiving her courtiers; and she dictated a law with the same facility as she wrote a billet. Easy in her new attachments, she never spoke of those that had gone before. Panin, Chernichef, and Baratinfsky, applauded their own operations.

But what gave them the most satisfaction was the removal of prince Orlof. For nearly five months he had been travelling in foreign parts; and his enemies pleased themselves with the thought that he was to continue his travels for at least two years. The emissaries who watched his steps wrote them frequent accounts of his proceedings. He was thought to be in Holland: it was imagined that he intended to make the tour of England*, France, and Italy. All at once he re-appeared at the court of Petersburg. The empress refused to

* It was some years afterwards that he came to England.

admit

admit him into her presence. She sent orders to him to repair to Reval. But she at the same time sent him considerable presents, and loaded with honours and caresses the more intimate friends of her discarded favourite.

What then could be the motive to such a singular conduct? Catharine had no longer any regard for Orlof. She no longer stood in awe of him. But she dreaded, she hated a faction which she conceived might be forming under the auspices of a name * dear to the empire, and formidable to Orlof. She was desirous of opposing the party of her former favourite to this faction, and of procuring the support of a man by whom she had already been so well defended. Triumphant over her enemies, the admiration of Europe, idolized by her courtiers, that princess was nevertheless often a prey to the most pungent disquietudes: but she concealed them. She dreaded the thought of being hurled from the throne; yet she was projecting a farther aggrandizement of her large dominions. She was trembling for her life: yet she discoursed with gaiety of the long career she had probably still to run. One day she found a paper in her cabinet, in which mention was made of a threatened assassination: never did she shew herself more confident and more sedate.

Ambitious of all kinds of glory, she could at all

* That of the grand duke.

times

times put any constraint on herself to obtain it. Whatever were her sentiments, she had always the appearance of gentleness, sincerity, clemency, and generosity. The blood of the wretched Ivan was yet reeking from the ground: Catharine was moved at the unhappy lot of his family; and knowing that she had no longer any thing to fear from the duke, she offered him his liberty, with the means of retiring to Germany. The prince refused. "Why should I go," answered he, "out of the russian empire, to publish the excess of my miseries, and to excite an unavailing compassion*?"

Vassiltschikof had now a long time filled the place of favourite. Never abusing his influence either for accumulating immense riches to himself, or for hurting his rivals, he excited no envy. The empress would frequently praise his moderation; and that quality, so uncommon in a courtier, seemed to render him more dear to her from day to day. But on a sudden he had lost the art of pleasing; and at the very instant when he had just been receiving additional tokens of her tenderness, an order was brought him to repair to Mosco. He obeyed. Fresh presents from the sovereign at-

* The account of the farther circumstances that attended this family will be found in the preceding volume, where the part of the history concerning them was somewhat anticipated, for the sake of keeping the individuals of the family together in one view.

tended

tended him on the road. But it was only a remuneration of form: the heart had no share in it*.

Whether it was that Orlof had been secretly recalled from Reval, or whether he found his stay in that city insupportable, he now came back, and made his appearance at court. The empress threw no censures on his behaviour. She received him, on the contrary, with an appearance of joy. Proud of this reception, and of the remembrance of his past favour, depending still on the submission of his creatures, who were in great numbers, he thought himself able to resume his honours and his influence. These, while he was in the full enjoyment of, he often seemed to disdain; but no sooner was he deprived of them than he felt them to be necessary to him. Orlof, born in obscurity, and brought up in the licentiousness of the barracks, had found himself raised on a sudden to a point of elevation, which, by swelling his natural pride, had neither altered his taste, nor polished his manners. Eleven years passed about the person of the empress, in the refinements of luxury and voluptuousness, withheld him not from braving the inclemency of the seasons, nor from exposing himself to the severest fatigues, nor from the pursuit of the coarsest indulgences. Since his dismissal from the post of favourite, he remained in posses-

* Vassiltschikof continued in favour twenty-two months. It will hereafter be mentioned to what the presents amounted which Catharine made to him as well as to her other favourites.

fion

sion of an annual revenue of two hundred and fifty thousand rubles, and of valuables to the amount of three hundred thousand; instead of maintaining a household with grandeur and magnificence, he led the life of an officer in garrison. In a condition to keep a table delicately served and supplied, he ate almost always with the commensals of the court, who kept very ordinary cheer. He was not more choice in his amours. It was indifferent to him, whether he breathed out his flame to an ugly and squalid Finn, to a savage Kalinuk, or to the handsomest woman of Petersburg.

Jealous of the authority enjoyed by his rivals, and contemplating with envy the throne on which he had long flattered himself with the expectation of sitting, Orlof demanded to be re-established in the exercise of his functions, and that he whom he accused of being the prime mover of his disgrace, count Panin, should be sent into exile. Orlof seemed at that moment to have regained his ascendant over the heart of Catharine. She appeared in his sight with all the fondness that the tenderest passion could inspire, and made not the least hesitation in restoring him to all his employments. Her majesty, however, refused to consent to the banishment of Panin; and the prince was obliged to be satisfied with obtaining her promise to remove him from court, as soon as the grand duke should be married.

Panin was deeply chagrined at seeing Orlof reinstated

instated in his employments. But he had no one to blame for it but himself, since he had taken no measures to prevent it. Happy in the fortune and the consequence which he enjoyed, living in indolence in the midst of affairs, and seeking a retreat in the tumult of the court, it was only in sudden fits of resentment that he took any pains to injure his rivals; and, though of greater ability than they, he had often the mortification to see them victorious.

"Count Panin is a good creature," said a courtier who had long studied his character. "He is fond of nothing but ease and fullness. Any one may be his friend by pretending to laugh at his *bons mots*, and by furnishing him with an opportunity for exercising his talent for slander. He himself, on such occasions, will laugh with all his heart; and he forgets the affairs of government, the dispatches, the couriers, and the intrigues that are formed against him."

In the mean time the buildings and embellishments of St. Petersburg proceeded without interruption; and works of really imperial magnificence were brought to effect, which render that city in many respects superior to any other. The Neva, the Fontanka, and the Katarina-canal*, were em-

* The beautiful stream that forms the Neva, branches off into the little Neva, the Nefka, the river Moika, the river Fontanka, into all which fall several canals, all together forming the large and little islands (*ostrofs*) on which Petersburg is built.

banked with granite; and provided with spacious quays of the same material, and elegant ballustrades of iron, so as to form agreeable walks through the several quarters of the town. Sumptuous bridges richly ornamented, of hewn granite, were likewise constructed in various parts across the Moika, the Fontanka, and the several canals that unite their streams. Palaces and public offices were erected; among them a palace of prodigious magnitude, built entirely of marble of divers colours from Siberia*. If the eye of the stranger, dazzled with so much brilliance and splendour as this residence affords, sees with concern and almost with disgust, the intervals of wretched huts and dirty lanes; yet the inhabitant, recollecting with real satisfaction the former condition of most of the quarters and streets, feels the more sensibly the almost magical improvements, and looks forward with complacency at what the whole must gradually become. Of the immense Ladoga-canal, the banks that were supported by timbers are, since 1763, walled with stone. The many beneficent and public-spirited institutions of the empress required new buildings, which were constantly erected with magnificence and taste. Nor were her cares confined to the

* The magnificence of this palace is such, that it never fails to remind the beholder who sees it for the first time, of what he has read in the "Arabian Nights" fairy and genii tales, and the like. The present emperor Paul assigned it for the residence of the late king of Poland, by whom it was inhabited till his death.

residence alone, other cities were likewise growing in riches and splendour under her forming hand; Mosco, Tver, Tula, Kief, &c. In the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg arose and grew up in 1767, and is since in a flourishing state, the german colony Saratofka.

In the midst of the turkish war, Catharine purchased in Holland pictures to the amount of sixty thousand rubles*; in France for fifteen thousand rubles, and in Italy a multitude of inimitable curiosities.—That noble act of bounty which she shewed to Diderot in 1775, gained her the esteem of all literary men, in buying his library at a price far above its value, and then appointed him her librarian of it for his life, with a large annual stipend.

The expenditure on her court-establishment at this time was reckoned at four million of rubles annually; the numerous and always imperial presents to her officers, statesmen, and favourites, not included. Her court, the most brilliant in all Europe, was the resort of male and female beauty; young persons of talents, greyheaded commanders, able politicians, respectable matrons, and a multitude of high nobility, who, by their friendliness, affability, hospitality, and polished manners, rendered their society extremely agreeable.—Prince Gregory Orlof was no niggard of his wealth. He caused to be built, at a distance of eight or ten

* The ship which had them on board was wrecked on the coast of Finland, and the whole collection was lost.

miles

miles from Tzarisko-selo, the magnificent palace of Gatchina; which the empress, on his death, purchased at a very high price, and made it a present to her son the grand duke; who, as is well known, always resided there, and was fond of the place*. About 1774, when Orlof was out of favour, some people imagined it was for having preferred his private interest to the good of the state: it certainly was not the case in that instance; but it is no less true, that she made it a constant rule to employ no minister of that description. She knew how and when to reward without being summoned to it; and never would suffer herself to be governed by personal regards. Even in Orlof's golden days when he was in the highest favour, his influence in state affairs was far from decisive: Panin opposed him; and held his place in defiance of him. Other favourites were of still less significance. If afterwards Potemkin, for a continuance of thirty years, could do every thing with Catharine, and at last raised himself to an all-directing statesman; yet it cannot be denied that he had the head, and the courage and energy, which, with the gradual unfolding of his talents as he advanced, fitted him for a prime minister: though withal, his ambition and

* In 1780 the grand duke built a palace for himself at the distance of five versts from Tzarisko-selo, which he named Pavlofsk, and furnished it with greater taste than magnificence. However he still retained his liking for Gatchina, and has made it his summer residence ever since his accession to the throne.

love of command were of the rudest and most dangerous nature.—The prince's Dashkof was not of Orlof's party, but belonged rather to Panin's; and after a long absence in a kind of solitude she appeared again at court in 1773, received from the empress a present of sixty thousand rubles, with subsequent marks of her favour and the post of director of the academy of sciences. Count Panin filled unitedly the most important places with the empress and the tzarevitch*; and nothing can be said more to his honour than that he gained the esteem and affection of them both. The whole public also ascribed to him perfect integrity in conjunction with a too great love of ease. He directed the foreign affairs, and his voice in the council was of very great weight. As preceptor of the grand duke he was beloved by that prince with a truly filial affection. Few princely families can shew an instance of greater tenderness of heart than one which we know of Paul Petrovitch: in count Panin's last illness the tears of the imperial youth incessantly flowed as he knelt by his bedside, and gratefully kissed the hand of his dying master. After his death the sincerity of the prince's grief was manifest to the few who then had access to him.

An impartial observer, who saw the empress in

* Literally the czar's son; the imperial successor. Formerly this was the only style of the heir apparent. So lately as the time of Peter the great, his son was always called tzarevitch.

1772 and 1773, describes her in the following manner: "She is of that stature which is necessarily requisite to perfect elegance of form in a lady. She has fine large blue eyes; her eyebrows and hair are of a brownish colour; her mouth is well-proportioned, the chin round, the nose rather long; the forehead regular and open, her hands and arms round and white, her complexion not entirely clear, and her shape rather plump than meagre; her neck and bosom high, and she bears her head with peculiar grace and dignity. She lays on, as is universally the custom with the fair sex in Russia, a pretty strong rouge. She has adopted the usual habit of the Russian ladies as the model of her dress, which by some slight alterations in it, she has so improved, that it is not only very becoming, but may very properly be deemed an elegant mode of attire. She never puts on rich clothes except on solemn festivals; when her head and corset are entirely set with brilliants: in grand processions she wears a crown of diamonds and precious stones.—Her gait is majestic: in the whole of her form and manner there is something so dignified and noble, that if she were to be seen, without ornament or any outward marks of distinction, among a great number of ladies of rank, she would be immediately esteemed the chief. There is withal in the features of her face and in her looks an uncommon degree of authority and command. In her character there is more of liveliness than gravity.

She is courteous, gentle, beneficent; outwardly devout.

“Her ordinary method of life, in which she has almost always persevered, was, at that time, this: About six o'clock in the morning the empress usually rises. To which we may add, that frequently, even in the depth of winter, (nay, in the latter years of her life almost commonly,) she rose earlier. She uses, without calling any one, to prepare her own breakfast: as in general she is not fond of being much waited on, and accordingly dispenses with all attendance on her person as much as possible. The business of her toilet lasts not long; during which she signs commissions, orders, and papers of various purport. On days when the council does not meet in her apartments, she is busied alone in the cabinet from eight till eleven of the forenoon; she then usually goes to chapel, where the service continues till twelve. From this time till one, some of the ministers of the several departments have access to her. After the table is removed, to which she sits down at latest at about half after one, she goes to work again for an hour or two, according as business may require; she then walks, rides on horseback, or goes out in a coach or sledge; and at six her majesty appears at the play-house, where the performances are alternately in french and russian. If the empress takes her supper in public, (which happens extremely seldom,)

dom,) it never continues later than half after ten; at other times she retires at ten.

“The only court-day in the whole week, holidays excepted, is sunday. On this day in the morning, as the empress passes from chapel to her apartments, she gives the ambassadors and foreigners of rank who have been once presented, her hand to kiss; likewise such persons as have any petition to present, or desire to return thanks for bounties received, are presented on this day to the empress, and kiss her hand, dropping on one knee. The court begins not till six o'clock in the evening. At the same time a ball or concert is usually given: the empress never dances, but sits down immediately to cards, having previously told the chamberlain in waiting whom she will have of her party. In autumn 1772, it was commonly the austrian and prussian ministers, and of her own ministers count Razumofsky, prince Gallitzin, and the two counts Chernichef. The empress plays at piquet, or some other game at which she is not obliged to be constantly silent. A semicircle is formed round her card table, which the ladies begin on the left hand, and the privy-counsellors close on the right. When the empress has finished her game, she gets up and talks indiscriminately with the ladies, generals, and ministers that form the circle. At about ten o'clock, and often earlier, she breaks up her party, and then retires unobserved

ved through a side-door. What has been here mentioned relates only to the winter months, when the court is at St. Petersburg. While the empress is at Tzarisko-selo there is no court held except on extraordinary festivals.

“Of civil processes, criminal and consistorial causes, the empress allows nothing to be referred to her in the hours of the forenoon allotted to confer with the minister. Yet no person can be condemned to death without previous information delivered to her: when this punishment is almost always commuted or mitigated. But all matters relating to the army, the navy, the finances, to foreign affairs, the taxes, and public buildings, must be reported to her by the chiefs of the several departments.—Every one knows that the empress is made acquainted with whatever concerns the administration of government, and acts from herself in all state affairs.—As she never interferes in the private matters and family concerns of her household, she has always time enough for business of a public nature; especially as she regularly and uniformly apportions the hours of her day to the accurate interchange of writing, conversation, exercise, and company. In constitution she is healthy and robust; her mind is tranquil, cheerful, and always disposed to business.”

In order to introduce the practice of inoculation into the remoter parts of her empire, Catharine instituted

instituted hospitals for that purpose in various places, even to the extremities of Asia, where the practice is carried on with success not only in cities and towns, but even among the nations of the steppes.

CHAP. IX.

Discontents in divers parts of the empire.—Causes that determine several impostors to assume the name of Peter III.—Rebellion of Pugatshof.—His successes.—His reverse of fortune.—His execution.—Regulations of police, &c.

THE uniform prosperity of the empress seemed for a moment to have reached its term. A terrible storm was gathering in the remoter provinces of the empire; the sky of its horizon darkened; the black clouds came on; the thunder growled; the tempest threatened to overturn the throne of Catharine. Some parts of the conduct of that princess had excited great discontents in a considerable number of her subjects. Several of the ancient nobility took offence at the caprices and arrogant airs of her favourites; while the clergy burnt with the desire of revenge for the loss of their privileges, and the people murmured at the vexations without number to which they were exposed. The boors, in short, were almost become desperate at seeing their children successively ravished from

their families for furnishing recruits to the armies, which the sword of the Turks, and the horrible plague, were incessantly mowing down on the banks of the Danube. The kozaks of the Don gave the first signal of revolt. They had at their head a man, who, knowing their credulity, and seeing the spirit of discontent that was spread among them, quickly succeeded in causing several provinces to rise, and who, if he had been master of more art in taking advantage of his successes, would undoubtedly have given a different turn to the fate of Russia.

But it should first be explained what it was that determined this man to take upon him the bold part he played. The popes could not forgive Catharine for not restoring to them their possessions. They had recourse, therefore, to imposture, as one of the most sure and easy means of revenge; having learned, from the ecclesiastical history of all ages and nations, how seldom it fails of success. They privately spread abroad the report that Peter III. was not dead; and that he would soon make his appearance to reclaim his throne of the empress.

A false Peter III. had indeed presented himself in the province of Voronetch*; but he was taken, declared to be an impostor, and punished with death.

Some years after†, a deserter from the regiment of Orlof, named Chernichef, appeared in the village

* He was a shoemaker of Voronetch, and appeared in 1767.

† In 1770.

of

of Kopenka, on the frontiers of the Crimea, and also gave out that he was the emperor supposed to be dead. The popes procured him a great number of partisans; and they were preparing to crown him in a church, when a colonel of the Russian troops, who had been informed that Chernichef was inciting the people to a revolt, came and seized on him, and instantly caused his head to be struck off.

At the beginning of the naval war in the Archipelago, the Montenegrins made head against the Turks, refused to pay the usual tribute, and drove the collectors out of their district. To this they were incited by a foreigner, most probably an Illyrian, named Stefano Piccolo, who in the seven-years war had served among the Austrian irregular troops, and afterwards could find no inclination to peace and tranquillity. Count Orlof, in 1769, took advantage of his situation in those parts, and sent to him prince Michael Dolgoruky; but he would not be persuaded to agree to the proposals of these commanders, felt himself rather uneasy too under the Russian guard that had been set over him, and found means, by one artifice or another, to circulate the report that he was really the de-throned emperor Peter III. The enthusiasm inspired by the Russian name among the Greeks of those provinces, led them easily to believe that what he pretended was true. Some of their bishops warmly encouraged the enthusiasm; and this stratagem

tagem occasioned an insurrection among the people. But it was not long before the janissaries obliged the Illyrians to take to flight; more fortunate than the other false Peter, he escaped the scaffold.

A fourth impostor appeared afterwards in the government of Ufa. By birth a vassal on an estate belonging to the family of Vorontzof, he fled among the kozaks, and followed a detachment which went, at the beginning of 1772, to join the russian army. On coming up to one of the stations in the desert between the Don and the Volga, he assembled his comrades, and assured them that he was Peter III. This stupid and barbarous crew believed him, acknowledged him as emperor, and swore to die in his defence. This done, he proceeded to appoint his ministers, his generals, and prepared himself for wearing the crown with as much confidence as if he had been in possession of a kingdom and a powerful army. But his reign was not long. At the end of a few hours a russian officer came, and caught hold of his upstart majesty by the hair of his head, caused him to be bound by his own subjects, and sent him to prison at Tzaritzin. There the soldiers and the inhabitants, excited by the monks, made an attempt to set free the impostor. But colonel Zipletof, commandant of the fortress, a part of the garrison having retained their fidelity, succeeded, by means of their fire-arms, in dispersing the seditious. The impostor was immediately
condemned

condemned to the knout, and perished under the scourge of the hangman.

A prisoner at Irkutsk attempted, in 1772, to follow the example of the four delinquents of whom we have just been speaking, and met with no better a fate. All these tragical farces were only the prelude to sanguinary scenes preparing by a more formidable villain.

Catharine now was doomed to see the third and greatest calamity that befel her during the whole of her reign; an open rebellion, and its attendant, a civil war. This calamity also took its rise in Asia, and proceeded quite to Mosco. The author of it was Ikhelman* Pugatshof, the son of a kozak, and born at Simoveïsk, a village on the borders of the Don. He served at first as a common soldier in the army which the empress Elizabeth sent, in 1756, against the king of Prussia. He afterwards made the campaign of 1769 against the Turks, and fought under general Panin at the siege of Bender. On the surrender of that town he applied for his dismissal; which was refused him. Upon this he fled to Poland. Here some hermits of the greek confession, of whom he demanded the rights of hospitality, kept him concealed for some time.

With these hermits he frequently discoursed of his campaigns and his various adventures. One

* Some persons call him Yemelka, and others, Yemelyan Pugatshof; but he is named Ikhelman in the manifestos of the empress.

day he related to them, that while he was in the army of general Panin, a russian officer said to him, after contemplating him for a long time, "If the emperor Peter III. my master, were not dead, I should believe that I saw him once more in thee." The hermits seemed not to pay much attention to this matter; but some time after, one of their comrades, whom Pugatshof had not yet seen, exclaimed all at once, "Is not that the emperor Peter III?" The monks then made attempts to seduce him; and found no great trouble in succeeding. As soon as he was prepared for being employed as an instrument in their imposture, he went to the town of Dubranka, where he stayed some days. Thence he proceeded to Little Russia, and sojourned among the sectaries, who are very numerous in those parts, and practise the greek religion as it was taught by the primitive church. The impostor, who pretended to the greatest sanctity, assumed the garb of a patriarch, and bestowed his benedictions on the people with all the solemnity of a new apostle. He declared that he had no selfish or interested views, being entirely weaned from the vanities of the world; that his life had been long devoted wholly to piety; and that, as soon as he had placed his dear son upon the throne, he would again retire to terminate his days in mortification and prayer. Notwithstanding the grossness of this imposture, the pitiableness and marvellous circumstances of the tale, operating upon the discontent

discontent and ignorance of the people, procured him an infinite number of followers, among whom were many of the nobility of the government of Oremberg, where the troubles began, as well as of the adjoining countries. Afraid of being detected as a deserter, he ran to the kozaks of the Don, and became adjutant to the ataman Ephraïmof. Thence he passed on to the inhabitants of the banks of the Yaïk, a river to which Catharine since gave the name of Ural*. Pugatshof communicated to several of these kozaks the design he had formed of putting himself at the head of a party, and engaged them to accompany him into the mountains of Caucasus, with the assurance that there they would find powerful succours†. They were ignorant as yet that he had resolved to give himself out for Peter III. But, as it was known that he was disposing the people to sedition, he was seized at Malekofska, and sent to take his

* It was to obliterate the memory of the revolt of these kozaks that the empress ordered the name of the river Yaïk to be changed into that of Ural, and the name of the mountains of Yaïk into that of the Uralskoï mountains.

† The tartars and the kozaks are very easily incited to revolt. An officer from Picardy, named Dorigny, who was colonel of dragoons in the service of Russia, proposed in 1730 to the chargé d'affaires of France at Petersburg, to raise three hundred thousand Tschermisles, Kalmuks or Kozaks, and by that means to prevent the Russians from furnishing succours to Austria. Dorigny pretended to be certain of success; but the court of France refused to favour his project.

trial at Kazan. The governor here neglected to prosecute him. Pugatshof, while in prison, was frequently visited by the popes, who, it is not to be doubted, were in possession of his secret. They furnished him with money, which he employed in corrupting his guards, and made his escape. He immediately rejoined some of his old comrades, went down the Volga as far as the mouth of the Irghis, proceeded up that river, and penetrated into the desert. Here he saw his company increasing from day to day; and when he thought he might safely reckon on a formidable party, he publicly declared that he was the emperor Peter III. delivered by a miracle from the hand of his assassins.

It was not at first known with certainty what could have moved him to this foul revolt, and induced him to act so dangerous a part. Some imagined it was at the instigation of the divan: and indeed the Turks could not have wished for a more timely diversion, and which actually, in 1773, wrought very powerfully in their behalf. Others saw in this business the finger of the french ministry, which on finding its hopes of the enervation of Russia by the disturbances in Poland and the war with Turkey frustrated, might have resorted to the artifice of raising up an intestine foe. However, of all this no trace was ever to be discovered. Pugatshof had no foreigner about him, and often shewed that he was in want of far better counsel

counsel than he could obtain from his own unformed though not very defective understanding. If any european cabinet was working at a distance upon him and through him, it was necessary that he should at least have begun his rebellion, ere the thought could have occurred to it of meddling in the matter. Perhaps therefore, as some surmised, the first movement was in himself. What was undeniably the cause that moved his tribe to join him was the religious discord that subsisted between that race and the dominant church. Pugatshof, besides assuming the name and character of Peter III. did not want discernment to see how much it might advance his designs to blend religious pretences or prejudices with the political motives that might operate towards the bringing on of a revolution. In Russia there is a sort of separatists, who in the former century sprung up on the introduction of some alterations in the ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies by the patriarch Nikon. The government encouraged his reformation; while many of the subjects regarded it with abhorrence as an innovation, and the patriarch himself as antichrist. For these people the party-name Roskolniki, which is tantamount to heretics or schismatics, was invented; but they call themselves Starovertzi, or Believers according to the old faith. They reject all that is done by the prevailing church as unholy; because they think the regular succession of bishops interrupted by Nikon, and therefore

refuse to acknowledge his adherents for true priests. They despise the public worship which is administered by the clergy appointed by government, never receive the communion of them, nor suffer their children to be baptized at their hands. On the other hand, they boast their bishops and priests to have received genuine consecration from the patriarch Joseph, which has been propagated in undisturbed succession. They live, however, so close and retired, that their discipline and principles are not thoroughly known; as they have undergone some severe persecutions, especially in former times and so lately as under Peter I.—Catharine II. immediately on her accession to the government, abolished several regulations that tended much to the disadvantage of the Roskolniks. In Russia proper there are but few of this sect of faith; but all Siberia is full of them; and all the kozaks of the Don and of southern Asia are zealously attached to it. At first sight it may appear surprising, that a rude and half-savage people should take part in theological controversies with so much zeal. But we learn from the history of Poland, that the horrible wars of that kingdom, with its protected relatives the kozaks, in the last century, had likewise religious coercion for their foundation: a design was formed to force them to throw off the original form of their primitive religion, and to become of what were called the United. The hordes of kozaks seem to be extremely bigoted

to pure orthodoxy, and to hold all attempt at innovation in abhorrence. In fact, it is wonderful that governments should think of persecuting such simple honest beings for their notions on these and similar subjects.

Besides this violent animosity to the established church, and besides the natural inconsistency of this turbulent people, another circumstance occurred to the kozaks of the Yaïk. They had for several years before been engaged in violent differences with their attaman*, concerning the bounds of their fisheries, and the court was obliged to send, in 1767, general Traubenberg, and the captain of the guards Durnof, to quell them. But the kozaks were so dissatisfied with the decisions of these commissioners, that they murdered the general, and cruelly treated the captain. These crimes remained unpunished, because the government was too much employed in foreign concerns: a disadvantage that naturally attends a too great extent of empire, that foreign politics and war take off the attention and energy of government from the interior. The kozaks themselves, however, did not forget what they had done, and apprehended

* This word signifies a commander.—But it differs from hetman, which implies the chief of the kozak state collectively. This latter post, which confers great wealth as well as enormous power, the crown has often suffered to lie dormant. Elizabeth revived it for her favourite Razumofsky. Catharine abolished the dignity again in 1764, but afterwards conferred it on prince Potemkin.

very dangerous consequences from it: they thought the crown was making preparations for revenge, and concluded that the best security on their side against it was a farther resistance by means of rebellion: besides, they fancied that the silence of the court was a mark of its weakness, and that they might therefore take these steps unheeded. Besides, prince Vasemskoy, procureur-general of the senate, had deprived them of a great part of their pasturages, and forced them to sell much of the live stock. The minister Zakhar Chernichef, after having diminished their pay, already but small, only answered their deputies, who brought their complaints to Petersburg, by ordering them the battogues. They were also ordered to raise recruits for a regiment of hussars. In short, their minds in general were bent upon violent measures, when Pugatshof made his appearance among them, and renewed to their imaginations the transactions of the Don-kozak Stenka Razin, who, in the preceding century, in the time of the reforming patriarch Nikon, had raised a formidable rebellion, first among the hordes of the Volga, and then among those of the Yaïk. The kozaks, in general, from the levity natural to a people not tied down to a calm and sedate way of life, are not accustomed to act with consummate prudence, and have frequently caused alarm to the government; but on many occasions likewise their bravery and

and fidelity have been of eminent service to the russian empire.

Pugatshof took the most effectual means of working on the temper of his nation by giving himself out for Peter III. pretending that he made his escape by flight, through an extraordinary intervention of Providence, from the murderers who were determined on his destruction, and in place of whom a soldier very like him had been substituted as a victim to their fury: that the report of his death was only a fiction coined by the court, to compose the minds of the people, and reconcile them to the present unlawful government, by being cut off from all hopes of a better.

The kozaks on the borders of the Caspian, a credulous and ignorant race, and remote from all correspondence with any principal towns, received in 1773, with honest joy, the private intelligence of the condition of the man to whom they looked up for deliverance from the oppressions of the predominant church; and, strange as it may seem, this very circumstance made the simple story credible to them. In order to justify the dethronization of Peter, the people were at that time told, that he wanted to alter the dress and the rites of the clergy, to shake the established religion to its very foundations and sacrilegiously to diminish the splendid revenues of the church. What idea could the kozaks entertain of that emperor, according to this account of him, but as of a genuine

roskolnik*, who, for that very reason, was deprived of his crown? These roskolniks now began to

* These sectaries, as said above, are called, by the greek christians, *roskolniki* or heretics; but they designate themselves by the appellation *starovertzi*, or people of the antient faith.—To give an idea of the fanaticism and intrepidity of these wild christians, we will cite the example of one of their priests, named Foma, or Thomas, who lived during the reign of Peter the great, and was burnt alive at Mosco, in the year 1715, for attempting to introduce, what he called a reformation in the russian religion. Foma thought proper to preach at Mosco against the invocation of saints and some other dogmas of the dominant church. The clergy cited him to appear before them, and exhorted him to make a solemn abjuration of his erroneous tenets. Instead of hearkening to their admonitions, Foma armed himself with an axe, entered the church on the day of the feast of St. Alexius, and hewed to pieces, not only the figure of the saint, but that of the virgin. This done, he got up into the pulpit, to explain the motives of his conduct; but the people would not give him time to speak. He was sentenced to hold his right hand, with the hatchet in it, over a fire, till it was entirely consumed, and then to be burnt alive. Foma heard his sentence read with the utmost composure of mind; nor did his courage forsake him at the time of execution. He sedately held his hand extended over the flame; and when he was laid upon the faggots, he continued to declaim against the abuses that had been introduced into religion.—It happened in this, as it usually does in similar cases, that the flames which consumed the martyr, had a very different effect with respect to his opinions, which survived him, and still do, with great vigour. The adherents to these doctrines are in some of the provinces numerous, and it is with the greatest reluctance, that they submit to an outward compliance with the established forms of the national church.—Whenever the government has thought fit to oblige the roskolniks to embrace the
russian

to look about them, and found it highly natural, that he would throw himself into their arms as his brethren in the faith. With hearty attachment, therefore, they joined themselves to him; having before them the ravishing prospect of retaliating on the predominant church all the calamities it had brought upon their fathers, if the emperor should re-ascend the throne that of right belonged to him, by their assistance, and that then the orthodox believers would completely triumph over the execrable innovators, the cruel corrupters of the orthodox faith*.

About

russian faith, numbers of them have assembled by families in barns, and have suffered themselves to be burnt alive. This happened in 1722, in various parts of Russia.

* The more to allure these people, and all others who found themselves moved with a spirit of reformation, to espouse his cause, Pugatshof issued a manifesto, in which he declared himself not only a supporter and protector of the doctrines of Foma, but also of religious liberty in general. To fascinate the imaginations of an ignorant people, a portrait of the supposed martyr, with an axe by which his hands were chopped off before he was burnt, were carried at the head of the army. An impostor, who called himself Foma, was also procured, who preached daily to the people, laying before them the doctrines of his predecessor, and expatiating in the most pathetic terms, upon the iniquity of the punishment which he suffered, and the cruelty of the torments which he endured. After thus working upon the passions of the people, he proceeded to explain to them the illegality of the present government, and to expatiate on the enormities of the court, particularly shewing the iniquity of the present war

About the middle of September, 1773, Pugatshéf's whole retinue consisted of nine persons: a few days afterwards he was at the head of three hundred men. With these, on the 17th of September, he boldly presented himself before Yaitsk, and summoned that town to surrender, notwithstanding there were in it five thousand kozaks and two field-regiments. To these troops he sent his manifesto, in which he declared to them, among other things, "that he was Peter III. who had escaped from Ropscha at the instant when his assassins were about to murder him; that the traitors who had dethroned him, and dreaded his return, had falsely invented and propagated the report of his death; that he had been obliged to put on the disguise of a kozak, to bear arms for his protectors, and afterwards to conceal himself among the true and faithful believers to whom he had made himself known; that having learnt at length that the brave kozaks of the Yaik were resolved to free themselves from the yoke of the usurpatrix, he was come to put himself into their hands, and to offer to march with them to victory and to vengeance." Immediately five hundred of

with the Porte, by which, besides its injustice, the empire was desolated, and thousands of men every day slaughtered. These sermons inflamed the minds of the hearers to such a degree, that they departed from them with violent outcries, declaring themselves for God, Peter the third, and Foma.

the

the kozaks came over to him, bringing with them eleven of their officers: the lieutenant-colonel, who was commander of the place, fearing lest all his people should desert him, drew back into the town. Pugatshéf followed him, and caused that officer to be hanged up; and in this manner he even afterwards acted with all the commanders of the places to which he came. It would be impossible to describe all the cruelties with which this barbarian treated the several persons of rank that fell into his power; as well as to delineate his marches from place to place, his conquests of towns and his battles, which shew that he was not wanting in courage, and frequently not in regular plans and stratagems of war: nor would the attempt be less fruitless, to recount on the other side, all the mistakes and negligences committed by the russian commanders, and the baseness with which numbers of them submitted to him. General Karr was appointed by the court of Petersburg to go and restore tranquillity. Whether he thought that the bare news of his arrival would disperse the rebels, he travelled post from Mosco to Orenburg, which Pugatshéf kept close besieged; by his rashness and imprudence, however, he sacrificed the whole of a large detachment; afterwards renewed the attack with what soldiers he had left, was beaten, and returned by post to Mosco with as much haste as he had left it.

Pugatshéf, attended by his kozaks, as well those

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who

who were his first partisans as the others who since attached themselves to him, attacked the colonies which the empress had newly established on the shores of the Irghis. He wanted their arms and their horses: these he carried off, but did them no farther harm; for as yet he affected a moderation, to which soon succeeded the most atrocious brutality. Having already under his command fourteen thousand soldiers, he presented himself again before the gates of Yaitsk. He sent to the governor an order, signed with the name of Peter III. to surrender to him the town. The governor refused to obey; and Pugatshof began the assault, but was courageously repulsed. Perceiving that it would be impossible to carry the place by force, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and oblige it to surrender by famine. This proved alike ineffectual; for the garrison, though reduced to the necessity of eating the flesh of their horses, and even to live upon boiled leather, obstinately continued to hold out, and repressed the inhabitants who wanted to open the gates to Pugatshof. The patience and the zeal of this garrison were nobly rewarded. A considerable body of ruffian forces came to its relief just in time to save it from the massacre, to which there is no doubt that it had been devoted by the rebels.

Pugatshof was not long ere he compensated himself for this disappointment. He surprised the tribes *Ælcets*, and took, sword in hand, the two
fortresses

fortresses by which they were protected. The fort of Tatischeva, which he afterwards attacked, made a stouter resistance: but the fortifications being only of timber, he consigned it to the flames, and forced the garrison to seek their safety by flight.

The governor of Orenburg, informed of the progress of the rebels, marched against them a detachment under the orders of colonel Bulof. This officer was deficient both in prudence and fortitude: and, being surprised in the defiles of the mountains by the troops of Pugatshof, he was inhumanly put to the sword. Those of his soldiers who refused to enlist among the rebels remained prisoners. General Chernichef, who at the head of a second detachment, was to have joined colonel Bulof, suffered himself to be surprised as the latter had been, and met with a similar fate.

The army of Pugatshof being now grown strong by forced recruits and voluntary and more numerous accessions of kozaks, that rebel returned to the attack upon Orenburg. The governor of the town had already reduced himself by the several detachments he had sent against the rebels. The soldiers that remained to him were not in a condition for making any defence. Orenburg was on the point of being taken, when the garrison of Krasnogorsk advanced with succours, and valiantly cutting a passage through the besiegers, threw themselves into the place and saved it.

The

The noise of the rapid conquests of Pugatshof gained him new adherents. Whole hordes came and ranked under his standards: the Bashkirs, a people who live principally by the products of the chase, upon the russian territory, and wear its yoke with discontent, declared themselves for the rebels, and furnished them with numerous recruits. The Kirghises, shortly after followed the Bashkirs; they were imitated by the Budyak Tartars, whom the empress had caused to be transported to the banks of the Volga after the capture of Bender, and who could never forgive that empress for their transplantation. The revolt spread itself into the other colonies of those countries. The peasants employed in the copper mines and the founderies of the mountains of Ural, left their work and took up arms.

Pugatshof now vigorously pushed the siege of Orenburg. While the trenches, were occupied by one part of his troops, the other went and brought off the copper money which is coined on the spot and laid up in stores. Here he also cast cannon and balls for the service of the operations against the town. He employed some of the winter months in this siege*, during which time he de-

* The town was reduced to the last extremities. A peod of flour cost one hundred and forty rubles. The inhabitants then thought of making a jelly of the skins of animals, drying the jelly, and pulverizing it, they made it into bread by mixing with it a little flour,

livered

livered himself up to the excesses of debauchery and cruelty.

The rebels had by this time so numerous an army, that the regiments sent from Kazan often narrowly escaped being forced, in defending the passage of the mountains which separate that city from Orenburg. During the winter a body of ten thousand Kalmuks, after having revolted in the environs of Stavropol, and slain the brigadier Véguézac* their commander, joined themselves to the troops of Pugatshof. But what contributed perhaps to render his army still more formidable, was a great number of the Poles whom Catharine had sent into exile in the deserts of Siberia. Glorifying in so many advantages, Pugatshof ran over the mountains of the government of Orenburg, committing depredations wherever he came. The petty town of Ufa was the only one that made any resistance. He committed the siege of it to one of the chiefs of his army, and marched strait to Ekaterinenburg, where he knew that there was a deposit of nearly a million of rubles in copper money newly coined. An accident saved the town. At the instant when Pugatshof came up to it, he received the false intelligence that a russian army, superior in force to his own, was advancing by a circuitous route. He believed the information: and having slackened his march in order to collect his forces,

* He was a french refugee.

left

left time to the regiments dispersed on the frontiers of Siberia, to come to the defence of Ekatarinenburg.

For some time after Pugatshof had taken arms, observant of the lessons he had received from the hermits of Podolia and the priests of the *roskolniki*, he put on the appearance of much moderation and piety. He wore an episcopal robe, gave the benediction to the people, repeating his assurances that for himself he was, destitute of all ambition, and that he had no other design than to place the grand duke his son on the throne, and then go and finish his days among the pious recluses, who had afforded him so convenient an asylum after his escape from his assassins. This artful conduct procured him soldiers. Other means obtained him victory; and then adding courage to activity, he let no opportunity escape him for spreading far and wide the terror of his arms. He dexterously took advantage of the knowledge of the country in which he conducted his warfare, and the imprudence or the weakness of the enemy. He never abandoned the pillage of a canton but in order to fly to a siege; and scarcely had he obliged a town to submit, before he was on the march to engage in a battle. But this man, who triumphed with such rapidity over all the severities of fortune, was incapable of supporting its favours. Success increased his arrogance; he thought it impossible to meet with obstacles which he should not easily surmount.

He

He threw aside all constraint, gave scope to his sanguinary temper and to his brutal passions, suffered the enthusiasm of his partisans to cool, gave time to his adversaries to prepare to subdue him, and at length was suddenly stopped in his mad career.

The spirit of rebellion had spread as far as Mosco. Marshal Romantzof had not dared to weaken himself by sending succours to that capital, which was defended only by a garrison of six hundred men. Pugatshof had no more to do than to present himself before it, for making himself master of the place: he neglected to go. Thus losing by his own fault, not only the second city of the empire in point of consequence, but an army also of one hundred thousand vassals who expected him there, and only waited his arrival for escaping from bondage.

Pugatshof neglected even to profit by the advantages he had gained in the provinces which had submitted to his arms. He spent the greater part of the winter in the useless sieges of Orenburg and Yaitsk. It was before Orenburg that he exterminated by the sabre all the officers and gentry of the country round; not sparing even their wives and their children: determined, as he said, to shed the very last drop of blood of the haughty and tyrannical nobility. But, by a strange inconsistency, at the same time that he was inhumanly butchering the nobles, he conferred

on those of his partisans, of whom he thought himself most sure, the names of the principal families of the empire, and the ensigns of divers orders of knighthood.

He alienated a number of his countrymen by braving the religious prejudices in behalf of which he had at first performed the part of a zealot. Although he had been married for some years to Sophia the daughter of a kozak, and had three children by his union, he had the effrontery at Yaitsk to marry a public woman, and celebrated his nuptials with all the bacchanal licentiousness worthy of the wife he had espoused.

Catharine, alarmed at the rebellion that menaced her throne, seriously set about checking its progress. She recalled general Bibikof from the frontiers of Turkey, gave him the command of a considerable army, with orders to march against the rebels. At the same time she caused a manifesto to be published at St. Petersburg, and circulated through the principal towns of the empire*.

Three new ukases followed close upon that which announced the march of Bibikof. In one of them the people were admonished to observe henceforth no laws but such as were signed by the empress's own hand: in another all deserters, and especially the kozaks of the Don and the Yaik, to return to the standard of the empress, assuring

* See the appendix No. XII. at the end of this volume,

them

them of an amnesty to be in force till the first of April in the ensuing year. Lastly, by the third a reward was set upon the head of Pugatshof, promising a recompence of one hundred thousand rubles to whoever should put him to death*.

Neither was Pugatshof, on his side, sparing of manifestos; and on their publication he always took care to affix the name of Peter III. By one of these manifestos he enfranchised all the boors. He also caused rubles to be struck, with his effigy and this inscription: "Peter III. emperor and "autocrator of all the Russias." And on the reverse, "Redivivus et ultor."

In the mean time general Bibikof was already at Kazan†. Having received advice that the rebels had made themselves masters of Samara, he detached a part of his army to go and retake that city. The siege was not of long continuance. The rebels abandoned the place with eight pieces of cannon and two hundred prisoners.

The noblesse of Kazan were convoked; and general Bibikof invited them to join him in opposing the rebellion. To this the noblesse were already disposed, as it was their own cause which they had to defend. Their example was followed

* It plainly appears that the empress was much alarmed at this revolt, and yet she had so much self-command as to make a jest of it in some of her letters. She even called the chief of the rebels *le marquis Pugatshof*.

† He arrived there the 25th of December, 1773.

by

by those of Sinbirsk, of Penza, and several other governments; and the regiments they formed without loss of time considerably augmented the forces of Bibikof. Catharine then wrote to that general, "that not only she saw with gratitude the zeal which the nobles had so generously displayed, in offering to sacrifice every thing to the public welfare; but that to give on that occasion a shining mark of her benevolence, she had resolved to become herself a member of the nobility of Kazan, and to be regarded as a denizen of that city."

Lieutenant-colonel Grinef gained a first advantage at Alexief*. After an obstinate resistance, the rebels left him master of the field of battle and three pieces of cannon. A few days afterwards they fell upon him while on his march, but they were again discomfited. Some other lieutenants of Bibikof obtained also considerable successes in engagements with several bodies of Tartars. Notwithstanding which, the rebels increased in numbers and insolence from day to day. They ran from all parts of eastern Russia, and ravaged an extent of country of upwards of six hundred leagues.

General Bibikof having advanced at the head of thirty-five thousand men, forced Pugatshof to raise the siege of Orenburg, where a famine was beginning to rage. The rebels retreated into the environs of Tatishcheva. Bibikof sent in pursuit of them

* The 9th of January.

major-

major-general prince Gallitzin with a considerable body of troops. Prince Gallitzin attacked Pugatshof, and fought him valiantly: but for this first time he obtained no decided advantage. On this occasion he could not help remarking, that the ferocious intrepidity of the rebels was directed by officers who had not acquired the whole of their skill in the deserts of Baskkiria or among the tents of the Kalmuks*.

On his retreat from prince Gallitzin, Pugatshof changed all at once the course of his march, and fell upon Bibikof, who had only kept with him a weak part of his army. The conflict was bloody, and the Russian general lost his life.

Prince Gallitzin burnt with the desire to revenge the death of Bibikof. He attacked the rebels again near Kargaula, twelve miles from Orenburg: in this action he killed a great number of them, and dispersed the rest. Pugatshof that day fought six hours; but seeing himself abandoned on all sides, he took to flight, and escaped with difficulty to the mountains of Ural, where he was joined by his partisans with all possible speed. But presently appearing again with a considerable army, he made himself master of several places to the east of the mountains, setting fire to such as made the least

* It is affirmed, that among them was a brother of the famous Pulaufsky, general of the confederation of Bar. Besides some of their leaders, as Antizof, Ustief, and Naiga-Baka-Azanof, were brave and intelligent men.

resistance. Here he was attacked by a body of Russians, who routed him afresh, and obliged him to take again to the inaccessible heights: where perceiving that the only course he had to pursue was to attempt at retrieving his fortune by some signal advantage, all at once he descended from the summits of Ural, and marched with rapidity towards Kazan, leaving marks of his cruelty at every step of his way. No sooner had he appeared before Kazan, but he set the suburbs in one conflagration. Major-general Paul Potemkin *, governor of the province, might have kept the field against Pugatshof, and have opposed himself to the combustion of Kazan: he chose rather to shut himself up in the fortrefs, where the rebels besieged him, and would inevitably have taken him, if colonel Mikelfon had not come up to his deliverance. Pugatshof had not even dared to wait for Mikelfon, but precipitately raised the siege, and fled: Mikelfon, however, went after him, came up with him, harassed him for three days, and at last gave him a total defeat, after a long and bloody contest.

Pugatshof continued fighting in his defence till he had not above three hundred kozaks left. With this troop, whose bravery and fidelity supported the hope of the impostor, he put spurs to his horse, crossed the Volga, and gained the desert.

It might have been reasonably expected that this

* He was a cousin of prince Potemkin.

desert

defeat would have intimidated all such as had formed the project of joining the rebels; and yet Pugatshof saw daily arriving about him whole swarms of kozaks, of Kalmuks, of Bashkirs, and boors, whom the very sound of liberty, and the hope of escaping their oppressive masters, had caused to abandon their labour, and fly to arms. Proud of the number of his troops, who seemed to multiply in proportion as they were destroyed by the Russian cannon, he resolved to proceed to the attack of Mosco. His partisans continued secretly to fan the flames of rebellion. The people waited for him as for a redeemer; but it was too late. At the instant that Pugatshof was beginning his march, he learnt that the Russians had just concluded a peace with the Ottomans. Dreading now that he should have to contend with the greater part of the army of marshal Romantzof, he thought of turning his arms to another quarter.

Intelligence being brought him that some Russian regiments were encamped on the shores of the Volga, he descended along that river, came upon those regiments by surprise, routed them entirely, and took by assault two or three little forts, of which Saratof was one. The commander, who knew the catastrophe to which he was doomed, seized the moment when the conqueror was busied in pillage, and escaped with fifty men alone. The town of Dmitrefsk was basely surrendered by treachery

chery to Pugatshof, who had the barbarity to cause the governor to be impaled alive.

While he was at Dmitrefsk, he was told that the astronomer Lovitch, member of the imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg, was employed in the neighbourhood in taking levels for a canal projected between the Don and the Volga. He immediately commanded him to be brought before him; and when the learned and peaceful astronomer was in his presence, he ordered his men to lift him up upon their pikes, "in order," said he, "that he may be nearer the stars;" and then caused him to be cut in pieces by the kozaks. But such atrocious acts cannot be of long duration; and the greater the excesses committed by Pugatshof the greater was the security of the empress.

That princess, freed from the cares so long occasioned her by the war with the Turks, gave orders to send fresh troops against the rebels, and committed the command of them to general Panin, who had gained great reputation by the taking of Bender. But from the moment that prince Orlof was reinstated in favour, his inveterate hatred to the minister extended itself to his brother also: and the empress consented, for some time, to let one of her best generals remain in a state of inaction. The want she had of him, or rather the reviving favour of his brother, induced her to employ him again. At length he set out on his march against Pugatshof.

Pugatshof. The rebel forces were bearing hard upon the town of Tzaritzin, and doubtless intending for it a similar fate with that of Saratof; but they were obliged to raise the siege with precipitation. Panin sent off a detachment to colonel Mikelson. With this reinforcement Mikelson cut off the convoys of Pugatshof, starved his army, and attacked him at the very time when, encumbered with many carts loaded with baggage, and a multitude of women who accompanied it, it was engaged in the intricate passes of the mountains. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of their position, the rebels determined not to submit. Great numbers of them were killed on the spot; and many of the rest perished in the precipices, and among the steep and rugged rocks where they sought a refuge.

Pugatshof kept the field of battle till he had absolutely no more means of defence. He now again swam over the Volga; then crossed the vast desert which extends through the adjacent district, and found himself at nearly the same place where he first raised the standard of rebellion. Several of his friends had rejoined him on his flight; but hunger, fatigue, and disappointment determined great numbers to forsake him: notwithstanding which, he might long have caused disturbance to the empire, if treachery had not stepped in to the assistance of the Russian army.

Antizof, the intimate confidant of Pugatshof, and one of the chiefs who had the most authority with

the kozaks, had been taken prisoner; and his consequence was employed in reducing his nation to obedience. Gifts and promises were lavished upon him; and he was commissioned to assure his countrymen that the customary gratifications for the defence of the frontiers should be renewed. The expences occasioned by the war against the Turks had caused the payment of these gratifications to be suspended: and this was one of the motives that gave birth to the insurrection of the kozaks.

But, after all, to the indefatigable exertions of colonel Mikelson, Russia is peculiarly indebted for the quelling of this dangerous rebellion. From January 1774, he pursued the rebels without intermission, how numerous soever their swarms, how remote the expedition, and whatever fortune attended his enterprises. It almost exceeds belief with what toilsome perseverance Mikelson pursued his march over the deserts of trackless snow, without a guide, without succours, at times almost without food; how his company, always small, and often spent with fatigue, whenever they met with the great host of the rebels, always attacked, and always beat them: only by the prudence and the bravery of the colonel, and the confidence he had acquired from his troops. Upwards of seven thousand vershs did this excellent soldier traverse at the head of his corps, within a few months, in the most inclement season.

Pugatshef had at one time with him a prodigious
concourse

concourse of people. Whole nations, the Bashkirs, many of the Votiaks, many Tartars, flocked to his banners. He conceived the grand idea of conquering the ancient and great capital of the kingdom of Kazan; and his attempt succeeded. Only the detached fort which Potemkin had entered held out against his attacks. The archbishop of Kazan came submissively, with a bag of gold in his hand, to the conqueror, and only waited for the fort to surrender, that he might bring him a second bag, and solemnly crown the rebel. The impression this circumstance would have made on the people is not to be told. In the regions of Orenburg, Kazan, and Ufa, the generality of the inhabitants had declared for the impostor. When the restless Mikelson pressed him hard, when he was in want of provisions, or military operations compelled him to change his quarters; when, by battles lost, the number of his effective followers was diminished to four thousand men: he needed only to shew himself in new districts, and the subjects immediately rose against their lords, murdered them, or drove them away, and declared themselves openly for Pugatshef. At length he seemed to have formed the most dangerous of his plans: he was approaching fast to Europe, and had crossed the Volga. Whole regions went over to him. With the utmost consternation it was thought possible that he might push on to Mosco; for it is a well known fact, that the extremely numerous pro-

pulace of that capital were disposed to join him, and longed for his arrival. If he had attempted this with hasty marches, nothing could have resisted him: and who can calculate the consequences if Mosco had fallen into his hands? But here Pugatshief shewed that, though endowed with talents and great presence of mind*, yet he was too much of the barbarian for the execution of any great plan as a statesman or commander: he neglected Mosco, though it is said that the general disposition there was not unknown to him; and lost his time in tempting over the kozaks of the Don and the Tartars of the Kuban. Now his persecutor Mikelson came up, and cut him off from Mosco; the rest of the troops surrounded him, and shut up his wasted army in a desert five hundred versts in length behind Tzaritzin. Hunger, thirst, and awakening conscience, opened the eyes of his followers. As he was prolonging his miserable life by gnawing the bones of a horse, some of the principal of them ran up to him, saying, "Come, thou hast been long enough emperor." He fired a pistol, and shattered the arm of the foremost; the

* At the Don his first wife had been found out, (for at the Yaïk he married a second,) and been sent to Kazan before that city was conquered, in order to convince the people of those parts of his real condition and origin. On his arrival there he happened quite unexpectedly to see her, and, knowing her, he said, without the least alteration of countenance, "Clothe that woman well. I knew her husband; he has been of great service to me on many occasions."

rest

rest of the kozaks bound him, ran away with their prisoner over the desert to their seat on the Yaïk, and sent a messenger to the commandant of the place to inform him of what they had done. General Suvarof, hearing of the event, put the rebel under a sufficient guard, and sent him to prison at Yaïtsk, from which place he brought him to Sinbirsks, where he delivered him over to general count Panin (who had formerly taken his dismissal, but, from real patriotism had requested to be permitted to have a share in this contest*.) Mikelson was pursuing the enemy in the deserts, when he received intelligence of the fate of the leaders of the insurgents. Upon this he conducted his troops to Saratof, to rest after the fatigues they had undergone, but proceeded himself to Sinbirsks, where Panin gave him a noble and friendly reception, and whence Catharine recalled him, in order to recompense him according to his desert.—Thus

* It is possible that the virtue, which had hitherto baffled the hopes of reward, was not proof against the fears of death, and that these kozaks had offered, on condition of obtaining a pardon, to find out their chief and deliver him up alive. It was said, that while Antizof was negotiating his accommodation, three other kozaks, who had likewise been bribed, undertook to deliver up Pugatshief; that, accordingly, they went to him, and advised him, as no means were now left him of safety, to make a voluntary surrender; that, incensed at this baseness as he called it, he wanted to punish one of them on the spot; and that then the three fell upon him at once, bound him, &c. The fact as related in the text, came out on the trial.

terminated

terminated the rebellion, in which an hundred thousand men were slain.

General Panin caused the traitor Pugatshof to be put into close confinement at his head-quarters, together with several of his principal accomplices.

The wretched man, in his present deplorable state, preserved a melancholy but unconquerable silence. He was conveyed to Mosco * in an iron cage, and such measures used as prevented the possibility of his destroying himself. He for some days refused all sustenance; but his keepers found means to compel him to eat. In his subsequent examinations at Mosco, he is said, either to have counterfeited madness, or to have been in reality a wretched enthusiast, still persevering in his pretensions to the empire, and resting thereon his whole plea of defence.

It is, however, to be remembered, that facts transpire with great difficulty through the walls in which such examinations are taken, and that the reports given out for the gratification of the people, only wear the momentary colour which at the time it is thought necessary to give them. In a letter written by the empress, upon this occasion, to the french king, after informing him that the author of the revolt was in her power, she says, " I shall keep his depositions secret, that they may not aggravate the disgrace of those who set him

* Pugatshof arrived at Mosco in the month of September 1774, and was executed the 21st of January following.

" on." This resolution undoubtedly argues both good sense and magnanimity; but shews at the same time, that Pugatshof was only an instrument, and that the sources of the rebellion were to be traced elsewhere.

When the empress was informed that Pugatshof was in the prison of Mosco, she appointed a commission, who united with the senate, for the trial of the rebel: taking care, at the same time, to recommend to them to be satisfied with the confession of his crime, without applying the torture, and without requiring him to name his accomplices. Her majesty was doubtless apprehensive lest the declarations of the culprit might oblige her to multiply punishments, and plunge the empire into new calamities.

The sentence passed on Pugatshof was, that he should have his two hands and both his feet cut off; that they should be shewn to the people; and that afterwards he should be quartered alive. But this butchering sentence was not fulfilled. By some persons it is said that it was mitigated by a secret order from the empress. Others pretend that the executioner was less inhuman * than the judges; and others again affirm, that it was by a mere mistake of the man. However it be, Pugatshof was first decapitated; after which his body was

* What seems to confirm this opinion is, that, after the execution of Pugatshof, the wretched hangman had his tongue cut out, and was sent into Siberia.

cut into quarters, which were exposed in as many parts of the town. Five of his principal accomplices were likewise beheaded; three others were hanged; and eighteen more underwent the knout, and were sent to Siberia. Pugatshof met his fate with the most undaunted resolution, but was induced to acknowledge the justice of his sentence, the deception he had used, with his true name and condition. It is said, that an observation made several years ago, by the celebrated count Tottleben of the striking resemblance which he bore to the late emperor Peter III. took such possession of his mind, as to have been the operating cause of that calamity and ruin in which he involved, with himself, a great part of the empire, which cost it the destruction of a great number of towns, and of upwards of two hundred and fifty villages, the interruption of the works at the mines of Orenburg, and the whole trade of Siberia. The Bashkirs, who in 1770, amounted to twenty-seven thousand families, lost, during the rebellion, great numbers of people, and, after it was finally quelled, many of their privileges and immunities. The Mestheræks, a tartar nation, who lived amongst them, formerly paid them a land-tax; this, as a punishment on the former, was now abolished; for the Mestheræks had remained true to the crown: they were immediately declared to be a free people, on the footing of the kozaks, and received several of the villages of the slaughtered

Bashkirs, reckoned at one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine farms.—Lastly, in order to make an awful impression on the nations around, by a lasting and sensible token of displeasure, the empress, by a ukase, abolished the name of Yaik for ever. That river, which takes its rise from the eastern side of the mounts Ural, and gave name to the kozaks that dwell on its borders, is at present, throughout the russian empire, called the Ural: and the town Yaitsk, where Pugatshof began and finished his rebellion, bears now the name of Uralsk.

The rebellion of Pugatshof was of longer continuance than could have been expected, considering the numberless defeats which his party received. Over those waste and wide regions, whose exact boundaries are scarcely known, and in whose general display, the extensive kingdoms of Kazan and Astrakhan appear only as provinces, are scattered a number of small nations, frequently distinct in religion, manners or language, and so separated by deserts, and other natural impediments, that though in general, and in some degree, they are under one controlling government, it frequently happens, that they have very little knowledge of each other. Such situations, such a difference of people, all extremely ignorant, with such boundless scenes of action, afford opportunities for adventure, imposture, escapes from pursuit, and a renewal

newal of rebellion or war, which are unknown in confined countries and among civilized nations.

We have already shewn, that soon after the commencement of Pugatshof's rebellion, the court of Petersburg had published a manifesto, to caution the people against the artifices and pretences of that impostor. At the same time, a reward of one hundred thousand rubles, together with the decorations of all the russian orders of knighthood, was offered to any person who would secure him, whether alive or dead. Though this was an immense sum of money in such remote countries, and the favour of the court, with the proposed honours, would have been temptations, almost, resistless in any; yet so high are certain principles of honour held among rude nations, that of the many thousand barbarians to whose custody he was of necessity obliged at all times to intrust his person, and in the various situations and opportunities which misfortune, defeat, flight, solitude, and darkness, presented during the course of his adventures, not one could be found base enough to accept of those rewards at the price of the proposed treachery.

The rebels were attended with considerable success in the beginning of the troubles, and by their great superiority in number, cut off some detachments of the regular forces which were assembled hastily to oppose them. Some russian officers of name perished in these encounters, and the rebels

cruelly

cruelly massacred all those who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. They possessed themselves of several places which were of some note in those countries, and for a long time besieged Orenburg, the capital of the province of that name. We find by the detail, that they were possessed of a considerable train of artillery, though no notice is taken of the means by which it was obtained. It does not appear upon the whole, that Pugatshof, though artful and bold in his designs, had any great talents as a soldier, nor was endued with those heroic qualities which, however savage in the exertion, have wonderful effects upon mankind, and had often been productive of extraordinary revolutions in that part of the world.

Thus the empress Catharine conducted and concluded a dangerous and most extensive war, which involved a great part of Europe and Asia in its operations, with the highest honour to herself, and the greatest glory and advantage to her country; while, at the same time that she was so deeply engaged with an enemy who for many ages had been deemed invincible, and had so long continued the scourge and terror of the christian world, she was also equal to the opposing and surmounting of an obstinate and alarming rebellion, which preyed upon the very vitals of the empire. In the former instance she outstripped the glory of Peter the great, by wiping off the disgrace which he met with

with upon the Pruth, and succeeding in the only point in which he was foiled.

On recalling to our memory at once the momentous occurrences that followed one another so rapidly in such a short series of years, we are lost in admiration of that mind which could calmly and sedately survey their tumultuous succession, and could, in perfect composure, provide the fittest means for assuaging their violence, and correcting their influence; while it shewed itself firm and great in all other transactions of a public nature, both foreign and domestic, so as to gain the reverence of friends, and extort the respect of foes. But this is not all: ever interested in promoting the glory and elevation of the country which had fallen under her guidance, Catharine at the same time was promoting its internal welfare, by encouraging the sciences and the arts of peace; and wherever she appeared, ease and cheerfulness were in her train; and her conversations and letters were always seasoned with pleasantry and temperate mirth.

Shortly after the punishment of Pugatshof, the empress had a fresh opportunity for displaying her clemency, by granting a pardon to men who, though not guilty of crimes of so heinous a nature as those of that traitor, yet were justly deserving of capital punishment. They were the treasurers of the empire, who had embezzled the public money.

Catharine

Catharine would not even allow them to be brought to trial. She had overcome what was naturally irascible and violent in her temper, and had learnt patience and lenity from the lessons of philosophy. She has also been heard to say, "What I cannot overthrow, I undermine and root up." The heavy burden incurred by her foreign and domestic wars did not prevent the empress from taking off most of the taxes which were laid for their support; and, as if the strength and riches of government in her country increased with its expence, she also abolished a number of the ancient taxes, which were either considered as discouraging to agriculture, or burdensome and oppressive to particular provinces or orders of the people. In the same spirit of beneficence and good policy, she lent great sums of money, interest free, and for a specified term of years, to those provinces which were ruined by the late rebellion; and, to crown a general pardon, she strictly forbade any particulars of that unfortunate affair to be called up, or any reproaches used on its account, but condemned all matters relative to it to perpetual silence and oblivion.

She also established a number of other regulations, all tending to the security, advantage, and happiness of her subjects, to abolish pernicious distinctions, destroy ruinous monopolies, restrain the cruelty of punishment, remove oppressive or impolitic restrictions or prohibitions, and to re-

store mankind to a more equitable degree of equality, in those different ranks which they fill in society. A pardon was also granted to those criminals who had already undergone a long degree of suffering for their crimes; and an ordinance issued to prevent any future criminal prosecution from being admitted, unless commenced within ten years after the date of the accusation. Equal humanity was shewn with respect to imprisoned debtors, who, under certain limitations, and in certain circumstances, were released from confinement. All the heirs of the debtors to the crown were discharged from their bonds and obligations.

The insurgents now returned every where to their duty. The revolted provinces were already completely ruined; so that the inhabitants required little further punishment than what they had brought upon themselves. Some examples were necessarily made, in those places which were most remarkable for their disaffection; but we do not find that the severities were excessive, nor the victims to justice numerous. In the mean time, a general famine prevailed in those desolated countries, and government was at great expence and trouble in sending corn and meal, from its magazines at Mosco and other places, to prevent the people from immediately perishing. As these resources were unequal to the supplying of whole countries, for any length of time, with provision, other methods were afterwards devised to prevent the progress of the famine.

Thus Russia enjoyed her power, influence, and glory, with a noble and splendid magnificence. All her affairs, were conducted upon a great and extensive system; and all her acts were in a grand style. She sat supreme between Europe and Asia, and looked like the dictator of both. In her was seen a great but still growing empire, which not having reached the summit of her destined power, felt life and vigour glowing in every part. The successes and consequences of the war enlarged the spirit, extended the views, and dignified the minds of the people. In such a state every thing is bold and masculine. Even vices and crimes are great.

If Catharine was able to do so much for the benefit of her country during such turbulent times, what might not be expected of her in a period of peace?—She would, however, have performed much more, if even this period had been so calm as at first sight it would appear. But it was not. If no war employed the empress to the detriment of her internal administration of government, yet foreign affairs attracted too much of her attention. There was no great transaction in which she would not interfere; and in order to interfere with so much impression, with so significant an influence, as she did, a great force must be kept up, and a ready participation constantly visible in all the occurrences of Europe. She might have looked on with indifference when ambitious princes jostled

each other, or feeble governments were hastening to their fall; but the former contended for her countenance, and the latter awakened in her the idea of still adding to the territory of her prodigious empire. Alliances, guarantees, leagues, preparations, measures for attracting more respect, decisive arbitrations, plans for future enterprises; in short, every thing which the lust of dominion can suggest, and in which policy can be employed, was the object of Catharine's mighty mind; which, secure from every power on the earth, could act in any voluntary direction. And even envy itself must confess, that she performed her part in the grand drama of the world with a dignity never seen before:—here a kingdom was to be treated as a province of her dominions; there, an independent state to be annihilated by a manifesto: here bounds were to be set to the arrogance of a foreign potentate; there, a gigantic project to be conducted and advanced. All must allow, that she was never forgetful of the interests of her empire: new life and improved organization sprung up beneath her forming hand. But that outward activity disturbed the fixed and steady view of the interior, and kindled at length a war, which though she again triumphantly concluded, yet unnecessarily emptied her exchequer, and wasted her army. Among her neighbours arose jealousy and the desire to hurt, which acquired the legitimate appearance of self-defence. Thus were brought together

gether from all sides the embers of a dangerous combustion, while smiling fortune seemed preparing for the empire the blessings of peace.—Had Catharine shewn a generous scorn for foreign fame and never engaged in a war; or, perhaps more properly, had never self-interest in the mask of flattery encompassed her throne; in all probability history would have had but one voice in extolling her as the model for sovereigns.

A politician of great sagacity*, in speaking of the commerce and wealth of Russia, said many years ago, “Nothing can be more prejudicial to
“ this increase of wealth than foreign wars, by
“ which perhaps more hard money goes out of
“ the country than its mines and its commerce
“ produce. If, on the contrary, this yearly national profit were employed on the inner cultivation of the country, far greater benefit would
“ accrue, even for foreign commerce, than could
“ be obtained by the most brilliant conquests.
“ Russia should avoid all wars; and as, from her
“ situation as well as by her power, she is safe
“ from all attacks from without, she may easily
“ avoid them. Russia should, as little as possible,
“ take any concern in the foreign transactions and
“ commerce of the monarchs of Europe, and
“ direct the whole of her attention to the increase

* M. von Struensee, in his “Account of the Commerce of the States of Europe,” 1778, part i. p. 505.

“ and extension of her internal improvement. And
 “ though in that case it is probable that not so
 “ much would be read in the foreign gazettes and
 “ political publications about the russian empire
 “ as at present : yet, in return, the russian subjects
 “ would obtain a higher degree of prosperity and
 “ happiness.”

But what did not Alexander do, that the idlers in Athens might have something to say of him ? In nearly the same manner Catharine seemed afraid that Europe might forget her, nay, that the name of her empire would be expunged from the catalogue of its states. She even thought it necessary, in the first paragraph of the first chapter of her so frequently mentioned “ Instruction,” to make the declaration, “ Russia is an european power.” Our quarter of the world had afterwards frequently occasion enough to remember that she was a party concerned in it.

Poland had particular reason to know it to her cost : and Germany now felt her influence in a more beneficial manner. Peter III. as duke of Holstein, was a prince of the empire. The Gottorp division bordered on the german territories of the king of Denmark : a renewal of the ancient feuds between these two kindred houses threatened to break out : and no plan for an accommodation for the future could ever be brought properly to succeed. Catharine at length removed the difficulty, and for her very trifling relationship in a truly exalted

alted manner. It likewise appeared to her, perhaps, unsuitable, that her son, now arrived to his majority, as heir to the imperial crown of Russia, should be at the same time an actual reigning prince in Germany*. In 1773, she proposed, in her son's name, an exchange with the house of Denmark, to which it readily agreed, whereby it was to receive the ducal portion† in return for the country of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst in the circle of Westphalia. These latter, therefore, fell to the grand duke ; who directly ceded them, without compensation, to the younger son of the Gottorp line, Frederic Augustus, bishop of Lubek, by whose imbecil son, Peter Frederic William, they are now inherited. The two counties‡ are estimated at forty-five square geographical miles, containing eighty-five thousand inhabitants, and yielding an annual revenue of two hundred and thirty thousand rixdollars : so disinterestedly did Catharine barter, so magnanimously did she make presents. The elder branch of the house of Holstein-Gottorp therefore had no longer a seat among the princes of the german empire ; but Catharine kept an ambassador at the diet of Ratisbon, whose vote was certainly not without consequence. The

* See the genealogical tables in the foregoing volume, tab. ii. p. 60.

† Comprising the city of Kiel, &c.

‡ Converted into a dukedom by the emperor of Germany and the states of the empire in 1776.

empress in 1779 ratified the peace of Teschen concluded between Prussia and Austria under her guarantee; and more lately insisted on being regarded as guarantee of the peace of Westphalia; and spoke in a very high tone in the last diet against France.

Nor was the empress less attentive, at this time, to the public internal security of the residence, and other parts of the empire. Of all political institutions and establishments, nothing has a nearer relation to the comfort and satisfaction of each individual, than the police. The respectable aim of this part of the administration of government, security and conveniency, are associated in the grand idea of civil happiness, without which no political happiness is to be conceived. The relations with foreign powers, the riches of the state, nay, even political liberty, are far more remotely related to the happiness of the individual, as they rather concern the whole body of the nation; while the functions of the police relate exactly to those duties which affect a man in his more delicate and tender connections, as a citizen, as a man of business, husband, and father. There are countries in which the citizen, notwithstanding the great weakness and insignificance of the body politic to which he belongs, or amid the most striking infringements of political liberty, is happy, because his civil security and liberty are guarded; as there are governments in which the greatest national force and the
completest

completest political organization cannot compensate the individual citizen for the defect or the loss of a well-regulated police.

Civil security must presuppose civil liberty: otherwise it would produce tranquillity indeed; but it would be like the tranquillity of the grave, the consequences of which are foulness and corruption.

The former is the result of combined and artfully-connected aims; whereas the latter is the effect of one simple maxim. In a word, security is forced from the executive power, liberty may be granted.

The state of civil security in every government is an explained problem; the laws, and the means of obtaining it, are objects of public notoriety. The state of civil liberty can, in such countries as have not a peculiar constitution, only be known from the combination of a great many particular facts, from the spirit of the government, from the temper of the people.

In a country which has not the least shadow of a constitution, in which all the complicate relations of a great civil society are ascertained by particular, explicable, frequently contradictory ordinances, and these left to the arbitrary interpretation of particular courts; in such a country, personal and civil security can neither be enjoyed as a matter lawfully or assuredly established. In this situation was Russia, previous to the reign of Peter the great. The variety of the ordinances of this monarch, far
superior

superior to his contemporaries, shew that he was sensible of the want of a civil constitution, and the necessity of a personal security, settled and fixed by law. Much however as he did towards the attainment of this grand object, much still remained for him to do. "A premature death obliged him to abandon this salutary institute, while yet in its commencement. The frequent revolutions which succeeded, the diversity of principles and opinions, the numerous wars that happened, though they by no means weakened the power and authority of the empire, yet subjected the regulations of this great emperor either to alterations, or to a difference in the prosecution of the idea of the work he had begun, or to the introduction of other rules, which partly took their direction by particular notions of the matter, partly by the alteration of circumstances and the natural course of things *."

At length the genius of Russia threw the fate of this great empire into the hands of Catharine II. The comprehensive mind of this monarch, which had already been occupied in the extension and establishment of its external force, in laying the foundations of a philosophical system of legislation, in the improvement of education, in the diffusion of illumination and taste, and in the reformation

* The words of Catharine II. See the ukase of the 12th of November 1775, which serves as an introduction to the regulation of the administration of government.

of

of numberless abuses, and which had not yet exhausted its energy on these grand objects, now formed a constitution for Russia *.

The collection of ordinances out of which this constitution arose, breathe throughout that liberal philosophical spirit, that reverence for mankind and their rights, and that mild, benign temper, equally removed from severity and compliance, which mark the character of the lawgiver, and is its most venerable sanction.

The preservation and advancement of personal security cannot be the last object in a law-book of this nature. It provides a peculiar tribunal in the court of conscience or the court of equity, which is established in every government of the empire, and which has for its aim, according to the proper words of the ordinance, the preservation of personal security, the mitigation of the lot of unhappy criminals, and the equitable termination of all civil disputes. The constitution of this highly remarkable institute is too novel, too beneficial, and too

* The successive constitutions by which Russia obtained an equal and regular distribution into vice-royalties, a like civil form, like courts and tribunals, a police, a municipality, specific rights and relations of the middle rank and the nobility; in a word, a constitution, are the following:—Ordinances for the administration of government throughout the Russian empire.—Imperial regulation for the mercantile navigation on rivers, lakes, and seas.—Of nobility.—Municipality.—Regulations of Police. They are translated collectively into German by the court-counsellor Arndt.

little

little known, to render the omission of a brief account of it pardonable in the present undertaking.

The court of conscience consists of a judge, who presides, and of six members, of whom, every three years, two are elected from the class of burghers, and an equal number from the class of boors. Each rank has only to do with the accuser and the accused of his rank. The court of conscience pronounces, in general, according to the laws; but, as it is ordained to be a guard to particular or personal security, the rule prescribed in all cases is—general philanthropy, respect for man as such, and aversion from all oppression and injury of mankind. For these reasons the court of conscience must never add to the burdens of any man, but rather make it a duty conscientiously to discuss, and to decide with humanity, the cause before it. It must never meddle, of its own motion, in any matter, but take it up only from an order of the government, from the communication of another court of justice, or from petition and complaint. The cases of such criminals as, by some unhappy accident, or by the concurrence of various circumstances, have fallen into guilt, whose sufferings far outweigh their demerit, the crimes of thoughtlessness or early age; and all stories of witchcraft and conjuration, arising from stupidity, imposture, and ignorance, belong to this tribunal. The duty of it, in civil causes, is to adjust the differences of contending parties who appeal to it for that purpose,

pose. The adjustment is to be made either by the court alone, or in conjunction with arbitrators, chosen by the two parties. If the arbitrators cannot agree together, then the court lays before them its opinion how the accuser and the accused may be reconciled, without injury, without process, controversy, reciprocal reproach, and chicane. If the arbitrators cannot yet be brought to agreement, then the court orders the accuser and accused to appear, and lays before them the means of accommodation. If they admit them, the court confirms their agreement with its seal of office: in the contrary case, it informs them that it has nothing farther to do with their dispute, and that they may apply to the court appointed by law for that purpose.

The most important behoof of the court of conscience, and by which it is in some measure the most venerable tribunal of the nation, and, in the strictest sense, the palladium of personal security, consists in this: when any one delivers a petition to the court of conscience, specifying that he has been detained in prison upwards of three days, and that in these three days it has not been shewn him why he is thus kept in prison, or that in these three days he has not been interrogated, then the court of conscience is bound, on receiving such petition, and before the court breaks up, to issue an order, that the prisoner (if he be not imprisoned for offences against the person of the sovereign, nor for treason,

son, murder, theft, or robbery) be brought into the court of conscience, and be shewn, adding the reasons, why he is detained in arrest, or why he has not been interrogated. The order of the court of conscience in this case must be executed in the place at which it arrives, without losing an hour; but if the order be not fulfilled within the space of twenty-four hours, the president of the court shall be fined in the penalty of five hundred rubles, and each of the assessors shall pay a fine of one hundred. In regard to local distance twenty-five versts are reckoned to a day.—If the court of conscience finds that the prisoner has not been detained for any of the crimes above specified, it issues an order to set him at liberty, on the receipt of that voucher, as well for his being brought forth as also for his presentation before that court of the province which he shall choose, and where his cause shall be adjudged. No one may pretend to put again in prison him who has been liberated by authority of the court of conscience, for their decision on the same matter: but his cause shall be determined by course of law. But in case the petitioner is in confinement on account of any of the before-mentioned crimes, or has imposed upon the court of conscience; or can bring no proof, the court of conscience shall remand him to prison, there to be kept more strictly than before*.

* See *Gemälde von St. Petersburg*, by the ingenious M. Heinrich Storch, for these and several other particulars.

Public

Public security differs from personal, in its having a more general aim. The former is properly the object of the police; the latter is, in most countries, committed to the administration of justice.

In proportion to the bulk, extent, and population of Petersburg, the public security is as great as any where. Robberies and murder are so seldom heard of, that all thought of danger is entirely banished. Accordingly, people walk alone, without any weapon or attendance, at all hours of the night, along the streets, and even in the remotest, most unfrequented, and uninhabited parts of the town. This fact, extraordinary in such circumstances, is, however, not so much the consequence of a well-organized and vigilant police, as the effect of the good-tempered national character. The common Russian, if not corrupted by a long stay in the residence, seduced by the propension to drink, or pressed by extreme want, is seldom disposed to excesses of this nature. To this may be added a certain reverence towards the superior ranks, which from the sentiment of their vassalage, and from the way in which they are brought up, is peculiar to this people. This is so well known, that it is no uncommon thing to put an officer's cockade in the hat as a sure means of defence against any attack a man might otherwise be liable to at such times as the populace are accustomed to think they have the privilege of being intoxicated,

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and consequently are more prone to commit acts of extravagance. An authoritative word, spoken in a commanding tone, has frequently more effect than the stoutest oaken staff. In order to employ this method with impression, it is necessary indeed to be able to speak the language with fluency; but any one who has this advantage, and is familiar with the manners and the character of the nation, may at any time, in cases of extremity, excite the good nature of the populace, and save his purse or his life from any hostile attack. Among several instances afforded by experience of this, one may suffice.

A lady some years ago travelled up the country. Her road led through a village which had lately got an ill name for robberies and murders, and indeed was become formidable to the whole district. By some unforeseen circumstances, her arrival at this place was delayed till the night was somewhat advanced; and as the post-boors absolutely refused to drive her any further, she was obliged to put up at a cottage. A conversation between her driver and some people of the village, which by favour of the darkness she happened to overhear, justly filled her with serious alarm. On entering the cottage, she perceived several fellows, according to the custom of the country, lying on the stove. An old woman, whose physiognomy was not exactly adapted to inspire confidence, accosted her with the question, why she had hesitated

to

to pass the night in that village, whether it was because she suspected that she might not be safe in her house? and swore, at the same time, that there was not a man in it. The traveller, from long experience being well acquainted with the character of the nation, took care not to confute this lie; on the contrary, she displayed the most perfect confidence, sat down with the utmost composure to take some refreshment, brought out a bottle of brandy from her case in the sledge, called down the fellows that were lying on the stove, and divided its contents among them. This behaviour, the bottle of brandy, and the friendly looks of the donor, had their due effect: the slumbering but not stifled sentiment of humanity awoke; and the good-natured, careless, and joyful humour, which is so peculiar to the common Russians, soon broke out in noisy songs. The traveller, seeing that she had attained her aim, laid herself down to sleep in an adjacent room, in all appearance without any distrust, forbade her servants to bring the baggage and arms into the house, and even put out the light. At break of day she found a Russian breakfast prepared, and her carriage ready for her farther progress. Her departure from this band of robbers was a moral caricature of a most singular nature. With the confession of their criminal way of life, she at the same time received from these people the assurance, that she and all passengers that should make use of her name, should be well received,

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and be lodged in safety: a promise which was accompanied with the rude but undisguised testimony of a hearty affection.

The police of St. Petersburg has a very simple and competent organization. Excepting the governor, whose office naturally extends to all objects of public welfare, the head police-master is the proper chief of the whole system of police. His office takes in the great compass of this department, but confined to the general objects of public security and order. He is not here, as in some large towns, the formidable co-partner of family secrets, and the invisible witness of the actions of the private man. Here are no spies, nor ought there to be, if Montesquieu be in the right*.

Under the head police-master is the police-office, where sit a police-master, two presidents, the one for criminal, the other for civil cases, and two consultants chosen from the burgher class. To this is committed the care to maintain decorum, good order, and morals: also it is its business to see to the observance of the laws, that the orders issued by government, and the decisions of the courts of justice, are put in force. The attainment of these purposes is effected by the following mechanism:

The residence is divided into ten departments. Each of these has a president, appointed to watch over the laws, the security, and the order of his

* "Faut-il des espions dans la monarchie? Ce n'est pas la pratique des bons princes."—*Esprit des Loix*, I. xii. chap. 25. district.

district. The duties and rights of this office are not less extensive than important. A president must have exact knowledge of the inhabitants of his department, over which a sort of parental authority is committed to him; he is the *cenfurmorum* of his department; his house must not be bolted or barred by night or day, but must be a place of refuge continually open to all that are in danger or distress; he himself may not quit the town for the space of two hours, without committing the discharge of his office to some other person. The police-commando (constables), and the watchmen of his department, are under his orders; and he is attended on all affairs of his office by two serjeants. Complaints against unjust behaviour in the presidents may be brought to the police-office.

Each department is again divided into three, four, or five subdivisions, called quarters, of which, in the whole residence, are two and forty. Each of these has a quarter-inspector, in subordination to whom is a quarter-lieutenant. The duty of these police-officers is in harmony with that of the president, only that their activity is confined to a smaller circle. They settle low affairs and slight altercations on the spot, and keep a watchful eye on all that passes.

The number of the nightly watch in the city amounts to five hundred. They have their stations assigned them in watch-houses at the corners of

streets; and, besides their proper destination, are to assist in the taking up of offenders and in any service by day or night, as their commanders shall require. Besides these, for the execution of the police orders, and to act as patrols, there is also a commando of one hundred and twenty men, who, in cases of emergency, are supported by a pulk or company of kozaks, or a regiment of hussars.

This machine, consisting of so many subordinate parts, preserves in its orderly course that security and peace which excite the admiration of all foreigners. The activity of every individual member is unobserved in the operation of the whole; and by such a distribution alone is the attainment of so complicated an aim practicable.—All the quarter-inspectors of a department repair every morning, at seven o'clock, to their inspector's house, to lay before him the report of all that has happened in their quarters during the last four and twenty hours; and at eight o'clock all the inspectors bring together these several reports into the police office, whereupon they first and immediately take into examination the cases of persons taken into custody during the night. On urgent occasions the police-office assembles at all hours.

*This organization, and the extraordinary vigilance of the police, which is found competent to the business of a numerous and restless people, render all secret inquiries unnecessary. The police has knowledge of all persons in the residence;

dence; travellers who come and go are subject to certain formalities, which render it extremely difficult to conceal their place of abode, or their departure from the city. To this end, every householder and innkeeper is obliged to declare to the police who lodges with him, or what strangers have put up at his house. If a stranger or lodger stays out all night, the landlord must inform the police of it at latest on the third day of his absence from his house. The cautionary rules with regard to travellers quitting the town, are still more strict. These must publish in the news-paper their name, their quality, and their place of abode, three several times, and produce the news-papers containing the advertisement, as a credential in the government from which they then receive their passport, without which it is next to impossible to get out of the empire. This regulation not only secures the creditor of the person about to depart, but also enables the police to keep a closer inspection over all suspected inhabitants.

The great mixture of foreign inhabitants of all nations renders this inspection at all times, but especially at certain critical periods, highly necessary. There are always, in large populous towns, disorderly people, adventurers and impostors, who, by bold projects, by an infamous industry, or by criminal stratagems and tricks, seek occasion to disturb the quiet of civil society, or to rifle the purses of the public. The lenity of the government, the

hospitable reception every honest stranger here enjoys, the easy and various means of gaining a livelihood, and the unlimited permission attended with so many difficulties in other countries, of pursuing them in a lawful way, without distinction of nation or religious profession ;—all these and other advantages are, however, not always sufficient to restrain such people within the bounds of propriety and decorum.

If individuals may be suspected by the government, because their means of support, the company they keep, and their whole course of action, are closely wrapped up in mystery, so likewise may whole societies be less indifferent to it, if they carefully conceal the object of their connection, or their very existence, from the eye of the public. The police watches here, with laudable attention, over secret societies of all kinds ; and frequently as the fanatical spirit of religious or political sectaries, or the enthusiast of pretended mystagogues, have attempted to nestle here, they have never been able to proceed, or only for a very short time. Animal magnetism, Martinism, Rosycrutanism, and by whatever other name the conceits of distempered imaginations may be called, have always been attended with the same bad success on this stage.

With equal diligence the police ransacks the blind purlieus of such as have an aversion to honest industry, and are attracted by the thirst of gain. If the ramparts of civil liberty prevent the police

from having recourse to extreme measures for quelling the rage of gaming, yet great difficulties and obstacles are opposed to the propagation and extension of this dreadful political evil. By the police regulation only such games are allowed as require bodily exertion and dexterity, or consist of a due proportion of hazard and skill. The nicer explanations on this latter are reserved for the laws. Concerning prohibited games, the police must have regard to the motives of the gamesters. All complaints and demands relative to the play-debts, and the payment of them, are declared null. That no lotteries are permitted throughout the whole russian empire is well known.

From this sketch it will be readily imagined, that the number of impostors and disturbers of the public peace can be but small. Quarrels and affrays in the street or in the kabaks but seldom happen. The person attacked calls the nearest watchman ; and in a moment both the aggressor and the aggrieved are taken into custody, and led to the next sieja, (police watch-house,) where the cause of their quarrel is inquired into, and the aggressor is punished.—For matters of some descriptions, there is a peculiar tribunal, under the denomination of the oral court, which, on account of its singularity, deserves to be briefly noticed.

In each quarter of the town are one or more judges of the oral court, who are chosen from the class of burghers, and with whom are associated a

jurats. This court sits daily in the forenoon, and proceeds orally in all the differences that come before it : it, however, keeps a day-book, in which are entered all the causes and decisions of the court, and which must be every week laid before the magistrate. When a charge is brought, the court declares it orally to the president of the quarter : whereupon the accused must not delay his appearance before the police longer than one day after he has received the summons. Every cause must be determined in one day, or if the evidences require more time in collecting, in three days. The oral court communicates the decision to the president of the quarter by means of his day-book, in order to its ratification. If either party be not satisfied with the sentence, he may appeal to the court as appointed in the regulations.

The immense circulation occasioned by the necessities and luxuries of the residence might provide a greater number of the people with the means of subsistence. The growing increase of the town, and the great undertakings of the government, which here unite as in one large central point, employ as many hands as are to be had, and would employ more ; the facility, therefore, with which work is to be found, and the high price of labour, leave idleness and indigence without excuse. And indeed no beggars are seen here, unless one should give that name to a few children who here and there run about, and ask for a

polushka. Old, infirm, distempered people, and similar objects of disgust, are absolutely not permitted to follow begging. For the really poor, and persons incapable of earning their bread, a poor-house is provided, and maintained upon an excellent plan ; but for the industrious who look out for work, and the idlers that are able to work, the following useful and salutary regulations are made :

In pursuance of the police ordinance of the year 1782, servant-brokers (or, as we should say, register-offices,) are appointed, where ever day, at certain hours, people who seek service or work, as well as masters who want servants, may apply. The broker is bound to enter into his book the name, the time, and the requisites or proposals of the several persons who apply, as also the terms of the contract ; which book is taken as evidence in case disputes should afterwards arise. In order to induce the public to benefit by this institution of such general utility, it is at the same time ordained, that the oral court and the police-officer shall admit of no complaint between master and servant, if the contract cannot be produced in the broker-book ; but servants and workmen who neglect to apply to the broker, are driven out of the town and the district.

The work-house of the residence takes in not only such people as would willingly work, and find no employment, but is chiefly filled with idlers, vagrants, disorderly persons, sturdy beggars, and thieves who have not stolen above the value of

twenty rubles. As such a conjunction of crimes with helpless industry is contrary to the maxims of an enlightened police, so this institution, according to its original destination, was dedicated only to the latter. But because, either from prejudices formed against the institution, or because, as it is most reasonable to think, there is a superfluity of means of livelihood, but very few such persons are found, this institution is almost entirely confined to forced workmen. The superintendence of it belongs to the college of general provision, who, therefore, settle the mode and measure of employment according to the sex, the age, and the bodily frame of each. It is likewise permitted to private persons to send their servants hither for punishment; in this case, however, they must pay three kopecks a day for each person's board, in addition to the profit on their labour, to the institution. On an average about eight hundred persons are kept here annually. A small hospital, connected with this institution, had, on the 1st of January 1790, one hundred and seven patients of both sexes.

For criminals condemned to labour by the laws, there is a house of correction. This is likewise under the management of the college of general provision, which endeavours to make the penal labour of these people, particularly in regard to manufacturers, useful to the state. In pursuance of an ordinance of government the house of correction is destined for the following descriptions of civil and
moral

moral offenders; for children who are disobedient to their parents, or habitually pursue bad courses; for people who, having run out their circumstances, have contracted twice as many debts as they have the means to pay, or are guilty of scandalous breaches of decorum; for persons who publicly follow a course of life which is contrary to sound morals, and the regulations of a good police; for worthless and lazy rogues and vagabonds; for stout and obstinate vagrants and beggars; lastly, for women who lead a scandalous, impudent, and profligate life.—Offenders of these kinds are put into the house of correction, either in pursuance of the sentence of a court of judicature, or at the request of parents, presidents, or masters, though not without evidence wherefore. Here also private persons must pay a slight allowance, as in the work-house. The men are separated from the women; and all the people confined must be called only by their christian names. The obstinate and refractory may be chastised, by order of the head overseer, by beating, or punished by being shut up and kept on bread and water. The annual number of persons under correction here is between seven and nine hundred.

These institutions, into which the residence discharges all its sluggish, foul, and infectious parts, as into a receiver, stand in so close a connection with the prisons of the courts of judicature, that it
would

would render this account incomplete, to omit the mention of them here.

The new town-jail, which, as far as practicable, is constructed and disposed upon Mr. Howard's plan*, consists of a large strong-built pentagon edifice, of two stories. Outwardly it has no windows, and only one gate, which is of iron; each of the five angles is terminated by a tower, which rises above the roof, and serves as a magazine. Each story has only one suite of chambers, all opening into a covered gallery. The rooms are dissimilar in size, but are fitted up in exactly the same manner. The windows are all placed high; each cell is provided with a cubic stove, a small table and seat of masonry, an iron outer door, and in the wall a water-closet. In the open place which forms the area of the building, is a smaller

* While Mr. John Howard was at St. Petersburg, the empress expressed a strong desire of having some conversation with him on the very interesting subjects to which he gave up his time and attention. Knowing how averse that gentleman was to forms and ceremonies, and especially to the pomps and etiquette of a court, she commissioned a person to hint to him, that if he would amuse himself on a certain day in looking at the paintings and other curiosities of the hermitage, her majesty would be there at the time, and would profit by the meeting for entering into conversation with so extraordinary and deserving a man. To the friend who communicated this to Mr. Howard, he replied: "Tell her that I am not come here to visit palaces but prisons." In consequence of which, that princess had never the opportunity of seeing him.

prison

prison of the same shape with the larger, which, with cells of a like construction with the others, contains a chapel, a comptoir, a guard-house, and a chamber of correction. The remaining space, in breadth about six fathom, is left for indulging the prisoners in the benefit of taking the air. The whole building has hitherto continued quite empty.

Of the other jails, which are only three, that of the police is the most remarkable. This house, which is commonly called the Politzey, because here the chancery of it was formerly held, is at present the principal place of detention for all delinquents that come within the cognizance of the police. Accordingly, here are kept, previous to their trial, fraudulent insolvents and bankrupts, swindlers, gamesters, bullies, cheats, thieves, and fanatics of all christian sects, and of all nations in motley mixture. This strange collection of beings is productive of no less singular effects. The rich purchase accommodations of the poor; the cunning over-reach the simple: separated from all human society, a sort of petty republic is formed within these walls, in which the two grand levers of human activity, indigence and passion, play their part as well as without them. Thus, a few years ago, an inhabitant of this mansion picked up money by the mysteries of an order of which he was a member, by admitting, for a small reception-fee, a considerable number of worthy proselytes. Another had been favoured with the permission to
separate

separate his sleeping place by a screen, where he lived in company with his serfs, who, by the duties of their vassalage, were obliged to follow him into this abode. Here he gave a friendly reception to all comers, whose looks and dress seemed promising; and drew from them what money they had, either at cards, or by giving them a goblet or two of strong punch, with such artifice that never any got out of his clutches without leaving behind them, in his lurking corner, whatever they had, and sometimes even a part of their clothes.—This house, which seems to harbour within its walls only vice and criminality, at times also exhibits some noble instance of human action, as a few scattered rays are seen to mingle in the gloomy colours of a painted night-piece. Not for the purpose of relieving the shades, but as a small memorial of an unknown generous action, the following anecdote may here be permitted to find a place.

A young german nobleman, who had for a long time indulged himself in the usual follies of his age, with the utmost thoughtlessness and extravagance, was put into the politzey by his creditors. In this deplorable situation, abandoned by all his former acquaintance, a damsel of the common class, who had shared his purse in better days, remained true to him. She followed him to prison, waited on him with unwearied assiduity and care during a violent illness with which he was attacked,

supplied

supplied him with all kinds of necessaries, sold, when all her money was gone, what furniture and clothes she had, and at length went about begging for her unfortunate friend. At the end of eleven months, when he was released by death from this unhappy condition, she caused him to be decently interred with the remainder of the alms she had procured, and then—consented to the offer of marriage long ago made her by a man in good circumstances, with whom she might have enjoyed the conveniences and pleasures of life, and which she had hitherto refused only because she thought it dishonourable to forsake her first lover in his distress. This circumstance she mentioned to her husband previous to their marriage.

Great as the security of the city is in regard to acts of open violence, yet it is necessary for every one to be upon his guard against artful impostures and deep-laid stratagems. The frequent instances of this kind make every Russian wary, and therefore they are not so easily made the dupes of their countrymen; but so much the more do they make up for this at the expence of strangers and foreigners, particularly when they are not acquainted with the language of the country. The shopkeepers and merchants commonly ask three times, and frequently even five times as much as the commodity is worth; the unknown offer the half, and think they have made a good bargain, till they find, when too late, that they have been

miserably

miserably cheated. To give damaged goods a fair appearance, to defraud in measure and weight in an imperceptible manner, to slip bad goods among the better that have been bought and ordered home; all these, and a multitude of other tricks, no dealers in the world understand better than the Russian. As the Russians in general are surprisingly cunning and of quick parts, they are eminently addicted to this species of industry; and the pickpockets of St. Petersburg and Moscow may safely lay wagers on their dexterity with those of London and Paris.

Some time since the following affair happened at Moscow, which excited great curiosity both there and at the residence; and, on account of its originality, deserves to be noticed while we are on this subject. A wealthy nobleman, well known as a fancier of precious stones, fell accidentally in company with a person unknown to him, who wore on his finger a ring of great beauty and value. After a long discourse on its real worth, the nobleman offered him a considerable price for it, which the stranger at first refused, on the reasonable ground that he had no desire to part with it. At length, however, to evade the repeated importunities of the nobleman, he declared that he could not sell it, because—the stones were not genuine. This declaration filled all the company, among whom were connoisseurs, with amazement. The nobleman, in order to be sure of the
matter

matter desired to have the ring for a few days against sufficient security; received it, and ran from one jeweller to another, who all unanimously pronounced the stones to be genuine, and of great value. With this assurance, and the hope of a good bargain, he brought back the ring to its owner, who, on receiving it, put it, with great indifference, into his waistcoat pocket. The negotiation now began afresh: the stranger persisted in his resolution, till at length the nobleman offered a sum which was pretty near the true value of it. “This ring,” returned the stranger, “is a token of friendship; but I am not rich enough to reject so large a sum as you offer for it. Yet this high offer is the very reason of my not complying. How can you, if you are thoroughly conscious of what you are doing, offer so much money for a ring, which the owner himself confesses to be made up of false stones?”—“If your determination depends only on that,” replied the buyer, “here take at once the sum,” (laying it in bank-notes upon the table) “and I call the gentlemen here present to witness, that I voluntarily, and after due consideration, pay it.” The seller took the money, and gave the nobleman the ring, repeating the declaration, that the stones were false, and that it was still time to make the bargain void. The latter obstinately refused to hearken to his advice, hastened joyfully home, and found—what the reader has already
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guessed—that the stranger had said what was too true. Instead of the genuine ring, he had a false one made exactly like the other. The affair was brought into a court of justice; but, as the seller proved, that during the whole business there was no question at all about genuine stones; that the purchaser expressly treated only for a false ring, and he on the other hand sold him only a false ring; accordingly the judge was obliged to pronounce in favour of the latter.

The arts of cheating in the article of provisions are no where better understood than here. Ordinary deceptions of this nature happen every where; but when one looks at a fowl, which to all appearance is finely fattened, and finds it only filled with wind; or asparagus, deprived of their eatable part, pointed again, and coloured with a tempting verdure; no man will call these ordinary tricks.

A lady who had not been long come out of Germany, and had heard much from her acquaintance at Petersburg of the many artifices of that nature practised in that city, took the resolution to use the utmost caution in all her dealings, in order to refute the common opinion, that every stranger must buy his wisdom. Several days passed on: one morning, however, a *rasnoschtschik** entered her apartment, and offered her a pound of tea, the last remains of what he had to sell. She weighed the

* *Rasnoschtschiks* are vendors of small articles about the streets.

parcel,

parcel, and found it just: she made a trial; the tea was unadulterated, and well flavoured: she shook it all out into a basin; no deceit was discoverable. She inquired the price, and offered a third part of what he asked: the vender was naturally not satisfied with this offer; he turned the tea back again into the box, wrapped a cloth about it, and crammed it into his bosom. At length the bargain was struck, and the commodity delivered; however, prudence does no harm; the lady opened the box, and saw the tea she had bought. She shut it up, to the great joy of the seller, who in the mean time had asked her, smiling, why she was so extremely cautious, and why she had so very bad an opinion of his honesty? The money was paid; the *rasnoschtschik* went his way; and some days after the box was found full of sand and grains, except the surface, which was really good tea.

Matters of this kind are frequent in all great towns, where the numerous population renders every detection more difficult, and the distance and difference between the circumstances of fortune rouse the passions, and urge the human intellect to every species of industry. The height of civilization and refinement, as well as the extreme of immorality and corruption, are only to be looked for in towns of the first magnitude. The means to prevent these evils are not in the hands of the police; no human invention can hinder an effect where the cause is natural; and to remove this,

this, we must follow the plan of the philosophers, who banish the human race into forests and mountains, where the greatest integrity resides with the greatest brutality.

The public security is not only brought into jeopardy by human attacks of fraud and violence: Nature also seems at times to have conspired against it. The results of the grand, eternal, and beneficent laws, by which she acts upon the whole, are nevertheless very frequently destructive to the parts; and man, by an inexplicable decree, is obliged to arm himself, as against an assassin, even against Nature, from whose hand he receives his being, his support, and his enjoyments. The natural and accidental violations of public security are therefore not less an important object of police. An accurate detail of all the particular institutions to this end would lie beyond the limits of this work. The following instance, drawn from the whole, will suffice as a characteristic of this department of the police of St. Petersburg.

That city, from its situation at the mouth of a large navigable river, is very often exposed to inundations. On a continuance of westerly winds the water rises to the height of ten feet above its ordinary level. At five feet it overflows only the western parts of the town, in places where the Neva has no rampart; but on a swell of the water to ten feet, only the easternmost parts escape a general inundation. In the year 1777, on Sunday the

10th

10th of September, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, the water rose to the height of ten feet seven inches above its usual level; and though in two hours afterwards it had again retired within its banks, yet this short inundation produced very extraordinary effects. A ship from Lubeck was carried into the wood on Vassili-ostrof; the duchess of Kingston's famous yacht, which she had quitted a few days before, was cast upon the bar, and greatly damaged; many wooden houses were washed away; and several persons had lost their lives during the obscurity of the night.

Since this remarkable inundation proper measures of prudence and caution have been adopted. For several years the height of the water had been regularly marked at the castle. Now, at all risings of the river, signals were appointed at the admiralty, as a warning to the inhabitants. Whenever it arises above its banks at the mouth of the great Neva, notice is given to the town by three distinct firings of a cannon, which are repeated at intervals, as the danger increases. Within the town, in this case, five cannons are fired from the admiralty-battery, and on the steeple of it by day four white flags are displayed, and by night four lanterns are hung out; and at the same time the church-bells are slowly tolled. In places most exposed to the inundation, vessels are kept in readiness for saving the people. These regulations, the increasing buildings, the embanking, and the mag-

nificent stone quay of the Neva, and the extension of the water-surface by the various canals, render these western gales less alarming to the inhabitants of St. Petersburg; so that a swell of five feet above the level now excites but little or even no attention.

Also the danger of depredation by fires is no longer so great as formerly, as the number of wooden houses visibly diminishes; and the regulations for extinguishing the fires and the saving of property are better and more complete. For this purpose the police keeps in its pay ten fire-masters and one thousand six hundred and twenty-two men, who are employed solely to this object. Calamities of this nature are at present but seldom heard of; and when they happen, it is commonly in the outlying parts of the town, where the houses are mostly of timber, and very old. During the last seven years, in the better streets, never more than one house is burnt down, and even this is generally of wood. The people of the police are become so dexterous, that at one of the last accidents to which the author was a witness, a small wooden house that stood contiguous to the one on fire, was so perfectly preserved, that it received not the slightest damage. At the imperial loan bank, is an insurance-office, where one and a half *per cent.* is paid on three fourths of the annual rate at which the house or fabric is taxed.

Though quick driving along the streets is forbidden, yet from various causes it is impossible
entirely

entirely to prevent it; and, for the following reasons, it is no where attended with less danger than at St. Petersburg. All the streets are broad and spacious: their running in straight lines enables the driver to see a long way before him; in many of the streets is a raised footway, which secures the pedestrian from danger. Besides, the Russians are excellent coachmen; and, as they are answerable for every accident occasioned by their negligence or want of skill, they not only call out to the foot-passengers, while at some distance, but even turn off in cases of necessity. The manner of their calling too is almost always appropriate: for example, "Old gentleman! Good mother! Soldier! Fish-crier!" &c. Not only here, but throughout all Russia, it is the universal custom, in driving, to keep the right side of the way; hence the perpetual cry in the streets: "Na prava!" *i. e.* "To the right!" Whoever goes contrary to this custom, is in danger of being chastised on the spot, or at least of receiving a volley of abuse.

On all occasions when a great number of people or equipages are collected together, the police-officers must be present, who, by the assistance of soldiers or kozaks on horseback, keep such good order, that one seldom or never hears of an accident. At the theatres, at court, at the clubs, especially at the entertainments given at the palaces and at promenades on certain festivals, there are frequently several thousands of carriages and an

immense multitude of people on foot : the former observe exactly certain rules prescribed, and the latter may be present without the least danger, even from the tumultuous rabble. He must indeed be a very partial observer, who does not take notice of this extraordinary vigilance and caution, which is always admired by foreigners. At every entertainment, every public dinner in the town, on every occasion where the number of carriages is somewhat considerable, the police-officers are immediately there, for the preservation of order and the prevention of accidents. On the bridges across the Neva some of them are constantly present, as there the throng of passengers is uncommonly great. The same care is taken concerning dangerous scaffolds at buildings and at the diversions of the populace. The ice-hills and other national sports would certainly cost many people their lives, were it not for these good regulations, by which, however, accidents cannot at all times be prevented; and therefore the government is gradually endeavouring to abolish them by limiting the period of their duration. The freezing and breaking up of the ice of the Neva may be dangerous to the public security; therefore, on these occasions too, the proper cautionary regulations are not forgotten. As soon as the ice begins to be porous and unsafe, care is taken to break it near the shores, to prevent passengers from getting upon it; and notices are struck upon posts for the same purpose. Besides these

these precautions, the soldiers of the police are at these times continually present, who are frequently obliged to restrain by force the fool-hardy populace from venturing their lives for a trifling wager. The writer of this account was himself an eye-witness of such a man, at the most imminent hazard of his life, walking over the porous, deep-grey coloured ice of the river, which is as broad as the Thames at London-bridge, by means of a couple of boards which he took with him, laying the one at the end of the other alternately as he passed over them, often sparing himself this trouble, on feeling that a piece of the-ice would just bear his weight without it. In this manner, in the presence of hundreds of spectators, he was got near the opposite shore, when a police-officer standing there, seeing him coming, held up his stick, threatening to give him a hearty welcome with it on his reaching the land. The apprehension of this slight chastisement outweighed the fear for his life; he forgot the precaution he had before observed, his boards and his danger; hastened back as fast as he could, and safely regained the other shore.

The making up and the sending out of medicines from the shops of the apothecaries by careless or wicked servants may so easily give occasion to dreadful misfortunes or crimes, that particular prudential regulations are thought necessary in this respect here. Every recipe must not only be signed with the name of the physician who prescribes it,

but must also mention the patient for whom it is prescribed, with the day of the month and the year. To the medicine a label is affixed, mentioning, besides this date, the price of the medicine, and the name of the apothecary and his shop. But the best regulation is, that each, even the most simple medicine must be sealed. All physicians, surgeons, and midwives, who intend to practise in the russian empire, must undergo an examination at the college of medicine, which then grants them a licence; and this licence must be published in the gazette.

Her majesty's care for the public security extended also to the passing of laws and regulations for the prevention of dangerous and contagious diseases, to the inspection of damaged provisions, and a multitude of ordinances of like nature; but most of them so much resemble what are met with in other countries, that it would be needless to give a particular account of them. This subject then may properly be concluded by noticing one of the most important and interesting of all the regulations that belong to the general system of police.

The reader will recollect, that the publication and enforcement of the decrees of the sovereign, according to the before-mentioned instruction, is one of the primary duties of the police-office. For the exercise of it the following remarkable form was prescribed by Catharine II. Whenever a law, promulgated by the autocratic authority, and subscribed by her imperial majesty's own hand, or an ordinance

dinance from the places constituted for that purpose, is sent to the police-office, it must be entered in the proper books, when, whence, and how it received this law. If it be sent for publication, then the crown-advocate of the police-office is to be called, and his legal opinion taken: if there appear any doubtful point, it must be represented in the place appointed; but if no doubt arise, then a resolution must be made concerning its publication. This done, the law must first be read in the assembly of the members of the police-office, then with open doors at the president of the quarter's house, and at the quarter-inspector's; and in this method the publication is performed.

The foregoing facts will probably be sufficient for giving some adequate notion of the state of the police in the residence, which, for the form and method, is the same in all the towns throughout the empire; and, at the same time, will serve to shew the spirit which actuated the institutions for which the empire is indebted to Catharine II.

CHAP. X.

*Potemkin becomes favourite.—His exile.—His recall.
 —Manner of installing and dismissing favourites.
 —Journey to Mosco.—Pilgrimage.—Potemkin
 strives to induce the empress to marry him.—Mar-
 shal Romantzof comes to Mosco.—Regulations and
 edicts for the administration of the empire.—The
 Russians enter the Crimea.—Election of khan
 Sahim Gueray.—Zavodoffsky becomes favourite.
 —Death of the grand duke's first consort.—Second
 journey of prince Henry of Prussia to St. Peterf-
 burg.—Journey of the grand duke to Berlin.
 —His second marriage.—Zoritch obtains the place
 of favourite.—Transactions of the years 1774,
 1775, 1776.*

GREGORY ORLOF had been reinstated in the place of favourite only from motives of policy. Policy may feign a passion, but cannot command it. Catharine affected to have for her former lover sentiments which she no longer felt. She was lavish of her flatteries and kindnesses, but she could not restore him the possession of her heart. The prince was therefore mistaken in imagining himself to be the sole cause of the dismissal of Vassiltchikof. It was not to him that this sacrifice was made.

For

For a long time past the empress had remarked the manly comeliness and noble air of Potemkin. She recollected with complacency, that on the day of the revolution of 1762, Potemkin being as yet very young, had seized the moment when she had mounted her horse for gallantly riding up to her, and presenting her with the plume from his hat*. She resolved at length to be more particularly acquainted with him; and the first interview she had with him secured to this new lover the superiority over all his rivals. Vassiltchikof received his dismissal; Orlof was retaken into favour; but the incorrigible coarseness of his manners, formerly palliated by the warmth of his attachment, became unsufferable, when united with decayed affection. Potemkin alone had the secret of consoling her majesty under the uneasinesses occasioned by the war, the apprehensions from the rebellion, and the misunderstanding which prevailed between the old favourite and the minister Panin. Potemkin grew giddy with success; his pride and presumption kept pace with his prosperity; and he soon received a check.

One day, as he was playing at billiards with count Alexius Orlof, he was so thoughtless as to boast of the favour he enjoyed; and even ventured to assert, that it entirely depended on him to

* Whether it was his sultane, the upright plume in his hat, or his cockade, dragonne, or sword-knot, is immaterial to the main fact: it was, however, one or other of them.

remove

remove from court any persons for whom he might conceive a dislike. Alexius Orlof made him a haughty answer; a quarrel ensued; and Potemkin received a blow, which occasioned him the loss of an eye. This was not his only misfortune. Gregory Orlof, informed of the affair by his brother, ran to the empress and requested of her the removal of Potemkin.

Potemkin repaired to Smolensk*, his native place, where he remained almost a year in solitude, suffering much from his eye†, and from vexation at his being exiled from court. One while he declared it his resolution to turn monk; at another time he pretended that he would become the greatest man in all Russia. In short, all at once he wrote to the empress, beseeching her to think of him. Her majesty immediately sent him letters of recall, and replaced him in the full possession of her favour. Prince Orlof had been for several days

* Prince Potemkin was born in the environs of Smolensk, of a family originally from Poland. It settled in Russia, and was always comprised among the ancient noblesse of that empire. A Potemkin, who is thought to have been brother to the grandfather of the prince, was for some time at the court of England in quality of envoy from Peter I. But history says nothing more of him, and he is the only one of the name upon record before the favourite.

† It has been said that he might have been cured of the injury he had received in his eye, but that, in his impatience, he burst a slight tumour that had formed close to the ball, and deprived himself of the sight of it.

at his hunting-seat; and this absence gave opportunity for installing Potemkin at the palace; and on the return of the old favourite, his complaints and his reproaches were no impediment to the continuance of the new one.

The post of favourite being peculiar to Russia, it will naturally be expected that it should here be treated of somewhat more at large. Ever since the year 1730, this empire has been governed by women, the reign of Peter III. having been too short to form any striking exception, or for giving the Russians a notion of any other government. It is a trite remark, that when kings reign women rule, and when women reign men govern: but there seems nothing more in this pretended axiom than an antithesis consecrated by custom, and repeated from one to the other, like many more, without reflection or foundation. Henry IV. Gustavus III. Catharine II. are invincible proofs that both men and women are capable of grand undertakings, without the aid of the other sex, not to mention more examples in confirmation of the fact. For a series of seventy years the monarchs of Russia have always had favourites officially: it is no wonder then that the custom, thus sanctioned for so long a period, and scrupulously observed by four empresses, should be almost deemed a fundamental law of the empire, and an appendage to imperial grandeur; for the age of the late sovereign latterly gave no room to think that she kept hers for any other

other purpose than in conformity to established usage, and as a property to the magnificence of the court. As the reign of that princess was of a longer duration than that of any of the empresses her predecessors, it is highly natural that the number of her favourites should be more considerable; accordingly, some of them are still in being, and two have been carried off by death. Sovereigns are men of like passions with us, consequently subject to the same caprices, slaves to the same weaknesses. It is not because of any exemptions they possess from the common lot of our nature, that the sceptre is given them to wield, and that their brows are graced with the diadem; it is only to mark them as the point in which our interests unite, and by looking to which we are kept in order.

It is necessary then to shew what were the duties and distinctions of the favourites of Catharine. When her majesty had fixed her choice on a new favourite, she created him her general aid-de-camp, in order that he might accompany her every where without attracting reproach or inviting observation. Thenceforward the favourite occupied in the palace an apartment beneath that of the empress, to which it communicated by a private staircase. The first day of his installation he received a present of an hundred thousand rubles, and every month he found twelve thousand on his dressing-table. The marshal of the court was commissioned

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to provide him a table of twenty-four covers, and to defray all the expences of his household. The favourite attended the empress on all parties of amusement, at the opera, at balls, promenades, excursions of pleasure, and the like, and was not allowed to leave the palace without express permission. He was given to understand, that it would not be taken well if he conversed familiarly with other women; and if he went to dine with any of his friends, the mistress of the house was always absent.

Whenever the empress cast her eyes on one of her subjects, in the design of raising him to the post of favourite, she caused him to be invited to dinner by some lady of her confidence, on whom she dropped in as if by chance. There she would enter into discourse with the new comer, with a view to discover whether or not he was worthy of the favour she designed to vouchsafe him. When the judgment she formed was favourable, the confident was informed of it by a significant look, who took care to notify it to him who had the honour to please. The day following he received a visit from one of the physicians of the court, who came to inquire into the state of his health; and the same evening he accompanied the empress at the hermitage, and took possession of the apartment that had been prepared for him. It was on the selection of Potemkin that these formalities began;

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and since that time they had been constantly observed.

When a favourite had lost the power of making himself agreeable, there was also a particular manner of giving him his dismissal. He received orders to travel; and from that moment he was debarred all access to her majesty. But he was sure of finding at the place of his destination recompences worthy of the munificent Catharine.

In justice to the empress of Russia, it must be observed, that, since the cessation of the sword in Poland, her conduct with respect to that country had been infinitely more just, moderate, and temperate, than that of the other powers. Instead of new and endless claims, and continually harassing and pillaging the people, she had, with respect to herself, been governed by the late treaties; and to others, been their mediatrix and advocate; and there is little room to doubt, that she was even the means of preventing greater violences than those which have already excited the surprise of mankind. It is as little to be doubted, that the present partition of Poland was far beyond the original intentions of that princess, and that she was led, by various means and insensible degrees, into those fatal measures which have terminated in its ruin.

Some time after the conclusion of the peace with Turkey, the empress of Russia remitted two hundred
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and fifty thousand rubles to the king of Poland, as a compensation for that part of his domains which fell into her hands. This was the first compensation that had been heard of in the affairs of Poland, and will probably be the last.

Nothing can be more fully descriptive of the condition of the governed, in those countries which were ceded to the partitioning powers, than the conduct of the jews. These people, who for many ages have composed a very great part of the inhabitants of Poland, were daily retiring in numerous bodies from those territories which were possessed by the Austrians and Prussians, and flying for refuge and protection to the provinces which belong to Russia. Yet the russian government was never considered, even comparatively, as a mild one.

Commissaries were appointed by the delegation early in the year, to settle the limits between the territories of the republic and those of the partitioning powers, in so precise and accurate a manner, as would for the future prevent all ground, and even possibility, of dispute upon that subject. Though these commissaries held frequent meetings with those who were appointed for the same purpose by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the claims of the latter were so exorbitant, that they as continually broke up without effect; and the affair of the limits seemed now as remote from any prospect of adjustment, as it was on the first day of the conferences.

As an unlimited toleration in religious matters was at that time one of the leading principles of the court of Petersburg; and that both policy and justice required every security and satisfaction, in that respect, should be granted to the new subjects in Poland, the empress accordingly erected a bishopric in the latin ritual at Mohilef, to whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction all the roman catholics in her vast dominions were to be subject. The suffragan bishop of Vilna was the first appointed to this new bishopric, and ten thousand peasants allotted for the support of his pastoral dignity.

The republic granted the king, as an indemnity for the loss of his revenues, an annual income of five millions of polish florins (amounting to near three hundred thousand pounds), in which sum is included the million of florins destined for the support of his guards. She also engaged to pay his debts, amounting to seven millions of florins; she bestowed on him, in hereditary possession, four starosties, (which are governments of castles, with the districts belonging to them,) to be transmitted to his family for ever; and besides ordered a reimbursement of such money as the king had advanced for the use of the state. It was also agreed, that the fixed revenues of the republic should be enhanced to thirty-three millions of polish florins, and that the army should consist of thirty thousand effective men.

It should here be remarked, that this great revenue,

venue, amounting to near two millions sterling, must have been rather beyond the ability of Poland, even in its best times. It is also to be observed, that the delegation made a most ample provision for the king by this arrangement, the articles of which are so much in his favour, as to leave little room to doubt that his interests were particularly supported by the partitioning powers.

The interest which the king of Prussia took upon this occasion, in the distresses of the inhabitants of Poland, is too curious a circumstance to be overlooked. That monarch, by M. Benoit, his minister at Warsaw, put an absolute negative upon the establishment of an army of thirty thousand men, as a cruel and intolerable oppression, and a burden which it was not proper to lay upon the people in their present state. The more we reflect on the nature of his own government, the more we must admire the compassion and benevolence which operated in this instance.

1775. Peace being established abroad, and every thing quiet at home, Catharine employed herself in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of the country, and in opening the minds of her subjects; in all which she found Potemkin so useful a second, that he soon acquired an ascendant little short of absolute. To him all persons looked as the dispenser of all bounty, and the source of all honours. Conscious of the vast influence he possessed, and knowing that there was

no one to supplant him, he grew wanton in the enjoyment of his power, every day obtaining some new dignity or some accession of revenue; yet, when he was refused any thing he requested, he would shew himself sullen, and sometimes even angry. It was by such singular methods that he entered into the council, and procured himself the post of vice-president at war. Count Zakhar Chernichef* was the president of it. Potemkin, who could not endure to see any one above him, resolved to ruin him in the mind of the empress, and succeeded in the attempt. Zakhar Chernichef delivered in his resignation; and though the favourite was totally deficient in all the branches of knowledge necessary to fill the important office of minister at war, he made no scruple at taking it upon him. So much presumption created him at first a great number of enemies: he was censured for undertaking such a diversity of businesses, and finishing none; for making promises of promotion indiscriminately to ever sutor, while he did nothing for any body; and for employing himself to no purpose but in aggrandizing still more his enormous power.

The empress had succeeded in reconciling Potemkin with the Orlofs, and was exerting all her efforts to preserve peace between them. Though for prince Gregory Orlof she had not now the

* The same who, in 1762, had the command of the army that was sent into Silesia.

smallest

smallest remains of affection, nor perhaps of gratitude, she kept terms with him still. As for him, always jealous, not of the pleasures, but of the honours of Potemkin, he requested permission to retire from the court; but the empress would not consent to it, preferring rather to endure his behaviour, than permit him to carry about with him a resentment, which though it might not be dangerous, could easily be rendered alarming by circumstances. Besides, she had still another motive for his retention. She was in hopes that his presence would be some check on the petulance and audacity of his rival*. After having long opposed Panin to Orlof, she now thought of opposing Orlof to Potemkin.

Mortified at being refused permission to retire, a permission which had been formerly granted him against his inclination, Orlof had a long explanation with her majesty. He recalled to her mind the obligations which she had to him: he boasted of his zeal and fidelity; he presumed to say that she had nothing to reproach him with but the being less young than his rival. Catharine hearkened to all with great gentleness; and, without plainly

* Once, on being sent for to council, while he was engaged in a party at cards, he refused to go. On the messenger humbly asking for a reason to take back with him, he told him he might find it in the bible. The messenger inquired where. "In the first psalm, and in the first verse:—*Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum.*"

denying the wrongs of the complainant, she assured him, that the empress was always his friend. By having recourse to this mode of persuasion which sat so easily upon her, she determined him to remain.

It was not long, however, before Orlof experienced a fresh cause of vexation. Shortly after the execution of Pugatshof, the empress took the resolution of visiting Mosco; designing at once to enjoy the triumph she had gained over a rebel, and to complete by her presence the destruction of any hopes that might still remain in the breasts of the disaffected. Prince Orlof exerted himself to dissuade her from this journey, while Potemkin was employing every means to confirm her in her purpose. As the ideas of the latter were in unison with the desires of Catharine, he easily carried his point. She set out on the journey.

It was not unknown to her majesty, that, on the way to Mosco, she would pass through provinces where the popes were held in extreme veneration, and kept the people under the yoke of the most gross superstition. She had the utmost contempt for the childish bigotry they taught, and held in abhorrence its dangerous ministers: but she remembered that she had employed this advantage when she had formed the design of dethroning her husband, and therefore she did not disdain to employ it again for regaining the alienated minds of her people, and attracting the reverence of an ignorant

ignorant multitude. To this end she carried with her a great number of little figures of saints, which she distributed in the churches and chapels on the road. Besides these, she designed for the cathedral of Mosco a large picture, richly decorated with gold and diamonds; this she had caused to be placed in a carriage, which, during the whole of the journey, and when she made her entry into Mosco, followed immediately after her own.

Six hundred men from each regiment of guards had preceded her arrival in that great metropolis, and put themselves under arms to receive her.

Two triumphal arches had been erected*, and preparations were made for a splendid entertainment. She was attended by a brilliant retinue; the crowd of spectators was immense; order and magnificence prevailed on every side. Nothing was wanting but acclamations and bursts of joy. The populace, more amazed than affected, exhibited not the least sign of satisfaction. The empress had caused proclamation to be made of a diminution of imposts; but the hearts of the people seemed as little moved by her bounties, as at the pomp of her train.

The grand duke experienced a very different reception. The instances of homage that were withheld from his mother were lavished upon him. It is pretended, that a courtier, struck with this contrast, and wishing to dive into the sentiments

* Those two triumphal arches cost, it is said, forty thousand rubles.

of the heir of the throne, said to him, "Your imperial highness sees how much you are beloved. "Oh, if you would!" The grand duke answered not a word, but gave the courtier* a look of reprimand, which shewed that, though he was kept out of a throne that belonged to him, he nevertheless knew how to behave as a respectful son.

Some day after her arrival at Mosco, the empress performed a pilgrimage to a convent situated at the distance of forty versts from the city, walking on foot the whole way, attended by all her court. Count Panin alone was not invited to this act of devotion. On this occasion he said, in revenge for the mark of disfavour it betrayed — "The empress was not willing that I should accompany her on her pilgrimage, because she thought that I had neither devotion enough, nor enough of the courtier." But it may be, that Catharine thought him too lazy, and too fat†, to walk forty versts on foot.

Panin was become negligent not only of his duties as a courtier, but also of his functions as minister. Ease and amusements were now his principal business. He rarely read the dispatches of the ambassadors‡, and far more rarely deigned to

* Count Andrew Razumofsky, one of the sons of the hetman. The other, who is called count Gregory Razumofsky, follows a studious life at Lausanne.

† His body was like one great lump of fat.

‡ Panin was a great glutton, a great gamester, and a great sleeper.

to answer them. This conduct put arms into the hands of his enemies, but was particularly favourable to the ambitious Potemkin, who was ardently longing for the removal of Panin. On succeeding prince Orlof in favour, Potemkin had presumed to form the same designs with him in aspiring to obtain the hand of the sovereign. But he stood in awe of count Panin; his frankness, his persuasive eloquence, even his arts of intrigue, alarmed him; for notwithstanding his indolence, the old minister could yet handle those weapons.

What strange metamorphoses will not ambition work! The most arrogant man in all Russia, he who to all appearance was least calculated for putting himself under restraint, and who, having not the slightest tincture of religion, turned all modes of faith into ridicule, Potemkin put on all at once the exterior of a piety the most austere. At the beginning of Lent, to the surprise of all, he bid adieu to good cheer, of which he was very fond, lived upon nothing but roots, and his only drink was water; went regularly every day to confession,

sleeper. In quality of minister he scarcely did any thing except giving a few audiences. Olsufief, Teplof, Bakunin and even the empress, expedited all affairs, of which Bakunin afterwards made report to Panin. As a proof of his negligence, it is currently said, that he left unanswered for four months a pressing dispatch from field-marshal Romantzof, who then commanded the army against the Turks. The packet had been all this time in the pocket of Panin's robe de chambre.

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and wearied the saints with his prayers. He had taken care to make choice of the same confessor with the empress, and unbosomed to him all his transgressions, at the same time praying him to inform that princess, that his alarmed conscience would no longer allow him to indulge in an intercourse that was criminal when not sanctioned by marriage. Whether the monk had been gained over or not, he acquitted himself of his commission. Catharine came to no explanation with him; but, easily guessing the motive of Potemkin's scruples, she sent for him to the palace, and talked to him with tenderness, but with dignity. She told him that, though she had a regard for him, she was mistress enough of herself to get the better of her passion; and that if he was resolved no longer to fill the post of favourite, she could easily resolve to put another in his place.

Potemkin, disappointed, humiliated, confounded, could not so thoroughly conceal his vexation, but the people of the court were able to perceive it. He was even heard to say, that he would take holy orders, and cause himself to be consecrated archbishop. But the empress returned to Petersburg*. Potemkin followed her, and soon forgot both his

* The empress came in a sledge from Mosco to Petersburg; and, though she turned aside to visit the manufactory of hardware at Tula, she was only four days on the road. It is said that Peter I. once made the same journey in forty-six hours, in a sledge drawn by twenty-four horses.

devotion

devotion and his resentment in the pursuits of ambition, and the enjoyments of pleasure.

But the intrigues of the court have detained us from objects more worthy of our attention. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that the pleasures of Catharine prevented her not from applying herself to the cares of the government of her empire.

In the former days of Catharine's stay in Mosco, she went to meet marshal Romantzof at Kolomiski*: she received him with every possible mark of satisfaction; and nothing could be more flattering than the splendid preparations which were made in the capital for the marshal's reception there, upon his return from that war which he had so gloriously conducted, and so happily concluded. The empress, on this occasion, shewed him all the respect that was due to the most illustrious supporter of her throne. It had been her intention that he should enter Mosco on the same day with herself; and that, advancing on horseback between the triumphal arches that had been raised to his honour, he should join her, without setting his foot to the ground: and every thing had been prepared for his making a triumphal entry in all the magnificence of the ancients. This honour, however, the general, either through wisdom or magnanimity, declined. But that circumstance

* The 20th of July.

did

did not lessen the intended splendor and magnificence in other respects, nor the public honours paid to the general. He chose to appear before his sovereign, not as a triumphant hero, but as a soldier come to make the report of his victories.

The next day the empress, accompanied by the grand duke, the principal officers of the empire, and all her courtiers, proceeded on foot from the ancient palace of the tzars to the cathedral of Mosco, in order to be present at a solemn mass, and the *Te Deum* * that was sung on occasion of the peace.

At the conclusion of this ceremony, the private treasurer of the empress read, with a loud voice, the list of the recompences which that monarch was pleased to bestow on the generals who had distinguished themselves in the war against the Turks.

Marshal Romantzof received an estate in land with five thousand peasants, one hundred thousand rubles in ready money, a very fine service of plate, a hat encircled with a laurel branch of brilliant jewellery, and valued at thirty thousand rubles, the star of the order of St. George, and an epaulette of diamonds, with a magnificent truncheon of field-marshal; together with a diploma,

* When, or how, or on what occasion, the song of St. Ambrose, as it is called, was adopted into the russian liturgy, is a question of some curiosity, since the greek church, whence that of Russia is denominated, knows nothing of it.

adding

adding to his surname that of Zadunaiski, which may be translated, the Ultra-danubian:—to count Alexius Orlof, sixty thousand rubles, and a sword enriched with diamonds, of very considerable value, with a diploma granting to him the surname of Tschefminski, from the burning of the turkish fleet in the bay of Tschemè:—to general Paul Potemkin, a diploma of count of the russian empire, and her imperial majesty's picture set with diamonds, as an appendage to his dress:—to general Panin and prince Dolgoruky, sixty thousand rubles each, with a sword and diamond star:—to count Soltikof, the second class of the order of St. George:—to count Ivan Chernichef, the order of St. Andrew.—Several ribbons of St. Alexander Nefsky were conferred, and military promotions made. Admiral Greig was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and appointed commandant of Cronstadt; and the next day the grand duke bestowed eleven ribbons of the order of St. Anne.

Large gold medals, struck upon the occasion, were likewise distributed to the field-marshals, generals in chief, and foreign ministers; and some of a smaller size, to the rest of the nobility of the five first classes.

Her majesty likewise recalled some noblemen from their banishment in Siberia; two of whom had resided there ever since the year 1746.

Catharine had already on the quelling of the rebellion, issued an imperial ukase, whereby vari-

ous taxes were abolished, some of which had been laid on during the war, and others were of old standing.

The taxes imposed during the late war, and which were now abolished, were the tax of eighty kopecks over and above that of one ruble twenty kopecks paid per head by merchants and handicraftsmen; the tax of one hundred rubles on each forge or iron work; the tax of five rubles on each furnace in copper founderies; the tax of four kopecks on every pood of cast iron; the tenths of founded brass; the tenths of the capitals employed in mines of every kind; the additional tax of one ruble *per annum* on every weaver's loom employed in manufactories, or by private persons in their own houses; as likewise the tax of one *per cent.* on the value of every other kind of manufactured goods. A general liberty was also given to establish manufactories without the necessity of previously obtaining the permission of the college. The million and half of rubles, the empress advanced for ten years to the provinces which had lately been the seat of rebellion, at the rate of one *per cent.* for the first three years, and three *per cent.* for the remaining seven, was to be distributed amongst the proprietors of peasants, in the proportion of forty rubles for every man lost by them in the late troubles.

The taxes upon the estates of the livonian noblemen were taken off.

Amongst

Amongst the taxes of old standing, which were now abolished, were the tax on tanned leather and skins; that on wax, on tallow-melting, on soap works, on oil-manufactories, on private salt works, and that on malt and hops.

The prohibition was taken off from all the towns and villages in the empire, of erecting smithies and small iron-works; and they were thenceforth permitted to manufacture and trade in all kinds of iron whatsoever.

The same edict contained a number of internal regulations, together with acts of grace and pardon. It took off all prohibitions against contracting marriages without the consent of the governors of towns and provinces, and all dues hitherto paid to obtain their permission.

It admitted all burghers, who should declare upon oath that they were possessed of a capital of five hundred rubles, into the class of merchants; whereby they were exempted from those taxes to which they were subjected by their former condition: but in lieu of these they were to pay one *per cent.* upon their capital, whatever it might be, and which they were likewise to declare upon oath; and, contrariwise, those who had hitherto come under the denomination of merchants, but who did not actually possess a capital of five hundred rubles, were returned into the class of burghers.

All peasants enfranchised by their lords, were, at their reversion, to choose whether they would

enter into the service of government, or become merchants or burghers, that they might be taxed, or exempted from taxes, accordingly.

A general pardon was granted to all persons concerned in the late rebellion, with an injunction to bury every thing relative thereto in oblivion; as also a release to all prisoners who had been confined, on account of any crimes whatever, for the space of ten years, without having had judgment passed upon them; nor was thenceforth any crime, committed so long ago as ten years, without being brought to light; to be examined into: and this was declared to be a permanent law throughout the empire, for ever.

All nobles serving as subaltern officers, were to be subject to no other penalties and punishments than such as had been inflicted on their superior officers; nor were the corporal punishments of the private men to be for the future so severe, nor so ignominious, as they had hitherto been.

The senate received a special order to lower the duty on the sale of lands, houses, &c. from six to four *per cent.*

The empress had been, for some years past, meditating a regulation for the interior government of her country. This she caused to be printed at Mosco: at the same time issuing an order, that it should not at first be executed, except in the governments of Smolensk and Tver, as the people of those two provinces appeared to her the most

most intelligent, the most docile, and consequently the most fit for contributing to the success of the intended trial of the new laws*.

In a former part of this volume†, we spoke in general terms of a constitution for the russian empire, which seriously occupied her mind, and from which we took occasion then to lay before the reader that part which related to the police. It now remains for us to give a more particular account of that constitution itself, in which, however, we shall observe as much regard to brevity as the nature of the subject will allow.

Catharine began by dividing her extensive empire into governments or viceroyalties. Of these she formed forty-three, whereof thirty-eight lie in Europe, and five in Asia. The remotest of the asiatic part are indeed of an enormous circuit; but in the rest the difference in point of extent is not so very conspicuous. Many of them were again divided into provinces; but all into circles, of which each government, according to its dimensions, had six, ten, or more. Each of the

* The first ukase concerning it was dated in November 1775. The regulation was afterwards successively introduced and established in all the other provinces of the empire, during the years 1776—1783. These regulations were even translated into the tartarian languages, in order, in due time, to their introduction among that people.

† See before, pp. 234, 5. The whole of this constitution has been annulled by the present emperor Paul, and the viceroyalties abolished.

latter was to consist of from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand persons of the male sex, consequently of six hundred thousand or eight hundred thousand people; and every circle of from forty thousand to sixty thousand inhabitants: but in the actual establishment of it afterwards this was not observed; there are some which comprise in them a greater, and others a smaller number of persons.

The viceroyalty has a general governor, a governor, and a government-administration; in which, beside these two personages, two counsellors have seats. Subordinate to these, are a court of justice, a finance chamber, a superior country-court, a viceroyalty magistrate, &c. The circle has also its court of judicature; likewise a ward or guardian office, a land-surveyor, a rent-master, a physician, a surgeon; in the cities are magistrates; in the towns, common-councils; in both, oral-courts of judicature, &c. * The whole establishment was erected on the most splendid footing, in order that provision might be made both for whatever was necessary to the well being of the department, and what had a tendency to the improvement and to the embellishment of the country; and the appearance and retinue of the governor were, in the judgment both of foreigners and natives, suitable to the dignity of his station, and

* See before, pp. 247, 8.

the honour of the government over which he presided.

Two examples of the annual government expence, without including the disbursements for the military commands, will suffice to explain this matter: the new establishment demands annually for the viceroyalty of St. Petersburg, consisting of ten circles and the city of Cronstadt, the sum of one hundred and forty-three thousand eight hundred rubles: for the viceroyalty of Tver, which has thirteen circles, one hundred and twenty thousand nine hundred and fifty-three rubles.

Besides the advantages arising from an uniform and fixed administration of justice, her majesty perhaps thought, and in this opinion she had the concurrence of many well-meaning persons, that by means of these institutions, particularly in the interior provinces, by the example of civil-officers with rich salaries, by the erection of a public theatre, and other incitements to emulation in dress and appearance, to introduce a greater refinement of manners, and more attention to the elegances of life; but others have since thought they perceived a luxury heretofore unknown, daily gaining ground, to the detriment of the morals of that frugal people.

The principal matter in this new division of the empire, was the complete alteration of the old internal constitution. In this respect it was the greatest and most comprehensive reform that Rus-

fia had ever seen (even not excepting the reformation of Peter the great); an excellent means to the promotion of national prosperity, and a noble machine in the hands of an attentive government. Every city, every town, may be considered as a small community, which cities and towns, by divisions into circles, are consolidated into one larger community, whence the several viceroyalties grow. In each of these latter, the two sovereign persons of the government, (of whom the second, the governor, is properly a vice-general-governor) with all their power, have yet only to do with the peculiar affairs of the government of their own territory; the courts of justice therein are entirely independent on them, and their ultimate resort is to the tribunal of appeals belonging to the viceroyalty. The regulation of the clashing concerns of the several colleges of justice, and the rest of the institute, very little resembling any thing of the kind in Europe, is truly admirable.

All is simple, uniform, and for the most part novel. It is not without foundation that philosophical politicians have maintained, that such a simplification was favourable to despotism: but in an empire, whose constitution was already an unlimited ruler, it was in the highest degree proper; especially on account of its prodigious compass, which otherwise would be neither easily susceptible of inspection, nor of being vigorously actuated throughout. Whatever was not suitable to this system,

system, was either abolished or new-moulded; whatever, in particular provinces militated against the new form of government, was removed. The countries bordering on the Baltic, formerly conquered from the Swedes, as well as the tribes of Tartars on the cataracts of the Dniepr, were deprived of their old constitutions, however solemnly secured to them by treaties of peace and acts of submission. The first shock could not pass over without violent commotions; but now the most extensive empire on the earth, with all its territories and countries, was physically and geographically cemented together, in regard to its internal policy, truly into one body politic.

The reform of the senate at the commencement of this reign, had, in a manner, prepared the way to this new creation; and the improved administration of law, which was introduced in 1780, stood again in the closest connection with that constitution of government. In all the provinces, the forms of judicature hitherto in use were changed; they received uniformly courts of justice in regular and adequate gradations, and in various modes, whence the last appeal was to the directing senate.

Two institutes in every government-circle deserve particular mention: the college of general provision, which took cognisance of all affairs relative to schools, orphan-houses, infirmaries, and alms-houses, mad-houses, work-houses, and places of correction; and the court of conscience, which

pronounced, according to equity, in cases where no judicial proof was to be had; and before which the most insignificant person in the empire could cite the general governor himself, whenever he thought he had a claim upon him.

All the colleges that have been here and before mentioned, had their peculiar members, and these their stated rank; for even in this matter an exact gradation prevailed, which certainly contributed to the maintenance of order throughout the whole monarchy.

Before she promulgated this regulation, the empress repaired to the senate, in all the state of imperial majesty, where she caused it to be read and enregistered in her presence. She had already caused to be enregistered an ukase, naturally tending to gain her the gratitude of a great proportion of her subjects. The inhabitants of the distant provinces had been, till that time, obliged to travel up to Petersburg or to Mosco to have their causes tried. Catharine resolved to save them these long and expensive journies; she therefore declared that henceforward all suits should be adjudged by the tribunals of the provinces; reserving, however, to the parties the right of appealing from the judgment of these tribunals to one or the other senate*, and even to the council of the empress, but also making it known that, if the

* Though the senate of Mosco is no more than a fraction of that of Petersburg, it is regarded as a distinct tribunal.

former

former judgment was confirmed, the appellant should pay a fine.

Another ukase diffused joy and gladness among the inhabitants of Siberia. The rebellion of Pugatshof had long put a stop to their commerce, and the scarcity of money still greatly impeded its operations. By applying a remedy to this latter inconvenience, the empress caused the former to be forgotten. A bank was established at Tobolsk, and committed to the care of Gotoftzof, who had already given proofs of his skill in the direction of the bank of Petersburg. The commerce of Siberia presently regained its former activity.

The general commerce of the empire attracted the especial attention of Catharine. She encouraged it to the utmost of her power; justly considering it as the principal source of her greatness.

About the same time, ten vessels laden with wine, having on board some christian emigrants from the Morea, appeared at the Dardanelles, to pass from the Archipelago to the Euxine, in order to proceed to the russian territories, on the borders of the sea of Azof. The commandant of the Dardanelles sent an officer to search them; and, upon the captain's refusing to consent to it, he obliged them to anchor under the forts, and submit to be visited. Colonel Petersen, chargé des affaires from Russia, being informed of this violence, demanded immediate satisfaction, as a violation

lation of the eleventh article of the treaty of peace; and the Porte dispatched a firman, by which the commandant was ordered to let those vessels pass freely.

No material change took place in the circumstances of Poland since the conclusion of the war between its great neighbours. The court of Petersburg directed all the affairs of that country with as unbounded a sway, as it regulated those of its domestic provinces. It is true that the nobility there were still as turbulent, and the factions as violent as ever; but, fortunately for themselves and the people, the power which overawed and controlled them, was of so superior a strength and magnitude, as effectually to restrain them from those desperate efforts which had of late so repeatedly heaped ruin upon themselves and the republic. Under the order preserved by that strong grasp, the country was now beginning to recover from the effects of those dreadful calamities which it had so long endured; and its extensive plains once more to smile under the hand of cultivation.

The moderation and influence of the court of Petersburg, had also produced a very happy effect upon the conduct of the other great partitioning powers: they both having desisted from several of their late claims, and relaxed greatly from that rigour and violence with which they had treated the republic.

The dissidents also were at length remembered
by

by the court of Russia; and their privileges were now ascertained and secured. They were particularly secured in the public profession and exercise of their religion, and were allowed churches and schools even at Warsaw; but were restrained from the use of bells in the former. Some other regulations took place in their favour; particularly a right of appeal, in all cases of grievance, to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own communion were to be admitted as assessors. They were, however, still debarred from sitting in the senate, and from occupying any offices in the departments of administration.

It was with a view to excite emulation, and confer a sort of dignity on such of her subjects as should addict themselves to commerce, that Catharine published the edict* mentioned above, freeing them from the capitation and the obligation in which they had hitherto been, of drawing lots for supplying recruits to the army and navy; and by permitting, at the same time, all free boors to enroll themselves in one of the mercantile classes†,

* It is called in Russia the edict, or the ukase of grace.

† The Russian traders, or merchants, are divided into three classes. The first is composed of those who possess, or are rated as possessing, a capital of one hundred thousand rubles: the second, of those who have fifty thousand rubles; and the third, of those who have only one hundred rubles.—They pay to the government according to the class in which they are inscribed; and it is easy to imagine that vanity often gets the better of truth, and even of avarice.

on condition of paying annually to the crown one *per. cent.* on the capital which they should employ in their traffic.

In the same design of improving and extending the commerce of her empire, it was, that the empress renewed her treaty with England. She was also the declared patroness of industry and agriculture. New manufactories were every where established, by her own direction and encouragement: she employed workmen to rebuild the villages, and to repair the devastation which the rebellion of Pugatshof had occasioned to the colonies on the shores of the Volga. But, unfortunately, the men to whom the empress committed the exercise of her power, but rarely fulfilled her views. Entrusted with authority for the purpose of rendering her government amiable to numerous tribes of people, they seemed studiously to bring an odium upon it.

Great pains were used, and no expence or encouragement spared to induce foreigners to people those vast deserts which overspread a great part of the empire; and which, in many places, require only cultivation, to produce, in the greatest abundance, every thing necessary to the subsistence and comfort of mankind. These means joined with the inducement of an unbounded toleration, in religious matters, had succeeded so happily, that twelve new colonies, comprehending upwards of six thousand families, were already established on the borders of the Volga. In order to facilitate

the commerce and communication with China, and to prevent the great expences attending caravans, no less endeavours were used to form a cultivated tract along the course of the road through those wide and void regions which separate the two empires. Towns and villages were founded at proper distances for this purpose; and, as a rampart at the head of the line, several colonies of polish farmers had been established during the war, in the country immediately adjoining to the confines of China. As these poor emigrants, who had escaped the double horrors of war and oppression in their own country, were liberally provided with stock and all necessaries, and began to taste the sweets of security in person and property; the new settlements flourished accordingly, until the rapacity of the governors, encouraged by the supposed impunity which their distance from the seat of government, and the means they possessed of suppressing information and complaint would afford, changed the pleasing prospect, and had nearly accomplished their ruin. Some of the new colonies had been laid waste by the depredations of the rebels, and altogether were declining by the mal-administration, and the rapacity of the russian agents. The hundred thousand colonists, which Catharine had at several times brought into her country*, the greater part of whom were Ger-

* In 1764 and 1765.

mans, were reduced, ten years afterwards to less than twenty-nine thousand*, dispersed and languishing in the parts about Saratof, Kief, and Tzaritzin.

While Catharine was yet at Mosco, she learned that some officers had just been following the example of lieutenant-colonel Kischenskoï†, whose unworthy conduct has been already mentioned. Their vexations forced a horde of Bashkirs to revolt. These Tartars not only refused to pay the customary tribute, but they massacred the russian officers, as well as the popes, that were sent to them; and placed in the portable chapels or shrines of those popes, the images of the Dalailama, preferring their old idolatry to a religion the followers whereof were to them only greedy oppressors. The empress opened a treaty with them. Officers less rapacious than the former were now sent to them, and the whole horde returned peaceably under the russian authority.

Her majesty at the solicitation of the inhabitants of the newly acquired provinces of White-Russia, to have their taxes put upon the same footing on which they were before it came under

* Twenty-eight thousand two hundred and ninety-three persons of both sexes, forming seven thousand one hundred and eighty-five families.

† The same whose covetousness and rapacity forced so many thousands of Kalmuks to abandon Russia, and betake themselves to the mountains of Thibet.

her

her sceptre, instead of barely granting them their request, reduced their taxes still lower, by taking off one half of what they were then rated at.

Moreover, to encourage trade in the Euxine, lately opened to her by the treaty with the Porte, where it would not meet with those impediments which nature has placed in the Baltic, where the climate is a check to trade for the greater part of the year, and the dangerous coasts of the Cattégatte and the gulf of Finland cause numberless shipwrecks during the remainder: Catharine allowed the use of ships freight-free to Gusetnikof, a russian merchant, who had raised a capital for that undertaking; and also promised to make good all his losses, leaving, at the same time, the whole profits which might accrue from such trade entirely to himself.

In the mean time Russia still continued to move in that superior sphere of conduct, which had for some years excited the admiration of the world. Great and splendid actions, adorned by a noble magnificence, and a munificence only suited to the resources of so vast an empire, threw a lustre all around which dazzled the eyes of the beholders, and afforded a permanency to the government of Catharine which was little to have been expected, either from the disposition of the people, the uncertain tenure of arbitrary power, or the many inauspicious circumstances which attended its commencement. Individuals felt them-

felves partakers in the exalted state of the whole, and that sense seemed to influence their conduct. A captain of a russian ship, forgetting all sober maxims of prudence, with a noble generosity, at the hazard of his life and property, and encountering what is still more dreadful than either, the danger of slavery, boldly went and cut a rich christian prize out of a fortified piratical harbour in Barbary, scorning all benefit to himself or his brave crew, other than the glory of the act, with the pleasure of restoring liberty to the captives, and their property to the pillaged.

The attention which had of late, more than ever, been paid to the increase and improvement of the russian naval force, sufficiently spoke the intentions of the government, even if other evidence were wanting, to advance speedily into the first class of commercial and maritime power. But, of all the vast projects which have engaged the attention of the rulers of that empire, from Peter the great, downward, none equalled in magnitude that which not only occupied the contemplation of Catharine, but was already in some degree undertaken*. This was no less than the union of the remote and inland Caspian with the far-

* At least so it was said to be in the german gazettes of the time of which we are speaking; in which we also find the following: The empress of Russia, besides effectually beginning to make several of her rivers navigable, and join them, and of course

far-distant and boundless frozen ocean. However extraordinary this scheme may appear, and however difficult it might prove in the execution, yet, by means of canals, with the junction of several navigable rivers, it might perhaps be found not impracticable. If at any time this plan should succeed, it will undoubtedly exhibit the greatest monument of human industry, and the most extraordinary inland navigation, that has ever been known.

While Catharine was employed in calming the rebellious Tartars of the eastern part of her dominion, she used her efforts to induce those of the lesser Tartary to submit to her sovereignty. The conquests of prince Dolgoruky had disposed a great number of the inhabitants of the Krimea to favour the Russians. The new khan Doulet-Gueray continued devoted to the Ottomans: a part of his people refused to obey him. Peace had been for some time concluded between the Turks and the Russians; but the Tartars continued still fighting. The Russians strewed presents and dissensions among them. They secretly stirred them up to rebellion; and sometimes even supported them with arms in their hands. All at once they

course the seas bordering her vast dominions, by canals, and pushing her discoveries towards Japan and North America, has planted several villages in the road to China, in order to render the long journey there less dangerous, dreary, and uncomfortable.

appeared in the Krimea in considerable force; and by pretending to attempt to take Doulet-Gueray by surprise, they took care to give him an opportunity to escape. Doulet-Gueray did not let it slip; but this khan had scarcely quitted his country, when the Russians caused Sahim-Gueray to be elected in his stead.

1776. Soon after this, the Russians constructed a fortress between Kertsch and Yenikaly, together with a spacious town for the accommodation of the christians of the Krimea who had come over to them for protection. The Turks, dissatisfied with the revolution of the Krimea and the usurpations of the Russians, threatened to have recourse to arms. The imprudent and feeble Sahim-Gueray, by the advice of a russian agent who resided with him, sent to Petersburg a deputation of six myrzas*. This homage was so flattering to the ambition of Catharine, that it could not but be well received: she seemed to behold in these myrzas new subjects come to take their oath of allegiance. She treated them in a friendly manner; and previous to their presentation for audience, they were habited in magnificent castans†. They intreated her to vouchsafe her protection to their khan: a fatal protection, which that unhappy prince afterwards too dearly paid for.

Marshal Romantzof had already received orders

* Tartarian nobles.

† These castans cost four thousand rubles each.

to

to collect an army on the banks of the Borysthènes*. Every thing seemed to indicate an approaching rupture between Russia and the Porte; but prince Repnin, being sent ambassador extraordinary from the empress to Constantinople, succeeded in calming, for some time, the resentment of the divan. This was all that Catharine wished for. She only desired to gain time for preparing to enter the lists with advantage; as the war was necessary to her schemes of invasion.

Incessantly pre-occupied with her grand designs, Catharine seemed, nevertheless, to be thinking of nothing but pleasures. Her time was so ably distributed, that she always found enough of it for business with her ministers, for framing new laws, for writing, with her own hand, the orders she sent to her ambassadors and to her generals, for keeping up a regular correspondence with men of letters and artists, for duly giving audience to her subjects, for partaking in all the amusements of her court, and for gratifications arising from more tender connections. Constant in her ambition, she was sometimes faithless in attachments, and the politics of the woman were not entirely abandoned for those of the monarch.

She had not long been returned to Petersburg ere Potemkin ceased to be the object of her fond affection. She heaped benefits upon him in such

* The Dniestr.

profusion, that it looked as if she had not honours and dignities enough to offer him; yet her heart was already decided in favour of another. A young Ukrainian, named Zavadofsky, was honoured in private with the smiles of the empress. He was presently appointed her secretary; and shortly after, her majesty openly called him her favourite *. This change gave occasion to a scene that seemed of a very extraordinary nature at the court of Catharine. Whenever that princess gave an order, it appeared impossible that it should not be executed: however arduous the undertaking, she would always be obeyed. Now, it is known, that the discarded favourite received orders to travel, and that it was no longer allowable for him to present himself before the empress till she should deign to recall him. The impetuous Orlof himself had submitted to that custom. But Potemkin took the liberty to evade it: on receiving the fatal order he pretended to set out; and the very next day he came, in the utmost composure, and placed himself facing the empress just as she was sitting down to her party at whist. Without evincing the least mark of displeasure, at the presumptuous disobedience of Potemkin, Catharine advanced a card to him from the

* Yelagin, intendant of the entertainments at court, first employed Zavadofsky in the court theatre in quality of prompter. Marshal Romantsof afterwards took him as his secretary and aide-de-camp. That general then made him secretary of the cabinet to the empress, and Zavadofsky became favourite.

pack,

pack, told him that he always played luckily, and spoke no more of his departure. Potemkin preserved all his posts, his honours, his influence, and from the lover became the friend of the empress. Zavadofsky had the art of pleasing: but Potemkin had rendered himself useful; and his genius, more analogous to the genius of Catharine than any other of her favourites, uninterruptedly retained the ascendant over her.

In the mean time, Orlof, who had been too suddenly informed of the disgrace of Potemkin, hastened to Petersburg. Here he found his rival still in the enjoyment, not of the affection, but of the confidence of the sovereign. Prince Orlof thought himself able to resume that confidence, while a youthful lover, and a stranger to politics, possessed the heart of Catharine: but he was soon undeceived. He made his appearance at court, kissed the hand of the empress, and seeing Potemkin beside her, set out immediately for Mosco.

The courtiers who were most habituated to observe the empress, could not divine which was the lover whom she preferred. They could not imagine that Potemkin would surrender his interest in the affections of that princess. They neglected to consider, that love is silent in the presence of ambition.

Panin seemed more than ever sunk in his usual indolence, which now began to border on perfect apathy. But the empress left him in possession of his posts; both because his long services merited

that indulgence, and because he made one of a very powerful party. This party was desirous of seeing Paul Petrovitch lay claim to a throne which by right was his; but the prudent moderation of the prince and his reverence for his mother repulsed all ambitious schemes. Catharine, however, who sometimes forgot what her son would not, for thinking on what he might do, was not entirely free from inquietudes. She was mistrustful of all persons whom she thought capable of instilling bold advice into the mind of that prince; and she was still more apprehensive of those who could arm themselves in his behalf.

These apprehensions had not escaped the observation of the king of Prussia. From the distance of Brandenburg he spied all that passed in the soul of Catharine; and dexterously applied it to his advantage. Knowing that he alone could effectually support the grand duke in asserting his rights; whenever therefore he wanted to lead the empress to his purposes, he never failed to testify great concern about her son. The suspicions of Catharine were alarmed; and, for preserving the friendship of Frederic, she easily made sacrifices, whatever they might cost.

The grand duke had a great friendship for count Andrew Razumofsky*. He engaged him in all his

Count Andrew Razumofsky was brought up with the grand duke Paul Petrovitch. Being designed by the hetman, his father, to

his parties, and placed the greatest confidence in him. The empress, who knew the bold and enterprising spirit of Razumofsky, was alarmed at this intimacy, and resolved to break it; and for this the count himself soon furnished her with an opportunity. Catharine remarked some signs of secret intelligence passing between him and the grand duchess*, and made no scruple to suppose that Razumofsky had presumed to form some rash designs upon the princess; of which she carefully apprized the grand duke. That prince could not prevail upon himself to imagine that the suspicions of his mother had any real foundation; nevertheless, without withdrawing his kindness from count Razumofsky, he resolved to keep an eye upon him; and recommended it to his consort to be cautious and reserved in her behaviour. Whether, in fact, the grand duchess had already some inclination for Razumofsky, whether these very surmises and suggestions, and the restraints that were laid upon her in consequence of them, might not give birth to this inclination, she kept up a secret correspondence with him. She went farther, it is said: she

to serve in the navy, he served an apprenticeship on board an english ship. In the expedition of the Russians to the Archipelago, he was with admiral Elphinston. Since that, he commanded the frigate that went to fetch the grand duchess from Lubeck. At the death of Catharine he was ambassador from Russia to the court of Vienna, where he is still.

* The grand duke's first consort,

formed the design of revenging herself on her who had brought her virtue into suspicion with her husband; and accordingly entered into political intrigues, which could not fail of displeasing the empress. Whether these reports were true or false, she had not time to put them in execution. She died in childbed. The loss of her brought on Catharine one criminal imputation more*.

As soon as it was known that the grand duchess had expired, the empress seemed at once to be overwhelmed with grief; she retired to Tzarisko-felo, taking the grand duke with her. The event had really thrown that prince into the deepest affliction. However, after his sorrow had somewhat subsided, he looked over the papers of his deceased consort, and among them found letters from count Razumofsky. These letters he immediately carried to his mother; calling upon her for vengeance on the man who had thus dared to disobey her com-

* What served to add credibility to the surmises was, that the midwife who attended the grand duchess very soon made a great fortune. She lived on a familiar footing with the empress, and talked with prince Potemkin and count Beshborodko in the style of thee and thou; and who often went to dine with her. Dr. Almann was the official accoucheur; but, upon being asked by a friend afterwards why he was not present at the delivery, he replied: "Because, on a previous visit to her imperial highness, the empress said to me, 'Sir, if any thing disastrous should happen, you will answer it with your head.' Upon which," continued the doctor, "I made my obeissances, retired, and have never been at court since."

mands.

mands. The empress, not willing that the affair should make a noise in the town; and at the same time wishing to spare the son of the hetman who had formerly been so instrumental to her, yielded however to the resentment of the grand duke. But, instead of banishing Razumofsky to Siberia, she banished him to Venice, with the title of her envoy extraordinary. Razumofsky had already been sent upon distinguished embassies; and, although he perceived that this new mission was only intended as a mark of disapprobation, he made no hesitation to accept it. Having staid there some time, Catharine appointed him her minister at Naples*; at which place he was when the grand duke was on his travels in Italy; and it was noticed, that, on passing through Naples, the prince sent to count Razumofsky† to forbid him to appear in his presence.

A few days antecedent to the death of the grand duchess, prince Henry of Prussia arrived at St. Petersburg. Frederic being informed that, while the demarcations of Poland were carrying on, the commissioners of the co-partitioning powers could neither agree among themselves nor with the Poles, had requested that his brother might go and confer with the empress, in order to terminate the differ-

* Count Andrew Razumofsky seemed formed for pleasing princesses; for it is asserted, that the queen of Naples granted him extraordinary favours.

† In the year 1781.

ences attempted to be raised between the court of Russia and that of Berlin. Prince Henry was eager to comply with that desire.

The same honours were paid to prince Henry as at the first time of his coming to Russia. He entered the residence at a late hour. It was on Easter-eve. The empress, always attentive to flatter the superstitious propensity of the multitude, passed the greater part of the night in the chapel, with all her court. Prince Henry could not see her till the ensuing day. He discoursed with her often in private on the obstacles that had sprung up in Poland; and he found it not difficult to remove them. It was in one of these conversations, that the empress having started some objections, prince Henry suddenly replied:—"Madam, I see one sure method of obviating all difficulty. It may perhaps be displeasing to you on account of Poniatofsky: but you will nevertheless do well to give it your approbation; since compensations may be offered to that monarch, of greater value to him, than the throne which is continually tottering under him.—The remainder of Poland must be partitioned."

This idea pleased the ambitious Catharine; and the annihilation of Poland was decreed.

The grand duchess having unfortunately died *, without leaving an heir to inherit the empire, the

* On the 26th of April.

great

great affair of succession was a matter of too much importance to be governed or limited by those forms which prevail in ordinary cases of a similar nature. Accordingly the obsequies of Natalia Alexievna were scarcely ended, when the empress began to turn her thoughts to providing a second consort for her son. She told prince Henry that she had cast her eyes on the princess of Wirtemberg Stutgard, his niece, and that she was desirous of seeing an union between her and the grand duke.

The princess of Wirtemberg was already betrothed to the hereditary prince of Hesse-Darmstadt: but prince Henry, judging that the empire of Russia must be of infinitely more value to her than the langravate of Hesse, immediately set about disengaging her from her contract. He dispatched a courier to the king of Prussia, informing him of the intentions of the empress, and asking his assent. Frederic made no hesitation. The union proposed by his brother was too favourable to the scheme of drawing closer the ties that subsisted between Russia and Prussia, to allow him to hesitate in endeavouring to bring it to effect. He was acquainted with the passion with which the princess of Wirtemberg had inspired the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt; but when political concerns were in question, what was love in the eyes of Frederic? He spoke himself to the young prince, and profited so ably of the ascendant which he had over him, that

that the lover conceived it a matter of duty and reputation to make the sacrifice of his passion.

Having secured the compliance of the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, Frederic informed prince Henry of it, and by the same conveyance wrote to him that the parents of the princess of Wirtemberg would by no means oppose the elevation of their daughter. In these dispatches he invited the grand duke to pay a visit to Berlin, as he was desirous, previous to the coming to any conclusion, that the prince should see the new spouse that was designed for him. He was himself extremely happy in seizing this occasion for making a personal acquaintance with the grand duke.

Catharine, satisfied with these arrangements, set about making considerable preparations, in order that her son might accompany prince Henry on his return. She allotted forty thousand rubles for the journey of the princess of Wirtemberg. She called to Petersburg marshal Romantzof, who resided in his government of the Ukraine, and charged him to attend the grand duke to Berlin.—“It is only,” said she “to the friendship of prince Henry, and to the most illustrious supporter of my throne, that I can consent to trust my son.”

It was towards the close of summer, when the grand duke set out the first from Tzarisko-selo. The next day prince Henry took leave of the em-

* Marshal Romantzof, count Nicholas Soltikof, prince Koutakin, and the boyar Narishkin, accompanied him on his journey.
pres.

press. Whatever were her majesty's sentiments, she seemed much affected at the departure of both the one and the other. Scarcely had the travellers joined at Riga, before they received several letters from her. The following is that which she wrote with her own hand to prince Henry.

“I take the liberty of transmitting to your royal highness, the four letters of which I spoke to you, and which you promised to take care of. The first is for the king your brother, and the others for the princes and princesses of Wirtemberg. I venture to pray you, that if my son should bestow his heart on the princess Sophia, as I have no doubt but he will, to deliver the three latter according to their directions, and to support the contents of them with that persuasive eloquence with which God has endowed you.

“The convincing and reiterated proofs which you have given me of your friendship, the high esteem which I have conceived for your virtues, and the extent of the confidence which you have taught me to repose in you, leave me no doubt on the success of a business which I have so much at heart. Was it possible for me to place it in a better hands?

“Your royal highness is assuredly an unique in the art of negotiation: pardon me that expression of my friendship. But I think there has never been an example of an affair of this nature transacted as this is. Accordingly it is the pro-
duction

“duction of the most intimate friendship and confidence.

“That princess will be the pledge of it. I shall not be able to see her without recollecting in what manner this business was begun, continued, and terminated, between the royal house of Prussia and that of Russia. May it perpetuate the connections which unite us!

“I conclude by very tenderly thanking your royal highness for all the cares and all the troubles you have given yourself; and I beseech you to be assured that my gratitude, my friendship, my esteem, and the high consideration which I have for you, will terminate only with my life.

“CATHARINE.

“Tzariko-selo, June 11, 1776.”

After having made a halt of twenty-four hours at Riga, and seen the manoeuvres of several regiments encamped at some distance from the town, the two princes proceeded to Mittau, where they were received by the duke of Courland*. This duke was the son of the famous Biren, who had just finished, in tranquillity, his long and stormy course. The grand duke received at Berlin the honours due to the heir of the imperial throne of Russia†. Prince Henry presented him to the king;

* The duke Charles.

† The 21st of July, the grand duke made his public entry into Berlin, accompanied by prince Henry of Prussia; in the following

king; who came out to meet them at the entrance of his apartment. The grand duke accosted him by saying:

“Sir, the motives which bring me from the extremities of the north to these happy dominions, are the desire of assuring your majesty of the friendship and alliance to subsist henceforth forever between Russia and Prussia; and the eagerness to see a princess destined to ascend the throne of the Russian empire; who, by my re-

ing order: First appeared twenty-four postillions, founding their horns, commanded by six secretaries of the post, all in complete uniform; after these came the company of butchers, then that of archers; after them a considerable body of merchants, distinguished by the elegance of their uniform: after these companies followed three superb state coaches, in which were, lieutenant-general Lentulus von Buddenbrock; count Verthern, minister of state; major-generals Sobek and Prittvitz, with some other gentlemen. A detachment of life-guards, followed by a running-footman, immediately preceded one of the king's coaches, with eight horses, in which were the grand duke and prince Henry. This was one of the most superb carriages ever seen; and was followed by three others, in which were, general field-marshal count Romantsof Zadunaisky, general count Soltikof, and the chamberlain and gentlemen of his imperial highness. The procession was closed by an hundred men of infantry, being the guard of honour. The magistracy of the city received the princes under a triumphal arch, where upwards of seventy young maidens, dressed like nymphs and shepherdesses, presented the grand duke with verses, and a garland of flowers. The cannon fired, and the trumpets and other music sounded from the beginning till the grand duke entered the palace.

“ceiving her at your hands, I dare to promise
 “you, will be the more dear to myself and to the
 “nation over which she is to reign; and chiefly to
 “see that boon granted me for which I have been
 “ardently wishing so long: the satisfaction of con-
 “templating the greatest of heroes, the admi-
 “ration of our age, and the astonishment of pos-
 “terity.”

Here he was interrupted by the king, who re-
 plied:—“Instead of which, you behold, my prince,
 “a hoary-headed valetudinarian, who could never
 “have wished for a superior happiness than that of
 “welcoming within these walls the hopeful heir
 “of a mighty empire, the only son of my best
 “friend, the great Catharine *.”

The prussian monarch then turned towards
 marshal Romantzof, and added: “Welcome, con-
 “queror of the Ottomans! I find a great resem-
 “blance between you and my general Vinter-
 “feldt †.”

“Sir,” returned the marshal, “I am ambitious
 “to resemble even outwardly, a general who has

* Notwithstanding this language, Frederic had written, and caused to be circulated in Berlin, an anonymous letter, in which he spoke of the foibles of the *grande* Catharine with so circumstantial an accuracy, that it had very much the air of a satire.

† General Vinterfeldt was much beloved by the king of Prussia. It was he who saved the army which the hereditary prince, father of the late king Frederic William II, commanded in Lusatia, when he quarrelled with his brother.

“so

“so gloriously distinguished himself in your ma-
 “jesty’s service.”

“Oh,” replied the king, “you have far greater
 “reason to be proud of the victories which will
 “hand down your fame to the latest posterity *.”

After a conversation, which lasted about half an hour, with Frederic, the grand duke went to the queen, in whose apartments many persons of the court were assembled. Here he saw the princess of Wirtemberg. Prince Henry, in the name of the empress of Russia, made a demand of the princess in marriage for the grand duke; and the ceremony of the contract took place the same day. After this there was an extraordinary court, at which were present all the foreign ministers, and every person of distinction. The whole company supped with the queen, in great magnificence; and the next day dined with her majesty.

Festivals and entertainments succeeded without interruption, at Charlottenburg, at Potsdam, and at Sans-Souci: but that which must have most delighted marshal Romantzof, was the view of the exercises of the garrison of Potsdam. Frederic

* Frederic had a great esteem for the brave Romantzof. The compliments he addressed to him, remind us of what he said some years before to the hetman Cyril Razumofsky, who had also the title of field-marshal. Razumofsky, was present at a review held before Frederic at Potsdam. That prince asked him how he liked the evolutions!—Razumofsky, somewhat embarrassed, made answer, “Sir, I am only a civil general.”—“Oh!” replied Frederic, “we know nothing of that here.”

made his troops perform their manœuvres by square battalions, in imitation of the bloody battle of Kayal, where the Russians gained a complete victory, over the Ottomans.

Prince Henry then accompanied the grand duke to Rheinsburg, where he gave him a festivity that lasted four days, and in which he displayed no less taste than sumptuousness and magnificence*.

On the 3rd of August, after quitting Rheinsburg, the grand duke took leave of the royal family: when the king made him the following present: a dessert service, and a coffee service, with ten vases of china, of the manufacture of Berlin; a ring with the king's portrait, surmounted with a diamond valued at thirty thousand crowns; a set of prussian horses; and four pieces of rich tapestry.

Paul Petrovitch returned to Peterburg; and it was not long before the princess of Wirtemberg was there likewise. She embraced the greek religion, with the usual formalities†, adopting the name of Maria Feodorovna, and was married to the grand duke‡. Twenty years after their nuptials,

* At the departure of prince Henry, the empress gave him very magnificent presents; as well as to all the persons of his suite.

† The ceremony was performed by his eminence Gabriel, metropolitan archbishop of St. Petersburg and Novgorod.

‡ Of this marriage are born, four princes and five princesses.

1. Alexander Pavlovitch, born December 12, 1777. Married to Elizaveta Alexievna, born January 13, 1779.

2. Con-

tials, this imperial couple ascended together the throne of Russia*.

Catharine, having given a second consort to her son, extended the boundaries of her vast empire, and extinguished the flames of rebellion in the remoter provinces, might now reasonably be expected to repose in the tranquil enjoyment of her power. But repose was not made for her aspiring soul; sedate and quiet pleasures could never satisfy her restless genius. She was ever on the pursuit of farther glory, or perhaps, as some will have it, of that celebrity which is not always real fame; and there was nothing which she would not have sacrificed to that ardent desire. When her armies had ceased to gain victories beyond her frontiers, fame must prepare for her other triumphs. All Europe resounded with the brilliant acts of her munificence; with the encouragements she afforded to the arts and sciences, the prizes which she assigned to talents, the bounties which she showered upon

2. Constantine Pavlovitch, born April 27, 1779. Married Anna Feodorovna, born September 12, 1781.

3. Nikolai Pavlovitch, born June 25, 1796.

4. Mikhaila Pavlovitch, born January 8, 1798.

5. Alexandra Pavlovna, born July 29, 1783.

6. Elena Pavlovna, born December 13, 1784.

7. Maria Pavlovna, born February 4, 1786.

8. Ekatarina Pavlovna, born May 10, 1788.

9. Anna Pavlovna, born January 7, 1795.

* On the death of Catharine II. which happened November 17, 1796.

foreigners, and the numerous institutions which she created for augmenting the industry and the riches of her people. The just encomiums bestowed on her by those who had been benefited by her liberality, were re-echoed in the gazettes of every nation.

Since the regeneration which Peter the great began with his people, national cultivation had occasionally been a matter of public concern. To that great prince the academical gymnasium and the marine cadet corps owe their origin. Among his successors the empress Anne and Elizabeth distinguished themselves by the prosecution of these important plans. During the reign of the former were laid the foundations of the greatest seminary of education in the Russian empire, the land-cadet corps; and Elizabeth gave birth to the academy of arts, while she enlarged the institution of that of the marine, which had been founded by Peter.

But resplendent as these beneficial works appear in the annals of the age, yet are they eclipsed by the later provisions, if we pursue the history of Russian civilization and improvement through the times of Catharine II. This monarch, immortal in the chronicles of the world by numberless acts of her life, but peculiarly memorable in the minds of philanthropists and philosophers, by legislation and the erection of schools, completed the plan of her great predecessor for the culture and improvement

ment of the nation, upon such principles and to such an extent, as he himself, with his prodigious mind, could never have imagined possible in a period so near to his own. Guided by her hand, the mass of useful knowledge which had before been confined to the city of Petersburg, and kept more for ostentation than for public benefit, was distributed in thousands of smaller channels, diffusing itself over all the country, every where enriching the soil, and rendering it susceptible of a higher cultivation.

The public institutions for national improvements, now flourishing, owe their origin, for the greater part, but all of them without exception their enlargement and melioration, to the late empress Ekatarina Alexievna.

The following list shews the revenues of the public places of education, and the number of pupils boarded, clothed, and taught at the imperial expence.

The land-cadet-corps has	700 pupils, and 200,000 rubles.
Sea cadet-corps —	600 — 120,000
Artillery cadet-corps —	445 — 121,722
Grecian cadet-corps —	200 — 41,613
Page cadet-corps —	65 —
Medicine and surgery school	30 —
Land and sea hospital school	100 — 16,000
Mine-cadet-corps —	70 — 15,000
Clerical seminary	—
Gymnasium of the academy	65 —
Academy of arts —	325 — 60,000
Theatre school	—

Navigation school	—	65 pupils	
Young ladies' school	480	—	180,000 rubles.
Popular and normal schools	3200		
Education-house	—	300	
Orphan-house	—	100	

According to this imperfect survey, therefore, in the numerous places of education here named, about six thousand eight hundred children of both sexes in the residence are brought up at the expence of government. The sums set down amount to seven hundred and fifty-four thousand three hundred and thirty-five rubles *per annum*.

Having thus briefly taken notice of some of the instances of that beneficial care which the tranquillity of her empire allowed Catharine to bestow upon its welfare, we now proceed with what was going forward at the palace.

Gregory Orlof being returned to court without having received a recall, seemed insensibly accustomed to see Gregory Alexandritch Potemkin occupying the first place about the throne of Catharine. Potemkin, proud of his influence, and more jealous of retaining the absolute power he had acquired than the love of the empress, left her in the tranquil indulgence of her inclination for Zavadofsky. For the space of a year and a half this latter had filled the place of subaltern favourite; when all at once his ambition was roused. He had before his eyes the example of Potemkin. He imagined, that, like him, he might pass from the embraces

embraces of the empress into the post of prime minister. But in order to this, he must first turn out Potemkin. He set about it with the utmost ardour; and began by attempting to render the despotism of Potemkin odious to the sovereign. He obtained the concurrence of discontented officers, envious courtiers, and artful women. Potemkin, informed of these intrigues, and possessing far greater abilities than his rival, resolved to crush him at once: an opportunity for which was almost immediately furnished him by chance.

A young Servian, named Zoritch, an officer in a regiment of hussars, came to Petersburg to look out for promotion. He was tall, well-built, and adapted to attract the notice of a voluptuous woman. Potemkin, who knew the inconstancy and warmth of Catharine, gave Zoritch a captain's commission, and put him in the way of that princess. She did not fail to remark him. The next day Zavadofsky was dismissed. Zoritch took his place.

Zavadofsky, who had already received many marks of bounty from the empress, had, at the instant of his departure, a gratification of ninety thousand rubles, the addition of a pension of four thousand, and a considerable estate in land.

Zoritch at the same time received a landed property of the value of one hundred and twenty thousand rubles, together with the customary presents. This new lover, without education, with-

out experience, could give no umbrage to the haughty Potemkin. Contented with administering in obscurity to the pleasures of the empress, he took no other advantage of her favour, than what arose from securing the influence and authority of the man to whom he was indebted for it. It was only with Potemkin that Catharine balanced the fates of Europe.

CHAP. XI.

Relations between Russia and Denmark.—Conduct of the russian ministers at Copenhagen.—Success and misfortune of Struensee.—Character of Bernstorff.—Cession of Schlesvig.—State of Sweden.—Revolution of 1772.—Voyage of Gustavus III. to St. Petersburg.—Hostile dispositions of the Turks.—Treaty of Constantinople.—Festivities.—Disasters.—Dismissal of the favourite Zoritch.—Is succeeded by Rimsky Korzakof.—Transactions of 1776 to 1779.

EVER since the elevation of Catharine II. to the throne of Russia, the court of Petersburg had unremittedly kept up a correspondence with that of Copenhagen, or rather had never ceased to exercise its influence over it. That influence, the work of Peter the great, had experienced some interruption

interruption under his successors*. Catharine II. restored it to its full force. That princess had not inherited the animosity and the projects of Peter III. against Denmark; she neither sent out her fleets nor her armies to attack it: but she well understood the art of keeping it long in suspense, between the hope of obtaining the entire cession of Schlesvig, and the dread of being deprived of that important possession.

The court of Copenhagen was attached by still another interest to Russia. She could not cherish the expectation of being able perfectly to secure herself against the ambition of the kings of Prussia and Sweden, otherwise than by the alliance of Russia; she accordingly made continual efforts for contracting more closely the ties of that alliance. Under the administration of the empress Elizabeth, it had often had recourse to presents for purchasing the good-will of the ministers and favourites of that princess, and sometimes even to grant them pensions†. Could she then be less generous towards those of Catharine, or were they themselves more difficult than the former? How-

* For example, under Catharine the first, whose daughter was married to the heir of the House of Holstein-Gottorp, between which and the house of Oldenburg there had been differences of long standing.

† The court of Denmark made considerable presents to the Shuvalofs, to the Narishkins, and to several other courtiers. It conferred pensions on the state counsellors Volkof and Olsufief.

ever it be, as soon as that monarch thought herself safely fixed on her throne, she resolved to govern Denmark, as she did the rest of the north, and no longer took any pains to keep fair with it.

She began by making an ungrateful return to count Ranzau Aschberg, who was minister from Denmark to Petersburg in 1762. Ranzau having witnessed the preparations made by Peter III. for the conquest of Holstein, attached himself to Catharine's party, and even formed an intimate connection with prince Orlof. The empress made use of him in the endeavour to throw an odium on the warlike plans of her husband; and Orlof let him into the secret of the conspiracy that was carrying on against that prince. Flattered with this mark of confidence, Ranzau gave profitable advice to Orlof, and seconded him with all his might. The conspiracy succeeded. Ranzau was at first well received by the empress; but coolness and even scorn presently succeeded to these first movements of satisfaction, and Ranzau, thoroughly dissatisfied with the empress and the favourite, set out on his return to Denmark.

Catharine, who doubtless took pleasure in humiliating the court of Copenhagen, made choice of count Saldern for her envoy extraordinary to Denmark. Saldern, born in Holstein, of very obscure parents, had at first occupied an inferior post at Tritau, from which he was turned out on account of some malversation; afterwards he came to

to seek his fortune in Russia. Of a bold and intriguing disposition, he introduced himself to the court, and met with success; and when the empress sent him to Copenhagen, he behaved there with such insolence as to excite a more lively recollection of his extraction, and the disgrace he underwent on being dismissed from his former station. He dared to speak to the danish monarch and his ministers in a tone of arrogance that was shocking to those who heard him. He wanted to be informed of all the affairs that were carrying on, and pretended to direct in a dictatorial manner how they should determine upon them. It was count Saldern, who, contrary to the opinion of the council and the wishes of the people, determined the king of Denmark to travel into England and France, a journey which was attended with consequences so fatal to that feeble prince and his imprudent consort!

Saldern was not content with gaining intelligence of all state affairs; he intermeddled with the domestic concerns of the monarch, and directed the most trivial transactions. He placed about him persons on whose devotedness to him he could at all times depend, and removed all who seemed adverse to him. In a word, he exercised a despotism at once arrogant and trifling*.

When

* The young queen Caroline Matilda had as *grande-maitresse* of her house, and who was at the same time her favourite, madame

When the empress recalled Saldern from Copenhagen, she sent in his place Philosophof, a man not less haughty, and not less jealous of maintaining the ascendant of his court. Philosophof soon acquired in Denmark the same influence as his predecessor. This was indeed no difficult matter; the monarch was weak and his council timid. The russian minister had only to pronounce the name of Holstein, in order to make every thing subservient to his will. We will here adduce one instance of the inquisitorial authority which Philosophof arrogated to himself.

The count de Saint-Germain* was appointed minister at war in Denmark. Being intimately connected with count Gøertz, a german officer of very distinguished merit, he offered him a post in the danish army, after having obtained the consent of the monarch to that end. Philosophof was informed of it; and whether he had any particular reason for entertaining an aversion for count Gøertz,

madame de Pless, an amiable and sensible woman. This lady, incensed at the manner in which Saldern had subjugated the king, thought it her duty to make some remonstrances upon the matter to that prince. The king was weak enough to go and talk of it to Saldern; he immediately demanded the removal of madame de Pless; and, in spite of all the solicitations of the queen, madame de Pless was dismissed.

* The same who had left France to go and serve in Denmark, and who afterwards returned to France, where he was made minister at war.

whether

whether he was not willing that an officer of merit should enter into the service of Denmark, he immediately wrote to the king:—"I just now learn that you have offered service to count Gøertz. I have orders from my court to break off all communication with yours, and to quit Copenhagen, rather than permit that intriguing and dangerous man to remain with you." Nothing more was necessary for preventing count Gøertz from reaping any benefit from the offers that had been made him.

Nevertheless, the influence of Philosophof was diminishing in proportion as that of count Struensee increased; and it was not till the moment of the bloody catastrophe of the latter, that the russian minister resumed his authority. Philosophof at first made some ineffectual efforts for removing Struensee from the court. He had a twofold motive of antipathy towards him. He knew that Struensee was in opposition to the russian party; and he could not forget that he had caused him to lose the favours of one of the handsomest women of Copenhagen. Besides, Philosophof was the stay of the old count Bernstorff*, devoted to

* Uncle of the present minister.—Philosophof, who had occasion to go and to take the waters of Pyrmont, would not set out without having obtained from the king of Denmark the promise not to make any change in the ministry of foreign affairs during his absence. He took his departure. Bernstorff was immediately displaced, and Ranzau Aschberg put in his place;

Ranzau

to Russia, and removed from the ministry by Struensee.

We shall not here attempt to follow the labyrinth of these intrigues. Every body knows the lot that befel Struensee; who, from physician, became the admirer of the young queen Caroline Matilda, and prime minister; and whose pride and imprudencies created him enemies, who soon brought him to the scaffold*. It is well known that the queen herself was imprisoned, detrudd from the throne, and exiled to Zell, where she died of the excess of her grief†. The Russian minister beheld with satisfaction the success of the conspiracy plotted against Struensee and the young queen; and he reaped the fruits of it. The

Ranzau Aschberg, whom the conduct of Catharine had rendered the irreconcilable enemy of Russia.

* Frederic II. said on being informed of the revolution of Denmark: "Struensee is a blockhead. A man ought never to form such connections with queens, unless they reign in their own right, and when he is generalissimo of their troops."

† She died at the beginning of the year 1776. She had made herself much beloved by the people of Zell, by employing in acts of beneficence the greater part of the moderate pension allowed her by the court of Denmark. The day on which the news of the death of that princess arrived at Copenhagen, there was to have been a ball at court. Endeavours were used to keep it a secret, that Caroline Matilda was no more; but the tidings were soon spread abroad: however, that circumstance did not prevent the ball from going forward.

queen

queen dowager, Julia Maria*, who had brought about the revolution, held in her hands the reins of government. That princess was far from being so devoted to Russia, as the unhappy king in whose name she governed: but she had too much sense not to perceive the necessity of keeping upon good terms with Catharine and her artful minister.

Ranzau was dismissed. His restless spirit disturbed the queen, whom he had so faithfully served. But though she resolved to remove him, because she was afraid of him, she pretended to adopt this measure only out of regard to Russia.

The old count Bernstorff had been dead some time. Philosophof was desirous that the nephew of that minister should fill the place that had been taken from him. He thought him worthy of it, no doubt, from his attachment to Russia; the Danes had reason to think that he was the more so, from the ability he displayed in labouring for the good of his country.

Bernstorff was of an advantageous stature, and had a noble figure. He had distinguished himself from his youth by his politeness, his modesty, his

* Sister of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and the unhappy duke Anthony Ulric, who as we have already seen, was kept in prison at Kolmogory, near Archangel. The Russian prince Peter, brother to prince Ivan, murdered in 1764, died on the 13th of January 1798, at Horsens in Yutland, where he had resided since 1780.

cultivated understanding, and the most persuasive eloquence. In proportion as he advanced in age, his excellent qualities grew into a settled habit, and gained him the general esteem of all his countrymen. Living at the court, and addicting himself to the study of politics he was neither less simple in his manners, nor less frank in his discourse. As a statesman, he shewed great abilities; as a minister he faithfully kept his word. Diligent and indefatigable in business, he had a ready conception, and a happy manner of expressing his ideas*. An enemy to flattery, indifferent to pleasure, evincing an uncommon presence of mind and a temper always equal, he never suffered himself to be diverted from his purpose. He was never inflated by prosperity, nor dejected by misfortune. If his labours were crowned with success, he knew that he would shortly have fresh obstacles to surmount; if he failed, he perceived all the resources that fortune had still to offer him. His only defect, perhaps, was rather too much attachment to his opinions, which he always defended with warmth.

* Very easy of access, communicative and affable, he frequently gave audience: and there was scarcely a private individual in tolerable circumstances in all Denmark: whom he did not know, and to whom he was not personally known. Neither was there ever in any country a man more generally beloved and esteemed. It is well known, that the enfranchisement of the danish peasants was owing to him, as well as the abolition of the negro-trade. A column is erected near Copenhagen, to testify to posterity the gratitude of the peasants.

But

But this very defect was of service to shew that Bernstorff was honest, and would never deceive. Sprung from a family of the electorate of Hanover, Bernstorff had a strong predilection for the british nation. He was also well acquainted with what was due to the court of Russia. Notwithstanding this, he was not less equitable towards other powers; and sought with not less zeal the advantages of Denmark, to which he consecrated all the hours of his life*.

No sooner had he entered into the ministry, but Bernstorff, faithful to the maxims of his uncle, bent all his efforts to obtain from Russia the cession of that† part of Holstein to which it had all along kept up his pretensions. He was not ignorant how much the corruption of the russian ministers was interested in holding Denmark in a state of dependence on them; but it was in the very excess of that corruption that he descried one of the means of its emancipation. He knew likewise, that the pride of Catharine could only with great difficulty be brought to abandon the smallest portion of her dominions; and he undertook to employ that very pride to bring her to consent to that surrender. Philosophos was first won over. Several persons in the higher departments of government, favourites, secretaries, and agents, made mercenary bargains for their speech

* Count Bernstorff died at Copenhagen the 21st of June 1779.

† Schlesvig.

or their silence. The rapacious Saldern, seduced by considerable presents, scrupled not to hold a language quite different from that which he had hitherto held, and took the negotiation on himself. He represented to the empress that it was beneath her dignity to preserve a weak principality, which made her dependent on the German empire. The imperious mind of Catharine, was indeed hurt at this species of subjection, thought that such language, dictated only by covetousness and self-interest, proceeded entirely from a tender concern for her glory. And this it was that induced her to make that surrender of all her claims upon Holstein, for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which she relinquished, at the same time, to the prince bishop of Lubek: the treaty of exchange was signed at Kiel, the 16th of November 1773.

This event occasioned infinite joy at Copenhagen. The day on which the treaty had been signed was celebrated with pomp*. It was not the same at St. Petersburg. Catharine quickly discovered that she had been the dupe of Bernstorff's artifice. Saldern, whose malversations were

* Bernstorff received the most flattering testimonies of gratitude from his countrymen. The bounty of the court was extended to the whole of his family. The widow of the elder Bernstorff, his uncle, was honourably gratified, and received a letter from the king with the portrait of that prince, on a medal round which was inscribed, "In honour of the 16th of November 1773."

easily

easily proved, fell into disgrace. But the empress consoled herself for the loss of Holstein, by the assurance of preserving in Denmark an ally always submissive, and ever ready to serve her against Sweden.

More nearly connected with Russia, Sweden has alternately excited the dread and ambition of the court of Petersburg. Peter the great had resolved to annihilate that power; and the victories of Charles XII. were no obstacles to his making himself master of four of its finest provinces*. The successors of that prince inherited his projects; and the Russian nation preserves an implacable hatred against a people whom she at length overcame, but who made her purchase her conquests by torrents of blood. War on any pretence against Sweden cannot fail of being agreeable to that ferocious and vindictive nation. Every means of crushing her rivals cannot but be eagerly cherished by the court of Russia.

The Swedish nobility, divided into two factions distinguished under the names of Caps and Hats†, has but too much contributed to favour, by its dissensions, the ambition of Russia. When count Panin, in the reign of the empress Elizabeth, was minister from that princess at Stockholm, the money

* Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria.

† It is well known that the party of the Hats has always been devoted to France, as that of the Caps is to Russia.

he profusely strewed, and the connexions which he formed*, gave him an ascendant which he dexterously made the instrument of opposing the senate to the court. He directed the one by his intrigues, while he kept the other in awe by acting on their fears. Count Ostermann afterwards imitated, and even surpassed him. More impetuous, more active than Panin, he kept Sweden in a sort of vassalage; and it may be affirmed, that, while Frederic Adolphus† lived, the minister of Russia reigned in Stockholm. The view of this minister, doubtless, was nothing short of disposing Sweden to become a Russian province; but he flattered the nobles with the hope of making it a republic, under the protection of Russia; a project which had been long conceived both by them and by lord Carteret‡, the English ambassador.

On his accession to the throne, Gustavus III. mortified at the influence employed by Russia, and at the authority of the senate of Stockholm, attempted to free himself from this double yoke.

The party of the Caps, which prevailed in the senate, had also the preponderance in the diet of 1772. Proud of the power which it had so often abused under Frederic Adolphus||, it resolved to enlarge the bounds of it under his successor, and

* He was the known lover of the countess of Lævenhielm, who had great influence in the party of the Caps.

† He died in 1771, and was succeeded by Gustavus III.

‡ Upwards of fifty years ago.

prescribed

prescribed to that monarch the form of an oath different from that exacted by the fundamental laws of the country. Gustavus III. signed his formulary without taking the pains to read it, reserving to himself doubtless, in so doing, a pretext for dissolving the engagement which he was forced to contract.

This prince, who had already placed all his confidence in the counts Scheffer* and Salza, acted in concert with them and the ambassador of France, the count de Vergennes, and they drew up together the plan of the revolution, as it was soon after executed.

The diet, in a very short time, began to conceive suspicions concerning the designs of the young king. It took umbrage at the retort of some officers, once or twice in every week, at the house of general Ramfay, who was known to be devoted to the court, and sent an order forbidding the regiment of guards from assembling for exercise, and even for parade.

Not yet satisfied with these precautions, the diet

|| This party, supported by Russia, had seized upon all the lucrative places and all the posts of honour in the administration; it was continually making usurpations on the prerogatives of the crown, and intermeddled even in the petty affairs of his household. Would it be believed that it had the insolence to fix the quantity of wine that should be drank at his table, and that it deprived him of the liberty of choosing his own confessor?

* Charles Scheffer.

excluded from the senate all the members in opposition to the dominant faction. This vindictive proceeding served only to fan the zeal of the old partisans of the king, and to gain him new ones; for several of the nobles who were not partial to the royal authority, however, dreaded it less than they detested the tyranny of their rivals. Count Axel Fersen was of that number. Famous for his eloquence and for his attachment to the old form of government, he loudly disapproved of the innovations of the diet; but, thinking himself somewhat neglected by Gustavus, he retired from Stockholm. The senator Hermanfon was endowed with less sensibility, or was treated more kindly. His talents and his influence were necessary to the views of the monarch. He dedicated them to his service*.

Gustavus, however, communicated to the persons who were to execute the plan of his operations, only what was necessary for them to know, in order to second him properly. His first step was to make sure of the fidelity of the generals of the army. But the majority of them appeared to him too strongly attached to the old constitution, to admit of his opening himself to them on the change which he had in contemplation. Colonel Sprengporten and captain Hellechius were the only per-

* The senator Hermanfon framed a constitution upon a new model; count Scheffer prepared another; the king himself drew up a third.

sons on whom he thought he might depend. He then resolved to give the alarm of a sham rebellion in two of the distant provinces, in order that the diet should not pay attention to what was going forward in the capital.

Hellechius, on whom the king afterwards conferred the rank of general, and the name of Gustafschöld*, was at that time commander at Christianstadt, a city of Scania. He lived amicably with the officers of the garrison, frequently gave them entertainments, and found no difficulty in making them promise to act in concert with him. He openly blamed the decrees of the diet, and declared himself in favour of the royal authority. The inhabitants of Christianstadt adopted the same sentiments, and expressed themselves in the same language with them. The report of these proceedings soon reached Stockholm. The diet took the alarm, and commissioned baron Rudbek, governor of the capital, to go and put a stop to the murmurs of the Scanians.

In the absence of baron Rudbek, the command of Stockholm was committed to general Pefchlin†.

This

* This name signifies, in Swedish, *the shield of Gustavus*.

† General Pefchlin has been surnamed the Wilkes of Sweden. But he resembled Wilkes more in his venality than in his talents. M. de Vergennes said of that general, that he had no other defect than that of preferring imperials to louis-d'ors. It was observed by a well-known scholar and wit, on seeing the epitaph designed

This officer acquitted himself of his charge with so great vigilance as disconcerted for some time the friends of Gustavus. Every attempt was made to corrupt him; but in vain: his resolution was already taken.

Fortunately for the king, baron Rudbek came and resumed his command. He reported to his friends, that the gates of Christianstadt were refused to be opened to him; and that captain Hellechius had just published a manifesto against the power which the diet had arbitrarily assumed. The dominant faction then resolved to discover whether Hellechius acted by the king's orders, certainly hoping in that case to seize upon the person of the monarch.

Gustavus was too great a master of dissimulation to allow his sentiments to be easily guessed. He answered one while with great firmness of mind, and at another with an air of indifference that deceived all the emissaries of the diet; and baron Rudbek, who thought he had thoroughly sounded him, said in public: "That the personage was by no means dangerous." Nevertheless, the diet issued orders that the garrison of Stockholm should be augmented with the regiments of Uplande and of Sudermania.

by Wilkes for himself, "A friend to liberty," that he was happy to see him so grateful, for liberty had certainly been a great friend to him.

It

It is certain that if these regiments had had time to enter into Stockholm, the revolution would not have been brought about; and much slaughter had been prevented. The guards were already discontented that other troops had been called in, and that the inhabitants, who had all taken up arms, and were devoted to the king, should be united to the guards.

Every moment now became of consequence. Colonel Sprengporten, who had been commissioned to conduct the troops from Finland, and whose arrival was to be considered as a signal to the king, had been detained by contrary winds. He did not arrive, and the time was lost in an expectation continually becoming more dangerous. Generals Salza, Scheffer, and Vergennes held a council, and determined Gustavus to accelerate his enterprise.

The execution of it was fixed for the following day. The very evening of that on which this resolution was taken, the king appeared at the opera*, amidst a great shew of nobility. He gave a grand supper to the court; and conversed with unusual gaiety. He afterwards retired to his apartment, where he passed a considerable part of the night in writing to his brothers and his friends.

After having finished these letters, he went to visit several of the corps-de-garde†, as he had done for

* The representation was *Thetis and Pelcus*; the first opera that was played in the Swedish language.

† When

for several nights before, in order to accustom the soldiers not to be surpris'd at seeing him at such unseasonable hours. Being returned to the palace, he went calmly to bed, and rose at his ordinary time. Count Levenhaupt, his premier ecuyer, being come to receive his orders, he told him, in confidence, to keep ready for him a greater number of horses than usual.

The senate met, according to custom, at ten o'clock in the morning. Half an hour after this, the soldiers who came to relieve the guard, advanced into the court-yard of the castle; where they were no sooner entered, than the king came down, ordered the gates to be shut, and address'd his guards in a very eloquent speech*, in which he exhorted them to deliver their country from the tyranny of a few factious nobles. He protested that he was not ambitious of absolute power, but required only a sufficient authority for the maintenance of order and for enforcing the laws. This

+ When he had entered the guard-house of the admiralty, an officer shut the door with so much violence as to put the lock out of order, so that the door could not be opened again. The king was uneasy; but captain Hanson, who commanded the post, gave the door such a blow as broke it to pieces.

* One thing that gained Gustavus III. the love of the soldiers and the peasantry was, that, since Charles XII. he was the only king of Sweden who usually spoke the language of the country. He expressed himself moreover with great elegance in that language; and compos'd several plays in it, much esteem'd by the nation.

assurance,

assurance, accompanied with the promise of suitably rewarding such as should second his undertaking, had all the effect he desired. The guards replied by shouts of approbation. Gustavus immediately caused an oath to be administered to them; and the officers were oblig'd to follow the example of the soldiers.

Reckoning on the fidelity of his troops. Gustavus caused centinels to be placed about the hall of the senate, with orders to let no person go out. He himself proceeded to the grand corps-de-garde; and, having called the officers together, he related to them, in presence of the soldiers, what had just pass'd at the castle; and added, that he had no doubt in finding in them the same zeal as had been shewn by their brave comrades. All, with the exception of only one*, swore to maintain his cause.

Gustavus set out immediately to get possession of the arsenal. He called for his horses. Levenhaupt, who had them all in readiness, was proceeding to order them out, when baron Rudbek appear'd at the door of the stables, and commanded the groom to desist.—“I receive no orders from you,” replied Levenhaupt: “get out of the way, or I shall make the horses run over you.”—The governor went directly to the secret committee of

* It was baron von Cederstrohm. He made no answer but presented his sword to the king; upon which he was committed to prison.

the

the diet, with a complaint against Levenhaupt; and ordered the secretary Ellers to minute down in his register-book, what he should dictate to him. Ellers, who began now to suspect what was about to happen, looked gravely at the governor, and, instead of doing as he was bid, shut the register-book, saying that he believed he had nothing more to write.

Gustavus next proceeded to the guard-house of the artillery, where the oath was eagerly taken. He sent to invite the principal members of the diet to come to him; and at the same time sent detachments of soldiers, with cannon, to every gate of the city, in order that none of the chiefs from whose opposition he had any thing to apprehend might escape. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, general Pechlin found means to get away*.

The remainder of the garrison of Stockholm soon joined the troops which Gustavus had collected about him. Several members of the diet also came to the support of the king. Baron Rudbek, and some others of the most violent, were arrested. The duke of Hessestein, who had been promised by his party to be declared regent, refused to take the

* A young man, named Hierta, ran after him for the purpose of stopping him. But the general took him by the arm, and said to him with a sneer:—"My poor Hierta, it must be a different Hierta from thee to oblige me to give up my arms!"—For understanding this play upon the word, it should be known, that in the Swedish language *hierta* signifies *heart*.

oath. But, as he was by no means dangerous, he was suffered to be at large on his parole.

Those who espoused the party of Gustavus, tied a white handkerchief round their left arm. Presently all the inhabitants of Stockholm adopted this sign of adherence to the king: and the officers of the Swedish army wear it to this day. The assassin* also wore it, who since gave him his death's wound, by a pistol-shot from behind.

The people ran in crowds to the king wherever he passed. His majesty frequently stopped to harangue them†; always recommending order and moderation. His exhortations were not without effect.

As soon as Gustavus had made himself master of all the posts of the city, and was sure of the adherence of the inhabitants and the soldiers, he assembled in his palace the members of the diet; and, after having reproached them with their dissensions and their ambitious vanity, he concluded by saying:—"It is high time to rescue the Swedish people from servitude, and the throne from oppression. It is time to put a stop to the corruption which dishonours the majority of those who sit in the diet and the senate. It is notorious that they are always ready to sacrifice the interests of their

* Ankarström.

† Never was a king so fond of making speeches as Gustavus III.; and it must be confessed that it was an art in which he particularly excelled.

"country to the gold of foreigners. If any one of you can deny what I advance," added he, as he rose up, "let him boldly stand forth, and contradict me." No one thought fit to reply.

Gustavus then read the plan of the constitution which he himself had drawn up. He was heard with the profoundest silence: and, when he had made an end of reading, he asked the opinion of the states, inviting them to deliver their observations freely, in order to enable him to correct whatever might be defective in his plan. But not one thought fit to produce his objections. Such as in their hearts were most disinclined to the monarch, were the most unwilling to disclose their sentiments.

The new constitution was not adopted till the second day after the revolution. Then it was that Gustavus dismissed the senators, who, for three days, had not been permitted to leave the hall, where they had been detained as prisoners. The greater part of them obtained places in the new senate.

All the officers who had joined the king's party were advanced one rank, and decorated with the military order. The principal inhabitants of Stockholm received medals of gold or silver, and the privilege of wearing them fastened to the button-hole by a white ribbon. The subaltern officers also received medals, suspended to a blue ribbon. The soldiers were not forgotten: Gustavus, who was
very

very scantily provided with money*, gave them all that he had to dispose of.

When the members of the faction in opposition to the king had recovered from their first consternation, they saw, with no less confusion than surprise, that in defeating them, the monarch had employed but very feeble means. It must indeed have appeared very strange to them, that at the very moment when the diet was master of all the forces of the kingdom, and filled with enlightened men, it should suffer its power to be ravished from it, by a young prince who had not above three or four hundred soldiers; and who was thought to be of a very frivolous character.

One of the men whom the revolution afflicted most was count Ostermann†, minister of Russia. It deprived him of a great part of his influence; and, in order to regain it, he was continually encouraging the disaffected to rid themselves of the king's authority, to draw out the regiments that had remained faithful to them, and to convoke a new diet in some one of the remote provinces.

The turbulent chiefs of the Caps were but too much inclined to adopt these dangerous measures.

* The bankers of Stockholm refused to advance any money to the king. One alone, named Peil, lent him all the money he had. Gustavus never forgot the obligation.

† The very day before the revolution, count Ostermann sent a courier to Petersburg, assuring, that, notwithstanding the disturbances in Scania, the senate of Stockholm would preserve its authority entire.

Gustavus was apprehensive of it; and therefore had recourse to artifice for repressing his factious subjects. He caused a report to be circulated, that a very considerable body of troops, under the orders of general Sprengporten, was just arrived within a few miles of Stockholm; and for several days successively, he sent off boats loaded with provisions for these fictitious troops. At length the winds permitted Sprengporten to leave the coasts of Finland, and to bring to Gustavus a detachment from the garrison of Sveaborg: but at his arrival he found that all was already quiet at Stockholm.

The provinces soon followed the example of the capital. The regiment of Upland, called by the diet, was ready to enter into Stockholm. General Ramsay went alone to meet it; and notwithstanding the resolution of several of the officers, carried his point in obliging it to take the oath of fidelity to the king*. The duke of Sudermania, and the duke of Ostrogothia, brothers of the monarch, had been dispatched to different parts of the kingdom, and found no difficulty in confirming the troops in their adherence to the royal cause. General Peschlin was the only person who started any scruples: he was arrested by the major of his own regiment; and the duke of Ostrogothia re-

* It was at first intended to arrest general Ramsay. But an old and brave ensign, named Normelin, much beloved by the soldiers, determined them to take the oath; and the officers were drawn on by their example.

ceived

ceived orders to send him prisoner to the castle of Gripsholm*.

The money that Gustavus received from France†, served to strengthen his party, and to diminish the influence of Russia; who was not backward however in distributing rubles among her adherents. Catharine heard with indignation the news of the change that had been brought about, in a country which she was continually dividing, in order to subjugate at one time or other. She gave orders to count Ostormann to take measures for restoring the government which Gustavus had overturned. The minister set his agents to work with an impetuous ardour; but his efforts were ineffectual. Some explanations which he had with Gustavus were terminated with harshness; and at the commencement of 1776, Russia having fitted out a fleet of gallies from Cronstadt, an alarm was immediately raised at Stockholm.

1777. Gustavus sent to demand what might be the cause of this armament. He was answered in a manner by no means satisfactory. The gallies

* He was confined in the same apartment that had been the prison of the ferocious Erick XIV.; and on the floor of it is still to be seen, the track worn by the steps of that unfortunate king, by incessantly walking backwards and forwards from one corner of the room to the other.

† Hitherto the ministers of France in Sweden had expended considerable sums of money, in what were denominated secret services. This money was afterwards given directly to the king.

did not proceed to act against Sweden; but the uneasiness of the king did not therefore subside. At length, wishing to know what were the real intentions of the court of Russia, he came to the resolution of going himself to confer with the empress.

On the 16th of June 1777, he arrived at St. Petersburg, under the name of the count of Gothland, and accompanied by count Ulrik Scheffer, count von Possé, Monck, with several others of his courtiers. Only baron von Nolken, his ambassador at the court of Russia, had been apprised of the voyage. Gustavus alighted at this minister's hotel, and presently after made a visit to count Panin.

The empress was at Tzariko-selo. Gustavus went thither in the afternoon, and had an interview with her majesty, in which they displayed to each other a cordiality equally feigned on both sides.

Sumptuous entertainments were lavished on the Swedish monarch. The empress was resolved to give him a high idea of the magnificence and pleasures of her court. She often discoursed with him, studied his character with her usual penetration; and, before many days had elapsed, plainly perceived that presumption was his principal defect.

Having made this discovery, Catharine directly proposed to reap advantage from it, by inducing Gustavus to embark in some dangerous enterprise. His qualities, more shining than solid, his affability,

lity, the pleasures he was ever providing for his court, gained him the love of his people; but one moment's imprudence might lessen him in their esteem, and even render him odious in their sight. The empress endeavoured to hasten that moment in the following manner.

Conversing one day with Gustavus, her majesty spoke of the obstacles frequently experienced by sovereigns in their attempts to improve the civilization of their dominions, by introducing some alterations in the dress, the customs, and the manners of the nation. She observed that it was not only difficult to bring about these changes, but extremely hazardous to think of succeeding in too abrupt a manner. She said, with reason, that mankind being in general the slaves of habit, they beheld with aversion every new institution; and, in favour of her opinion, she omitted not to cite the example of Peter the great, and the resistance opposed to that legislator, when he only wanted to induce the Russians to cut off their beards.

Gustavus replied, that if sovereigns failed of success in the changes they were desirous of making, it was doubtless rather their own fault than that of the people; and that, how much soever the latter were attached to their habits, they would willingly sacrifice them to the monarch who had the art of making himself beloved. He remarked, that mankind were less attached to their habits than to their fortunes, and their life; and that

they would nevertheless frequently expose both the one and the other from attachment to their sovereign.—“ But,” added he, “ in all things there is “ a proper season which must be skilfully seized. “ When we let it slip, it is for want of attention; “ and then the success does not correspond with “ our efforts. There is also a certain manner of “ executing a design; and it was because Peter “ the great had neither that manner nor the at- “ tention necessary for seizing the tide of affairs, “ that he experienced the difficulties which the “ empress has just been noticing.”

Catharine produced additional reasons in support of what she had before adduced. She prolonged the discussion till Gustavus began to imagine his self-love was concerned to prove his assertions by facts: whereupon she desired him to prevail on the Swedish nation to adopt a new mode of dress.

The monarch accepted the challenge: and some time after his return to Sweden, he introduced the theatrical dress that is still continued to be worn at the court of Stockholm. He did not indeed enforce the alteration by a law. He contented himself with directing a letter to the governors of the provinces, in which he recommended them to employ no other methods but those of gentleness and persuasion. He speciously pretended, that the fantastic habit of his own invention was similar to that of the ancient Swedes.

At the same time he took care to propose it only to the courtiers, the public functionaries, the military, and the burghers: the inferior class of the people were not even invited to put it on*. It was, however, partly adopted by them.

The visit that Gustavus made to Petersburg, by no means augmented his esteem for the empress, and confirmed her majesty in the desire of humbling this young and turbulent rival. However, as he had been received at Petersburg with all the splendour and magnificence peculiar to that court; the presents on his taking leave were in the same grand style with the entertainment; and the jewels of the eastern world lost no part of their lustre in the frozen regions of the north.

The autumn was attended with a most dreadful calamity to the city and neighbourhood of Petersburg. It is a fault in the situation of that city, that it is liable to inundations; but that which now happened was by far more extensive and destructive than any thing of the sort which had ever been known before†.

It had seemed for some years past as if voyages to Petersburg were the fashion. Shortly after the

* This habit is at present scarcely worn except at court. During the time the author was at Stockholm, he very rarely saw it in private companies.

† The precautions for the prevention of such fatal effects from similar accidents in future have been already mentioned, p. 261, in speaking of the police regulations.

departure of the king of Sweden, the waves of the gulf of Finland had the honour to waft to the mouth of the Neva the magnificent yacht of no less a personage than the duchess of Kingston, famed for her beauty, her wit, her luxury, and her licentious adventures. This lady thought herself not unworthy of living at the court of Catharine*; and she was received by that monarch with marks of the most gracious condescension, who assured her, at the same time, that her vessel having suffered in the late violent tempest on her coasts, the laws of hospitality required that it should be completely refitted by her people, and at the imperial expence. Accordingly, all its stores and sumptuous furniture were brought on shore, and lodged in the apartments of the admiralty, till the winter had set in; when, with the labour of some hundreds of people, and by means of levers and engines constructed for the purpose, the yacht was lifted on the ice, in which situation it was restored to its former condition. In the mean time, the duchess, instead of exhibiting that dignity of behaviour and elegance of manners which might have been expected from a person of such exalted rank, seemed at times, by ostentatious displays of her wealth, to rival the entertain-

* The duchess of Kingston purchased an estate near Narva, the management of which she committed to Garnofsky, her favourite. This Garnofsky became afterwards steward to prince Potemkin, and made a great fortune.

ments of the palace; and at others, behaved with such servility and meanness, as to excite universal contempt: the empress withdrew her attentions; and, uneasy in the neglect and obscurity in which she was sunk, the disappointed peers set out for Italy, where she was sure of not wanting less haughty companions and idolatrous parasites.

Since the election of khan Sahim-Gueray, the disturbances of the Krimea had been continually increasing. The Turks, incensed at the flight of Doulet, abandoned his cause, and set up Selim-Gueray in his place. Thus there were at that time two new khans; one supported by the Turks, and the other by the Russians. The latter, who had it in view to deliver the whole Krimea to the khan under their protection, in order more easily to despoil him of it, furnished him with a guard composed of their own soldiers: the Tartars were jealous of this guard, fell upon it by surprise, and slaughtered the greater part with their sabres.

1778. Little was wanting before to bring the contending empires to a complete rupture; this then afforded ample cause for an open declaration of war. The empress immediately dispatched fresh troops into the Krimea. Prince Prozorofsky, who was placed at their head, attacked the Tartars who opposed Sahim-Gueray, and gave them a total defeat. His competitor Selim was forced to flee, and take refuge in the mountains.

During this time Staschief, minister from Russia

to Constantinople, was soliciting the Porte to acknowledge Sahim-Gueray; but the Porte, adhering to its engagements, and particularly to its oriental pride, resolved to assert the cause of Selim.

Marshal Romantzof then gave the divan to know, that the Krimea had put itself under the protection of Russia, and that the empress would rather re-kindle the flames of war, than abandon Sahim-Gueray. This haughty message was but ill-suited to gain the concurrence of the Turks; they seemed exasperated at it, and resolute to put the dispute to the decision of the sword. But they were restrained by a foreign influence. One ambassador of France * had induced them to enter into the preceding war: his † successor prevented them from engaging in a new one. When the Russian minister was taking his leave of Constantinople, the greater part of the ulemas ‡ and the riglialis, of whom the divan was composed, were averse to the measure.

The ministers of the other powers were at the same time busy in negotiating with the divan; and that council continued wavering between the divers impulsions it received. Perceiving the tardiness and indecision of the Ottomans, the Russians renewed their activity. By means of presents and promises they gained new partisans in the Krim, and concluded by making themselves

* M. de Vergennes.

† The lawyers.

‡ M. de Saint-Priest.

masters

masters of that country, while they talked of nothing but its independence. However, by preparing for war, they endeavoured to prevent it. Marshal Romantzof had an interview with the famous capudan pasha; but found it impracticable to come to any terms of accommodation. They parted dissatisfied with each other.

The empress relied on an assistance which she alone seemed able to procure. She had obtained from the sovereign of Persia, Kerim-khan, the promise of attacking the Turks in Asia, while she pressed upon them in Europe; but the death of that prince, who was assassinated by one of his officers, saved the Ottomans from a double aggression.

Catharine was more successful in the measures she took for securing peace. The divisions which harassed Germany on account of the succession of Bavaria, and the war which had just broke out between England and France, left no leisure to those powers to take any great concern in the contests between the Turks and the Russians. Even those who had induced the former to take up arms, advised them to lay them down, desirous that Russia should be at liberty to make common cause with them.

In the mean time the divan continued still undetermined. The people of Constantinople called out for war; they even broke out in murmurs against

against the capudan pasha for returning to the sea of Marmara without having fought the Russians.

The russian minister Staschiew was attacked on the road not far from Constantinople by two galions or turkish sailors, with the intent to kill him. The capudan pasha caused them to be seized and strangled on the spot: but their horrid attempt was a sufficient indication of the dispositions of the multitude.

The Turks could not easily prevail on themselves to pardon Russia for her successes and her invasions, as incessantly recalling to their mind their multiplied defeats, and the humiliating peace they had been forced to sign. They could not behold with complacency the Russians almost entirely masters of the Euxine, displaying their flag even under the walls of Constantinople, and extending their flourishing commerce from sea to sea. The independence of the Crimea was a subject of grief: its subjugation to the Russians exceeded their patience.

Some other differences had arisen between the court of Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte. By the last treaty of peace, the Russians had obtained several privileges for the greek christians dispersed in great numbers throughout the extensive countries of Moldavia and Valakhia. From that period several inhabitants of the opposite shore of the Danube, who professed the greek religion, abandoned

doned their country to go over into the provinces where toleration prevailed. All these christians were far more attached to the power to which they were indebted for the new advantages they enjoyed, than to that by which they had so long been oppressed. Russia was aiming at more: she was secretly practising means for rendering them entirely independent on the Porte: and for carrying that point she began by insisting that the princes or governors * of Moldavia and Valakhia should not be liable to be deposed on any pretence whatever.

This enfranchisement appeared no less unjust in the eyes of the Turks, than the cession of the Crimea. However, the first measures taken by the ambassador of France had not been without effect. Those which followed were attended by still greater success. He prevailed on the divan to release several russian vessels, which, for more than a year, had been detained in the turkish harbours; and not long afterwards a new treaty was signed † by his mediation.

1779. In pursuance of this treaty, the Russians desisted from some of their exaggerated claims in regard to the provinces of Moldavia and Valakhia, as well as of the Crimea, which they promised to evacuate. The Porte granted those of its subjects who professed the greek religion the privileges to

* They bear the title of despots.

† The 21st of March 1779.

which

which they laid claim. It acknowledged the independence of the Krimea, and the sovereignty of khan Sahim-Gueray, and still farther enlarged the privilege that had already been granted the Russians to navigate the ottoman seas.

The zeal shewn by the french ambassador to accelerate the signature of this treaty was founded on the wishes of his court to deprive Great Britain of the support it derived from Russia. The attempt was crowned with success. The close alliance that had so long subsisted between London and Petersburg, if not broken off, was at least greatly weakened; and the French were secure from seeing in arms against them a power which stood indebted to them for its peace.

Catharine was so satisfied with this peace that she sent magnificent presents both to her minister at Constantinople and to the ambassador of France*; the

* The russian minister Staschief received a property in land, on which were a thousand peasants. M. de Saint-Priest was decorated with the order of St. Andrew, with the star of it composed of diamonds. The empress also sent him her portrait set with brilliants, as well as some remarkably fine furs, and a superb solitaire for madame de Saint-Priest: the whole together valued at fifty thousand rubles. M. de Saint-Priest received, besides, three bills of exchange of at least five thousand rubles each, and has since had a pension settled on him of six thousand rubles. Being at Stockholm at the commencement of 1792, he put an advertisement in the gazette, signifying, that he had diamonds to dispose of to the amount of fourteen thousand rix-dollars. Upon this there appeared bills stuck up in various parts of the city, announcing:—

the former of whom also presented to the grand signor and the favourite sultana jewels to the amount of three hundred thousand rubles in value. The grand vizir and the principal members of the divan were likewise favoured with testimonies of her munificence and that of Potemkin*.

Great reason the empress undoubtedly had to congratulate herself on a treaty which left her at liberty to indulge, without fighting, her ever-increasing views of invasion, and to prosecute her schemes of extending the commerce of her vast dominions! The inequality of climate, the defect of population, and the unproductiveness of a part of the soil, are no impediments to the immense resources afforded by these countries to commerce. Situated in Europe and in Asia, the Russians may easily traffic with all the world. The Caspian serves them as a communication with Persia and India; the sea of Azof and the Euxine open to them a channel for the conveyance of the productions of the north into the Mediterranean, and for bringing to the north those of the Levant; Kamtschatka on one side offers them a way to America, and on the

ing:—"Political forfeits to be sold, to the value of fourteen thousand rix-dollars. To inquire of the count de Saint-Priest."—He is now prime-minister to Louis XVIII. at Mittau.

* Potemkin, who had lately been created prince of the holy roman empire, wrote a letter of thanks to M. de Saint-Priest, and another to the grand vizir, to whom he also sent a watch set with diamonds.

other to China and Japan : in a word, the White-sea and the Baltic afford them a correspondence with most of the nations of Europe, to which their commerce is become indispensable.

Free to navigate so many seas, and dominatrix of some, Catharine could not endure that any other power should pretend to a right of mastery in them; and one of the causes that contributed to detach her from the English was, the jealousy they raised in her breast, by attempting to force from every power an acknowledgment of the superiority of their flag.

Nevertheless the commerce with the English was too advantageous to the empress to admit of her consenting to lose it. While she refused them assistance, she was oppressing them with civilities. While she calmly looked on as they were losing a part of their colonies, she invited them to come and fetch from her ports the products they could no longer obtain from the continent of America; and was delighted to see their vessels arrive at Archangel in greater numbers from year to year.

She welcomed, at the same time, the american ships; and in opposition to the solicitations of the british minister, she granted them the free navigation of the Baltic.

A few years before *, she had concluded with the court of Versailles a treaty, in virtue whereof a

* In 1766, the marquis de Beauflet was at that time minister from France to St. Petersburg.

french factory was to be established at Archangel; but the French, whose commercial views were directed almost entirely towards the Antilles, derived no advantage from that permission. In time they perhaps may learn, that the commerce of the north, less destructive than that of the burning climes, makes them lucrative offers, if not so brilliant, at least on terms more equal and more sure.

We have passed over a great number of banquets and grand entertainments given by the empress in the course of the present and the foregoing years; as well as some other events of inferior moment to those that have been described. We are still in time to mention a few of them.

The anniversary of the accession of the empress to the throne, and the birth-day of the grand duke*, were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and signalised by a numerous promotion of general officers.

Catharine also celebrated, with pomp, the several festivals of her orders of chivalry; and consented to discharge the functions of sovereign of the order of the Bath, by conferring the badges of that order on sir James Harris†, to whom they had been sent by the british monarch.

After having struck him on the shoulder with a sword richly set with diamonds, and having said, conformably with the statutes of the order: “ Au

* The 9th of July.

† Now lord Malmesbury.

“ nom de Dieu, foyez bon et loyal chevalier,”— she presented him with the sword, addreſſing him in theſe words :—“ Pour vous temoigner combien “ je ſuis contente de vous, je vous fais préſent de “ l’épée avec laquelle je vous ai imprimé le caractère de chevalier*.”

Some few days before †, the empreſs had given a grand entertainment in honour of the ſea-fight at Tſcheſmè, and the burning of the turkiſh fleet. On this occaſion a ſuperb maſquerade and ſupper were given in the ſummer-gardens ‡; at which the

* “ In the name of God, be a good and loyal knight.”—“ To teſtify how well I am ſatisfied with you, I make you a preſent “ of the ſword with which I have ſtamped you with the order of “ knighthood.” Preciſely the ſame ceremony was obſerved at the knightiſg of ſir Charles Whitworth in 1795.

† On the feaſt of St. John.

‡ This ſingular denomination ſeems not, as ſome have ſuppoſed, to have been adopted from the cool and ſhady walks, or in contradiſtinction to the winter-garden at the palace; but probably it was formerly called the garden of the ſummer-palace, whence by corruption it has got its preſent name. It properly belonged to the imperial ſummer-palace, which was a large wooden pile of building, and has been entirely taken down by the emperor Paul, having long been unworthy of its appellation, but was at times frequented by Catharine for a few days, on removing earlier than uſual from her ſummer-retreat at Tzarſko-ſelo. The gardens which are now entirely devoted to the uſe of the public, are not indeed very ſpacious; but notwithſtanding the uniformity of the dutch taſte in which they are laid out, they contain ſome intereſting parts. The beautiful walks, ſhaded by old venerable lime and linden trees, afford an agreeable refuge from the oppreſſive heats

the company remained till very late in the enſuing morning.

During

heats of the long ſummer days, and ſuch a glorious view of the Neva as perhaps is not to be matched in the moſt ſplendid towns of Europe. The eye of the connoiſſeur is likewiſe not without its gratification. Some of the principal walks have ſtatues of marble and alabaſter at proper intervals along the ſides, brought from Italy in ſome of the former reigns. But the fineſt pieces of art are contained in a grotto, which now only ſpeaks its ancient magnificence by its ruins. Facing this grotto are two ſtatues by Conradini, Religion and Faith, to which the judges of the art aſſign an honourable place among the curioſities of the reſidence. They are female figures in wet drapery, with their faces veiled; and the noble ideal form juſt appearing through the marble veſture, fills the beholder with the more charming amazement as his imagination completes the forms, which in the representation are only as it were ſuggeſted, by a ſtandard not attainable in reality. Theſe excellent pieces and other choice productions of the italian chiſel ſeem here, with the grotto, to be conſigned to oblivion and the admiration of ſpectators of taſte. Not ſo another ſtatue, which obtrudes itſelf upon the view in the principal walk: Luxury, represented by a female without any drapery, ſtanding in a bold attitude, and which, playing the wanton, with alluring ſmiles, may be farther deſcribed, as the porcupine has been by the poet:

Sefe jaculus, ſefe arcus, ſefeque pharetra.

Theſe gardens are always much frequented during the ſummer, by all whoſe buſineſs or inclination keeps them in town. But their moſt brilliant days are at Whiſtſuntide, when all people of faſhion and the public in general make it a ſort of duty to aſſemble in them. At this ſeaſon perſons of quality of both ſexes even forſake their country ſeats, to figure in the grand allée of the

During the reign of Catharine, the riches and splendor of the russian court surpassed the powers of description: it united the profusion of asiatic pomp with the ingenious invention of european luxury. On court-days, and more particularly on festivals, a very great multitude of personages surrounded the empress, some going before, and some following her; whose rich and sparkling clothes were covered with a prodigality of precious stones. This produced an effect, of which the brilliancy of other courts can only give a faint idea.

The court-dress for the men, was a coat *à la Française*; and for the ladies, a gown and whale-bone boddice; the former with long sleeves, and a short train, of a different colour from the boddice. The ladies, in general, dressed according to the prevailing modes at Paris. Among the displays of luxury exhibited by the russian nobility, nothing is more striking to foreigners, than that vast quantity of diamonds and precious stones of which we have just spoken; and the rather as in the other countries of Europe diamonds and jewels are peculiarly appropriated to the stately appearance of ladies. Here men and women seemed to

summer-gardens, where all are dressed as at the opera and chapeau bas. Those who do not choose to appear in the height of the fashion, confine themselves to the side-walks. The granite columns and iron work erected by Catharine the second at the entrance to these gardens, are a monument of her taste, and at present has not its equal in the world.

have

have challenged one another who should be most loaded with diamonds. This expression is not exaggerated; for numbers of the principal people of fashion were almost covered with them: their buttons, their buckles, the scabbards of their swords, their epaulets, consisted of diamonds; and many persons even wore a triple row of precious stones round the border of their hat. This passion for jewels had even descended to the rank of private individuals, who are fond of aping the great; and yet, after all, are but common people: in this class of persons were families who possessed as many diamonds as the nobles. The wife of a russian burgher would bring her unhappy husband to ruin, only that she might make her appearance with a head-dress or girdle of pearls or precious stones, to the value of some thousand rubles.

On the grand ceremonial days, it was the custom of the empress to dine in public. On these occasions she usually wore a diamond-crown of immense value; the ribbons of St. Andrew and of St. George both over one shoulder, with the collars of St. Alexander Nefsky, St. Catharine, and St. Vladimir, and two stars, one above the other, on her breast; as grand-master of the two first-mentioned orders; with all which, it may well be imagined, the empress made a shining appearance. The courtiers followed the example of the sovereign; and it may be safely affirmed, that no court

in Europe, that of Spain not excepted, was equally brilliant.

From the mention of these decorations it is seen, that in Russia there are five orders of chivalry: St. Andrew, St. Catharine, St. Alexander Nefsky, St. George, and St. Vladimir. To these must be added, the order of St. Anne of Holstein; which, however, the empress never conferred, leaving that prerogative to the grand duke as duke of Holstein. The three first were instituted by Peter the great: the order of St. Andrew, in 1698, in order to animate the nobility, in his war against the Turks; choosing that saint as patron of the order, from the Russian tradition, that St. Andrew introduced christianity among them. The knights of this order, among whom were the kings of Sweden and Poland, wear the figure of the saint on an enamelled cross, formed by the imperial eagle: at the corners of the cross are the four letters, S. A. P. R. Sanctus Andreas Patronus Russiæ; and in the middle an A. the initial of the empress Anne, who framed the statutes and assigned the habit of the order. The feast is held on the 30th of November. In 1790 it had sixty-three knights.

The order of St. Catharine was instituted in 1714, in memory of the assistance received by Peter I. from his consort; in the camp on the Pruth. Those writers who pretend that this order is worn by both sexes, are mistaken: it is bestowed only on ladies;

ladies; and among them are several of distinguished station in Germany. They wear a narrow red ribbon, edged with silver, to which the figure of the saint is suspended, set with diamonds, and a silver star of eight points, on the left breast, with the inscription, *Amore et fidelitate*. In 1790 their number was twenty-five.

The order of St. Alexander Nefsky was instituted by Catharine I. in 1725. The badge is a golden eight-pointed star, enamelled with red, with the figure of St. Alexander in armour on horseback. At the four corners of the cross are as many gold spread-eagles, crowned. A broad, deep red, watered ribbon, is worn over the left shoulder: the motto is in Russian characters, which signify, *For labour and patriotism*. The feast is held on the 30th of August. The monarch as grand-master, and the knights, attend mass at the Kazan church, at eleven o'clock, whence they go a pilgrimage on foot, to the monastery of the saint, situate at the distance of three versts; where, at the silver shrine of St. Alexander, they attend mass again, and then return to the winter-palace, where they partake of a sumptuous dinner, under a discharge of cannon. The whole foot-way, from the Kazan church to the Nefsky monastery, is laid with boards, covered with red cloth. However, for several years, latterly, the empress has gone the evening before the festival to the monastery, and made her devotions, as the knights do on the day of the order. In the

year 1790 they amounted to an hundred and twenty-two.

Catharine II. founded the two orders of St. George and St. Vladimir. The former, in 1769, is a military order, and divided into four classes. Its badges are a black ribbon, with a George and dragon. Its holiday is the 26th of November. In 1790, this order was worn, of the first class by eight, of the second by eleven, of the third by forty-six, and of the fourth by four hundred and ninety-six knights. A specific number of each class enjoy pensions, of from one hundred to seven hundred rubles.

The order of St. Vladimir; or, as it is in the patents, of the prince equal to an apostle Vladimir, was instituted by her late majesty the 22d of September 1782, her twentieth coronation day. Its chapter is held in the church of St. Sophia. The star is of eight points, interchangeably of gold and silver, having a red area, bearing a cross, with the Russian letters, C. P. K. B. *Svätogo Ravnopostelnago Knäsa Vladimira, i. e.* the holy apostle-like prince Vladimir. Round the badge are the words: *Polza, Tschest i Slava*, Utility, Honour, and Fame: with a ribbon of two black and one red stripes. The number of knights in 1790 was seven hundred and sixteen.

The Holstein order of St. Anne, founded by Charles Frederic duke of Holstein, in 1735, in honour of his consort the Russian princess Anna,
has

has for its badge a red enamelled cross, having on one side the figure of St. Anne, on the other the letters, A. I. P. F. *Amantibus Justitiam, Pietatem, Fidem*, suspended to a broad red ribbon, edged with yellow, worn over the right shoulder, with an embroidered star on the breast. In 1790 it was worn by two hundred and fourteen knights.

The number of knights therefore, of all the six Russian orders, at the beginning of 1790, was one thousand four hundred and eighty-seven.

Besides these, there were ladies of the portrait, who wore the miniature of the empress, set with diamonds.

During the winter, the empress gave masquerades at the palace, to which persons of all ranks might come. Sometimes the number of tickets given out was eight thousand. On hearing this, it might be supposed that the pressure of the crowd would be uncommonly troublesome; but that was not the case; twenty magnificent halls, splendidly illuminated, afforded sufficient room to all this multitude. In the middle of one of these spacious apartments was an inclosure, made by a low balustrade, more adorned than all the rest: this was appropriated to the nobility and the motley-coloured group of courtiers. One elegant room, called the Apollo, able to contain a considerably greater number of people than the great room at Ranelagh, and of an oval form, was appropriated to those burghers who had not been presented at court: in another, where

tea and other refreshments were served, were card tables, at which all persons might sit down without ceremony. Every one was at liberty to keep on his mask or to lay it aside. The nobility universally wore dominoes.

The Russians of the inferior classes at these balls wore the usual dresses of their respective provinces; only somewhat more decorated than common. These various habits, some of which were extremely singular, produced a greater diversity of figures, than ever the richest imagination invented in the masquerades of other countries. Yet here were never seen such groups of masqueraders as are met with in Italy, Spain, and Constantinople; where one company, for example, represents a village-wedding, or a passage from the national history, or a dramatical piece of satire aimed at some particular person of the court. Her majesty appeared commonly at these balls, as on the other occasions already mentioned, at about seven in the evening, and retired at about eleven.

But to proceed with our history. Catharine, who now thought herself at the eve of a new war with the Turks, was desirous of animating by her presence the zeal of her mariners. Accordingly, embarking in a yacht at Peterhof, she went on board the squadron then cruising between Cronstadt and Krasna-gorca.

Admiral Barfch, who commanded this squadron,

as well as his officers, received several marks of the monarch's approbation.

A great part of the city of Tver being consumed by fire, the empress immediately granted to the inhabitants whose houses were burnt, a relief of one hundred thousand rubles.

Petersburg, at this time, experienced a disaster which the bounty of the sovereign could not repair. One of the farmers of the brandy-duties*, who

* A german author gives the following information concerning the immense consumption of spirituous liquors in the north. The distillery forms a considerable part of the internal commerce and of the revenues of Russia.—These spirituous liquors are distinguished into three sorts; that distilled from corn, that of Dantzic, and those of France and Spain. The common people of Russia use only the first sort. All the nobles have the right to distil it: but they may not sell it. The empress reserved that privilege to herself. The consumption of this brandy amounts to twelve millions of vedroes *per annum*. The government ought to gain, upon the sale of this quantity, twenty-four millions of rubles: whereas it really gains only five; that is to say, three arising from the governments of Petersburg and Mosco, and two from Siberia and the other provinces; the surplus of the profit being detained by the fraudulent contractors.—Foreigners, and the nobility, consume only the brandy of Dantzic, and those of France and Spain, which are preferred. The purchase-money of the contract of this latter, which expired in 1774, amounted to one hundred and sixteen thousand rubles. The profit on it to the farmers was seven hundred and sixty thousand rubles. Their privilege allowed them to import it only in ankers: but, instead of brandy, they procured spirits of wine, which they mixed with water. They moreover engaged merchants to import brandy; and the importation dues which they received have often arisen to two hundred thousand rubles.

had

had made an immense fortune by his contract, proposed to give a feast to the inhabitants of the city, in testimony of his gratitude to those who had contributed to enrich him. The victuals, the beer, the brandy, which he caused to be served, cost him twenty thousand rubles. The populace flocked in crowds to the place adjoining to the summer-gardens, where he gave this enormous repast; and, in spite of the precautions that had been taken, disturbances soon arose among this motley throng of guests. The contentions first began about the places and the better kinds of provision spread upon the board; from struggles and noise they proceeded to blows. Several persons were killed; others became so intoxicated, that they fell asleep in the streets, and perished by the severity of the frost. The number of people who lost their lives amounted in all to at least five hundred.

Catharine, amidst the military and political cares that crowded on her mind, always found time for peaceful institutions and pleasures. That the empress was even an authoress is well known. She sometimes took up the pen; but it was always to instruct and to improve. Her "Instruction for the code of laws," on which such general praise has so justly been bestowed, the generality of her ordinances, manifestos, &c. were all, during the whole of her long reign, composed and drawn up by herself. Amidst the perplexities of a thousand

different affairs, she threw her thoughts upon paper with great facility; for her mind was ever cheerful and even: witness her printed letters in several languages. She promoted one great aim of moral improvement by her comedies, in which fanaticism, superstition, and enthusiasm, were properly attacked, both with gravity and ridicule. Happy the country where reason has the voice of the monarch on her side! One word from such lips is of more consequence than the most solid demonstrations, which folly, after all, cannot comprehend, and to which vanity will never hearken.

But there were other amusements to which Catharine remained ever attached. Though she frequently changed her lover, her disposition to love was always uniform. The Servian Zoritch had fixed it for a twelvemonth, in which time he had received considerable presents, and the rank of major-general. Potemkin was neither jealous of the fortune nor the favours enjoyed by Zoritch. On the contrary, he gave him his support, fearing lest his place might be filled by some more dangerous man. Catharine herself seemed daily more satisfied with her favourite. But all at once she gave him orders to quit the court.

Zoritch immediately ran and complained to Potemkin; who had the assurance to ask the empress for what reason she had discarded her humble friend?—"I was fond of him yesterday, and to-day I am not," replied the empress. "Perhaps,

“ if he were somewhat more informed, I might
 “ love him still. But his ignorance puts me to
 “ the blush. He can speak no other language
 “ than russ. Let him travel into France and
 “ England to learn foreign languages.”

Potemkin respected the caprice of the sovereign.
 Zoritch set out for France*.

The same day Potemkin, busy in looking out
 for a successor to Zoritch, and going to pass the
 evening at the hermitage, perceived with astonish-
 ment behind the chair of Catharine a chamberlain
 of whom he had not the least knowledge. It was
 Rimsky Korzakof. From the humble rank of a
 serjeant of the guards, Korzakof had been sud-
 denly raised to that of aid-de-camp-general to the
 empress, and honoured with all those marks of
 bounty which the generosity of that princess usually
 conferred on her favourites.

Korzakof was endowed with a handsome figure,
 and was of a very elegant stature†; but having
 neither talents nor attainments, he was no more
 capable than Zoritch of making attacks on the in-

* Zoritch spent some time at Paris, in the hotel of M. Simolin,
 the russian ambassador. At present he lives at Schklof, a small
 town in the government of Mohilef, in White Russia, on the
 Dniepr; where he has a theatre, and lives at an enormous ex-
 pence. With an annual income of two hundred thousand rubles,
 he is constantly plagued by the importunity of creditors.

† Rimsky Korzakof has since been promoted to the rank of
 general, and fought against the French in 1799.

fluence

fluence and authority of prince Potemkin. One
 single fact will suffice to delineate his character.
 As soon as he had obtained the place of favourite,
 he thought that a man like him, among the other
 arrangements in his house, ought necessarily to
 provide himself with a library. Accordingly, he
 sent for the principal bookseller of Petersburg, and
 told him that he wanted books to put up in the
 grand house of Vassiltschikof, of which the em-
 press had just made him a present. The bookseller
 asked him what books he would please to have.
 “ You understand that better than I,” returned
 the favourite; “ that is your business. You know
 “ the proper assortments; I have destined a large
 “ room to receive them. Let there be large books
 “ at the bottom, and smaller and smaller up to
 “ the top: that is the way they stand in the em-
 “ press’s library*.”

CHAP.

* “ But how did you contrive to find a sufficient quantity of
 “ the large books for the bottom ranks, since folios are now so
 “ much out of fashion?” said a person who happened to call at
 the bookseller’s shop, while his counters and floors were loaded
 with the books just come from the binders for executing this
 curious order. “ Oh, I went to my warehouse, and brought out
 “ a number of old german commentators on the bible, and
 “ writers on jurisprudence, where they had lain in quires ever
 “ since they were sent to my predecessor for a bad debt of a
 “ bankrupt bookseller at Leipzig. There they are. See how
 “ gay they look in their new coats. I have only to take care to
 “ put up a set of Voltaire, of Rousseau, of Buffon, and other
 “ fashionable

C H A P. XII.

Military preparations on the part of Russia.—War between Prussia and Austria.—Congress and peace of Teschin.—Armed neutrality.—Journey of the empress to Mohilef.—Journey of Joseph II. to St. Petersburg.—Journey of the hereditary prince of Prussia to St. Petersburg.—Dismission of Korzakof.—Lanskoï becomes favourite.—Travels of the grand duke in France and Italy.—1779, 1780—1784.

IT was not enough to have renewed the peace with the Ottomans. The empress was irritated against Austria, whose minister at Constantinople had made some futile efforts for engaging the Porte to declare war against Russia. The moment of vengeance seemed now to be drawing nigh.

The death * of Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, had furnished the court of Vienna with an opportunity for reviving its old pretensions to that electorate. The elector palatine, Charles

“fashionable french authors, in conspicuous parts of the library,
“to be at hand in case some inquisitive visitor should ask for
“them; and as for the rest, their elegant outsidcs, as is common
“in the world, must be a passport for any deficiency within.”

* The 30th of December 1777.

Theodore,

Theodore, who succeeded Maximilian Joseph, and who wished to avoid a war, acknowledged the rights, though more than doubtful*, of the house of Austria, consented† to allow Joseph II. and Maria Theresa to take possession of Bavaria, the one as emperor of Germany, and the other as queen of Hungary.

The duke of Deux Ponts, who was the next of kin to the elector Charles Theodore, immediately entered his protest against a treaty injurious to the rights of his house. The elector of Saxony pretended likewise an interest‡ in the succession of Maximilian Joseph; and lastly, the duke of Mecklenburg laid claim to an expectative granted to his family upwards of three centuries since§, and always evaded.

These three princes united in soliciting the king of Prussia to take up the defence of their rights, or rather he himself secretly induced them to put the cause into his hands. Irritated at the aggrandise-

* They pretended that Bavaria devolved to them as a lapsed fief, and as the succession of Albert of Austria. But in pursuance of an imperial sentence of the year 1429, Albert had solemnly renounced his claims; and what is far more in point is, that the present house of Austria is not descended from that Albert.

† By a convention signed at Vienna the 3d of January 1778.

‡ The elector of Saxony was son of the sister of the elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph. He demanded forty-seven millions of florins for his claim to the allodial succession of the emperor Lewis.

§ In the year 1502.

ment

ment of the house of Austria, and ingenious in seizing all occasions of ensuring the elevation of his own, he resolved to shew himself in the eyes of Europe as the assertor of the liberty and the constitution of the germanic body. That monarch, who had formerly laughed at his being put under the ban of the empire, as elector of Brandenburg, now pretended that it was unjust to dispose of Bavaria without taking the advice of all the electors, and declared himself resolved to maintain the germanic constitution.

At first a long paper war was carried on between Frederic and Joseph II. which terminated in more serious battles. Four hundred thousand men now drew their swords; and blood began to flow in the summer of the year 1778*.

Catharine directly caused a rescript to be delivered to Maria Theresa and Joseph II. demanding the relinquishment of the invasion of Bavaria, and requiring an immediate pacification. Moreover declaring, "That she was concerned in the tranquillity of Germany, both as a sovereign of a country which had a natural relation with that part of Europe, and as having amicable connections with the majority of its princes, especially with that prince who had felt himself obliged to take up arms for putting a stop to the proceedings of the court of Vienna.

* On the 14th of July, general Wurmser attacked the advanced posts of the Prussians at Naschodt.

"That,

"That, not to insist on the political law of Germany, she would adopt no other rule than that of natural equity, and the principles on which all society is founded. That in pursuance of these principles, she found that the whole empire was unjustly agitated, because the house of Austria had thought fit to revive claims for several ages extinct, and omitted in the treaty of Westphalia, which treaty is the basis and bulwark of the germanic constitution. That the infractions of the court of Vienna exposed the whole empire to imminent danger. That the fall of that empire would necessarily occasion a violent commotion in all the neighbouring states of Germany, a derangement of the order and equilibrium of all Europe, and in the sequel perhaps even a great danger to Russia. That it behoved every wise and prudent sovereign to foresee and to obviate these calamities, and that the court of Russia could adopt no other principles than those which the court of Vienna had adopted on similar occasions.

"That, in consequence thereof, the court of Russia invited the empress-queen and the emperor to come to an amicable settlement, agreeably to the laws and the constitution of the empire, with the king of Prussia and the other princes concerned in the succession of Bavaria; because otherwise the empress of Russia would be obliged to pay a serious regard to what she

“ owed to her empire, to the interests of the princes
 “ who had requested her friendship and assistance,
 “ especially to her obligations towards her allies,
 “ and, in a word, that the russian troops would
 “ join the prussian army.”

Catharine might easily have put this threat in execution. She had then in Poland three armies, one of which, consisting of forty thousand men, and commanded by prince Nicholas Repnin, had already received orders to hold itself in readiness for marching.

The court of Vienna foresaw the designs of Catharine. Previous to the reception of her declaration, it had expedited a courier to invite her to act, in concert with the court of France, as mediatrix of the differences that had arisen between Austria and Prussia.

A congress immediately met at Teschen. The general who had been destined to hurl the bolts of vengeance by Catharine and Frederic, prince Repnin, appeared there in quality of a minister of peace. Breteuil was presented in the name of France*. The house of Austria obtained that part of Bavaria, which is situated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Saltz; and peace was restored to Germany†.

* Counts Zinzendorf and Cobentzel attended there for the emperor and the empress-queen. Baron Hertzberg was sent thither by the king of Prussia.

† The 13th of May.

By

By this treaty, the late convention between the court of Vienna and the elector palatine was totally annulled; and the former restored all the places and districts which had been seized in Bavaria, excepting only the territory appertaining to the regency of Burghausen, which was ceded to the house of Austria as an equivalent or indemnification for her claims and pretensions. That court likewise gave up to the elector palatine all the fiefs which had been possessed by the late elector of Bavaria; and agreed also to pay to the court of Saxony, as an indemnification for the allodial estates and other claims on that side, the sum of six millions of florins (amounting to something near six hundred thousand pounds sterling), to be paid in the course of twelve years, without interest, by stipulated half-yearly payments. Some cessions were likewise made by the elector, in favour of the house of Saxony; and some equivalent satisfaction promised by the emperor to the duke of Deux Ponts, on his succession to the double electorate. All former treaties between the court of Vienna and the king of Prussia were renewed and confirmed; and the right of the king to succeed to the margraviate in the remote younger branches of his own family, upon the failure of issue in the immediate possessors, (a right which had been only called in question through the vexation of the late contest,) was now fully acknowledged and established. The ducal house of Meck-

cc 2

lenburg

lenburg was put off without any other advantage in lieu of its claims, than the promise of some new privilege with respect to appeals.

Upon the whole, few treaties of peace have been conducted upon more equitable principles, than those which seem to have prevailed in the present. The territory acquired by the house of Austria was not inconsiderable; being about seventy english miles in length, and something from about half to a third of that extent in breadth. This acquisition lies between the Danube, the river Inn, the Saltz, and the borders of Austria; including the towns of Scharding, Ried, Altheim, Braunau, Burghausen, Fryburg, and some others; forming, all together, a strong barrier, and a fixed unequivocal boundary, the limits of which are decisively marked out by those great rivers, between that archduchy and the present dominions of Bavaria. This accession of territory, the court of Vienna seemed, however, to have purchased at something about a fair price; partly to be paid in money, and partly by a renunciation of old, vexatious, and otherwise inextinguishable claims, which however, in general, unproductive, would for ever have kept open a source of litigation, trouble, mischief, and war. To which may be added, that the establishment of a fixed and permanent barrier and boundary between the two states seems to be a measure fraught with greater advantage to the elector of Bavaria, as the weaker prince, than to the

the archduke of Austria, who is so abundantly his superior in strength. It may likewise be farther observed, that several parts of the ceded territory were, what may be called, debateable land; the titles being disputed, opposite claims laid, and they having been heretofore, at different times, objects of great contest.

Such was the early and happy termination of the German war. A war of the greatest expectation; not more from the great power, than from the superior abilities of the principal parties.

1780. But while the north of Europe was resuming its wonted tranquillity, the south was still experiencing the effects of the violent commotion which had proceeded three years before from the northern regions of America. England, France, Spain, and Holland, were continually sending forth their armaments, and tinged with blood the seas of the two hemispheres, in order to decide whether or not the inhabitants of Boston and Philadelphia should be free.

War, and especially a maritime war in Europe, always quickens the springs of the commerce of the north. It is from the north that the major part of the commodities necessary to the construction and the fitting out of naval armaments, as well as supplies of corn, the consumption whereof, on such occasions, becomes more considerable, are obtained. The Dutch, long since in possession of the commerce of the Baltic, to avoid letting the vessels they employed

ployed in it fall into the hands of the english, navigated them under the neutral flag of the Danes*. But that flag was but little respected by the privateers; and the ships that hoisted it were frequently carried to London or Plymouth. Those of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, met with the same fate. The merchants of those towns, therefore, implored the protection of Catharine; and, in order the better to prevail with that monarch, they had the art, by distributing money among her ministers, to draw upon them her favourable regards.

To this she had been already disposed by her own true interest. She never lost sight of the means of extending and improving the trade of Russia; and, in order to increase its activity, she had just abolished the extraordinary duties on corn, and permitted the exportation of it from Archangel to Riga. Besides, her pride was hurt at seeing that the English paid no respect to the ships that were freighted in her ports, and that they even sometimes presumed to stop those which sailed under her flag.

Another motive completely determined her to protect the navigation of the north. Vergennes, whose intrigues at Constantinople had formerly irritated Catharine, had lately acquired consider-

* One merchant alone of Copenhagen, named König, proved to be proprietor of no less than six or seven hundred vessels.

able influence with her, by urging Saint-Priest to determine the Turks to submit to the sacrifices exacted by Russia. Vergennes had by this means gained his point in depriving the English of the assistance of the russian fleet. This was not enough. He formed a plan more vast, and more worthy of a real statesman. In a word, he drew up the plan of the armed neutrality, to which almost all the potentates of Europe successively acceded*.

Well acquainted with the haughty spirit of the empress, Vergennes artfully contrived to interest her in the execution of his project. He wrought upon the ministers of Denmark and Sweden to open it to her. They performed their task with so much address, that she made no hesitation to adopt it; and she almost persuaded herself to believe it a creature of her own invention; or at least she seemed willing to persuade others to think so.

From that time forward she resolved to use force for protecting her ships; and she proposed to the court of Copenhagen and to that of Stockholm,

* Of such commanding import was the empress in the affairs of Europe, that in the american war, sir James Harris, after having in vain solicited her effective interference in our behalf, said to her, "Well, we will talk no more of actual succours, only give us the countenance of your name; only put out a manifesto; do but say that you will help us." The very next manifesto that came out was that declaratory of this armed neutrality,

to equip each of them a squadron, which should combine with hers for the defence of their neutrality.

The wishes of Denmark had anticipated this invitation. The prudent* minister who guided the councils of that kingdom, sensibly felt the importance of an alliance, without which the English would have derided all the armaments of the north. He promised to subscribe to the treaty proposed by the empress.

Sweden was less prompt in acceding to it. She was withheld by France herself, who dexterously engaged her to start some difficulties, in order to excite Russia to remove them. Previous to the equipment of a combined fleet, Gustavus required to be explicitly informed of the manner in which this combined armament was to protect the commerce of the respective states. He wished to know whether each of the neutral powers was to defend the vessels of his allies, or only those of its own people. Lastly, he asked in what cases the neutral powers were to make reprisals with those who were at war, and whether the aggressions of any one of these powers were to be necessarily seconded by the others.

The empress replied, that a preliminary convention should be made between all the neutral powers, in order to settle how best to secure a

* Count Bernstorff.

free navigation to the merchant ships of those powers, provided that those ships were not loaded with prohibited goods. She added, that it would be necessary that each power should protect the vessels of the rest; and that, as to reprisals or aggressions, they should be seconded, whenever they were practised, according to the conditions established by the confederate neutrality; but that, above all, this alliance should be maritime, and confined solely to the protection of commerce.

Satisfied with these explanations, Gustavus gave orders to his minister at Petersburg, to sign the treaty of the armed neutrality; which the court of Denmark had already done some days before*.

Catharine had not waited for the accession of these two potentates for notifying her resolution to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. She delivered to them by her ambassadors, a declaration, in which she complained, that the law of nations had been violated towards her subjects; that their commerce had been confined, their navigation interrupted; and that, to prevent such abuses for the time to come, she was preparing to assert by force the rights which undoubtedly belonged to neutral nations†. The cabinet of St. James's

* The plenipotentiary of Sweden put his signature to it the 21st of July; the plenipotentiary of Denmark, the 19th of that month.

† The great principle of this act, and of that confederacy to which

James's replied, that, from the very commencement of the war, it had issued the most precise and

which it gave birth, is, that free bottoms make free goods; and this is carried to the length of supposing, that neutral states are entitled to carry on their commerce with the belligerent parties in a state of war, with the same degree of convenience, ease, and safety, which they might have practised in time of peace. Nor is this all: it is farther laid down, that the neutral bottom has a right to convey, and to render free, all things from any one part of a belligerent state, and even coastwise, to another without let or impediment, saving only such matters as might be deemed contraband in consequence of the stipulations of former treaties. It needs scarcely to be noticed, that the courts of France and Spain expressed the utmost approbation of a system so exactly calculated and immediately suited to their own views, and which they could at a future time find means easily to shake off. They accordingly were little less than lost in astonishment at the consideration of that wisdom, justice, liberality of sentiment, and benevolence, which had produced ideas so similar to their own. As they did not fully comprehend the new system, nor know to what extent it was to be carried, they waited with deference for those farther regulations or explanations which Catharine might think proper to communicate; but were convinced, from the congeniality of sentiments on both sides, that nothing could happen, in the intermediate time, on theirs, which would afford any dissatisfaction to her. The solitary court of London was obliged to suppress her indignation at an injury which she could not at present resent nor remedy. She therefore only expostulated with the court of Petersburg on the constant attention and regard which she had hitherto, and on every occasion, shewn to her flag and commerce; she declared a continuance of the same conduct and disposition; and she reminded Russia of the reciprocal ties of friendship,

and unequivocal orders to all commanders of vessels respecting the Russian flag. Notwithstanding this assurance the English continued for some time to stop the Russian ships, and try the validity of their captures by the British court of admiralty. The empress refused to acknowledge the competency of that court. The contest was beginning to take a serious turn. The English put an end to it, by releasing the vessels.

Prussia, Austria, even Portugal, concurred with

friendship, and the common interests by which they were mutually bound. The principal claims of the confederate powers were thus specified: 1. That all neutral vessels may freely navigate from one port to another on the coasts of the nations at war. 2. That the effects of the belligerent powers shall be safe in all neutral vessels, with the exception of prohibited mercantile goods. 3. That the empress understands, by prohibited mercantile goods, such as are specified in the articles x. and xi. of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending her obligation in that respect to the other powers at war. 4. That by a port blocked up is to be understood only a port so strictly watched by the ships of the powers which attack it, that to enter it would be dangerous. 5. That these principles should be admitted as the sole rule whereby to decide the legality of prizes. The empress added, that, in publishing these articles, she declared that to enforce their execution, and to protect the honour of her flag, the security of her commerce, and the navigation of her subjects, she was about to arm the greater part of her naval forces. That this measure should not in any wise injure the neutrality, which she was disposed to observe as long as she should not be provoked and obliged to exceed the bounds of a just moderation, and the most perfect impartiality.

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the other neutral states; and thus a power, which, however great in other respects, was of inferior note in a maritime view, was now seen dictating a new code of maritime laws to mankind, in many respects essentially differing from those which had for several hundred years been established among commercial nations, and going directly to the overthrow of that sovereignty, or pre-eminence on the ocean, which had been so long claimed and maintained by Great Britain; but which, that power not being in a situation directly to contravene, seemed now to be settled as a part of the law of nations.

The minister* of England at Petersburg warmly exerted every means he could employ to break the league of the neutral powers, or at least to prevent Russia from protecting the vessels of the other nations. He left no resource untried with prince Potemkin†, to induce him to determine the empress to alter her purpose. But the ascendant of

* Sir James Harris.

† Potemkin had five nieces, of the family name of Engelhard. The eldest married count Branitzky, grand general of the crown of Poland; the second married prince Sergius Fedorovitch Galitzin; the third, lieutenant-general Peter Shepelof; the fourth, count Paul Skavronsky; the fifth had, for her first husband, Mikhaïla Potemkin her cousin, on whose death she married prince Nicolai Borissitch Yufupof. The former of these ladies had a great sway over their uncle, and passed for his mistresses. The english minister was lavish of presents to them of every kind.

Potemkin

Potemkin had still less authority over her than the calls of ambition. However, the diligence and ingenuity of sir James Harris were baffled by a stratagem of a singular nature.

When that minister had discovered that attempts were making to induce the empress to propose the armed neutrality, he drew up a long memorial, to counteract the project, which he gave to prince Potemkin, who promised to recommend it to the sovereign. Whether the british minister thought there was no need of making a mystery of so slight a circumstance, or whether Potemkin mentioned it, the partizans of the neutrality were soon informed of it. They immediately gained over to them a certain demoiselle Guibald, a forward and shrewd young woman, who was about the nieces of prince Potemkin, and lived on a very familiar footing with him. This girl took the paper by playful stealth out of the prince's pocket, and carried it to her employers. They immediately enriched it with marginal notes, which victoriously answered all the objections of the british minister; and the writing was then successfully returned to the place whence it had been taken.

The empress, on having the memorial for her consideration, very naturally supposed the notes had been added by prince Potemkin; which served only to increase her desire to unite the powers of the north in a league against England.

Sir James Harris was presently after informed of the

the method that had been adopted for making his memorial speak against himself; and it chagrined him so much, that he fell ill upon it*.

Prince Potemkin all this while was at the summit of favour. Every day some new present from the sovereign increased his immense riches; and some title of honour was added to the long list of his dignities. The court, the army, the navy, all were submissive to him. He appointed the ministers, the generals, the favourites, or removed them at his pleasure; and his benevolence and his animadversion were entirely directed by caprice.

With all the outward appearance of a rough and often brutal frankness, Potemkin was extremely artful. He domineered over the empress, magisterially dictating to her according to his will; but at the same time appearing to exist only for her service. He treated with insolence the veteran commanders and the great personages of the empire, whom he thought he could affront with im-

* It brought on a jaundice, which lasted a long time. This fact was variously related: some, who were in the confidence of prince Potemkin, affirmed that mademoiselle Guibald, at the instigation of count Panin, conveyed the papers from under the prince's pillow; and, after looking into the contents, replaced them with so much caution, that it was some time afterwards before he discovered how he had been betrayed. Either way, it is a very edifying instance of the manner in which events of the greatest importance to a nation, or even to all Europe, may be sometimes brought about.

punish

punish, while he kept on good terms with all those whom he knew to possess spirit or cunning*.

Of all the generals marshal Romantzof was the only one who would not humble himself before Potemkin†. Accordingly, the latter dreaded his inflexibility as much as he envied the glory of the conqueror of the Turks. The aversion he had for marshal Romantzof extended even to countess Bruce, his sister, one of the most intimate confidants of Catharine. By living familiarly with

* About this time, among the people who were in the confidence of prince Potemkin, the famous major Semple was inferior to none. By his advice the prince introduced several new regulations into the army, both in regard to dress and manœuvres; and, had it not been for some manœuvres of another nature, such as writing to the duchess of Kingston, (as she declared to the writer of this) that he would come in the night with some soldiers and break into her house, unless she sent him a certain sum of money, &c. there is not a doubt but he would have soon been raised to the rank of a general officer, or appointed consul at whatever place he chose. Mr. Newton too, an Irish officer, afterwards guillotined at Paris, was much about his person. Prince Potemkin usually rewarded his favourite counsellors by sending them away as consuls: he had at one time not fewer than two hundred, in different parts of Turkey, the Levant, the islands and shores of the Archipelago, &c. consisting of persons who had indirect concerns in trade, and others of various descriptions. After his dismissal from the confidence of prince Potemkin, on his way to England major Semple laid the merchants of Petersburg, Narva, &c. under heavy contributions, by a variety of impostures.

† Marshal Ivan Soltikof and prince Igor Dolgoruky, refused to cringe to the favourite.

countess

countess Bruce, and professing great friendship for her, Potemkin could keep a vigilant attention over her conversation and all her proceedings, and promised himself to be able soon to destroy her influence at court whenever an opportunity should occur. It was not long before chance threw one in his way.

Korzakof was at that time beloved by the empress. The benefits, the honours, which she heaped upon him, demanded his gratitude, if they could not inspire him with love; but he was made up of nothing but thoughtlessness and vanity*. Countess Bruce, who saw him every day with the empress, took a fancy to him. She could not, however, immediately give the reins to her inclination. The constraint in which the favourites of Catharine passed their time scarcely allowed them opportunities for being untrue. Potemkin kindly assisted the countess in removing all obstacles. He took upon him the office of her confidant; he contrived the means of her having secret interviews with Korzakof; and, though he was fond enough of this favourite, he resolved to sacrifice him, in hopes of involving in his fall the sister of Romantzof.

Potemkin's plan succeeded. The empress was

* Of all the favourites of Catharine, Korzakof was the most ostentatious in his dress; and it was to him she gave the greatest quantity of diamonds. He is now the neighbour of his predecessor Zoritch; whom he often visits for the sake of play, and had rather lose his peasants than his jewels.

not

not long in discovering that she was deceived by her favourite and by her friend. She sent orders to one of them to travel out of the empire: and to the other to hasten to Mosco. Catharine, from that moment, would no more have a friend; but as she could not so conveniently dispense with a favourite, she fixed her choice that same day on Lanskoï, one of the chevalier-guards*, a youth of as fine and interesting a figure as the imagination

* Lanskoï was sprung from a very antient family in Poland; their original name being Lonksy.—The chevalier-guards consist of sixty men, all officers in the army, down to the captain's rank. They had in 1790 two corporals of lieutenant-colonel's rank, and three of majors, one serjeant-major of colonel's rank, one cornet of the rank of major-general, one lieutenant of the rank of lieutenant-general, and the general field-marshal prince Potemkin their captain. The whole corps is composed of tall handsome men; and the state-uniform probably exceeds in magnificence any military uniform of antient or modern times. The coat is blue faced with red, and almost covered with silver lace, embroidery, and hammered silver. On the back is embroidered a large russian spread eagle; an eagle likewise adorns the silver plates of armour on the arms and knees, which are fastened by silver cords; and are attached again to the body armour by silver chains. Bandolier, baudrick, and carbine, are furnished with silver scales, and the scabbard is of silver. The boots are drawn together with silver lacing, and the tops hung with chains of the same metal. The head is decorated by a helmet of silver with high plumes of various gaudy colours. The whole armour greatly resembles what we still see hung up of that kind in armouries, excepting that it is all of silver, and costs each man at least a thousand rubles. The chevaliers only keep guard in the palace at the doors of the sovereign's apartments, and on court festivals alone appear in the magnificence above described.

VOL. II,

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can paint. We shall see, in the course of this work, that, of all the lovers of Catharine, Lanskoï was the man whom she loved the most, and who best deserved her love.

Potemkin's mind was not entirely employed in court-intrigues. That ambitious favourite, aspiring at the flattering honour of causing Catharine to be crowned at Constantinople, and still more desirous of it than herself, resolved to begin by taking possession of the Crimea. But, in order to ensure success, it was necessary to act in concert with the emperor of Germany. He communicated his design to Catharine, who approved of it without hesitation. On his proposing it afterwards in the council, count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin, who was a great stickler for the alliance with Prussia, observed, that it would expose the country to too much danger, by detaching it from that potentate: notwithstanding his objections, the plan of Potemkin was followed. Panin was so grieved, that he fell sick, and retired from business.

It was at this period that Bezborodko* was admitted into the council. Bezborodko had at first been secretary to marshal Romantzof, with Zavadofsky. Like Zavadofsky too, he afterwards became secretary of the empress's cabinet: but he was never, like him, raised to the post of favourite. He was appointed minister for the home depart-

* The name Bezborodko, in rufs, signifies *beardless*.

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ment. Count Ostermann, who, since his return from Sweden, filled the place of vice-chancellor*, executed all the business which had been long conducted by Panin.

Catharine was desirous of having an interview with Joseph II. the plans she was now about to adopt, rendered a conference with him absolutely necessary. She requested him therefore to come and join her in Poland, and she presently after set out for Mohilef.

Perhaps it may not be superfluous to observe, that during these frequent journeys, the empress never entrusted to the grand duke either the government of St. Petersburg, or the administration of affairs. By birth generalissimo of the russian armies, he never led a regiment to battle; and, though grand admiral of the Baltic, he was never once permitted to visit the fleet at Cronstadt.

Panin, to whom the empress generally granted the dangerous honour of representing her person, had, for some time, been retired into the country. More oppressed by chagrin and disgust than by diseases of body, and more worn out by cares than by age, he was just vegetating on the brink of the grave. Field-marshal Alexander Michailovitch Galitzin was at this time appointed governor of the residence.

* There had been no actual chancellor, since the death of the old count Vorontzof in 1767.

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In the mean time the empress reached Mohilef*, whither the emperor Joseph II. had arrived before her. A number of the grandees of Poland repaired also to that city. The pomp by which Catharine was surrounded, and the luxury of the noble Poles†, formed a whimsical contrast with the simplicity of the manner and dress of the emperor of Germany. That prince travelled under the title of the count von Falkenstein; and intreated the empress to spare him the necessity of all vain etiquette and constraining ceremony: to which Catharine cheerfully consented.

Here they had several private conversations, in which they agreed to attack the Ottomans in concert, to share a part of the spoils between them, and to re-establish the antient republics of Greece. In order to determine the emperor to enter into her views, Catharine consented to patronize the barter of Bavaria for the austrian Netherlands, excepting the counties of Namur and Luxemburg; at the same time engaging herself to support him against all opposition on the part of the king of Prussia and the other princes of the empire. These stipulations on either side were shortly afterwards

* She arrived there the 30th of May.

† They addicted themselves to gaming to an enormous excess. Some of those, whom the sharpers had not been able to ruin at play, were stripped of all they had left by robbers on the several roads. It was said, that count Potocky was pillaged of upwards of four hundred thousand florins.

confirmed

confirmed by a treaty, signed at Petersburg. Catharine invited the emperor to visit Russia; and that monarch, always fond of travelling, and eager after information, took the route of Mosco, while the empress returned directly to her residence.

The aversion of Joseph II. for the pomp and formalities of a court is generally known. On the journey from Vienna to Mohilef, a person was always one station, and sometimes two, before the imperial carriages, who announced to the post-master, that the grand retinue was coming on, that he must provide dinner, or supper, or lodging for so many persons; at the same time ordering a fowl and a sausage, or a slice of ham, with a draught of common beer for himself. After having taken this refreshment, if it was towards night, he asked to repose a few hours on a settee. The landlord, thanking him for his civility in giving him timely notice of the approach of his distinguished guests, would intreat him to take a bed; but this he constantly refused, saying that the expedition he must make would not allow of this indulgence. The post-master, at length, commending him for his diligence, saw that the carriage was ready at the proper time; and away went the avant-courier. The reader is already aware of what was the fact, that this fore-runner was no other person than the emperor himself.

Previous to their separation at Mohilef, Catharine had offered her imperial visitor a suite of splen-

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did apartments in the palace. But to this Joseph objected; and added, that unless her majesty would permit him to take up his quarters at an inn, however desirous he was of prolonging his visit, he must absolutely undergo the mortification of denying himself that high honour. Accordingly, on her majesty's return to Tzarisko-felo, the english gardener received orders to convert his house into an inn, by hanging out a sign; and to find accommodations for the emperor. A catharine-wheel was therefore painted on a board, and below it, in german characters, was written, "The Falkenstein arms." Here the emperor, under the name of count Falkenstein, put up, on arriving at Tzarisko-felo; and was perfectly satisfied with the entertainment he received from the honest inn-keeper and his worthy family. It may easily be imagined; that a number of little laughable adventures happened here during the emperor's stay, arising from the perfect incognito he always observed.

Notwithstanding the continual repugnance shewn by the emperor to all the parade of pomp and luxury, Catharine gave him entertainments of uncommon magnificence. But these entertainments had no attractions for Joseph II.: what employed him most, was the care of visiting useful establishments and curious monuments of art. He had seen at Mosco the Kremlin, the Khitaigorod*, the monasteries,

* The Khaitaigorod, or the chinese town, is a quarter of Mos-

teries, the library, and the archives of the history of the north; which were reduced to such excellent order by the learned professor Muller. He had stopped at Tula, to examine the hardware manufactory, on which Catharine had spared no expence for bringing it to its present perfection; and perhaps yields in no respect, for the beauty of its workmanship, to the manufactories of Sheffield and Birmingham.

In like manner he visited also every thing that was curious at Petersburg, and the port of Cronstadt. He examined minutely the arsenals, the dockyards, the manufactories of various kinds; and every where received some flattering mark of the empress's attention. On his entering the academy of sciences, he was presented with a volume of geographical maps, among which was already engraved, that of his journey from Vienna to Petersburg. At the academy of arts a collection of engravings was laid before him, in which was his own portrait, with an inscription* suitable to his taste for travelling, and the perspicacity of his character.

At length Joseph II. took leave of Russia, equally

co, where a great trade is carried on in furs and all sorts of merchandise. It has the appearance of a perpetual fair.

* It was this passage from Horace,

Multorum providus urbes,

Et mores hominum inspexit.

astonished at that mixture of refinement and barbarism which the Russian nation had offered to his view; and the variety of disposition in the character of the empress. He could not conceive how a woman, who seemed by nature formed for leading the whole world in chains, could submit to be governed by two favourites at her own court.

Not long after the departure of Joseph II. the hereditary prince of Prussia* arrived at Petersburg. His stay there produced nothing remarkable. Indeed numerous entertainments were given him: but magnificent entertainments were nothing unusual at the court of Russia.

Seeing that so many princes quitted their dominions for the sake of visiting foreign countries, the empress resolved that the grand duke should travel likewise. Accustomed to the respect and the moderation of the tzarevitch, she was under no apprehension concerning his absence; and she hoped that while Europe was contemplating the heir of her throne, she herself should not entirely be forgotten. The grand duke and the grand duchess travelled through Poland and Austria to Italy; whence they returned to St. Petersburg by the way of France and Holland. During their journey, nothing that happened to them was unknown to the empress. A courier, regularly dispatched every

* Who reigned afterwards under the name of Frederic William II.

day,

day, informed her where they were, and how they were employed*.

They doubtless were eagerly desirous of knowing what was passing at Petersburg; but Catharine was not so ready to indulge their curiosity. The brigadier aid-de-camp Bibikof, who had presumed to disregard the will of the sovereign, was very soon detected. His letters, addressed prince Alexander Kurakin†, who accompanied the grand duke, were intercepted at Riga. They contained particulars too strongly marked. The several personages of the court were characterised under sarcastic names‡, and their manners strikingly exhibited. Bibikof was immediately condemned to go and repent his rashness at Astrakhan, where he not long after died.

The greatest apparent harmony now subsisted between the late contending powers of Russia and the Porte. Nor had this good neighbourhood been at all interrupted by some disturbances in the Crimea, where the Tartars deposed their khan, Sahim Gueray, who had always assisted the Russians, and was accordingly established by them, and restored their warlike chief Doulet Gueray, who had

* They were out on their travels fourteen months.

† Prince Kurakin is nephew of count Panin. The family of Kurakin is sprung from that of the Yagellone who filled the throne of Poland.

‡ Prince Potemkin in them went by the name of *Krivoi* or One-eye.

as constantly opposed their enterprizes. It seemed as if both powers, to avoid all foundation for disputes, had resolved for the present not to interfere in the cabals of these people, with respect to the choice or succession of their princes. In the mean time, Russia was by no means indifferent to the vast sources of wealth and power which were opened to her by the occupancy of the Euxine. She had long struggled with the insurmountable obstacles which nature threw in her way in the Baltic; and which would for ever prevent her establishing an extensive and advantageous commerce, or becoming a great maritime power on that side. A sea shut up and unnavigable for near two-thirds of the year, and incumbered with numberless impediments at all times, could never answer those purposes in any degree suitable to the ambition and views of such an empire as Russia. She accordingly omitted nothing that might contribute to the opening and establishment of a great trade on the Euxine; and for that purpose, the empress furnished some particular merchants with the use of ships free from any charge for freight, and promised to indemnify them for any losses they may sustain in the outset.

Yet any circumstances attending the late war and peace between Russia and the porte, could not fail to sow the seeds of future discontent, jealousy, ill-will, and litigation, between the parties. Extraordinary success and triumph on the one side, with
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an equal degree of loss and disgrace on the other, are little calculated to promote any intercourse of friendship or cordiality of sentiment among men; nor will a recollection of the hard necessity under which a peace was subscribed, serve at all to render palatable the bitterness of its conditions. On the other hand, the victors are sure to consider the vanquished as owing them too much. They are apt to think, that they have always a right to claim those advantages, which they omitted to secure in the moment of their fortune; and which they look upon as rights existing though neglected, as they could not at that time have been refused if remanded.

The navigation of the Euxine, the opening the gates of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, so as to admit a free intercourse from the White Sea to the Euxine, the affairs of the Crimea, with those of the greek dependent provinces of Moldavia and Valakhia, afforded the grounds of those disputes between the two empires, which were now risen to such a height as seemed to render a new war inevitable.

With respect to the first of these articles, nothing less than the most urgent necessity, under the pressure of immediate and imminent danger, could have induced the porte to admit Russia to the navigation of the Euxine. It is not then to be doubted, that the porte used every possible evasion to avoid a compliance with that article of the late treaty,

treaty, and threw every obstacle in the way which would tend to render it ineffective. The Russians had notwithstanding, with wonderful spirit and industry, very speedily advanced large capitals, and opened a considerable commerce on that sea. It may then be fairly presumed, without an absolute possession of facts, that commercial avidity was continually increased, in proportion to the number, magnitude, novelty, and value, of the objects which were gradually open to its view; and that thus, new, and perhaps unreasonable claims were as frequently started on the one side, as an indisposition to comply with the fair and literal terms of the treaty, was prevalent on the other.

The second ground of dispute, seemed still more difficult and delicate. The porte had unwillingly consented by the late treaty, to admit or acknowledge the independence of the Krimea. That independence must be considered only as nominal. Between such powers as Turkey and Russia, such a power as the khan of the Krimea cannot be really independent. The Turks were in hopes, as that prince and his subjects are mohammedans, to weaken the force of that article by their natural inclination to the porte. Otherwise they would have considered their concession in a still worse light. To have thrown that whole country, situated as it is, with its own and the adjoining nations of Tartars, together with the reigning family, the immediate descendants of Tamerlane, and in direct succession

to

to the ottoman throne, entirely to the hands of Russia, were circumstances exceedingly grievous to a power, which used to give and not to receive the law. Yet this was already the disagreeable and alarming consequence of that concession. For Russia, by a judicious but unsparing distribution of presents amongst the Tartars, and by artfully fomenting some divisions which had originated within themselves, with respect to the succession, had been able to defeat and depose the reigning khan, and to place a creature of her own, although a prince of the royal blood, in possession of the nominal sovereignty; whilst the government was now in effect more dependent upon Russia, than it had even formerly been upon the porte; the dependence being doubly secured, as well by a predominant faction among the people, as by the disposition or attachment of the prince. By these, and by other means, the Krimea, with Little Tartary, and the Budziac, were become scarcely any thing less than provinces to Russia; or at least they were as dependent on that empire as the nature of that singular people will admit of their being, while they retain any considerable degree of inherent strength.

This conduct, and these circumstances, which certainly militated, at least with the spirit of the late treaty, could not but give great umbrage to the porte; and afforded, if not a clear justification a tolerable ground of controversy, with respect to any slackness or non-compliance on her side, in

fulfilling

fulfilling its conditions. But they also afforded cause of the most serious concern and alarm. For that peninsula, surrounded as it is by the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, and commanding the communication between both, would afford such a claim of right to Russia, with such an interest, and such a strength in those seas, as nothing could afterwards be capable of opposing.

The disputes relative to the greek nominal princes, but in effect governors of Moldavia and Valakhia, though not of a nature so immediately alarming and dangerous as the foregoing, yet were founded on claims, and on an interference which tended ultimately to the same point; to the depreciation of the ottoman power and government, the narrowing of its european dominion, and the finally throwing every thing on that side of the Danube into the hands of Russia. The attachment which the greek christians, who inhabit these provinces, had shewn to Russia in the late war, had, along with other motives, induced her to obtain very considerable concessions in their favour at the conclusion of the peace. The effect of the partial advantages granted to these two provinces was soon apparent, by the emigration of christian inhabitants, from those on the other side of the Danube which it naturally occasioned; who, as well as the natives, looked up to another power, than that to which they avowed allegiance, for favour and protection. In order to secure their independence

independence on the porte, Russia made a demand, that those princes should not be deposed or punished (misfortunes to which they were particularly liable) on any pretence or account whatever.

In so unhappy a state of weakness and disorder was that vast and unwieldy empire, that it might be a question of doubt, whether to admire the spirit or to condemn the rashness, that induced the apparent resolution and vigour with which she prepared for war. The ill-success of the late hostilities, had drawn out and exhibited in their utmost magnitude those enormous disorders, which had for so many years been acquiring growth under a weak and wretched system of government. The distant provinces were still torn to pieces by faction and dissension; and the officers of the state, as well as the great men of the respective countries, were still, in many instances, too powerful to be governed. To crown the calamity, the plague had in the preceding year made such horrible ravages in Constantinople, as had not been before known in that capital, (to which it is so frequent a visitor) since its first acquisition by the Ottomans. It was computed that above one hundred and sixty thousand persons perished by that dreadful disorder within the metropolis and its environs.

On the other hand, though Russia was conscious of the advantages acquired by the late treaty, she was far from desirous of war. That war, amidst

amidst its great and splendid successes, had discovered some symptoms of internal weakness. The rebellion of Pugatshof was a fit which laid open some defect in the constitution. Besides, Russia probably could never hope, with the consent of other powers, to obtain advantages equal to the victories she might hereafter purchase as dearly as she had done those of the preceding war. By which, along with her laurels, she brought the plague into a country exhausted of men and treasure. The empress was therefore very willing to receive any mediation, consistent with her dignity, which in all events she was resolved not to sacrifice. France had the address to avail herself of this situation. The french minister was again the friendly mediator, and the successful negotiator in bringing about an accommodation. And his merits and services were again honoured and rewarded with similar expressions of gratitude, and with similar marks of favour from both sides.

It was, in the first instance more especially, a matter of no small general astonishment, that Great Britain, which had been so long and so closely united, in the strictest bands of friendship, and apparent political communion of views and interests with Russia, and which had even gone some extraordinary length in the late war in her favour, should not have undertaken the friendly office of mediator; by which means she would likewise have had an opportunity of wearing off that

that not unfounded jealousy which the porte could not but entertain of her late conduct. On the other hand, a strong jealousy had for several years subsisted between France and Russia; and their political interests and regards so much clashed with respect to that war, that all the world knew, it was in a good measure the apprehension of England, which prevented the house of Bourbon from taking a decided part against the latter, upon her sending a fleet to the Mediterranean.

Whether it was that we were too feeble in the Mediterranean to appear with any lustre in such a negotiation, the effect seemed to be, that France, for some time at least, seemed to attain the ascendant at St. Petersburg, and the credit of Great Britain in that court proportionably to decline.

By the new convention which was now signed, concessions were made on both sides; and matters of claim, interference, and litigation, amicably adjusted. Some concessions were made by the porte with respect to commerce, and some new regulations made in favour of its christian subjects. On the other hand, Russia relaxed in some matters with respect to the Krimea, and the provinces of Moldavia and Valakhia, and obtained satisfaction in others. The new khan of the Tartars was acknowledged by the porte, and the apparent independency of the Krimea confirmed on both sides. The empress of Russia had an opportunity of displaying her usual magnificence, by the splendid

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presents which she made to the french and turkish ministers, as well as to Stachief, her own resident at Constantinople; who received the valuable, but in other countries unheard-of gift, of a thousand peasants: a kind of gift, which also includes the land they cultivate and inhabit. Upon the whole, this convention seemed to have afforded considerable satisfaction to both parties; nor had any matter of complaint or dispute since arisen on either side. By this arrangement the porte had time to breathe and to settle its affairs. With respect to Russia, it afforded her leisure to direct her attention to her constant object—that of displaying her authority, by becoming an arbiter in the public affairs of Europe; although, perhaps, the means of her becoming the greatest monarchy in the universe (if she were not already such) do not lie on the side of Europe.

1781. The armed neutrality, in the mean time, was displaying its flag in all the northern seas; the russian squadrons visited the coasts of the Mediterranean; and commerce was efficaciously protected in every quarter. The Dutch, who had hesitated to enter into the naval confederacy, soon repented of their scruples. The cabinet of London declared war against them. Catharine however did not abandon them. Knowing what a great resource they had been to her in the raising of loans, and what assistances she might still draw from them, she offered her mediation both to them
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and to England. The Dutch accepted the proffered interference with joy; England could not decently refuse it: but the politics of the cabinet of St. James's, long jealous of the commerce of Holland, found means, without offending the empress, to render unavailing her pacific intentions: peace with Holland was the last that was concluded.

Great fires broke out about this time at Mosco, which consumed a considerable part of the Khitai-gorod, and occasioned a damage to the amount of three millions of rubles*. Nor was Petersburg free from a visitation of the same nature; the spacious hemp warehouses on the Vassilli ostrof, about two hundred shops, and several vessels in the harbours, fell victims to the fury of the flames, within the interval of a few weeks or months. From this circumstance it was at first surmised, that some evil-minded persons might have purposely set fire to these buildings; but, after due inquiry, no reason appeared to substantiate the suspicion. As the shops are all deserted towards evening, it fortunately happened that no lives were lost. Another misfortune was, the loss of two russian ships of war of the line, one of which was dashed to

* Some time before, the opera-house at Mosco had been burnt down; and, it being thronged in all parts, as it was the time of the *maslanitza*, or russian carnival, the getting out was attended with great difficulty; several persons were either suffocated or burnt.

pieces against the breakers that lie just at the water's edge off the isles d'Hieres, and the other on the rocks of the Krimea*.

Notwithstanding all the pains that have been taken by Peter I. and his successors for the forming of good sailors, Russia has as yet but very few officers who are capable of commanding a ship: and if it were not for the Dutch, the Danes, and above all the English, her fleets could never pretend to sail out of the Baltic.

At the latter end of the last year Catharine issued orders for building twelve ships of the line at Kherfon, and eight others, three-deckers, at St. Petersburg. On the completion of these orders, her marine amounted to forty-two ships of the line for the Baltic, and twelve of the line for the Euxine, exclusive of frigates, galleys, bomb-vessels, and other armed ships.

Nothing can give a higher idea of the talents, capacity, and resolution of Peter I. than a comparison between the condition in which he found the Russian marine and that wherein he left it. At the beginning of his reign he had not a single ship on the Baltic. His first attempts in naval architecture were made in the ports of the Euxine; and

* The former of these ships was called the *Slava Rossia*, the Glory of Russia, commanded by Bashkakof, at present vice-admiral and commissary-general of the navy on the Baltic.—Of the latter, the *Slava Ekatarina*, the Glory of Catharine, captain Domogirof had the command.

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by his uncommon perseverance, were crowned with success. But no sooner was he in possession of Cronstadt, than he presently produced as astonishing effects on the Baltic.

The construction of a fleet in that quarter now forms an æra in the Russian history, from which the nation, in common discourse, usually dates its transactions. But, with Peter's death, every thing took a different turn; his genius and activity did not descend to his successors: the marine was neglected; and, at the accession of Catharine the second, it was in so bad a condition, that she had it almost entirely to create anew. Like Peter the great, she invited several ship-builders from England, particularly admiral Knowles; who had acquired great reputation, both at home and abroad, for his knowledge in that art. She also procured a number of able seamen from Great Britain, for the purpose of instructing her new or unskilful sailors in the art of working a ship. Under her, all Europe saw, with amazement, the Russian eagle flying in the Archipelago, and the Ottoman fleet at Tschesme annihilated by a squadron from the north.

Russia might be in possession of a formidable navy sooner than any other country, if it solely depended on having the materials; as every thing is found in the empire that is necessary to the construction and equipment of ships. They are chiefly built at Cronstadt and Archangel; at the

former of which places oak timber is used, and at the latter fir; which is neither sufficiently durable for long voyages, nor substantial enough for vessels of war. The oak made use of at Cronstadt, and which comes from the provinces of Kazan and Astrakhan, is far from good, on account of its soft and porous quality; and, withal, is not prepared in such a manner as ship-timber generally is, in the other dock-yards of Europe, by letting it float for several years in the sea, in order to harden it, and render it fitter for working. In Russia, it is no sooner arrived at the yard, than the axe is employed upon it. Accordingly a Russian ship, after fifteen years, is no longer serviceable; and, at the end of five, must undergo a thorough repair.

The Ukraine, and the government of Mosco, furnish hemp. Timber for masts abounds in the extensive forests between Novgorod and the gulf of Finland; and in the countries bordering on Poland. Pitch and tar are obtained from Vyburg. In several provinces are sail-cloth manufactories and rope-walks. In a word, the magazines of St. Petersburg and Archangel are amply supplied with these various articles.

The Russian marine, in the ports of the Baltic and at Archangel, consisted, towards the end of the year 1788, of forty-four ships of the line, eighteen frigates, twelve prames, and one hundred and twenty-two galleys. This navy was commanded
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by a high-admiral, who was the grand duke; a commander in chief of the galleys, and an admiral in chief of the fleet; and lastly, six vice and eight contre-admirals, who act as commodores. Of the vice-admirals, the prince of Nassau Siegen, and of the contre-admirals, M. Spiridof, were the only ones at that time in function. In Russia are three classes of captains: those of the first have the rank of brigadier; those of the second, the rank of colonel; those of the last, the rank of lieutenant-colonel. They all wear the military order of St. George; but are only knights of the fourth class. A sea-officer, who takes service in the army, advances two degrees. In the organizing of this corps, Peter shewed how greatly he was interested in it, preferring it to the land-troops: for even the sailors enjoy this advantage; they are allowed more provisions, and their pay is almost double to that of the soldiers.

On urgent occasions Russia might considerably augment her marine; but it must be by taking on a multitude of unskilful people: for notwithstanding the progress which that country has made in maritime affairs; though in a short space of time she has got a greater force at sea than the other northern powers; yet it may be affirmed, that her navy is not nearly so far advanced as those of the rest of Europe: with which however she pretends to be upon an equal footing. Without the assistance of the English and Dutch, to whom

she is chiefly indebted for being what she is in regard to ship-building, as well as the manœuvring and discipline of the fleet, she would still be much farther behind. But various obstacles oppose the greater progress, which in herself she might be able to make. First, the want of harbours in the ocean; the small extent of coast possessed by Russia, and which moreover is frozen up for a great part of the year; and the small number of skilful seamen with which she can man her ships, if she will have their crews composed solely of natives. In fact, the only port in the ocean possessed in Russia is Archangel; and that is only of use for the purposes of commerce. It lies so far from the European seas, that in order to get into them, there is no other passage than by the north cape, situate in 72 degrees north latitude; a way which is only open during the middle of summer.

Secondly, it is manifest that a power which has only a small extent of coast can hardly maintain a powerful force at sea. Now Russia has no more coast than that of the gulf of Finland, between Vyburg and Riga: but this, for so extensive an empire, is no more than a point, and is of a smaller value, as being confined within land, without the advantage of tides, and inaccessible for at least five months in the year, in comparison with the ocean is rather like a bay than a sea. Into this statement, however, we do not take the Russian possessions on the Euxine, nor the almost desert coasts

coasts of the White Sea and the Frozen Ocean, nor yet the uninhabitable regions of Kamtschatka.

Lastly, Russia is destitute of experienced sailors, and must continue to be so from the nature of her government. The vassal, the only effective man in this empire to brave the hardships of the sea, is fettered to the soil on which he was born, and the sea is the proper element only for freemen. In the first war between the Russians and the Turks, it was one fortunate circumstance among many others, that they had so far to go to meet the enemy, as, on the long voyage from Cronstadt to the Archipelago, the officers as well as the sailors, might gather experience. It is true, the government keeps eighteen thousand sailors in pay; but by far the greatest part of them have never seen service. A small number, in time of peace, are sent to cruise about the Baltic; or, at most, proceed so far as till they come in sight of the English coast, while others are employed in summer to conduct a few ships from Cronstadt to Petersburg. But this is too short an apprenticeship for forming a body of sailors, which in war time cannot be supplied from the crews of merchant-ships, for Russia has scarcely any, which principally arises from the severe prohibition, without a formal pass from the admiralty, to go out of the empire. A merchant who fits out a vessel must first obtain leave of the admiralty to take a certain number of Russians on board, for whose return

return he must afterwards enter into an obligation, with the penalty of a hundred and forty rubles each man. So that, without a breach of the fundamental laws of the empire, a number of sailors cannot be had, on the most pressing occasion, sufficient to man a large fleet. In short, a country that has no distant colonies, no considerable fisheries, and not an extensive coast, to make its inhabitants familiar with the dangers of the sea, cannot acquire a navy whereby to become formidable to the maritime powers of Europe.

However, with all these defects, the russian navy is sufficiently able to cover its coasts, to convoy its merchant-ships, and to obtain respect in the Baltic and the Archipelago; as that of the Turks is not better, but indeed far worse than the russian, and the former is daily declining, and the latter improving. It is a great advantage for Russia, and was a striking instance of the wise policy of Catharine, to keep up a good understanding with the great maritime powers, whom she supplies with materials for ship-building, and who must therefore conciliate her friendship; and the rather, as she cannot long hope to be their rival.

The disorders of the ottoman empire were too numerous and inveterate to admit of any effectual remedy within the few years of uncertain peace that had elapsed since the conclusion of the late unfortunate war with Russia. So much was to be done, that it would have required many years of tranquillity;

tranquillity, and an unremitted pursuit of the wisest and most vigorous measures, to have accomplished the reforms that were wanting in so many departments of the state, and which, to produce their full effect, should have included the whole military and naval system: the Turks having, partly through pride and bigotry, partly through native or habitual indolence, and, still more than all, through a succession of weak and inactive governments, suffered the western nations to leave them a full century behind, with respect to tactics, to the construction and management of artillery, and to all improvements in the art of war. Their militia likewise, both of horse and foot, which had been excellent in their institution, and had been farther reformed and much improved by the wise regulations of their great emperor, Solyman the magnificent, have since been suffered so shamefully to degenerate, that one highly and justly distinguished order of them has frequently proved more dangerous to the state than to its enemies; and a great part of the other has of late years been more an incumbrance and impediment to service, than an arm of strength and effect in the field.

But the treaty of Kainardgi, in 1774, did not afford that state of security which would have been necessary for the accomplishment of schemes of great and general reform and improvement. No such season of quiet and leisure had yet occurred; nor did the present appearances of public affairs indicate

indicate the near approach of it. The extraordinary successes of Russia in the late war, and, still more than these, the unexampled weakness and disorder which she discovered in her opponent, could not but enlarge her views to many new and before unthought-of objects. A wide field for enterprise and ambition was opened on the side both of Europe and Asia. She granted present peace to her prostrate enemy; for peace was then, from many concurrent causes, necessary to herself. She seemed to rise from a banquet of victory, to which she might return, whenever leisure served, and appetite invited. It was only her business to take care that the services should not be removed, nor the way barred against her return.

The peace was such as was to be expected from the circumstances on both sides, and seemed to be founded on the principles we have stated. It sowed such numberless seeds of contention, that the succession of the crops could scarcely fail under any management; and the fuel for lighting up future wars was so thickly spread, that it seemed as if nothing less than the inability of both parties, or the destruction of one, could ever bring them to a final conclusion.

The peace, however, such as it was, was then indispensably necessary to the immediate preservation of the Turkish empire: but, from the nature of the conditions, and the never-ending train of consequences which they were capable of producing,

ing, could no longer be endured by the party aggrieved, than while some degree of similar necessity was prevalent. We have accordingly seen, that within so small a space of time as five years from the conclusion of the former bloody war, and notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which one party still laboured, a new war was just upon the point of breaking out between the two empires, and was only prevented by a new treaty of pacification, which took place on the 21st of March, 1779. Though France had the honour of bringing about that accommodation, and though her interference had undoubtedly great weight in the business, it is certain that Russia was not at that time by any means fully disposed to war; and that neither her own internal situation, nor the state of public affairs in Europe, rendered it a season favourable to the accomplishment of her designs in any extensive degree. But at all events she would not give up any material part of what she had gained; nor, to avoid present inconvenience, admit of any such innovation, as might intercept her prospects, and prevent, when the proper season arrived, the further prosecution of her designs.

On the other hand, her adversary, feeling himself wrung in every part by the conditions and consequences of the late peace, and fully perceiving that the evils and dangers already produced would, instead of lessening, every day increase, thought it better, without regard to comparative estimates

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of strength and weakness, to put every thing to the hazard of war, than to submit, without an effort, for the sake of a short-lived security, to the silent but inevitable approach of ruin, under the insidious cover of peace. The port accordingly captiously evaded or peevishly refused a compliance with many of the conditions; and things were proceeding fast to the last extremity. Under these circumstances, however, on both sides, the opportune mediation of France could not be an unwelcome relief to either: mutual concessions were accordingly made, and the affair was patched up for the present.

But the great source of discord was still left open. The pretended independency of the Crimea afforded such an opening to Russia into the very heart of the turkish empire, and such opportunities of interference with the various mohammedan and christian states, which had been more or less dependent on the porte in Europe and in Asia, that it was scarcely possible for any lasting tranquillity to subsist between the two empires. Though the turkish seas had at length been most unwillingly opened to Russia, yet the mode and extent of that commerce, the regulations to which it was or was not to be subject, the double passage through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, whether from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, or from the Baltic and Ocean to Constantinople and the Euxine, with the trade to the greek islands in the Archipelago, and

and the designed impediments thrown in by the the custom-houses, afforded all together (and all aggravated by the original ill-will which accompanied the concession) inexhaustible sources of litigation and contest. A claim made and insisted on by Russia, of establishing consuls in the three provinces of Moldavia, Valakbia, and Bessarabia, was exceedingly grievous to the porte; which, besides, considering them as licensed spies, was well aware, that they would act as agents and negotiators with the greek princes and inhabitants of the two former, who would thenceforth be in a constant state of preparation for rebellion.

Under these circumstances of continual embarrassment and apparent danger from without, the celebrated Hassan-bey the capudan-pasha, (whose name, from the extent of his capacity and the integrity of his manners, must ever be entitled to respect) was indefatigable in his endeavours to curb the violences, and to restrain the disorders, to which the late war had afforded birth and nurture, and which had spread anarchy and desolation through almost every part of the empire. He had succeeded in these attempts beyond whatever could have been expected, from the forlorn state of the ottoman affairs at the conclusion of the war. He reduced, and chastised, with a severity which, considering their enormities, could not be deemed illaudable, the most powerful rebels of the empire: he rescued the celebrated and beauti-

ful province of the Morea (the ancient Peloponnesus) from the cruel invasion of the Albanians; he cleared the coasts of Syria and the lesser Asia of those despots, whose petty wars and ravages had every where spread desolation and ruin; and restored order, quite, and security to those commercial regions. But his most signal service, and which abundantly shews (more especially as he had not the fortune of being enlightened by a liberal education) his natural magnanimity, and the comprehensiveness of his mind, was his overruling in council the design of exterminating the Greeks, which had been intended as a punishment for their defection in the late war, and to prevent similar or greater dangers in future. Not satisfied with warding off that fatal blow, he obtained a general amnesty for that people, and afterwards took care to have it so faithfully observed, as is supposed to have occasioned no small change in their disposition. But the abilities and exertions of that great commander and minister could only reach to the correction of some of the most glaring and immediately dangerous enormities.

Notwithstanding the treaty of pacification so lately concluded, differences again ran high, so early as the commencement of the year 1781, between the porte and the court of Petersburg, upon the subject of admitting russian consuls in the three provinces already mentioned; the former indeed wished rather to evade, than absolutely to refuse a compliance,

a compliance, and is said to have descended so far as to write to count Panin, requesting that his court would not insist on a measure, which was so exceedingly irksome to the grand signior himself, as well as to the divan. This solicitation did not produce the desired effect: and Stachief, the russian minister at the porte, still continued to insist that that business should be immediately settled, observing, that his court made no new claims; that they only demanded a compliance with a positive article of the late treaty, and, with respect to that, they would not relax a tittle.

The death of the grand vizir, in the month of February 1781, afforded an opportunity to the capudan-pasha of successfully urging his great influence with the emperor, in procuring Yfed Mehemet, the governor of Erzerum, whom he knew to be a man of ability, to be appointed his successor. As it was about two months before the new grand vizir could arrive to take possession of his office, it was filled by the capudan-pasha in the interim.

After long disputes, many peremptory demands, and some haughty answers, which seemed to indicate another termination, the turkish ministers, more from a sense of the inability of the state of war, than from pacific dispositions, found it necessary, towards the close of the year 1781, not only to give up the point of debate, with respect to the consuls, but to submit to the degrading concession

cession of sacrificing the reis effendi*, who is the minister for foreign affairs, and on whom it was now thought proper to charge all past difficulties, as well as those spirited replies which had given so much offence to Russia. He being accordingly deposed, a formal diploma was passed, acknowledging and receiving Laskarof as consul-general of Russia, with liberty of residing (which had before been a matter of much debate) at Bukharest, Yassy, or whatever other part of the three provinces he might think necessary.

This concession, however mortifying, produced but a short-lived effect. New troubles were continually breaking forth on the side of the Crimea; and the two courts of Constantinople and Petersburg were as constantly embroiled in their consequences. Sahim-Gueray, the khan who had been placed over the Tartars of that peninsula by the power and influence of Russia, whether through defect of spirit, or excess of gratitude, made a more ostentatious display of his attachment, and even vassalage, than was suited either to his character as khan, or to that of the people whom he pretended to govern; nor was it entirely consistent with the boasted disinterestedness of that court, which had disclaimed all views upon the Crimea, excepting the supposed establishment and support of its independency. He even descended

* Effendi is a title of honour, bestowed on persons considered as deserving respect.

so far as to accept a captain's commission in the empress's body guards.

These things were ill to be borne by a high-spirited people, who had in all ages considered liberty as the most invaluable of human blessings. The means used by Russia to gain a strong party in the country, to support their khan, could only reach to a limited portion of the people; but a great majority were highly dissatisfied at these proceedings, and wished to be again governed by their own princes, in their own way. They likewise preferred a connection with the Ottomans, with whom they had been so long united, who were of the same religion, and in conjunction with whom they had partaken of so much glory and spoil in war, than with a nation, which, besides being christian, they had been in the habit, through many ages, of regarding either with contempt or enmity.

The discontented party were encouraged and supported by the Tartars of the Kuban, as well as the Nogais, and even by some of the more distant nations or tribes of that people, who could not but be alarmed at the manner in which Russia was spreading her influence and authority on all sides, and apprehensive of becoming victims to her power and designs in their turn. Nor will it be imagined that the porte itself did not secretly encourage the ill disposition of this people to Russia and to her khan; especially as she did not prevent several of

her mohammedan subjects, in the asiatic countries bordering on the Euxine, from taking an open and active part in the ensuing troubles of the Krimea.

The calamities brought on by the dreadful fire (perhaps unexampled in history) which broke out in the city of Constantinople, were little calculated to encourage the state to undertake, or to enable it to maintain a war; at the same time that the causes for war were multiplying, and its appearances, on more sides than one, sufficiently menacing. The troubles in the Krimea were risen to their utmost pitch. The revolted Tartars had elected a new khan. A civil war ensued. That beautiful and lately populous country became a scene of desolation and blood. Sahim-Gueray was worsted, and his party at length reduced almost to nothing. This was the very state of things which Russia undoubtedly wished, and had all along sought for. She had now a pretence for sending her forces into the Krimea, to support what she represented as the real prince, against rebels and an usurper. The consequences were easily foreseen. The Tartars, torn to pieces among themselves, notwithstanding the aid they received from without, were little able to withstand the regular forces and unabating exertions of the Russians. In these circumstances they turned their eyes, and directed all their hopes to the porte, as their last refuge.

At the same time the court of Petersburg highly resented the conduct of the porte, to which it attributed all the troubles of the Krimea. It charged them with fomenting the discontents, and being the author of the revolt in that country; with suffering and encouraging their subjects in Natolia to take a direct and active part in the war; and with instigating other tartar tribes and nations both to an interference in those troubles, and to commit many irregularities elsewhere, particularly on the side of Caucasus. Strong remonstrances on these subjects were backed by the march of russian armies towards the frontiers, by the forming of magazines, and by all the preparations for war. Similiar measures were necessarily adopted on the other side; so that a rupture between the two powers seemed inevitable.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

No. I.

SUBSTANCE of the TREATY between the Courts of PETERSBURG and BERLIN, ratified the 15th of April 1764.

BY articles 1 and 2. a treaty of defensive alliance, and a mutual guarantee, are agreed to, after reserving the liberty of concluding other treaties not contrary to the present.

3—9. In case of a foreign attack, ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry are promised, three months after the first requisition, to be continued till a cessation of hostilities. If these be not sufficient, means to be concerted to employ additional force: The troops to be paid, and furnished with ammunition, by the party assisting; provisions and quarters to be furnished by the assisted. The troops to receive orders from their own general, and to have their own religion and laws.

10. No peace, &c. to be concluded without mutual consent.

11. In case of war on the part of the assisting party, it shall be exempted from furnishing its quota, or shall be at liberty to withdraw its forces, after two months' notice.

12. A free commerce between the two states.

13, 14. The treaty to be in force eight years, and renewable before the expiration, according to circumstances. Ratifications to be exchanged in six weeks.

By a secret article it is engaged to maintain Poland in its right of a free election, and to prevent all hereditary succession.

No. II.

MEMORIAL of the PORTE, delivered in March 1764, to the FOREIGN MINISTERS at that COURT, in relation to the future Election of a King of Poland.

AMICABLE MEMORIAL.

NOTICE has been lately given to the ambassadors our friends, that it was the intention of the Sublime Porte, that the ancient liberties of the court of Poland should not be encroached upon by foreign courts; that the king of Poland, who is to be set up, should be elected and established in the person of a native, as by the concurrence of the republic of Poland; and that no foreigner should be made king. Yet advices received from divers places import, that there is room to think, that disturbances are raised in Poland in order to get a person set by force on the polish throne, who is supported by certain powers. Though we are not quite persuaded of the reality of these advices, a memorial has been delivered to each of the ministers of Russia, Germany, and Prussia, importing, that as the Sublime Porte takes it to be honourable to maintain and support the ancient liberties of the Poles; and as the same Sublime Porte does not cramp the election that ought to be made of a king in the person of a native of the country; the Sublime Porte therefore desires, that the other powers will likewise do honour to the liberties of the Poles, and that they will not oppose the election of a king in the person of such Piast (native) as the Poles may judge eligible. In consequence, this notice is given to the ambassadors our friends.

No. III.

PROTEST against the POLISH DIET assembled for the Election of a King, drawn up and signed the 7th May 1764, by twenty Senators: to which Protest forty-five Nuncios afterwards signed an Act of Adherence.

1. THE diet cannot be held in presence of the foreign troops that surround the city.

2. The

2. The senators did not engage the Russians to come; they gave no thanks for their being sent, and have not any way given occasion for their arrival.

3. The Russians have committed an act of violence in Lithuania, by favouring a pernicious confederacy made for disturbing the public tranquillity.

4. It is against all justice, that in the memorial of the Russian ministers, delivered to the primate the 4th instant, the troops of the crown are accused of having meddled in the dietines and other public acts.

5. It is by the unjust proceedings of the same foreign troops, that the general dietine of Prussia has proved abortive; and this is another motive for protesting against this diet.

6. All good patriots, who love justice, are invited to unite for the support of liberty.

At the end of this manifesto there is an adhesion to the protests of the senators, signed by forty-five nuncios.

No. IV.

A DISCOURSE addressed by his POLISH MAJESTY to the PRINCE PRIMATE and the MARSHAL of the DIET, in the Cathedral of WARSAW, when he received the Diploma of his Election, and took the Oath usual on that Occasion.

IT was not my design to speak in public at this time; but, in presenting me with the diploma of my election, that solemn token of the nation's love, you, Mr. Marechal, have exhorted the sovereign to speak to his people. These words of your discourse oblige me to speak, and to discover the feelings that passed within me, when the moment approached of taking the oath by which I have now bound myself in your presence. Nay, I am even rejoiced that I have now an occasion of shewing you, Mr. Marechal, together with the senators and states of the republic, my real sentiments, that thus you may judge whether my views, principles, and actions, will in any wise tend to satisfy your desires, and to accomplish your hopes.

When,

When, by united acclamations, the respectable citizens of this vast kingdom deigned to confer upon their equal the dignity of monarch, I bowed my head with the most profound respect in receiving this precious mark of the favour, liberty, and unanimity of this great people.

After my election, the impulse of gratitude led me to the sanctuary to pay my homage to the King of kings, because it is there that he is more peculiarly pleased with the tribute of mortals. And now that I am again called to the same sanctuary, it appeared to me, while I was approaching to it, that I was called before the throne of him who governs the universe, and presides over the course of the revolving ages. At this thought I was filled with awe; my veins also trembled when I was obliged to pronounce that irrevocable engagement, in consequence of which the honour and prosperity of the polish nation, and the safety and happiness of the individuals that compose it, are committed to the trust of one man; and I feel so much the more the weight of this important trust, in that I have long shared with you the calamities that flow from that want of order, union, and vigour, that has clouded the lustre of this once glorious and flourishing kingdom. I acknowledge that, in that solemn moment, a discouraging view of the obligations I was going to contract, and a consciousness of my own insufficiency and weakness, made the deepest impression upon me; I was seized with a sort of terror; my voice lost its usual tone, my tongue faltered, and the words of the regal oath, though dear to my heart, which acquiesces in them perfectly, could not find an utterance; but when I turned my eyes to you, Mr. Primate, when I heard you repeat the words of the oath, I could not behold you in any other light than as the minister of the Most High, and therefore thought it my duty to submit to your guidance. Since the clamours of discord and party-hatred have been reduced to silence by your venerable presence; since a multitude of tongues, which spoke each a different language, have become all of a sudden, as it were by a miracle, the unanimous echoes of yours; you must certainly be filled with the Holy Spirit, that spirit of power, wisdom, and truth. Hitherto you have been my guide. Be still my kind assistant and counsellor. Continue to cherish and keep alive the zeal and attachment of those loyal hearts which your goodness and humanity gained over to my cause. Let your wisdom and resolution concur with my best endeavour

endeavour to hold with dignity, and manage with prudence, the helm of government, at which you have been charged by the nation to place me. As the marshal of the diet has been joined with you in this commission, both inclination and duty oblige me to address myself to him also on this occasion.

You desire me to speak, sir, and it is with the utmost pleasure that I comply with this desire. I thereby have an opportunity of declaring that I love and honour your person, your virtues, and your talents. This declaration is not the effect of that warm gratitude that impels me to speak to you at this time; it is the effect of a long observation of those qualities which have produced one fruit; and may that fruit always prove agreeable to our dear country! You, sir, are called to appear before the throne, as the representative of that spirited and respectable nobility, which commands me to govern the republic according to the laws; and it is natural, that I should be desirous of employing the good offices of one whose person is so agreeable, and whose testimony is so weighty as yours, to assure that nobility of the sincerity of my resolutions and intentions with respect to that important object. Tell that nobility, that it is my fixed purpose to employ the remainder of my days, and all the means and opportunities that it shall please the Divine Providence to place within the extent of my power, in answering the expectations of my dear countrymen: but at the same time exhort them, conjure them, to lend their zealous succours to a sovereign who has their happiness and prosperity deeply at heart, and who will never aim at any other object than the public good. Where is the person that does not see, and also feel, the disorders and calamities under which the nation labours? A dismal experience points out too plainly the pernicious source whence these calamities flow. Self-interest and envy have produced discord, and thus thrown all things into confusion. A spirit of faction has perplexed our councils, and thus rendered impotent the natural instruments of our safety and of our glory; and those treasures that ought to have been employed in maintaining the vigour and splendour of this republic, are become the prey of that fatal luxury, whose pernicious effects increase from day to day. Let our union then heal those calamities, which all other means will be insufficient to remove! You know by experience, that a few tools of faction can destroy with more facility than the majority can build. Let emulation, that useful virtue, that seems

to border upon envy, from which nevertheless it differs extremely, animate our efforts. Let us all run the noble race of patriotism, and endeavour to surpass one another, in aiming at true merit, and proposing to ourselves no other glory but that which is acquired by serving our country. But to what will amount the desires and the projects of feeble mortals, if they are not seconded by him whose word commands nations and empires to rise or fall? Great God! whose hand has raised me to the high station I now fill, thou doest nothing in vain. Thou hast given me the crown; and thou hast given me with it an ardent desire to restore this kingdom to its former prosperity and grandeur. Finish, therefore, thy own work! Let my prayer arise to the throne of thee, by whom kings reign! Inspire the hearts of this people with that zeal for the public that fills mine!

No. V.

COPY of a DECLARATION delivered on the 4th of November 1766, to the KING and REPUBLIC of POLAND, by Mr. WROUGHTON, the BRITISH MINISTER at WARSAW, in behalf of the DISSIDENTS of that Kingdom.

HIS britannic majesty, ever excited by reasonable desires of protecting by all methods the christian protestants, especially those who, by virtue of particular conventions, have a right to expect his assistance, finds himself obliged to repeat his pressing representations in favour of that oppressed part of the polish nation, known by the name of Dissidents; wherefore the undersigned, in conformity to fresh orders from the king, his most gracious sovereign, has the honour to represent to you, sir, and to the republic of Poland, that his britannic majesty, besides the many solid motives of justice and humanity, which give him reason to hope for a happy success of the present negotiations relative to this affair, finding himself compelled, by a strict alliance with the courts of Peterburgh, Berlin, and Copenhagen, to interest himself in behalf of the Dissidents, in all the forms of law, and in quality of guarantee of the treaty of peace of Oliva, wishes that, in the present diet, this virtuous but unhappy part of the polish subjects may be re-

established,

established, as members of the state, in the possession of their rights and privileges, as well as in the peaceable enjoyment of their mode of worship, which every one knows belonged to them before the signing of the said treaty of Oliva. At the same time his britannic majesty considers how great is the connection between the interests even of the republic and the justice of this affair, as well as the fundamental laws of the kingdom: laws which were not only observed for two centuries, but renewed by treaties with the northern powers, so solemn, that they do not permit the least alteration to be undertaken, unless with the general consent of the contracting parties. For these causes his britannic majesty, filled with confidence of the equity and penetration of his polish majesty, who, from the beginning of his reign, has given so many testimonies of zeal for the happiness of mankind, and of love towards the administration of justice in the republic, has not the least doubt that his just desires will no longer be opposed by references to inefficacious constitutions, established in the midst of intestine troubles, contradicted by the formal protestations and express declarations on the part of foreign powers.

Although the rights and privileges of the Dissidents are founded on a doctrine, whose principles of charity and benevolence make it characteristic of christianity; and the divinity of its institutor, who first preached it, renders it still less a matter of doubt; yet it is this religion, of which the exercise is disturbed, and of which its professors are excluded from all honourable employments, and deprived of all means of serving their country. Nevertheless, their rights and privileges have been confirmed to them by many ordinances of the kingdom, settled by so many treaties, supported on foundations so sacred and so evident to the eyes of all nations, that the undersigned minister of a monarch who preserves towards the republic the sincerest sentiments of friendship, and of inclination to give proofs of them on every occasion, flatters himself, that the mediation of the king his master will produce the effects which he may naturally promise himself; that the wisdom of the nation assembled will afford a remedy to the evils which rend the state, and oppress the Dissidents; and that, with regard to things ecclesiastical and civil, they may be re-established in the situation they were in before the treaty of Oliva. As to the rest, the sincere wishes

of

of his britannic majesty for the glory of the king of Poland, and for the prosperity of the republic, are so notorious, that it would be useless to give fresh assurances of them. In the meanwhile, the undersigned cannot avoid reiterating them, as an incontestable proof of their reality.

(Signed)

WROUGHTON.

No. VI.

The LETTER from the KING of PRUSSIA, mentioned vol. i. was couched in the following terms :

MADAM, MY SISTER,

I MUST begin by thanking your imperial majesty for the favour you have conferred upon me in the communication of your work on legislation. Permit me to say, that it is a business which has had but few examples in the world; and I may venture to add, madam, that your imperial majesty is the first empress who has made such a present as that which I have just now received. The antient Greeks, who were all apprentices of merit, in their dedications of great men, assigned the first place to legislators, whom they deemed the true benefactors of the human race. They would have placed your imperial majesty between Lycurgus and Solon.

I made it my first duty, madam, to read the excellent work which your majesty has vouchsafed to compose; and, that I might keep my mind free from all prepossession, I considered it as coming from a well-known pen. I confess to you, madam, that I was charmed, not only with the principle of humanity and gentleness that give birth to these laws, but also with the order, with the association of ideas, with the uncommon clearness and precision that reign in this work, and the immense variety of knowledge disseminated throughout.

I put myself, madam, in your place, and I immediately perceived that every country demands particular considerations, which require the legislator to comply with the genius of the nation,

nation, in the same manner as the gardener accommodates himself to his soil. There are designs which your imperial majesty is satisfied with pointing out, and on which your prudence prevents you from insisting. In a word, madam, though I am not thoroughly acquainted with the genius of the people whom you govern with so much glory, I see enough of it to persuade me, that if they govern themselves by your laws, they will be the happiest nation in the world; and since your imperial majesty is desirous of knowing all that I think on that matter, I deem it a duty incumbent on me to tell it naturally.

It is, madam, that good laws, formed on the principles that you have traced out, will require lawyers for their being put in execution in your vast domains; and I think, madam, that, after the good you have just been doing in legislation, you have another boon to grant, which is, the institution of an academy of law, for the education of persons designed for the bar, as well judges as advocates. However simple the several laws may be, cases of litigation, cases complicated and obscure, will arise, in which it will be necessary to draw up truth from the well, which require expert advocates and judges to unravel them.

This, on my honour, is all that I have to say to your imperial majesty, unless it be, madam, that this estimable monument of your labor and your activity, with which you condescend to trust me, shall be preserved as one of the choicest pieces in my library. Were there any thing, madam, capable of augmenting my admiration, it would be the benefit you have herein bestowed upon your immense people.

Accept, with your accustomed goodness, the assurances of the high consideration with which I am,

Madam, my sister,

Your imperial majesty's good brother and ally,

(Signed)

FREDERIC.

No.

No. VII.

*COPY of a LETTER of her IMPERIAL MAJESTY of all the
RUSSIAS, to his Excellency Count VLADIMIR ORLOF, Director
of the Academy of Sciences at PETERSBURG.*

MONS. COUNT ORLOF,

HAVING been informed, that in the summer of the year 1769, the planet Venus will pass over the sun, I write you this letter, that you may acquaint the academy of sciences on my part, 1. That it is my pleasure that the academy should procure the observations to be made with the utmost care; and that I desire, in consequence, to know, 2. which are the most advantageously situated places of the empire that the academy has destined for this observation; to the end that, in case it should be necessary to erect any buildings, workmen, &c. may be sent, and proper measures be taken. 3. That if there be not a sufficient number of astronomers in the academy for completing the observations in the places pitched upon by the academy, I propose, and take upon me to find out, among my marine subjects, such as, during the interval between the present time and the transit of Venus, may be perfected in the habit of observing under the eyes of the professors, so as to be employed to advantage in this expedition, and to the satisfaction of the academy. You will, Mr. Count, transmit me the answer of the academy, with its full opinion about every thing above, that I may give orders for the whole without loss of time.

CATHARINE.

Mosco, 3 March 1767.

*COPY of a LETTER from M. RAMOSKY, of the Imperial Academy
of Sciences at PETERSBURG, to Mr. SHORT, of the Royal Society
of LONDON.*

SIR,

I EXPECTED your letter impatiently, and received it the 15th of October. We were somewhat in doubt as to our answering the

the views of our sovereign, till the arrival of your letter, which dissipated our uneasiness in respect of the instruments. Judge yourself, sir, how satisfactory it was to us to understand that you would take upon you to procure us the necessary instruments, and, moreover, to give us your advice how to proceed successfully in this important observation.

I thank you, sir, in the name of the academy, and on my account especially, hoping a more favourable occasion of testifying my obligations. At present, I refer to your judgment the measures the academy has taken with relation to the transit of Venus.

Pursuant to her imperial majesty's orders, in a letter to his excellency count Vladimir Orlof, director of the academy, the copy whereof I herewith send you; the academy having represented, that the properest places in the russian empire for the observation of the duration of the transit, are Kola and the parts near it, and for the exit, the borders of the Caspian-sea, has beseeched her majesty to be pleased to send two observers to the north, and two off the Caspian. The stations named by the academy are Kola, Solowetskoi monastir, Astrakhan, and Orenburg. The empress, in accordance to the representations of the academy, apprehensive of the precarious state of the weather, at the end of May, at Kola and thereabouts, has been pleased to distribute four other observers among those quarters. The academy, availing itself of the high protection her imperial majesty has deigned to extend to this enterprise, has determined one to Yakutsk, where the duration will not be two and a-half less than at Kola, Torneao, and Cajaneburg.

Mr. Wargentín has informed me, that Mr. Mallet of Upsal is preparing for Torneao, and Mr. Planmann for his former Cajaneburg; so that this country will be so secure in such a multiplicity of observers, that it may be well hoped that some station or other will not fail of affording a complete observation of this phenomenon.

St. Peterburg, 23d October 1767.

No. VIII.

MANIFESTO of the GRAND SIGNIOR, concerning the War declared by his HIGHNESS against the EMPRESS of RUSSIA, delivered the 30th of October 1767, to the FOREIGN MINISTERS residing at CONSTANTINOPLE.

IT may clearly be seen by what follows, that the Sublime Porte has strictly observed the articles of the peace established between this empire and the court of Russia, who, on the contrary, has infringed them in many instances.

The court of Russia, against the faith of treaties, has not desisted from building various fortresses on the frontiers of the two states, and has provided them with troops and ammunition.

In the year 1177 (or 1763), on the death of Augustus the third, king of Poland, the republic of Poland, intending, according to the system of the polish liberty, to proceed to the election of a king, the court of Russia set up for a king a private polish officer, in whose family there had never been any king, and to whom loyalty was not becoming; and has, by siding with this king, intruded on and traversed, against the will of the republic, all the affairs of the Poles. The Porte having given notice of this to the russian resident, he declared that the republic of Poland having required a certain number of troops to protect its own liberty, six thousand horse and one thousand kozaks were granted for that purpose, who had neither cannon nor ammunition with them, and were to be under the command of the republic, and that there was not a single russian soldier above that number in Poland. Yet, when he was asked, some time after, why the court of Russia had sent more troops into Poland, and why violence had been used on the election of Poniatofsky, son of one of the grandees of Poland, the said resident assured, by a writing signed with his hand, that his court had not declared for any person, nor had ever made use of violent means for the election of any one whatsoever. Notwithstanding this assurance and declaration, the court of Russia has been continually sending troops, cannon, and ammunition, under the command of its own generals, who continued to attack the polish liberty, and put to death those who refused to submit to the

the person that themselves had not elected for their king, and who was not the son of a king; stripping them, with clamour and violence, of their goods and estates. Such a conduct being productive of confusion in the good order of the Sublime Porte, he was given to understand that, according to the tenor of the articles of the old and new imperial capitulations, the court of Russia must order her troops to evacuate Poland; this the said resident promised by several memorials signed; but this promise has not been fulfilled. In the meantime, the Sublime Porte received advice, that some russian troops had been sent to Balta, (one of the mussulman frontiers) with some artillery, and had unexpectedly attacked the mussulmans, and massacred upwards of a thousand persons, men, women, and children.

The Sublime Porte, having again demanded satisfaction from the court of Russia for this outrage, which, against the tenor of treaties, had been committed with artillery; and the khan of Krimea having also demanded satisfaction for the same, the said Court denied the fact, alleging that the Haydamacks had done some damage, but that care would be taken to punish them; although it is notorious that the Haydamacks never make use of cannon nor bombs in their irruptions. The Sublime Porte, notwithstanding, still persisted in requiring satisfaction for such a conduct, and still demanded the reason why the court of Russia would not, these three years past, withdraw its troops from Poland, since the articles of the treaty, concluded in 1133 (1719), and that of 1152 (1738), stipulate, "That as often as any event shall happen capable of disturbing the perpetual peace of the two empires, they should proceed *ipso facto* to the means of terminating them in an amicable manner;" nevertheless the outrages and devastations at Balta have been denied, and the punishment of those who had the boldness to be guilty of them has been postponed and even neglected. The silence itself of the russian resident, who having been invited to come to the Porte to answer for this proceeding, and to declare what his court meant by still keeping its troops in Poland, proves the infraction of the treaty. At last he was asked definitely, whether, according to the ancient and new treaties which subsist between the two empires, the court of Russia would desist from meddling with the affairs of Poland, under pretence of guarantee and promise; he replied, that his full power was limited, and that he could not answer thereupon,

thereupon, since that article was known to his court only. Such a behaviour plainly demonstrates that the above-mentioned power thinks proper to take upon itself the infraction of treaties: therefore it is, that the illustrious doctors of the law have given by *fatras* (or legal sentences) their answers, that, "according to the exigency of justice, it was necessary to make war against the Moscovites:" an opinion that has been unanimously confirmed. Thus the arrest of the said resident being become necessary, we give by these presents notice to all the powers of Europe, that the said resident shall be guarded in the castle of the Seven Towers; and that, during the whole time that this transaction has lasted, the Sublime Porte has done nothing that might break the friendship, nor any thing contrary to the articles of the treaties concluded between the two empires, &c.

The DECLARATION of the IMPERIAL COURT of RUSSIA to the COURTS of EUROPE upon the Arrest of its Minister resident at CONSTANTINOPLE.

HER imperial majesty, in taking a part in the transactions of the republic of Poland, as humanity on one side, and the obligations of her crown on the other, had prompted her, was no less careful to conduct herself in such a manner as not to give any umbrage to a jealous and powerful neighbour; every part of her conduct was public; and she had likewise a particular attention to communicate in confidence to the ottoman Porte her resolutions upon every step she took, and the conduct she intended to observe, till the peace and tranquillity of that kingdom was entirely re-established. But the enemies to the peace of these two empires were not wanting to blacken at the Porte all the actions of her imperial majesty, and to sow there the seeds of discord by the most false imputations. The Porte, restrained by the upright conduct the court of Russia continued to maintain towards them, listened, but it was with caution, to the calumny that was spread. Some attention to the affairs of Poland, and an impartial examination of what Russia had done, compared with the overtures made by that court at the Porte, had dispelled all suspicion, and the public tranquillity seemed to be no more threatened. The common enemies, however, repeated their insinuations with more rage and audacity than ever, to impose upon the credulity of the turkish nation, and infused a

spirit

spirit of discontent among them, which called for the notice of government; for it had forced its way even into the seraglio. The change in the ministry, brought about by these events, soon produced a revolution in the system of peace, equally dear to both nations. The new vizir, upon his advancement, immediately sent for Mr. Obreskoi, her imperial majesty's resident at the Porte, and, after having caused to be read in his presence a declaration full of heavy charges against his court, part of which have already been invalidated by the most fair and candid explanations, and others that had never existed, or were ever thought of, the vizir pressed him to sign immediately, under the guarantee of the allies of his sovereign, some very offensive conditions, in regard to which there never had been made the least proposal during the whole course of the operations in Poland. These conditions, very derogatory to the honour and glory of an empress accustomed to receive no law, proposed in a tone and form repugnant to the freedom of negotiation adopted by every power, were attended with the alternative of an immediate rupture of the perpetual peace between the two empires. The russian minister, confident of the upright intentions of his court, and conscious of the probity of his own conduct, as having fulfilled the duties of a long ministry, was incapable of unworthily degrading his court and his own character by a humiliating engagement, and which would have exceeded the power and commission of any minister, let them be ever so extensive; he gave therefore a positive refusal, as became his honour and his duty; and the resolution of the divan, which followed immediately after, was to arrest him, and part of his retinue, and carry him to the castle of the Seven Towers. It would be needless for the imperial court of Russia to dwell any longer upon this event, or to enter here into an examination of it. The fact speaks for itself. The honour and glory of her imperial majesty—the regard to her empire, point out the part it is right for her to take. Confiding in the justice of her cause, she appeals to all christian courts on the situation she finds herself in with regard to the common enemy of christianity; certain as she is, that her conduct will meet with equal approbation from each of them, and that she shall have the advantage to join to the divine protection the just assistance of her friends, and the good wishes of all Christendom.

No. IX.

*A LETTER from M. DE VOLTAIRE to the RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR
at PARIS.*

I SEE by the letters which her imperial majesty and your excellency honour me with, how greatly your nation is rising, while I am afraid that, in some respects, ours is beginning to degenerate. The empress deigns herself to translate that chapter of *Belisarius*, which some college-fellows traduce at Paris. We should be overwhelmed with shame and scorn, if all the men of worth, of whom there is a great number in France, did not strongly stand up against the egregious scandal of the times. Folly, ignorance, and envy, there will always be in any country; but then there will also be in it science and good taste. I dare even aver to you that, in general, our principal military, and, as to what concerns the counsel, our counsellors of state, and the masters of requests, are more enlightened than they were in the shining age of Lewis the fourteenth. Great talents are still rare; but science and reason are more common than they.

I see with pleasure that there is forming in Europe an immense republic of cultivated understandings. The light diffuses and communicates itself on all sides. I have things come to me from the north that astonish me. Within these last fifteen years there has been operated a revolution in the human understanding, that will form a great epoch. The outcries of the pedants proclaim the approach of this great change, as the croaking of the crows forebodes fair weather.

I know nothing of the book of M. de la Riviere, which you do me the honour of mentioning to me; but can hardly believe that the author, while avoiding the faults into which M. de Montesquieu may have fallen, has gone beyond him in those points in which that shining genius is in the right. I shall send for his book; and in the meanwhile congratulate the author on his being so near such a sovereign and empress who patronizes all the talents in foreigners, and whose maternal care gives birth to them in her own dominions. But it is you whom I especially congratulate on representing her so worthily at Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.

No,

No. X.

COUNTER-DECLARATION of the COURT of WARSAW.

THE underwritten ministers of the king and republic of Poland, having laid before his majesty the declarations given in on the 18th and 26th of September, by the ministers from the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin; and his majesty having taken the advice of his senate thereupon, the underwritten are commanded to make the following answer thereto:

The disinterested and successful pains of her Majesty the empress of all the Russias, to preserve tranquillity in Poland during the last interregnum, and promote the free election of the reigning king, universally recognized; the concurrence of the king of Prussia in the same designs; and the system of neutrality at that time adopted by the empress-queen; are circumstances which, appreciated as they ought to be by the king, will never be effaced from his memory or heart.

The king is happy in seeing the regulations and internal establishments of the diets, immediately succeeding the death of Augustus III. declared "useful and salutary" by the three powers: he would ever wish the emanations of the sovereign power of the republic to be regarded with a favourable eye by all his neighbours.

All Europe is long since informed of the original and successive causes of the present troubles in Poland: all Europe knows, that the king, and the soundest part of the nation, exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent the rise and stop the progress of them; unfortunately these efforts have been unsuccessful; and certainly the consequences have been dreadful. The supreme and legal authority of the state has been denied by some; anarchy has spread itself over the provinces; all Poland has been impoverished, ravaged, trodden under foot, as well by her own citizens, as by foreign troops: she has felt, and all Europe has seen, those sufferings proportioned to the length of time these troops have been in the country, the orders of their respective courts, and the manner in which their orders have been put in execution.

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In a word, five years of scourge and desolation have ruined this country, and make the return of peace a matter of urgent and indispensable necessity.

The engagements entered into by the three powers, to co-operate in effectuating this great work, appeared, therefore, full of humanity, and would have been regarded by the king with the liveliest gratitude, if the latter part of their declaration had left room for any sentiment but those of the utmost surprise and the most profound grief.

These courts pretend considerable claims on the unhappy Poland: a plan of indemnification, the actual and effectual seizure of equivalents, are avowed.

The strict attention of the king and republic to fulfil all their engagements with these powers; the laws of good neighbourhood so religiously observed by Poland; the manner so friendly and full of regard, in which the king has represented, on so many occasions, the different subjects of complaint he had unfortunately had against his neighbours; the present situation of Poland, so worthy in all respects of the compassion of generous and sensible minds; all should have secured to him the return of mutual good-will, and protected him for ever from enterprises so injurious to his rights and the legality of his possessions.

The rights of the republic to all her provinces have every possible mark of solidity and authenticity; an uninterrupted possession of many ages, avowed and maintained by the most solemn treaties, and particularly by those of Velaw and Oliva, guaranteed by the house of Austria, by the crowns of France, England, Spain, and Sweden; by the treaty of 1686, with Russia; by the express and recent declarations of this last power; by those of Prussia in 1764; and lastly, by treaties with the house of Austria still in full force and vigour; on these foundations the rights of the republic are grounded.

The court of Warsaw contents itself with barely pointing them out at present, reserving the right of supporting them by proofs more ample and particular in time and place.

What titles can the three powers oppose to these? If they are titles dug out of the obscurity of ancient times, of those times of sudden and momentary revolutions, which erected and destroyed, ceded and restored states in the short space of a few months or years; these titles, if admitted, would re-unite to the Kingdom
of

of Poland many provinces which formerly belonged to it, but have for many years been occupied by the very powers who now form pretensions on her.

But as it is undeniable, that not only transactions buried in the oblivion of distant ages, but all transactions whatever, are annihilated by subsequent stipulations; as all the latter stipulations between Poland and her neighbours oppose directly the partition they now would make, it follows, that the titles on which that partition is founded cannot be admitted, without undermining the rights of every state, without shaking every throne from its foundation.

The very powers who declare that the situation of Poland will not permit them to obtain justice in the ordinary ways of proceedings, cannot be ignorant that its present situation is accidental and momentary; that it is in their own power to change it. Their consent alone is wanting to restore the republic to the free and lawful exercise of its independent sovereignty. That would be time to produce and examine their claims. This is the method of proceeding which the king had a right to demand from the equity of the three courts, which he could not but expect to be adopted, relying on the letter written to him by the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, on the 28th of January 1771.

But the present proceedings of the three courts, giving the most serious object of complaint to the king; and the duties of his crown not permitting him to be silent on this occasion, he declares in the most solemn manner, that he looks upon the actual seizure of the provinces of Poland by the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, as unjust, violent, and contrary to his lawful rights; he appeals to the treaties and powers guarantees of his kingdom and its appurtenances. And, lastly, full of confidence in the justice of the Almighty, he lays his rights at the feet of the eternal throne, and puts his cause into the hands of the King of kings, the supreme judge of nations: and, in the full assurance of his succour, he protests solemnly, and before the whole universe, against every step taken, or to be taken, towards the dismembering of Poland.

Given at Warsaw, Oct. 17th, 1772.

Signed by the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania.

DECLARATION of the IMPERIAL MINISTER at the COURT of
WARSAW.

HER majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia has seen, with unspeakable astonishment, the little impression made by the declaration presented to his polish majesty by the underwritten, and the ministers from Petersburg and Berlin, in order to accelerate a definitive arrangement between the republic and the three neighbouring powers, touching the pretensions formed by the said powers on Poland; pretensions which the essential interests of their crowns will not permit them to expose to the hazard of future contingencies, and of those troubles with which Poland has at all times been agitated.

The justice and dignity of the three courts prescribe bounds to their moderation: this truth can neither escape the discernment of his polish majesty, nor be indifferent to his heart, if the cries of his country have preserved their influence there.

Her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia hopes, therefore, that the king will not expose his kingdom to events which must be the consequences of his delay to assemble a diet, and enter on a negotiation, which alone can save his country, restore vigour to the constitution of the republic, which has received so many and so dangerous shocks; and terminate the evils to which private interest, ambition, hatred, and dissensions, have given rise.

Done at Warsaw, Dec. 4th, 1772.

(Signed)

RZEWICKI.

Note.—The ministers from Petersburg and Berlin delivered the next day each a declaration in the same words.

ANSWER of the COURT of WARSAW to the preceding Piece.

IN answer to the declarations of the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, the underwritten have orders to inform the ministers of the said courts, that the king, being informed of their desires respecting the convocation of a diet, and of the inconveniencies which may arise from delays, is determined to comply, as far as it is in his power, not only with the view of taking

taking away all pretexts of aggravating the evils which afflict Poland, but under the hopes that this mark of regard will operate on the generosity of the three powers, so as to induce them to put a speedy end to these troubles, in a manner the most equitable and advantageous to the republic.

In consequence hereof, his majesty has issued circular letters for the convocation of a full council of the senate, which must indispensably precede the summoning of a diet; and has fixed the same to the 8th of February following; a term which leaves no more than the time absolutely necessary for the arrival of the distant senators.

Done at Warsaw, this 14th of December, 1772.

Signed by the chancellors of Poland and
Lithuania.

No. XI.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from CATHARINE II. late EMPRESS of
RUSSIA, to M. DE VOLTAIRE.

SIR,

The brightness of the northern star is a mere aurora borealis. It is nothing more than giving to a neighbour something of our own superfluity. But to be the advocate of human kind, the defender of oppressed innocence; by this you will be indeed immortalized. The two causes of Calas and Sirven have procured you the veneration due to such miracles. You have combated the united enemies of mankind, superstition, fanaticism, ignorance, chicane, bad judges, and the power lodged in them all together. To surmount such obstacles required both talents and virtue. You have shewn the world that you possess both. You have carried your point. You desire, sir, some relief for the Sirven family. Can I possibly refuse it? Or, should you praise me for the action, would there be the least foundation for it? I own to you, that I should be much better pleased if my bill of exchange could pass unknown. Nevertheless, if you think my name, unharmonious as it is, may be of any service to those victims of the spirit of persecution, I leave it to your discretion; and you may announce me, provided it be no way prejudicial to the parties.

No.

No. XII.

The MANIFESTO concerning the REBELLION of PUGATSEFF.

BY the grace of God, we Catharine II. empress and autocratix of all the Russias, &c. make known to all our faithful subjects, that we have learnt, with the utmost indignation and extreme affliction, that a certain kozak, a deserter and fugitive from the Don, named Ikhelman Pugatseff, after having traversed Poland, has been collecting for some time past in the districts that border on the river Irghis in the government of Orenburg, a troop of vagabonds like himself; that he continues to commit in those parts all kinds of excesses, by inhumanly depriving the inhabitants of their possessions and even of their lives; and that in order to draw over to his party, hitherto composed of robbers, such persons as he meets, and especially the unhappy patriots, on whose credulity he imposes, he has had the insolence to arrogate to himself the name of the late emperor Peter III. It would be superfluous here to prove the absurdity of such an imposture, which cannot even put on a shadow of probability in the eyes of sensible persons: for, thanks to the divine goodness, those ages are passed in which the Russian empire was plunged in ignorance and barbarism; when a Griska, an Outreper, with their adherents, and several other traitors to their country, made use of impostures as gross and detestable, to arm brother against brother, and citizen against citizen.

Since those æras, which it is grievous to recollect, all true patriots have enjoyed the fruits of public tranquillity, and shudder with horror at the very remembrance of former troubles. In a word, there is not a man deserving of the Russian name who does not hold in abomination the odious and insolent lie by which Pugatseff fancies himself able to seduce and to deceive persons of a simple and credulous disposition, by promising to free them from the bonds of submission and obedience to their sovereign, as if the Creator of the universe had established human societies in such a manner as that they can subsist without an intermediate authority between the sovereign and the people.

Nevertheless, as the insolence of this vile refuse of the human race is attended with consequences pernicious to the provinces adjacent

adjacent to that district; as the report of the flagrant enormities which he has committed may affright those persons who are accustomed to imagine the misfortunes of others as ready to fall upon them, and as we watch with indefatigable care over the tranquillity of our faithful subjects, we inform them by the present manifesto, that we have taken, without delay, such measures as are the best adapted to stifle the sedition: and in order to annihilate totally the ambitious designs of Pugatseff, and to exterminate a band of robbers, who have been audacious enough to attack the small military detachments dispersed about those countries, and to massacre the officers who were taken prisoners, we have dispatched thither, with a competent number of troops, general Alexander Bibikof, general in chief of our armies, and major of our regiment of life-guards.

Accordingly we have no doubt of the happy success of these measures, and we cherish the hope that the public tranquillity will soon be restored, and that the profligates who are spreading devastation over a part of the government of Orenburg will shortly be dispersed. We are moreover persuaded that our faithful subjects will justly abhor the imposture of the rebel Pugatseff, as destitute of all probability, and will repel the artifices of the ill-disposed, who seek and find their advantage in the seduction of the weak and credulous, and who cannot assuage their avidity but by ravaging their country, and by shedding of innocent blood.

We trust with equal confidence that every true son of the country will unremittedly fulfil his duty, of the contributing to the maintenance of good order and of public tranquillity, by preserving himself from the snares of seduction, and by duly discharging his obedience to his lawful sovereign. All our faithful subjects therefore may dispel their alarms and live in perfect security, since we employ our utmost care, and make it our peculiar glory, to preserve their property and to extend the general felicity.

Given at St. Petersburg, Dec. 23, 1773. O. S.

No. XIII.

DECLARATION of BARON STACKELBERG, *Minister of RUSSIA, to the KING and the SENATE of POLAND* *.

THE powers in the vicinity of Poland have been so often involved in the troubles which almost every vacancy of the throne has excited in that kingdom, that from the recollection of the past it behoved them to give the most serious attention to the affairs of the polish nation, as soon as, by the death of the late king, Augustus III. the throne was become vacant.

Urged by these considerations, and desirous of preventing the dreadful effects of those dissensions, which, as in former instances, might have arisen at this last vacancy of the throne, the court of St. Petersburg hastened to take all possible measures to unite the citizens of Poland in favour of the candidate who should appear to be most worthy of the throne, most agreeable to his fellow-citizens, and most acceptable to the neighbouring powers.

This court applied herself at the same time, and with equal zeal, to the rectifying of many abuses and defects in the constitution, which had been equally prejudicial to Poland and her neighbours.

The court of Berlin seconded the attempts of her ally. And the court of Vienna, desirous, on her part, of contributing to the success of such laudable views, but willing, at the same time, to avoid the danger of augmenting the difficulties and intricacies which might arise from multiplying the number of those who undertook openly and directly to settle the affairs of Poland, thought proper to observe the most exact neutrality, with regard both to the arrangement of the affairs of Poland, and the war which was afterwards kindled on this subject between Russia and the Porte.

The immediate consequences of these measures were the free and legal election of Stanislaus Augustus†, reigning king of

* This declaration shews what false and insidious language the authors of the desolations dared to hold.

† And it was to the Poles that the minister Stackelberg had the assurance to say, that the election of Poniatofsky had been free and legal !
Poland,

Poland, and the forming of many useful and salutary establishments. In a word, every thing seemed to promise to Poland and her neighbours a firm and lasting tranquillity.

But unhappily in the midst of these promising appearances, the spirit of discord seized upon one part of the nation : citizen armed against citizen : the sons of faction seized the reins of authority ; and laws and order, and public safety, and justice, and police, and commerce, and agriculture, all are either gone to ruin, or stand on the brink of destruction. And the excesses of every kind, natural consequences of such an anarchy, will bring on the total dissolution of the state, if not timely prevented.

The connections between nations which border on each other are so intimate, that the subjects of the neighbouring powers have already felt the most disagreeable effects from these disorders. These powers are obliged, at a great expence, to take measures of precaution, in order to secure the tranquillity of their own frontiers ; they are exposed to the uncertain but possible consequences of the entire dissolution of Poland ; to the danger of seeing their mutual harmony and good friendship destroyed ; the maintenance of which, at the same time that it secures their own peace and tranquillity, is a matter of the highest importance to all Europe.

From this view of things it will appear, that nothing can be of a more urgent necessity than to apply an immediate remedy to evils from which the neighbouring nations have already experienced the most disagreeable effects ; and the consequences of which, if not timely prevented, must bring on such changes in the political system of this part of Europe as may be fatal to the general tranquillity.

Impelled by reasons so many and so weighty, her majesty the empress of all the Russias, her majesty the empress dowager queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the king of Prussia, find themselves under a necessity of taking a decisive part, in circumstances so very critical. And their said majesties have determined among themselves, without loss of time, and with one accord, to take the most effectual and best-combined measures, for the purpose of re-establishing tranquillity and good order in Poland, to stop the present troubles and to put the ancient constitution of that kingdom, and the liberties of the people, on a sure and solid foundation.

But

But while they take advantage of that mutual friendship and harmony which happily subsists between them at present, in order to prevent the absolute ruin and arbitrary dissolution of Poland; they cannot but be sensible how little it is in their power to promise themselves in future periods the same happy concurrence. And as they have respectively very considerable claims on the possessions of the republic, which they cannot permit themselves to expose to the hazard of possible contingencies, they have therefore determined among themselves to assert these their ancient rights and lawful claims, which each of them will be ready to justify in time and place by authentic records and solid reasons; but for which the situation of the republic will never leave them hopes of obtaining justice in the ordinary course of proceeding.

In consequence hereof her majesty the empress of all the Russias, her majesty the empress dowager queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the king of Prussia, having communicated reciprocally their respective rights and claims, and being mutually convinced of the justice thereof, are determined to secure to themselves a proportionable equivalent, by taking immediate and effectual possession of such parts of the territories of the republic as may serve to fix more natural and sure bounds between her and the three powers: the said three powers engaging to give hereafter an exact specification of their respective quotas; and renouncing from the present moment all revival of right, demand, or claim, on account of damages sustained, debt, interest, or any other pretence whatever, which they might otherwise have or form on the possessions or subjects of the republic*.

Their said majesties have thought it right to notify these their intentions to the whole polish nation in general: inviting, at the same time, all orders and ranks thereof to banish, or at least to suspend, all spirit of discord and delusion, in order that, a diet being legally assembled, they may co-operate with their said majesties in establishing, on a firm and solid foundation, the good order and tranquillity of the nation, and may at the same time ratify, by public and solemn acts, the exchange of the titles,

* It is has since been seen how faithfully these three powers adhered to their renunciation!

pretensions,

pretensions, and claims of each of their majesties, against the equivalents of which they have respectively taken possession.

(Signed)

STACKELBERG.

Given at Warsaw, September 2, 1772†.

No. XIV.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.

The MEMORIAL presented to their HIGH MIGHTINESSES the STATES GENERAL, by Prince GALLITZIN, the Russian Minister on the Part of the EMPRESS his Sovereign.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

The underwritten envoy extraordinary from the empress of all the Russias has the honour to communicate to you a copy of the declaration which the empress his sovereign has made to the belligerent powers. Your high mightinesses may look upon this communication as a particular mark of the attention of the empress for the republic, which is equally interested in the reasons which occasioned the declaration. He has further orders to declare to your high mightinesses, in the name of her imperial majesty, that how desirous soever she may be on the one hand to maintain the strictest neutrality during the present war, yet her majesty is as determined to take the most efficacious means to support the honour of the russian flag, the security of the trade, and the navigation of her subjects, and not suffer either to be hurt by any of the belligerent powers: that, in order to prevent on this occasion any misunderstanding or false interpretation, she thought it necessary to specify in the declaration the limits of a free trade, and what is called contraband: that, if the definition of the former be founded upon the clearest no-

* This manifesto was delivered on the 18th of September by baron Stackelberg, minister from the court of Petersburg; and by the sieur de Benoit, minister from the court of Berlin; and on the 26th of September by baron Rjevitch, minister from the court of Vienna.

tions of natural right, the latter is literally taken from the treaty of commerce between Russia and Great Britain, by which her imperial majesty means incontestibly to prove her good faith and impartiality towards each party; that she consequently apprehends that the other trading powers will immediately come into her way of thinking relative to neutrality.

From these considerations, her imperial majesty has ordered the underwritten to invite your high mightinesses to make a common cause with her, as such an union may serve to protect the trade and navigation, and at the same time observe a strict neutrality, and to communicate to your high mightinesses the regulation she has in consequence taken.

The same invitation has been made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, in order that by the united endeavours of all the neutral maritime powers, a natural system, founded on justice, might be established and legalised in favour of the trade of neutral nations, which by its real advantages might serve for a rule for future ages.

The underwritten does not doubt but your high mightinesses will, without delay, take the invitation of her imperial majesty into consideration, and concur in immediately making a declaration to the belligerent powers, founded on the same principles as that of the empress, explaining at the same time the nature of a free and contraband trade, conformable to their respective treaties with the other nations.

In conclusion, the underwritten has the honour to assure your high mightinesses, that if, to establish such a glorious and advantageous system upon the most solid basis, you are desirous to open a negotiation with the above-mentioned neutral powers on this subject, the empress his sovereign is ready to join you.

Your mightinesses will easily see the necessity of accelerating your resolutions upon objects of such importance and advantage for humanity in general. The underwritten begs of you to give him a speedy answer.

DMITRI PRINCE GALLITZIN.

Hague, April 3d, 1780.

DECLARATION from the EMPRESS of RUSSIA to the COURTS of LONDON, VERSAILLES, and MADRID.

THE empress of all the Russias has so fully manifested her sentiments of equity and moderation, and has given such evident proofs, during the course of the war that she supported against the ottoman porte, of the regard she has for the rights of neutrality and the liberty of universal commerce, as all Europe can witness; that her conduct, as well as the principles of impartiality which she has displayed during the present war, justly inspired her with the fullest confidence, that her subjects would peaceably enjoy the fruits of their industry and the advantages belonging to a neutral nation. Experience has nevertheless proved the contrary. Neither the above-mentioned considerations, nor the regard to the rights of nations, have prevented the subjects of her imperial majesty from being often molested in their navigation, and stopped in their operations, by those of the belligerent powers.

These impediments to the liberty of trade in general, and to that of Russia in particular, are of a nature to excite the attention of all neutral nations. The empress finds herself obliged therefore to set it free by all the means compatible with her dignity and the well-being of her subjects; but, before she puts this design into execution, and with a sincere intention to prevent any future infringements, she thought it but just to publish to all Europe the principles she means to follow, as the best adapted to prevent any misunderstanding, or any occurrences that may occasion it. Her imperial majesty does it with the more confidence, as she finds these principles coincident with the primitive right of nations to which every people may appeal, and which the belligerent powers cannot invalidate without violating the laws of neutrality, and without disavowing the maxims they have adopted in their several treaties and public engagements.

They are reducible to the following points:

First, That all neutral ships may freely navigate from port to port, and on the coasts of nations at war.

Secondly, that the effects belonging to the subjects of the said warring powers shall be free in all neutral vessels, except contraband merchandise.

HH 2

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That the empress, as to the specification of the above-mentioned merchandise, adheres to what is mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce with Great-Britain, extending the terms of it to all the powers at war.

Fourthly, That, to determine what is meant by a blocked-up port, it is only to be understood of one which is so completely guarded by the ships of the power that attacks it, and which are stationed there, that it is dangerous for any vessel to enter it.

Fifthly, That these principles serve as a rule for proceedings and judgments upon the legality of prizes.

Her imperial majesty, in publishing these particulars does not hesitate to declare, that for maintaining them, and for protecting the honour of her flag, the security of the trade and navigation of her subjects, she has equipped the greatest part of her maritime forces. This measure will not, however, influence the strict neutrality she does observe, and will observe, so long as she is not provoked and forced to break the bounds of moderation and perfect impartiality. It will be only in this extremity that her fleet have orders to go wherever honour, interest, and necessity may require.

In giving this solemn assurance with the usual openness of her character, the empress cannot do other than promise herself that the belligerent powers, convinced of the sentiments of justice and equity which animate her, will contribute towards the accomplishment of these salutary purposes, so manifestly tending to the good of all nations, and to the advantage even of those at war. In consequence of which, her imperial majesty will furnish her commanding officers with instructions conformable to the above-mentioned principles, founded upon the primitive laws of nations, and so often adopted in their conventions.

ANSWER from the COURT of GREAT-BRITAIN to the DECLARATION of the EMPRESS of RUSSIA; sent to the BRITISH ENVOY at PETERSBURG, April 23, 1780.

DURING the course of the war, wherein his britannic majesty finds himself engaged through the unprovoked aggression of France and Spain, he hath constantly manifested his sentiments of justice, equity, and moderation, in every part of his conduct.

His

His majesty hath acted towards friendly and neutral powers according to their own procedure respecting Great-Britain, and conformable to the clearest principles, generally acknowledged as the law of nations, being the only law between powers where no treaties subsist, and agreeable to the tenor of his different engagements with other powers; those engagements have altered this primitive law, by mutual stipulations, proportioned to the will and convenience of the contracting parties.

Strongly attached to her majesty of all the Russias, by the ties of reciprocal friendship and common interest, the king, from the commencement of those troubles, gave the most precise orders respecting the flag of her imperial majesty, and the commerce of her subjects, agreeable to the law of nations; and the tenor of the engagements stipulated by his treaty of commerce with her, and to which he shall adhere with the most scrupulous exactness.

The orders to this intent have been renewed, and the utmost care will be taken for their strictest execution.

It may be presumed, not the least irregularity will happen; but in case any infringements, contrary to these repeated orders, take place, the courts of admiralty, which in this, like all other countries, are established to take cognizance of such matters, and in all cases do judge solely by the law of nations, and by the specific stipulations of different treaties, will redress every hardship in so equitable a manner, that her imperial majesty shall be perfectly satisfied, and acknowledge a like spirit of justice which she herself possesses.

ANSWER from the KING of FRANCE to the DECLARATION of the EMPRESS of RUSSIA.

THE war in which the king is engaged having no other motive than the attachment of his majesty to the freedom of the seas, he could not but with the truest satisfaction see the empress of Russia, adopt the same principle, and resolve to maintain it. That which her imperial majesty claims from the belligerent powers is no other than the rules already prescribed to the french marine, the execution of which is maintained with an exactitude known and applauded by all Europe.

HH 3

The

The liberty of neutral vessels, restrained only in a few cases, is the direct consequence of neutral right, the safeguard of all nations, and the relief even of those at war. The king has been desirous, not only to procure a freedom of navigation to the subjects of the empress of Russia, but to those of all the states who hold their neutrality, and that upon the same condition as are announced in the treaty to which his majesty this day answers.

His majesty thought he had taken a great step for the general good, and prepared a glorious epocha for his reign, by fixing, by his example, the rights which every belligerent power may, and ought to acknowledge to be due to neutral vessels. His hopes have not been deceived; as the empress, in avowing the strictest neutrality, has declared in favour of a system which the king is supporting at the price of his people's blood, and as her majesty adopts the very same rights as he would wish to make the basis of the maritime code.

If fresh orders were necessary to prevent the vessels of her imperial majesty from being disturbed in their navigation by the subjects of the king, his majesty would immediately give them; but the empress will no doubt be satisfied with the dispositions made by his majesty in the regulations he has published. They do not depend on circumstances alone, but are founded on the law of nations, and entirely agreeable to a prince who finds the happiness of his own kingdom in that of the general prosperity. The king wishes her imperial majesty would add to the means she has fixed to determine what merchandises are reckoned contraband in times of war, precise rules to be inserted in the form of the sea-papers with which the russian ships will be furnished.

With this precaution, his majesty is assured nothing will happen to make him regret the having put the russian navigators on as advantageous a footing as can be in time of war. Fortunate circumstances have more than once occurred to prove to the two courts how important it is for them to explain themselves freely relative to their respective interests.

His majesty is very happy to have explained his way of thinking to her imperial majesty upon a point so interesting to Russia, and to the trading powers of Europe. He the more sincerely applauds the principles and views of the empress, as his
majesty

majesty partakes of the same sentiments which have brought her majesty to adopt such measures, as must be to the advantage of her own subjects, and of all other nations.

Versailles, April 25, 1780.

ANSWER from the KING of SPAIN, to the DECLARATION of the
EMPERESS of RUSSIA.

THE king, being informed of the empress's sentiments with respect to the belligerent and neutral powers, by a memorial remitted to the compte de Florida Blanca, on the 15th inst. by Mr. Stephen Zinovief, minister from her imperial majesty: the king considers this as the effect of a just confidence which his majesty has on his part merited; and it is yet more agreeable that the principles adopted by this sovereign should be the same as have always guided the king, and which his majesty has for a long time, but without success, endeavoured to cause England to observe, while Spain remained neuter. These principles are founded in justice, equity, and moderation; and these same principles Russia and all the other powers have experienced in the resolutions formed by his majesty; and it has been entirely owing to the conduct of the english navy, both in the last and the present war, (a conduct wholly subversive of the received rules among neutral powers,) that his majesty has been obliged to follow their example; since the English, paying no respect to a neutral flag, if the vessel be laden with effects belonging to the enemy, even if the articles should not be contraband, and that flag not using any means of defending itself, there could not be any just cause why Spain should not make reprisals, to indemnify herself for the great disadvantages under which she must otherwise labour. The neutral powers have also laid themselves open to the inconveniences they have suffered, by furnishing themselves with double papers, and other artifices to prevent the capture of their vessels: from which have followed captures and detentions innumerable, and other disagreeable consequences, though in reality not so prejudicial as pretended; on the contrary, some of these detentions have turned to the advantage of the proprietors, as the goods, being sold in the port where they were condemned, have frequently gone off at a higher price than they would have done at the place of their destination.

The king, nevertheless, not contented with these proofs of his justification, which have been manifested to all Europe, will this day have the glory of being the first to give the example of respecting the neutral flag of all the courts that have consented, or shall consent, to defend it, till his majesty finds what part the english navy takes, and whether they will, together with their privateers, keep within proper bounds. And to shew to all the neutral powers how much Spain is desirous of observing the same rules in time of war as she was directed by whilst neuter, his majesty conforms to the other points contained in the declaration of Russia. To be understood, nevertheless, that, with regard to the blockade of Gibraltar, if the danger of entering subsists, as determined by the fourth article of the said declaration. These dangers may, however, be avoided by the neutral powers, if they conform to those rules of precaution established by his majesty's declaration of the 13th of last March, which has been communicated to the court of Petersburg by his minister.

FLORIDA BLANCA.

At Aranjuez, 18 April 1780.

DECLARATION of the KING of DENMARK and NORWAY, to the COURTS of LONDON, VERSAILLES, and MADRID.

IF the most exact and perfect neutrality, with the most regular navigation, and the most inviolable respect to treaties, could have exempted the commerce of the subjects of the king of Denmark and Norway from the inroads of the powers with whom he is at peace, and kept it free and independent, it would not be necessary to take measures to insure to his subjects that liberty to which they have the most incontrovertible right. The king of Denmark has always founded his glory, and his grandeur, upon the esteem and confidence of other nations. It has been his rule, from the beginning of his reign, to testify to all the powers, his friends, a conduct the most capable of convincing them of his pacific intentions, and of his desire to contribute to the general happiness of Europe. His proceedings have always been conformable to these principles, against which nothing can be alleged; he has, till now, only addressed himself to the powers at war, to obtain a redress of his grievances; and he has never wanted mo-

deration

deration in his demands, nor acknowledgments when they have received the success they deserved: but the neutral navigation has been too often molested, and the most innocent commerce of his subjects too frequently disturbed; so that the king finds himself obliged to take proper measures to assure to himself and his allies the safety of commerce and navigation, and the maintenance of the inseparable rights of liberty and independence. If the duties of neutrality are sacred, the law of nations has also its rights avowed by all impartial powers, established by custom, and founded upon equity and reason. A nation independent and neuter does not lose by the war of others the rights which she had before the war, because peace exists between her and all the belligerent powers. Without receiving or being obliged to follow the laws of either of them, she is allowed to follow, in all places, (contraband excepted,) the traffic which she would have a right to carry on, if peace existed with all Europe, as it exists with her. The king pretends to nothing beyond what the neutrality allows him. This is his rule, and that of his people; and the king cannot accord to the principle, that a power at war has a right to interrupt the commerce of his subjects. He thinks it due to himself, and to his subjects the faithful observers of these rules, and to the powers at war themselves, to declare to them the following principles, which he has always held, and which he will always avow and maintain, in concert with the emperors of all the Russias, whose sentiments he finds entirely conformable with his own.

I. That neutral vessels have a right to navigate freely from port to port, even on the coasts of the powers at war.

II. That the effects of the subjects of the powers at war shall be free in neutral vessels, except such as are deemed contraband.

III. That nothing is to be understood under the denominations of contraband, that is not expressly mentioned as such in the third article of his treaty of commerce with Great Britain, in the year 1670, and the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh articles of his treaty of commerce with France, in the year 1742; and the king will equally maintain these rules with those powers with whom he has no treaty.

IV. That he will look upon that as a fort blocked up, into which no vessel can enter without evident danger, on account of vessels of war so stationed there as to form an effectual blockade.

V. That these principles shall serve for rules in law proceed-

ings,

ings, and that justice shall be expeditiously rendered, by the maritime regulations, conformably to treaty and usage received.

VI. His majesty does not hesitate to declare, that he will maintain these principles with the honour of his flag, and the liberty and independence of the commerce and navigation of his subjects; and that it is for this purpose he has armed a part of his navy, although he is desirous to preserve, with all the powers at war, not only a good understanding, but all the friendship of which the neutrality can admit. The king will never recede from these principles, unless he is forced to it: he knows his duties and his obligations, he respects them as he does his treaties, and desires no other than to maintain them. His majesty is persuaded, that the belligerent powers will acknowledge the justness of his motives; that they will be as averse as himself to doing any thing that may oppress the liberties of mankind, and that they will give their orders to their admiralty and to their officers, conformably to the principles above recited, which tend to the general happiness and interest of all Europe.

Copenhagen, July 8, 1780.

DECLARATION of the KING of SWEDEN to the same COURTS.

EVER since the beginning of the present war, the king has taken particular care to manifest his intentions to all Europe. He made it his duty to observe a perfect neutrality; he fulfilled all that it required, with the most scrupulous exactitude; and in consequence of this, he thought himself entitled to all the prerogatives naturally appertaining to the qualification of a sovereign perfectly neuter. But notwithstanding this, his commercial subjects have been obliged to claim his protection, and his majesty has found himself under the necessity of granting it to them.

To effect this, the king ordered last year a certain number of men of war to be fitted out. He employed a part of these on the coasts of his kingdom, and the rest served as convoys for the Swedish merchant-ships in the different seas which the commerce of his subjects required them to navigate. He acquainted the several belligerent powers with these measures, and was preparing to continue the same during the course of this year, when other courts, who had likewise adopted a perfect neutrality, communi-

cated

ated their sentiments to him, which the king has found entirely conformable to his own, and tending to the same object.

The empress of Russia caused a declaration to be delivered to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid, in which she acquainted them of her resolution to protect the commerce of her subjects, and to defend the universal rights and prerogatives of neutral nations. This declaration was founded upon such just principles of the laws of nations and the subsisting treaties, that it was impossible to call them into question. The king found them entirely concordant with his own cause, and with the treaty concluded in the year 1666, between Sweden and France; and his majesty could not forbear to acknowledge and to adopt the same principles, not only with regard to those powers, with whom the said treaties are in force, but also with regard to such others as are already engaged in the present war, or may be involved therein hereafter, and with whom the king has no treaties to appeal to. It is the universal law; and when there are no particular engagements existing, it becomes obligatory upon all nations.

In consequence thereof, the king declares hereby again, "That he will observe the same neutrality, and with the same exactitude as he has hitherto done. He will enjoin all his subjects, under rigorous pains, not to act in any manner whatever contrary to the duties which a strict neutrality imposes unto them; but he will effectually protect their lawful commerce, by all possible means, whenever they carry on the same, conformably to the principles here above mentioned."

EXPLANATION which the COURT of SWEDEN has demanded, relative to the Proposal which the COURT of RUSSIA has made for the reciprocal Protection and Navigation of their Subjects.

I. HOW and in what manner a reciprocal protection and mutual assistance shall be given?

II. Whether each particular power shall be obliged to protect the general commerce of the whole, or if in the mean time it may employ a part of its armament in the protection of its own particular commerce?

III. If several of these combined squadrons should meet, or, for example, one or more of their vessels, what shall be the rule of

of

of their conduct towards each other, and how far shall the neutral protection extend?

IV. It seems essential to agree upon the manner in which representations shall be made to the powers at war, if, notwithstanding our measures, their ships of war or armed vessels should continue to interrupt our commerce in any manner. Must these remonstrances be made in the general name of the united powers, or shall each particular power plead its own cause only?

V. Lastly, it appears essentially necessary to provide against this possible event, where one of the united powers seeing itself driven to extremities against any of the powers actually at war, should claim the assistance of the allies in this convention to do her justice; in what manner can this be best concerted? A circumstance which equally requires a stipulation, that the reprisals in that case shall not be at the will of such party injured, but that the common voice shall decide: otherwise an individual power might at its pleasure draw the rest, against their inclinations and interests, into disagreeable extremities, or break the whole league, and reduce matters into their original state, which would render the whole fruitless and of no effect.

ANSWER of the COURT of RUSSIA.

I. AS to the manner in which protection and mutual assistance shall be granted, it must be settled by a formal convention, to which all the neutral powers will be invited; the principal end of which is to insure a free navigation to the merchant-ships of all nations. Whenever such vessel shall have proved from its papers, that it carries no contraband goods, the protection of a squadron or vessels of war shall be granted her; under whose care she shall put herself, and which shall prevent her being interrupted. Hence it follows:

II. That each power must concur in the general security of commerce. In the mean time, the better to accomplish this object, it will be necessary to settle, by means of a separate article, the places and distances which may be judged proper for the station of each power. From that method will arise this advantage, that all the squadrons of the allies will form a kind of chain, and be able to assist each other; the particular arrangement to be confined only to the knowledge of the allies, though the convention,

tion, in all other points, will be communicated to the powers at war, accompanied with the sincerest protestations of a strict neutrality.

III. It is undoubtedly the principle of a perfect equality, which must regulate this point. We shall follow the common mode with regard to safety. In case the squadrons should meet and engage, the commanders will conform to the usages of the sea service, because, as is observed above, the reciprocal protection, under these conditions, should be unlimited.

IV. It seems expedient, that the representations mentioned in this article be made by the party aggrieved; and that the ministers of the other confederate powers support those remonstrances in the most forcible and efficacious manner.

V. We feel all the importance of this consideration; and, to render it clear, it is necessary to distinguish the case.

If any one of the allied powers should suffer itself to be drawn in by motives contrary to the established principles of a neutrality and perfect impartiality, should infringe its laws, or extend their bounds, it cannot certainly be expected that the others should espouse the quarrel; on the contrary, such a conduct would be deemed a dereliction of the ties which unite them. But if the insult offered to one of the allies should be hostile to the principles adopted and announced in the face of all Europe, or should be marked with the character of hatred and animosity, inspired by resentment, against these common measures of the confederacy, which has nothing else in view than to make, in a precise and irrevocable manner, laws for the liberty of commerce, and the rights of every neutral nation, then it shall be held indispensable for the united powers to make a common cause of it, (at sea only,) without its being a ground-work for other operations, as these connections are purely maritime, having no other object than naval commerce and navigation.

From all that is said above, it evidently results, that the common will of all, founded upon the principles admitted and adopted by the contracting parties, must alone decide; and that it will always be the fixed basis of the conduct and operations of this union. Finally, we shall observe, that these conventions suppose no other naval armament than what shall be conformable to circumstances, according as those shall render them necessary, or as may be agreed. It is probable that this agreement, once ratified and established,

established, will be of the greatest consequence; and that the belligerent powers will find in it sufficient motives to persuade them to respect the neutral flag, and prevent their provoking the resentment of a respectable communion, founded under the auspices of the most evident justice, and the sole idea of which is received with the universal applause of all impartial Europe.

No. XV.

COPY of the MARITIME TREATY between the EMPRESS of RUSSIA and the KING of DENMARK, acceded to by the KING of SWEDEN and STATES-GENERAL of the UNITED PROVINCES.

ART. I. THEIR respective majesties are fully and sincerely determined to keep upon the most friendly terms with the present belligerent powers, and preserve the most exact neutrality: they solemnly declare their firm intention to be, that their respective subjects shall strictly observe the laws forbidding all contraband trade with the powers now being, or that may hereafter be, concerned in the present disputes.

II. To prevent all equivocation or misunderstanding of the word contraband, their imperial and royal majesties declare that the meaning of the said word is solely restrained to such goods and commodities as are mentioned under that denomination in the treaties subsisting between their said majesties and either of the belligerent powers. Her imperial majesty abiding principally by the Xth and XIth articles of the treaty of commerce with Great Britain; the conditions therein mentioned, which are founded on the right of nations, being understood to extend to the kings of France and Spain; as there is at present no specific treaty of commerce between the two latter and the former. His danish majesty, on his part, regulates his conduct in this particular by the first article of his treaty with England, and the XXVIth and XXVIIth of that subsisting between his said majesty and the king of France, extending the provisions made in the latter to the catholic king; there being no treaty *ad hoc*, between Denmark and Spain.

III. And

III. And whereas by this means the word *contraband*, conformable to the treaties now extant, and the stipulations made between the contracting powers, and those that are now at war, is fully explained; especially by the treaty between Russia and England of the 20th of June 1766; between the latter and Denmark, of the 11th of July 1670; and between their danish and most christian majesties, of August 23d, 1742; the will and opinion of the high contracting powers are, that all other trade whatsoever shall be deemed and remain free and unrestrained.

By the declaration delivered to the belligerent powers, their contracting majesties have already challenged the privileges founded on natural right, whence spring the freedom of trade and navigation; as well as the right of neutral powers; and being fully determined not to depend in future merely on an arbitrary interpretation, devised to answer some private advantages or concerns, they have mutually covenanted as follows:—

First, That it will be lawful for any ship whatever to sail freely from one port to another, or along the coast of the powers now at war.—2dly, That all merchandise and effects belonging to the subjects of the said belligerent powers, and shipped on neutral bottoms, shall be entirely free; except contraband goods.—3dly, In order to ascertain what constitutes the blockade of any place or port, it is to be understood to be in such predicament, when the assailing power has taken such a station, as to expose to imminent danger any ship or ships that would attempt to sail in or out of the said ports.—4thly, No neutral ships shall be stopped without a material and well-grounded cause: and in such cases justice shall be done to them without loss of time; and besides indemnifying, each and every time, the party aggrieved, and thus stopped without sufficient cause, full satisfaction shall be given to the high contracting powers, for the insult offered to their flag.

IV. In order to protect officially the general trade of their respective subjects, on the fundamental principles aforesaid, her imperial, and his royal majesty have thought proper, for effecting such purpose, each respectively to fit out a proportionate quota of ships of war and frigates. The Squadron of each of the contracting powers shall be stationed in a proper latitude, and shall be employed in escorting convoys according to the particular

ticular circumstances of the navigators and traders of each nation.

V. Should any of the merchantmen belonging to the subjects of the contracting powers, sail in a latitude where shall be no ships of war of their own nation, and thus be deprived of the said protection; in such case, the commander of the squadron belonging to the other friendly power shall, at the request of such merchantmen, grant them sincerely and *bona fide* all necessary assistance. The ships of war and frigates of either of the contracting powers shall thus protect and assist the merchantmen of the other: provided nevertheless, that under the sanction of such required assistance and protection, no contraband be carried on, nor any prohibited trade, contrary to the laws of the neutrality.

VI. The present convention cannot be supposed to have any relative effect; that is to extend to any differences that may have arisen since its being concluded: unless the controversy should spring from continual vexations which might tend to aggrrieve and oppress all the nations of Europe.

VII. If, notwithstanding the cautious and friendly care of the contracting powers, and their steady adherence to an exact neutrality, the Russian and Danish merchantmen should happen to be insulted, plundered, or captured by any of the armed ships or privateers belonging to any of the belligerent powers: in such case the ambassador or envoy of the aggrieved party, to the offending court, shall claim such ship or ships, insisting on a proper satisfaction, and never neglect to obtain a reparation for the insult offered to the flag of his court. The minister of the other contracting power shall at the same time, in the most efficacious and vigorous manner, defend such requisition, which shall be supported by both parties with unanimity. But in case of any refusal, or even delay in redressing the grievances complained of; then their majesties will retaliate against the power that shall thus refuse to do them justice, and immediately agree together on the most proper means of making well-founded reprisals.

VIII. In case either of the contracting powers, or both at the same time, should be in any manner aggrieved or attacked, in consequence of the present convention, or for any reason relating thereto; it is agreed, that both powers will join, act in concert

concert for their mutual defence, and unite their forces in order to procure to themselves an adequate and perfect satisfaction, both in regard to the insult put upon their respective flags and the losses suffered by their subjects.

IX. This convention shall remain in force for and during the continuance of the present war; and the obligation enforced thereby, will serve as the ground-work of all treaties that may be set on foot hereafter: according to future occurrences, and on the breaking out of any fresh maritime wars which might unhappily disturb the tranquillity of Europe. Meanwhile, all that is hereby agreed upon shall be deemed as binding and permanent, in regard both to mercantile and naval affairs, and shall have the force of law in determining the rights of neutral nations.

X. The chief aim and principal object of the present convention being to secure the freedom of trade and navigation, the high contracting powers have antecedently agreed, and do engage to give to all other neutral powers free leave to accede to the present treaty, and, after a thorough knowledge of the principles on which it rests, share equally in the obligations and advantages thereof.

XI. In order that the powers, now at war, may not be ignorant of the strength and nature of the engagements entered into by the two courts aforesaid; the high-contracting parties shall give notice, in the most friendly manner, to the belligerent powers, of the measures by them taken; by which, far from meaning any manner of hostility, or causing any loss or injury to other powers, their only intention is to protect the trade and navigation of their respective subjects.

XII. This convention shall be ratified by the contracting powers, and the ratifications interchanged between the parties in due form, within the space of six weeks from the day of its being signed, or even sooner, if possible. In witness whereof, and by virtue of the full powers granted us for the purpose, we have put our hands and seals to the present treaty.

Given at Copenhagen, July the 19th, 1780.

(Signed)

CHARLES D'OSTEN, called SOKEN,
J. SCHACK RATLAU.
A. P. COMPTE BERNSTORF.
O. THOTT.
H. EIKSTEDT.

Acceded to, and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the court of Sweden, at Petersburg, the 21st of July 1780, and by the states-general accepted Nov. 20, 1780, and signed at Petersburg, January 5, 1781, with the addition only of article

XIII. If the respective squadrons, or ships of war, should meet or unite, to act in conjunction, the commander in chief will be regulated according to what is commonly practised between the crowned heads and the republic.

No. XVI.

MEMORIAL from the EMPRESS of RUSSIA to the STATES-GENERAL.

High and Mighty Lords!

NO sooner had her imperial majesty been informed of the British ambassador's sudden departure from the Hague, than, without waiting for any further explanation, guided only by the friendship and good-will she bears to the two contending powers, and awakened by the alarming tendency of a measure so detrimental to their mutual welfare and tranquillity, she directed her minister in London to make the most earnest representations to that court, to prevent, if possible, the matter being carried to any extremity, and to recommend the most conciliating measures; offering at the same time to promote them as far as was in her power. Although her majesty has not yet heard of any answer from the said court, she has some reason to think that the overtures made by her have been favourably received. In consequence whereof, her imperial majesty does not hesitate to give a fresh proof of her good intentions for bringing about a reconciliation between the two powers, whom she equally supports, and who have lived so long in that natural and perfect harmony which best suits their respective interests, by offering them, in form, her services and mediation, for the purpose of putting an end to that discord and war which has lately broke out between them.

While monsieur de Simolin, her imperial majesty's minister at the

the court of London, is fulfilling her commands on this head; the underwritten has the honour to acquit himself of the same task here with their high mightinesses, and to assure them of the zeal and readiness he wishes to have an opportunity to display, in forwarding the desirable work of restoring the said states to their wonted peace and tranquillity. That disinterestedness, impartiality, and benevolence, which have hitherto stamped every action of her imperial majesty, are equally conspicuous in the present instance.

The wisdom and prudence of your high mightinesses will easily distinguish those sacred characteristics, and dictate the answer which the underwritten shall transmit to his imperial mistress, as a proof of his having executed her commands.

(Signed)

LE PRINCE DE GALLITZIN.

Hague, March 1, 1781.

No. XVII.

MEMORIAL of PRINCE GALLITZIN and MONS. DE MARKOF, Ministers of the EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS, presented to the STATES-GENERAL; with Mr. Secretary Fox's Letter to MONS. SIMOLIN, RUSSIAN Minister at the Court of LONDON.

THE underwritten, joint ministers of the empress of all the Russias, in consequence of the orders given them to accelerate as much as in them lies, the salutary work of the mediation entrusted to her imperial majesty, think it their duty to lose no time to communicate to your high mightinesses a copy of a letter written to monf. Simolin, their sovereign's minister at the court of London, by Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his britannic majesty. It will convince your high mightinesses of the intentions of his britannic majesty to be sincerely reconciled to the republic, on the conditions by yourselves established, in your resolution of the 14th ult. by which you again accept of the empress's mediation; the preliminary concession, made on the part of Great Britain, concerning the principal article of the treaty

of 1674, seems to level all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented your entering upon a negotiation for a final peace. If, in the interim, the proposal made in the said letter, of a suspension of hostilities, should be thought conformable to the interests of the nation, nothing could be more so to the principles of humanity in general, which actuate the empress, and to her private sentiments, of benevolence and affection for this state; especially as such a measure has the double advantage of preventing the useless effusion of blood; and from this instant restoring to the republic, the enjoyments of the rights of freedom in trade and navigation, which fall to the share of neutral nations, and especially those that have acceded to the principles of the armed neutrality.

Full of confidence in the disposition equally peaceful, and conformable to the real welfare of the state, which your high mightinesses have always manifested in the most solemn and positive manner; the underwritten flatter themselves, that you will not hesitate to make a proper use of the letter they have the honour to communicate, in order to take a quick and decisive resolution, that may tend to restore peace and harmony with your old friend and ally, upon terms as honourable as they are advantageous.

(Signed)

P. GALLITZIN.
MARKOF.

Copy of the Letter alluded to in the above MEMORIAL.

HAVING laid before his majesty an extract of the letter which you did me the honour, sir, of communicating from prince Gallitzin, and mons. de Markof, I have his majesty's commands to inform you, that the king, desirous of testifying his intentions towards their high mightinesses, and of renewing that friendship which has been so unfortunately interrupted between old allies, who ought to be united in the bonds of mutual interest, is ready to enter into a negotiation, for the purpose of setting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1674, between his majesty and the republic; and that the better to facilitate the execution of a plan which his majesty has so much at heart, the king is willing to give immediate orders for a suspension of hostilities, if, on their

part, the lords the states-general should think such a measure suitable to the object in view.

I am commanded by his majesty to explain to you, sir, his sentiments on so important a subject, and desire you will impart the same to the ministers of her imperial majesty to their high mightinesses, that they may be conveyed, without the least delay, to the ministers of the republic; being of opinion that it is the most convenient step, with the mediation and good offices of her imperial majesty, to put an end to the scourge of that war which unfortunately subsists between the two nations.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

C. J. Fox.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

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