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

VOL. III

1-1-13

СЕРТИФИКАТ

№ 1234

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

AN ENLARGED TRANSLATION FROM
THE FRENCH.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED,
AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

*Nil compositum miraculi causâ, verùm audita scriptaque
senioribus tradam.* TACIT. Ann. lib. xi.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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CONTENTS
OF THE
THIRD VOLUME.

CHAP. IX.

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.—Marshal Romantzoff comes to Mosco.—Regulations and edicts for the administration of the empire.—The Russians enter the Krimea.—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. Petersburg.—Journey of the grand duke to Berlin.—His second marriage.—Zoritch obtains the place of favourite.—Transactions of the years 1774, 1775, 1776. - - - - - page 1

CHAP. X.

Relations between Russia and Denmark.—Conduct of the russian ministers at Copenhagen.—Success and
a 3 misfor-

fortune of Struenfee.—Character of Bernstorff.—
 Cession of Schlesvig.—State of Sweden.—Revo-
 lution of 1772.—Voyage of Gustavus III. to St. Pe-
 tersburg,—Hostile dispositions of the Turks.—
 Treaty of Constantinople.—Festivities.—Disasters.
 —Dismission of the favourite Zoritch.—Is succeeded
 by Rimsky Korzakoff.—Transactions of 1776 to
 1779. - - - page 92

CHAP. XI.

Military preparations on the part of Russia.—War
 between Prussia and Austria.—Congress and peace
 of Teschin.—Armed neutrality.—Journey of the
 empress to Mohileff.—Journey of Joseph II. to
 St. Petersburg.—Journey of the hereditary prince of
 Prussia to St. Petersburg.—Dismission of Korzakoff.
 —Lanskoï becomes favourite.—Travels of the grand
 duke in France and Italy.—Of Bobrinsky.—Invasion
 of the Krimea.—Death of count Panin and of prince
 Gregory Orloff.—1779, 1780 to 1784. 153

CHAP. XII.

Relations of Russia with Persia, China, and Japan.—
 The empress resolves to defend the rights of
 Joseph II. over the Scheldt.—Adventure of the
 grand duke at Gatschina.—Death of Lanskoï.—
 Marriage of Prince Potemkin.—Yermoloff becomes
 favourite.—League of the electors.—Treaty of com-
 merce with France.—Dinner of toleration.—Momo-

noff succeeds Yermoloff.—The empress purchases the libraries of Voltaire and d'Alembert.—1784, 1785, 1786. - - page 233

CHAP. XIII.

Catharine II. takes a journey to the Krimea.—Assassination of khan Sahim-Gueray.—The Turks declare war against Russia.—Gustavus III. invades Finland.—Sea fight between the Swedes and the Russians.—Bentzelstierna makes an attempt to burn the Russian fleet at Copenhagen.—Capture of Otchakoff.—Peace of Varela.—Victories obtained over the Turks.—Capture of Ismail.—Dismission of Momonoff.—Elevation of Zuboff.—The court of Great Britain sends Mr. Fawkener to St. Petersburg.—Peace of Yassy.—Death of prince Potemkin.—1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792. 290

CHAP. XIV.

State of the court of St. Petersburg at the death of prince Potemkin.—Insurrection of Kosciusko.—Last partition of Poland.—Assassination of Gustavus III.—Death of Leopold II.—French emigrants in Russia.—Of Plato Zuboff and his brothers.—Treaty concluded with Great Britain.—Conspiracy of Armfeldt.—Journey of Gustavus Adolphus to St. Petersburg.—Conquests in Persia.—Death of Catharine II.—Statements of the presents that were received by her favourites.—Forces, expences, and revenues of Russia.—Imperial title.—1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796. - - 396

APPENDIX to the THIRD VOLUME.

No. I. ARMED NEUTRALITY.—The memorial presented to their high mightinesses by prince Gallitzin, the russian minister, on the part of the empress his Sovereign. - - -	page 447
Declaration from the empress of Russia to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. -	449
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. -	451
Answer from the king of France to the declaration of the empress of Russia. - -	452
Answer from the king of Spain, to the declaration of the empress of Russia. - -	453
Declaration of the king of Denmark and Norway to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid.	455
Declaration of the king of Sweden to the same courts. - - -	457
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. - - -	459
Answer to the court of Russia. -	460
No. II. 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. - -	462
No. III.	

No. III. Memorial from the empress of Russia to the states-general.	- - -	page 467
No. IV. Memorial of prince Gallitzin and monf. de Markoff, ministers of the empress of all the Russias, presented to the states general; with Mr. secretary Fox's letter to monf. Simolin, ruffian minister at the court of London.	- - -	468
Copy of the letter alluded to in the above memorial.	- - -	470
No. V. Manifesto published by order of the empress of Russia, upon the occasion of her troops entering the peninsula of the Krimea, the Kuban, and the island of Taman; which countries are hereby declared to be annexed to her imperial majesty's dominions	- - -	471
No. VI. Letter from the empress of all the Russias to his prussian majesty.	- - -	476
No. VII. Manifesto of the Sublime Porte against Russia, dated 24th August 1787.	- - -	477
Manifesto of the court of Russia against the Sublime Porte, dated Petersburg, Sept. 13th, 1787.	- - -	479
No. VIII. Note delivered the 28th of June, by the ruffian ambassador at Stockholm, to the swedish ministry.	- - -	484
Answer of the court of Stockholm to the foregoing rescript.	- - -	486
		Copy

Copy of a circular note delivered by the court of Sweden to all the foreign ministers, dated Stockholm, June 23, 1788.	-	-	page 488
Declaration of the empress of all the Russias, against the king of Sweden, June 30, 1788.	-		490
Exhortation of the king of Sweden to his subjects.			494
Declaration and counter-declaration, between Denmark and Sweden.	-	-	495
Copy of a declaration delivered to the confederated states of Poland by the prussian minister at Warsaw, dated October 12, 1788, on the subject of an intended alliance between Russia and Poland.			497
Answer of the diet at Warsaw to the king of Prussia's declaration.	-	-	499
No. IX. Articles of the quadruple alliance between Russia, Austria, France, and Spain.	-		500
No. X. Treaty of peace concluded between the king of Sweden and the empress of all the Russias.			502
No. XI. Manifesto of the empress of all the Russias, relative to the partition of Poland.	-	-	505
Manifesto of his prussian majesty relative to the partition of Poland, March 25.	-		508
Declaration of the king and republic of Poland, assembled in diet at Grodno, protesting against the forcible partition of Poland	-	-	511

- No. XII. The principal articles of the treaty concluded at Yassy, the 9th of January 1792, and signed by prince Repnin and the grand vizir. page 512
- No. XIII. Some particulars of the ukaufe or edict published in regard to the French established in Ruffia. - - - 513
- No. XIV. Abolition of the messages relative to family events between Sweden and Ruffia. - 515
- No. XV. Act by which Courland, Semigallia, and the circle of Pilten, surrendered themselves to the emperors of Ruffia: - - 516
- No. XVI. Form of the individual oath exacted of the Lithuanians and the Poles. - 517
- No. XVII. Additional Notes. - 518

* * * Vol. iii. page 382, instead of the note as it stands, read: "It was what the three allied courts called, in diplomatic terms, the *status quo*." And, page 384, in the note, for xxi read xii.

L I F E

OF THE

EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

CHAP. IX.

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. — Marshal Romantzoff comes to Mosco. — Regulations and edicts for the administration of the empire. — The Russians enter the Krimea. — Election of khan Sahim Guercy. — Zavodoffsky becomes favourite. — Death of the grand duke's first consort. — Second journey of prince Henry of Prussia to St. Petersburg. — Journey of the grand duke to Berlin. — His second marriage. — Zoritch obtains the place of favourite. — Transactions of the years 1774, 1775, 1776.

GREGORY Orloff 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 Vassiltschikoff. It was not to him that this sacrifice was made.

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. Vassiltschikoff received his dismissal; Orloff was retaken into favour; but the incorrigible coarseness of his manners, formerly palliated by the warmth of attachment, became unsufferable, when united with decayed affection. Potemkin alone had the secret of consoling her majesty

* 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.

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 Orloff, he was so thoughtless as to boast of the favour he enjoyed; and even ventured to assert, that it entirely depended on him to remove from court any persons for whom he might conceive a dislike. Alexius Orloff 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 Orloff, 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

* Prince Potemkin was born in the environs of Smolensk, of a family very little known.

† 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.

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 Orloff had been for several days 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, Gus-
tavius

tauus 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 70 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 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 reproach or 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 100,000 rubles, and every month he found 12,000 on his dressing-table. The marshal of the court was commissioned to provide him a table of 24 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

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 grant him. When the judgment she formed was favourable, the confidante 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 the physician 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; and since that time they have 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.

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 fullen, 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 Zachar Chernicheff* 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. Zachar Chernicheff delivered in his resignation; and though the favourite was totally deficient in all the branches

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

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 every suitor, while he did nothing for any body ; and for employing himself to no purpose but in aggrandising still more his enormous power.

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

rival*. After having long opposed Panin to Orloff, she now thought of opposing Orloff to Potemkin.

Mortified at being refused permission to retire, a permission which had been formerly granted him against his inclination, Orloff 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 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 Orloff experienced a fresh cause of vexation. Shortly after the execution of Pugatshoff, the empress took the resolution of visiting Mosco ; designing

* 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.*"

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 Orloff 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 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;

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 of the heir of the throne, said to him,

* These two triumphal arches cost, it is said, 40,000 rubles.

“ 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 days after her arrival at Mosco, the
 empress performed a pilgrimage to a convent
 situate 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 occa-
 sion he said, in revènge for this mark of dis-
 favour :—“ The empress was not willing that I
 “ should accompany her on her pilgrimage,
 “ because she thought that I had neither devo-
 “ tion enough, nor enough of the courtier.”

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 answer them. This conduct put arms into
 the hands of his enemies, but was particularly

* Count Andrew Razumoffsky, one of the sons of the
 hetman. The other, who is called count Gregory Razu-
 moffsky, follows a studious life at Laufanne.

favourable

favourable to the ambitious Potemkin, who was ardently longing for the removal of Panin. On succeeding prince Orloff 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, and wearied the saints with his prayers. He had taken care to make choice of the same confessor with the empress, and unboasted 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

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

But the intrigues of the court have detained our view from objects more worthy of our attention. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that the pleasures of Catharine prevented her

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 Romantzoff 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 did not lessen the intended splendor and magnificence in other respects, nor the public honours

* The 21st of July.

paid to the general. He chose to appear before his sovereign, not as a triumphant hero, but as a soldier come to give an account 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 Romantzoff received an estate in land with 5000 peasants, 100,000 rubles in ready money, a very fine service of plate, a hat encircled with a laurel branch of brilliant jewelry, and valued at 30,000 rubles, the star of the order of St. George, and an epaulette of

* 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, from whence that of Russia is denominated, knows nothing of it.

diamonds, with a magnificent truncheon of field-marshal; and a diploma, adding to his surname that of Zadunaiski, which may be translated, the Ultra-danubian.

To count Alexius Orloff, 60,000 rubles, and a sword enriched with diamonds, of very considerable value, and a diploma granting to him the surname of Tschesminski, from the burning of the turkish fleet in the bay of Tschesmè.

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 Dolgorouky, 60,000 rubles each, with a sword and diamond star.

To count Soltikoff, the second class of the order of St. George.

To count Ivan Chernicheff, 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.

Next day the grand duke bestowed 11 ribbons of the order of St. Anne.

Large gold medals, struck upon the occasion, were likewise distributed to the field-marshal, 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 *ukause*, whereby various taxes were abolished, some of which had been laid on during the war, and others were of old standing.

The taxes laid on during the late war, and which were now abolished, were the tax of 80 kopeeks over and above that of 1 rouble 20 kopeeks paid per head by merchants and handicraftsmen; the tax of 100 rubles on each furnace or iron work; the tax of five rubles on each furnace in copper founderies; the tax of four kopeeks 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 rouble *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,³ in the proportion of 40 rubles for every man lost by them in the late troubles.

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

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.

pardon. It took off all prohibitions against contracting marriages without the consent of the governors of towns or 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 500 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 500 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

have 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*.

Catharine 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 intelligent, the most docile, and consequently the most fit for contributing

tributing to the success of the intended trial of the new laws*.

The reader will perhaps recollect, that towards the conclusion of the foregoing volume †, we spoke in general terms of a constitution for the ruffian empire, which seriously occupied her mind, and from which we took occasion then to lay before him 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 43, whereof 38 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

* 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.

† Vol. ii. p. 372, 373. The whole of this constitution has been annulled by the present emperor Paul, and the viceroyalties abolished.

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 latter was to consist of from 300,000 to 400,000 persons of the male sex, consequently of 600,000 or 800,000 people; and every circle of from 40,000 to 60,000 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, besides those 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

* See the preliminaries, vol. i. p. 3, 4, 5, &c.

† See before, vol. ii. p. 388.

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 the honour of the government over which he presided.

Two examples of the annual government-expenditure, 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 143,800 rubles: for the viceroyalty of Tver, which has thirteen circles, 120,953 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

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 Russia had ever seen (even not excepting the reformatations 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, from 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

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 so prodigious a compass, which otherwise would be neither easily susceptible of inspection, nor of being vigorously actuated throughout. Whatever was not suitable to this 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, though so 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

The reform of the senate, at the commencement of this reign, had, in a manner, prepared the way to this new creation; and the new 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, in various modes, from 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
contri-

contributed to the maintenance of order throughout the whole monarchy.

Before she promulgated this regulation, Catharine 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 ukaufe, worthy of attaching to her the gratitude of a great number 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 thenceforward 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 former judgment was confirmed, the appellant should pay a fine.

Another ukaufe diffused joy and gladness among the inhabitants of Siberia. The rebellion of Pugatshoff 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

caused the former to be forgotten. A bank was established at Tobolsk, and committed to the care of Gotoftzoff, 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 ruffian territories, on the borders of the sea of Azoff. 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 of the 11th 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 regulates 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 controuled 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 the court of Russia; and their privileges

leges 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 †, on condition of paying
annually

* It is called in Russia the edict, or the ukaufe 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 100,000 rubles: the

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 Pugatsheff 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 desarts which overspread a great part of the empire; and which, in many

second, of those who have 50,000 rubles; and the third, of those who have only 100 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.

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 6000 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

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 all together were declining by the mal-administration, and the rapacity of the ruffian agents. The 100,000 colonists, which Catharine had at several times brought into her country *, and the greater part of whom were Germans, were reduced, ten years afterwards, to less than 29,000 †, dispersed and languishing in the parts about Saratoff, Kief, and Tzaritzin.

While Catharine was yet at Mosco, she learned that some officers had just been following the example of lieutenant-colonel Kischenkoi ‡, 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 ruffian officers, as well as the popes, that were sent to them; and placed in the portable chapels or shrines of

* In 1764 and 1765.

† 28,293 persons of both sexes, forming 7185 families.

‡ The same whose covetousness and rapacity forced so many thousands of Kalmuks to abandon Russia, and betake themselves to the mountains of Thibet.

these popes, the images of the Dalai-lama, 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 sollicitation 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 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 Cattegatte and the gulf of Finland cause numberless shipwrecks during the remainder; Catharine allowed the use of ships freight-free to Gousetnikoff, a russian merchant, who had raised a capital for that undertaking; and also promised to make good all his losses, leaving,

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 themselves 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 plea-

ture 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 ruffian naval force, fufficiently spoke the intentions of the government, even if other evidence were wanting, to advance fpeedily into the firft clafs of commercial and maritime power. But, of all the vaft 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 fome degree undertaken *. This was no lefs than the union of the remote and inland Cãfpian with the far-diftant and boundlefs frozen ocean. However extraordinary this fcheme may appear, and however difficult it might prove in the execution, yet, by means of canals, with the junction of feveral navigable rivers, it might perhaps be found not impracticable. If at any time this plan fhould fucceed, it will undoubtedly exhibit the greateft monument of human induftry, and the moft extraordinary inland navigation, that has ever been known.

* At leaft fo it was faid to be. See Ann. Reg. of the year of which we are fpeaking.

While

While Catharine was employed in calming the rebellious Tartars of the eastern part of her dominions, she used her efforts to induce those of the lesser Tartary to submit to her sovereignty. The conquests of prince Dolgorouky 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 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 with friendliness; 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 Romantzoff had already received orders to collect an army on the banks of the Borysthenes ‡. 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

* Tartarian nobles.

† These castans cost 4000 rubles each:

‡ The Dniester.

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 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 Zavadoffsky, was honoured in private with the smiles of the empress. He was presently appointed her

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 Orloff 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 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. Zavadoffsky 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, Orloff, 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 Orloff 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

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 Razumoffsky. He engaged him in all his parties, and placed the greatest confidence

confidence in him. The empress, who knew the bold and enterprising spirit of Razumoffsky, 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 Razumoffsky 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 Razumoffsky, 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 Razumoffsky, 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 formed the design of revenging herself on her who had brought her virtue into suspicion with her husband; and ac-

* The grand duke's first consort.

cordingly 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 Tzarsko-selo, 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 Razumoffsky. These letters he immediately carried to his mo-

* 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 Besborodko 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."

ther;

ther; calling upon her for vengeance on the man who had thus dared to disobey her commands. 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 Razumoffsky to Siberia, she banished him to Venice, with the title of her envoy extraordinary. Razumoffsky 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 Razumoffsky † 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

* Count Andrew Razumoffsky seemed formed for pleasing princesses; for it is asserted, that the queen of Naples granted him extraordinary favours.

† In the year 1781.

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 differences 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
" Poniatoffsky: but you will nevertheless do
" well to give it your approbation; since com-
" pensations may be offered to that monarch,
" of

“ of greater value to him, than the throne
 “ which is continually tottering under him.—
 “ The remainder of Poland must be parti-
 “ tioned.”

This idea pleased the ambitious Catharine; and the annihilation of Poland was decreed.

The grand dukes having unfortunately died*, without leaving an heir to inherit the empire, the grand 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 landgravate of Hesse, immediately set about disengaging her from her contract. He dispatched a courier to the king of Prussia,

* On the 26th of April.

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 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,

Catharine, satisfied with these arrangements, set about making considerable preparations, in order that her son might accompany prince Henry on his return. She allotted 40,000 rubles for the journey of the princess of Wirtemberg. She called to Petersburg marshal Romantsoff, 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 Tzariko-felo*; the next day prince Henry took leave of the empress. 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 one another 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

* Marshal Romantsoff, count Nicholas Soltikoff, prince Kourakin, and the boyar Narishkin accompanied him on his journey.

“ 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
 “ princeffes of Wirtemberg. I venture to pray
 “ you, that if my fon should beftow his heart
 “ on the princefs Sophia, as I have no doubt
 “ but he will, to deliver the three latter ac-
 “ cording to their directions, and to fupport
 “ the contents of them with that perfuafive
 “ eloquence with which God has endowed
 “ you.

“ The convincing and reiterated proofs
 “ which you have given me of your friendship,
 “ the high efteem which I have conceived for
 “ your virtues, and the extent of the confi-
 “ dence which you have taught me to refofe
 “ in you, leave me no doubt on the fuccefs
 “ of a bufinefs which I have fo much at
 “ heart. Was it poffible for me to place it in
 “ better hands?

“ Your royal highnefs is affuredly an unique
 “ in the art of negotiation: pardon me that
 “ expreffion of my friendship. But I think
 “ there has never been an example of an affair
 “ of this nature tranfacted as this is. Accord-
 “ ingly it is the production of the moft intimate
 “ friendship and confidence.

“ That

“ That princess will be the pledge of it. I
 “ shall not be able to see her without recollect-
 “ ing in what manner this business was be-
 “ gun, 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 be-
 “ seech you to be assured that my gratitude, my
 “ friendship, my esteem, and the high confi-
 “ deration which I have for you, will terminate
 “ only with my life.

“ CATHARINE.”

“ Tzariko-felo, June 11, 1776.”

After having made a halt of 24 hours at Riga, and seen the manœuvres 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

* The duke Charles.

of the imperial throne of Russia*. Prince Henry presented him to the king; who came out to meet them at the entrance of his apartment. The grand duke accosted him by saying:

* The 21st of July, the grand duke made his public entry into Berlin, accompanied by prince Henry of Prussia; in the following order: First appeared 24 postilions, sounding 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 Werthern, minister of state; major-generals Sobeck and Prittwitz, 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 Romantzoff Zadunaiski, general count Soltikoff, and the chamberlain and gentlemen of his imperial highness. The procession was closed by 100 men of infantry, being the guard of honour. The magistracy of the city received the princes under a triumphal arch, where upwards of 70 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.

“ Sir,

“ Sir, the motives which bring me from the
“ extremities of the north to these happy domi-
“ nions, are the desire of assuring your majesty of
“ the friendship and alliance to subsist henceforth
“ for ever between Russia and Prussia; and the
“ eagerness to see a princess destined to ascend
“ the throne of the Russian empire; who, by
“ my receiving 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 contemplating the greatest
“ of heroes, the admiration of our age, and the
“ astonishment of posterity.”

Frederic was in haste to reply:—“ I am not
“ deserving of so much praise, my prince. In
“ me you have before you only a poor grey-
“ headed valetudinarian. But be assured that
“ I think myself extremely happy in receiving
“ within these walls the worthy heir of a power-
“ ful empire, the only son of my best friend,
“ the great Catharine*.”

* 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.

The prussian monarch then turned towards marshal Romantzoff, and added: " Conqueror
 " of the Ottomans, you are welcome here!
 " I find a great resemblance between you and
 " my general Winterfeldt*."

" Sir," returned the marshal, " I should be
 " flattered by resembling, even imperfectly, a
 " general who has so gloriously distinguished
 " himself in the service of Frederic."

" Oh," replied the king, " you have far
 " greater reason to be proud of the victories
 " which will hand down your name to the latest
 " posterity †."

* General Winterfeldt 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.

† Frederic had a great esteem for the brave Romantzoff. The compliments he addressed to him, remind us of what he said some years before to field-marshal Razumoffsky, formerly favourite of the empress Elizabeth.—Razumoffsky was present at a review held before Frederic at Potsdam. That prince asked him how he liked the evolutions?—Razumoffsky, somewhat embarrassed, made answer: " Sir, I am only a civil general."—" Oh!" replied Frederic, " we know nothing of that here."

After

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 the 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.

Feasts and entertainments succeeded without interruption, at Charlottenburg, at Potsdam, and at Sans-Souci. But that which must have most delighted marshal Romantzoff, was the view of the exercises of the garrison of Potsdam. Frederic 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

displayed no less taste than sumptuousness and magnificence*.

On the 3d of August, after quitting Rheinfurg, the grand duke took leave of the royal family; when the king made him the following presents: 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 30,000 crowns; a set of prussian horses; and four pieces of rich tapestry.

Paul Petrovitch returned to Petersburg; 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

* 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, metropolitane archbishop of St. Peterburg and Novgorod.

‡ Of this marriage are born, three princes and five princesses:

1. Alexander Pavlovitch, born December 12, 1777. Married to Elizaveta Alexievna, born January 13, 1779.

2. Constantine Pavlovitch, born April 27, 1779. Married Anna Feodorovna, born September 12, 1781.

3. Nikolai

years after their nuptials, 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

3. Nikolai Pavlovitch, born June 25, 1796.

4. Alexandra Pavlovna, born July 29, 1783.

5. Elena Pavlovna, born December 13, 1784.

6. Maria Pavlovna, born February 4, 1786.

7. Ekatarina Pavlovna, born May 10, 1788.

8. Anna Pavlovna, born January 7, 1795.

* On the death of Catharine II, which happened November 17, 1796.

which

which she assigned to talents, the bounties which she showered upon 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 empresses 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 feminary 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 illumination and improvement 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 amelioration, to the late empress Ekatarina Alexievna. For a more regular survey of these important objects, it may not be amiss to reduce them to a certain order, according to their principal aims; and this will best be done by distributing them into six classes.

The first comprises five institutions, chiefly devoted to military education; and of these the
land-

land-cadet corps, on account of its more general purpose, and its magnitude and importance, is the first in rank. For this reason, and because the method practised in this institution is the ground-work of that followed in all the other military education corps, it will be necessary to be a little circumstantial in the account of it.

To begin then with the locality of this remarkable establishment. The circuit of its premises, which amounts to the space of two versts and an half, is partly occupied by the necessary buildings, and partly converted into a large garden, with spacious grounds for bodily recreation. The main body of the edifice was formerly the palace of prince Mentshikoff, in which it was first instituted, consisting of only two stories above the basement, and, with the continuation of the building by the empress, forms a line of 366 fathoms. Both the outward and inward construction are, suitably to its design, extremely simple; all is adapted to convenience, and nothing made for show. It contains, besides the necessary lodging-rooms, dormitories, school-rooms, and apartments for the sick, three spacious halls for recreation, sufficiently well fitted up for the place. In the part which was the palace are saloons more ornamented, for balls and assemblies.

blies. This and the rest of the building contain, besides, the chancery, a manege, a letter-foundry, and a printing-office, a cabinet of natural history, a library, a theatre for dramatical representations, a ruffian church, and a lutheran and a roman catholic chapel.—So much for the topography of this large and capacious institution, which in many respects is the only one of its kind: and now a few lineaments for characterizing the organization of it.

The land-cadet corps, at least according to its main intent, is a military school: the system of education, and of course the conduct and management of it, are military. The direction of the whole institution was, on its renewed establishment in 1766, committed to a general director, to whom was given a council of administration, consisting of four persons named by the empress. The council, however, no longer subsists; for, on the appointment of count Anhalt to the post of chief inspector without any limitation, it naturally became extinct. In the general management of the whole the lieutenant-colonel of the corps is his assistant; all the other persons of the establishment have their peculiar functions in due subordination.

About every third year the corps admits 120 boys, from five to six years old. Among the
requisites

requisites for admission are, that the father be noble, that is, have the rank of a staff-officer in the civil or military service, and that the child be perfectly healthy, and therefore he is submitted to the examination of the physician. Applications for admittance in behalf of children whose fathers are poor, or have lost their lives in fighting for their country, or are sent hither from very remote provinces, are to be preferred. Such as are once received cannot, under any pretence whatever, be taken away, but must continue in the institute till they have completed their education. Besides these 120 boys, five others are admitted on the same conditions, on exhibitions founded by the privy-counsellor Betzkoï; and in the year 1772 the empress deposited the sum of 100,000 rubles, devoting the interest of it to the purpose of extending every reception to fifteen or more boys, whose fathers were not of the rank of a staff-officer. The number admitted at each reception is, therefore, 140 and upwards, and that of all the cadets exceeds 700.

On their reception the cadets enter the first age or class, wear a brown sailor's dress, with a blue sash, and are put under the care of women; to which end a directress, with ten gouvernantes, and several nurses, are appointed. After three
years

years they are advanced into the second age, where they are put into a dress like the former, but of blue colour, and are committed to the care of eight governors headed by an inspector. The attendants here are much fewer than in the first age. After a like period of three years, the pupils pass on to the third age, which wears a grey dress, and the care of which is in the hands of field-officers. When the cadets have here likewise passed three years, which is also the stated period with the following ages, they enter the fourth, or first military age, in which they change their former dress for a simple and proper uniform. In this and the fifth age they are under the care of the officers of the corps, who have one degree of precedence in rank above the marching regiments. The staff consists, besides the lieutenant-colonel, of two majors, six captains, twelve lieutenants, and six ensigns.—The other officers of the establishment are, a police-master, a master of the horse, (at present) 65 teachers, of whom some have the title of professors, several masters for drawing, fencing, and dancing, a physician, a staff-surgeon, and two assistants, an apothecary, an upper and two inferior stewards; and, besides the officers of the chancery and all the people belonging to the

interior œconomy of the corps, a greek, a lutheran, and a roman-catholic clergyman.

The general end of the establishment naturally branches out into the following subordinate aims: physical, moral, scientific, and military education. The importance of an institution in which a great and mighty empire striving after improvement endeavours to attain an object of so much consequence to the welfare of the whole, by such a number of young citizens from the foremost classes of the nation, is too remarkable an object of investigation for admitting a supposition, that an impartial account of it here can be thought out of place.

If some particular parts of this grand foundation may here and there be justly liable to censure, (and what human institution is not?) yet it can least of all be cast on the physical education. The system of it is calculated for hardening the constitution, but without degenerating into barbarity, or endangering the life of the young pupils by pædagogical experiments. The great fundamental maxim of physical education in great institutions, cleanliness, is here carried to a higher degree than usual in such places. The clothing is sufficient and convenient; but even in the greatest severity of the winter,

winter, neither pelice or cloak is allowed. The food of the cadets is simple and well prepared; at noon they have butcher's meat, in the evening only boiled fruits, vegetables, and the like. Their breakfast is a roll, their afternoon luncheon a slice of black bread, and their drink water. To each age a spacious dormitory is appropriated, which in winter is but very little heated, and every cadet has his own neat bed. The ordering of the day, in regard to bodily education, is this: In the morning every body is up at five; the time till seven is devoted to cleanliness, breakfast, &c. From seven to eleven, they are employed at their lessons in the school, in which period, however, a short pause intervenes, in which they may leave the school-room. The last hour of the forenoon is destined to bodily exercises. About twelve, dinner is served; till two is play-time. From two till six are hours of instruction; then again a pause for recreation. About seven o'clock the bell rings to supper: the rest of the day is devoted to preparation for the morning, repetitions, &c. By the time the clock has struck nine, all are in bed.—The space from one day to the other is therefore divided into three equal parts; eight hours sleep, eight hours sedentary employment, and eight hours exercise and recreation; a pro-

portion the best adapted to the human frame. The manner in which this last period is filled up is not less adequate to its proper end. Three large saloons are principally destined to the purposes of recreation. Here the cadets may exercise themselves in fencing, vaulting, and other arts of corporeal agility; and for amusements of a higher order ample provision is made. Books, news-papers, journals, globes, orreries, and spheres, offer them a variety of entertainment: even the decorations with which the walls of these saloons are furnished, invite them to learning under the form of amusement. In the saloon of the fourth and fifth ages are placed the busts of the great men of antiquity, and the figures of remarkable persons of our own times: the recreation-halls of the other ages, instead of hangings, are painted with representations of the several nations of the russian empire in their proper dresses. In summer, during which season the military ages remain encamped for several weeks successively, the garden belonging to the corps becomes a source of various entertainment to the young pupils. Here little fields and gardens are laid out and cultivated with their own hands, by which means they learn the labours of agriculture in small practical essays. In all these recreations and pastimes they

they are constantly attended by the inspectors, who are obliged to watch over their bodily and mental occupations.

The system of physical education is austere ; that of the moral is mild and benign. The grand object is to prevent immorality, in order not to be forced to punish it. The first and most important means made use of to this end, is uninterrupted inspection. This, and consequently the whole moral nurture, is entrusted to the governors and officers. Each of them has a stated number of cadets under his particular inspection, for whose conduct he must be responsible. Even in the hours of study some of them are constantly present, as the teachers have nothing to do but with the lessons ; the same practice is observed in the recreation-halls and the sleeping-rooms. As in this respect all depends on the moral character of the inspector, it naturally follows that extreme caution is used in the choice of persons to fill these stations ; and never perhaps has the cadet corps shewn greater attention in this respect than while under the direction of count Anhalt. Honour and shame are the only motives which the plan prescribed for this institution allows. Corporal punishments are absolutely prohibited ; on all occasions of momentous faults slight military

chastisements and marks of disgrace are employed; the cadets are put upon bread and water, they are refused permission to visit their parents, relations, &c. The sentiment of honour is awakened and kept up by distinctions and rewards, which consist in little presents and distribution of prizes of books, instruments, or in gold and silver medals, marks affixed to the coat, and the like. This gentle mode of education, which with children of good dispositions is productive of excellent effects, seems, however, to be rather too generally calculated; for, according to this maxim, which is very strictly followed, there are scarcely any methods of correcting the lazy, the perverse, and insensible, of which sort we may suppose not a few among so large a number. The inspectors, as already observed, being all people of good moral character, and of decent behaviour, the cadets have little or no opportunity of seduction. They are but seldom, by especial permission of the chief, never without an attendant, and only for a few hours of the Sunday, allowed to go out of the house, to visit their parents and relations, who have, however, frequent opportunities of seeing and talking with them in the corps. Throughout the winter a public assembly is held once a month on a Sunday, to which all well-dressed people are

are admitted. The cadets, disposed according to their ages, two and two, and accompanied by martial music, enter the saloon, where they are separated from the spectators only by a cordon, with whom they may converse, but not accept of either money or presents from any one. To inspire them with a becoming boldness, they are here exercised in dancing; and in the same view they are allowed once a year to act in their own theatre, a handsome building, and very elegantly fitted up. At times, but very rarely, a public ball is given; at which the children of the seminary for young ladies are present. So long as the cadets are prosecuting their studies in the cadet corps, they may not possess either money or any thing that is not allowed them by the plan of the institution; accordingly, the son of the wealthiest prince is not permitted to wear finer linen or handsomer clothes than the poorest of his school-fellows.

The result of this mode of education is, in the present state of things, extremely beneficial. Mischiefs, intrigue, immorality, and all the vices which commonly harbour in great schools, are here not to be found: on the contrary, a certain good humour and amiable docility prevails, at least among the far greater number. If we may judge from the young men who have been lately

let out of the corps, no prominent cast of character is visible, that may reasonably be attributed to its particular method of education; on the contrary, from the observations that have been made, a great variety appears, according to the various dispositions and the diversity of interior frame. It may always suffice, and more than suffice, if the accidental combinations of an education of 15 years, very complicated, applied to 700 heads and hearts, and calculated on one plan, enable the seminary to return the materials it had to work upon not worse in substance and better in form, than it received them from the hand of creative nature.

As the moral department is committed to the inspectors alone, the tutors have only to do with what relates to science; it is therefore clearly seen, that these two objects are completely distinct. The instruction is divided into military and civil; the former is only appointed for the fourth and fifth ages, and for such of the noble youths as devote themselves to the military service. The branches of learning that are at present taught, are, besides the general elements of grammar and religion—the ruffian, german, and french languages, geography, statistics, history, natural history, natural philosophy, belles lettres, logic, civil and military architecture, geometry, and
algebra,

algebra. Moreover, the pupils of the corps, according to their age, are instructed in drawing, dancing, riding, fencing, vaulting, turning in wood and ivory, recitation and declamation, admeasurement and surveying of land, &c. Each age is divided into five classes in regard to instruction, so that on an average not more than 28 are together in any one. The branches of knowledge taught in every class are perfectly adapted to its particular age; and in general this method is not blameable. But the method of instruction itself is here liable to very severe censure; for certainly all is not done, which, considering all things, might reasonably be required. It is not to be denied that, with the exception of some very accomplished and well-informed young men, which the corps has given to the country, the greater part do not fully come up to the expectations which the public have a right to form from the magnitude and extent of the means employed. The fault lies neither in the negligence of the direction—for who that knows any thing of Petersburg is unacquainted with the unwearied activity and honest zeal of the late count Anhalt?—nor in the want of expert people, for the corps pays salaries to 65 of them, among whom are men of talents, reputation, and pædagogical experience; but in the
plan

plan and the method of instruction. In the first place, the total separation of scientific and moral education, and the consequent want of all authority in the tutors, is one of its principal defects. If the tutor has not the power to punish inattention, idleness, and disobedience, at his own discretion and on the spot, but must, in every particular case that happens, apply to the governor or officer, who may not always be present just at the moment, and who, besides, has not the power to punish any more than the former, but must report it to his superior, and so upwards to the chief; it is infallibly certain, that out of 100 cases scarcely one will be complained of, and therefore that the obstinate offender has every probability in his favour, that he will come off with impunity in 99. Now, when the chief, on every single instance of this nature that occurs, considers his instructions and the spirit of the statutes, and, deceived by the apparent rarity of such cases, is always willing to proceed with as much lenity as possible, it is easy to imagine how much the spirit of insubordination must be continually gaining ground, and how little the tutor, even with the best intentions, is able to perform. A second defect is in the want of a regular and consistent plan for the instruction. The corps has a great many, and, for the most part, very
excellent

excellent books of instruction; but they are deficient in systematic connection. The tutors have no regular plan to go by, no fixed statement by which to regulate their procedure. It is therefore very possible, that, to give but one instance, in three or four successive classes, the same thing shall be taught over again; or that it shall be delivered circumstantially and at large in the lower classes, but very cursorily in the higher.—The most important obstacle is, lastly, that but very few of the lessons are delivered in the russian language. The consequences of this defect are so manifest, that it would be superfluous to say any thing farther upon it; especially as a very suitable remark on this defect in the method pursued was made by the empress in a general plan signed by herself.—Several other slight defects are passed over in silence, as having but little influence, and might be easily removed, if the more considerable ones were remedied.

The result of the scientific education may be easily calculated from the foregoing sketch. Talents will burst through the greatest obstacles; and for the well-disposed and inquisitive youth the sources of instruction are amply sufficient. If now and then a cadet is sent out, who, after fifteen years of instruction can scarcely speak
french,

french, in which most of his knowledge has been conveyed: yet, on the other hand, there are many who, while yet pupils, have enriched their mother-tongue with good translations from foreign languages, and speak and write both the one and the other to a degree of perfection that does honour to their understanding and diligence, and shields the tutors from a censure that does not belong to them, but to the accidental connection of things, under the influence whereof they act.

The military education is said, by such as understand the subject, to be adequate to the design of the institution. The more essential part of it, theoretical instruction in the several departments of military knowledge, is provided for by skilful teachers and experienced officers. In summer, for six or eight weeks, the cadets live entirely in camp, where they study the practical part of the service, and are taught the manœuvres and evolutions. Before they quit the camp, a public review is held, at which naturally a great part of the public attend as spectators.

After a period of fifteen years, during which the government has fed, clothed, and prepared for their general and particular destination, 240 young citizens, they are sent out as lieutenants, (as they receive good or bad credentials, as

captains or ensigns,) or if they choose to devote themselves to civil functions, in the same civil ranks, without any obligation whatever towards the institute. Great as the benefit is, which the state bestows by this education on the poorer part of its citizens, great is likewise the advantage which it receives from it in return; for if even the balance could be more favourable for the state, yet it is undoubtedly true, that it is favourable.—The whole education of a cadet, from his reception to his dismissal, costs 4410 rubles.

It is hoped this description needs no apology for its prolixity, as it enables us to treat more briefly the following objects; which are all of them founded on the same principles.

The sea-cadet-corps admits 600 pupils, on the same conditions with the land-cadet-corps, which are divided into five companies of 120 each, and are to be brought up to the sea-service. The instruction comprehends, besides the general branches of knowledge, principally the particular requisites of this destination; these are, nautical geography, astronomy, the art of the pilot and the ship-builder, and the english language; as also, among other bodily exercises, climbing, swimming, and the like. The cadets of the first company, who wear a uniform, and are called marines, are shewn
the

the practical sea-service; and go upon a cruise once a-year in the Baltic. They must have made at least three of these voyages, ere they are dismissed from the corps, and then they enter as midshipmen in the fleet. This institution, which was till lately at Cronstadt, is now removed to Oranienbaum, the palace which was the usual residence of Peter III. and is under the direction of an admiral, the inspectors being officers of the fleet.

The engineer and artillery-cadet-corps admits 360 of noble families, and 85 sons of soldiers. The denomination of this institution shews its destination. The cadets are divided into companies, whereof the younger wear the dress of the light-horse, and the elder the artillery uniform. The soldier-boys form a separate company. The direction of the whole is committed to a general of the artillery; and the places of inspector are filled by artillery-officers. Instruction and education are here chiefly military. The former, besides the three usual languages, extends principally to natural history, mathematics, artillery, fortification, tactics, and military drawing; and is administered by 58 tutors, over whom a director of studies is placed. This corps has the reputation of being excellently conducted in all the
branches

branches of the art of war which belong to the design of it. The military exercises in camp during the summer, draw together a great multitude of spectators, who are particularly delighted with the agility of the young engineers, and the dexterity of their performances.—At their dismissal the cadets are appointed cannoners in the artillery, or conductors in the engineer corps; and the soldier-boys are made subaltern officers.

The grecian corps is for the education and training up of native Greeks, Albanians, &c. and is founded for 200 pupils; of whom however a great part are Russians. The boys are admitted from the age of 12 to 16, and can only be received through the russian consuls; who send them to St. Petersburg at the expence of the empress. The aim of this institution is less military than that of the foregoing; yet the direction and inspection are managed by officers, and the cadets wear uniforms. The instruction, for which 25 teachers are appointed; is suitable to that general destination; the italian and other languages are also taught here. When the education is completed, the cadets have the choice whether they will be officers or translators in the russian service, or be sent back to their own country.

In the page-corps, from 60 to 70 young nobles, who at the same time perform the usual service at court, are trained to civil and military stations. At their dismissal they receive the rank of lieutenants or captains.

To the second class of public establishments for education may be reckoned, such as have the sciences for their principal object.

To medicine and surgery three of them are devoted. The medicinal and surgical school admits 30 pupils, who, according to age and previous knowledge are made capable of higher instruction. Besides this number, who are maintained entirely at the imperial expence, the institution is open to 50 more youths, in consideration of a moderate payment. Seven professors here disseminate the necessary instruction, which extends to the principal branches of medicinal science. In the clinic hospital the senior pupils are introduced to practice. With this institute is connected a practical school for the art of midwifery.—Similar schools are added to the two great hospitals for soldiers and sailors; in each of which 50 pupils are boarded and taught out of the imperial purse. These two institutions are at present united and constituted upon an enlarged and improved plan.

The mine-cadet-corps admits 60 pupils, who are instructed in all the knowledge necessary for the working of mines, and are afterwards appointed officers at the mines. Ten boys of the lower orders, after they have gone through their course of education, are sent, with a yearly allowance of 50 rubles, into foreign countries, where they must serve through the several gradations of employments in the mines, in order to their being made upper-paymasters on their return home. This institution, which is of great and acknowledged general utility, admits also boarders.

In the feminary of St. Alexander Nefsky, which is under the inspection of the metropolitan, the sons of priests are brought up to the priesthood.

Lastly, the gymnasium of the academy of sciences prepares 60 or 70 boys for useful callings of various kinds. They have free maintenance; and the most capable and expert of them are sent, at the imperial expence, to foreign universities. This institution, which also admits young men as boarders at their own charges, has presented to the state several useful and learned persons.

The fine arts likewise have two institutions devoted to their propagation and extension.

The most important and comprehensive is the academy of arts, which serves the twofold purpose of an academy and a school. To describe it in the former of these regards, would be to swell our work beyond its proper limits; but as a school, it is thus constituted: The number of scholars, who are the sons of free parents of the lower classes of people, and are admitted at the age of six, is 325; of whom 25 are maintained by a foundation of the late privy-counsellor Betzkoy. Besides these, the institution takes also boys in consideration of a yearly payment. The pupils are divided into five classes, and are instructed, till their fourteenth year, in all the branches of knowledge necessary for a young artist; at which period they must fix upon one of the departments of practice taught in the academy. These are: painting, engraving, sculpture, music, architecture, and the making of a variety of artificial and mechanical works. Examinations and public exhibitions are annually held; and are frequented by a great concourse of people. Such of the youths as shew most talent and industry, and have four times obtained the prize, are sent, for six years, at the expence of the academy, to travel in England, Italy, and France: and when they have finished their studies, they are discharged
of

of all obligation to the institution.—The academy has already brought many great talents to eminence, and roused many a sleeping genius which would otherwise have been lost to the arts; that this is at all times the case, would not certainly be expected. But it is much to be lamented, that even among the pupils of this school who succeed, but few make their fortune in their own country. In the chief towns, where the arts are prized and rewarded, taste and prejudice for foreign products oppress the courage and defeat the industry of the russian artists; and in the provinces, talents of this class would in vain strive to gain a livelihood. It is, therefore, the usual fate of young artists to be obliged to abandon the first object of their education, to which perhaps they had addicted themselves with the greatest ardour, and take to any other trade by which they may earn their bread—happy, if the want of other knowledge does not oblige them to fall back into that low state of dependence to which, for the most part, they seemed destined at their birth, and from which the munificence of Catharine had redeemed them.

A second school of this class is confined to the theatrical art alone. The pupils are of both sexes, and are likewise taken from the lower

classes of the people, from the foundling-hospital, &c. The instruction comprises all the objects of the theatre : declamation, music, dancing, gesticulation, and mimickry, which find here a very susceptible foil, as the great natural turn of the nation co-operates to the attainment of a very early perfection. Several pupils of this school have already performed at the theatre of the residence, and won for ever the applause of the public.

The navigation-school is also a foundation of the empress Catharine. Here are taught the english language, naval architecture, astronomy, navigation, &c. This establishment takes 65 pupils, who are maintained and educated at the expence of the soveraign, and admits other scholars for a trifling pay.

The education of the female sex is not forgotten in this grand plan of national improvement, the particular parts of which we have now been surveying. One of the most valuable and important institutions is devoted to this object : the seminary for the education of young ladies in the Voskresenskoï * convent. This denomination it retains from the design in which it was built by the empress Elizabeth, and which

* Convent of the Resurrection.

Catharine II. now converted to the present more beneficial and generally-useful purpose.

The whole internal œconomy of this foundation is conducted, with some modifications, on the same principles with which the land-cadet-corps is organized. The number of the pupils, which are admitted at the age of six years, is 480, of whom one half are noble and the other of the burgher class. The direction is vested in a convent; but the immediate care of it is assigned to a directress; the tuition being conducted by eight inspectresses and forty class-ladies. The persons appointed for the several functions of the institution are, in a certain degree, similar to those in the land-cadet-corps.

The noble as well as plebeian young ladies are distributed into four classes, distinguished by the colour of their dress. In each of which they remain three years; and, after this education of 12 years, they are dismissed at the age of 18 or 19.—The principles of the physical education are in general the same as those observed in the land-cadet-corps. The goodness of them is seen by the small number of deaths in the institute itself, and by the healthy blooming condition of the ladies who are dismissed. For several years consecutively not one person has died in the convent, and the morta-

lity of the most unfavourable year never amounted to above seven. The recreations and amusements allowed to the pupils consist also here in suitable exercises, such as assemblies, dancing, and at times theatrical performances. The spirit of the system of education is likewise in this place gentleness, and here too rewards are employed as the most effectual means of promoting diligence. They consist chiefly in public marks of distinction, by ribbons and medallions worn within the walls: on their dismissal six of the ladies, who have credentials from the directress of their good conduct and improvement, wear for life at their breast the cypher of the empress in gold. In this circumstance likewise a distinction is observed, the two more especially commended obtain a cypher much larger than the others. For the twelve next in succession in regard to merit, six gold and as many silver medals are allotted.—The branches of knowledge, to which the pupils are brought up, are adapted to their future lot in life. They are taught several languages, particularly the french, the elements of religion, geography, history, natural history, epistolary writing, music, dancing, declamation, and acting. Those of the burgher order who partake in this instruction are also brought up to various kinds of work.

The

The pupils dismissed from this class are of great benefit to the country, in diffusing a taste for a more refined mode of life in the inferior ranks of society; they even here and there supplant the foreign females who are taken into great families for the purposes of education: but their lot is not always favourable to them. Accustomed to a delicate way of life, and raised by their improvements far above their relatives, they cannot always feel themselves happy in their circle of acquaintance: a circumstance which however is much alleviated by this, that on account of this very education, they are more easily married. In which case they receive from the beneficent institute, to which they are indebted for their moral existence, a portion of 100 rubles.

The sixth and last class of public establishments founded by Catharine in the residence alone, for in all the provinces of the empire she instituted others of the same nature, comprehends the normal and popular schools, for all sorts of young persons. Petersburg acquired in the year 1790 an upper school, in which natural history and philosophy, geometry, languages, &c. were taught; and in all the quarters of the town thirteen middle and inferior schools, in which the children of the common people are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, ruffian history, and geography, &c.

and which all together have upwards of 3200 scholars, whereof 550 are girls, by far the greater part at the expence of her majesty, including even the necessary books.

What reader, after taking this slight survey of such a variety of public-spirited institutions, and which form but a very small part of the number erected throughout the empire, is not astonished at what has been done by a princess, who, in the prodigious plan she concerted for the new-creation of her immense dominions, applied so maternal and appropriate a care to a peculiar, and, in the eyes of the generality of princes, so insignificant a part of it? The money which she bestowed with a liberal hand on the foundation of these institutions, the sums which she disbursed for the support of them, form indeed but one head of the grand meritorious undertakings by which Catharine the second contributed to secure for ever the prosperity of her people; but this one head is a rule by which the whole may be computed. 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

Grecian cadet-corps	200 pupils, and	41,613 rubles.
Page cadet-corps	— 65	
Medicine and surgery school	30	
Land and sea hospit. 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	
Young ladies school	480 —	180,000
Popular and normal schools	3200	
Education-house	— 300	
Orphan-house	— 100	

According to this imperfect survey, therefore, in the 31 places of education here named, about 6800 children of both sexes in the residence are brought up at the expence of government. The sums set down amount to 754,335 rubles *per annum*.

Having thus 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 Orloff 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

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 Zavadoffsky. 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 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 Zavadoffsky was dismissed. Zoritch took his place.

Zavadoffsky, who had already received many marks of bounty from the empress, had, at the instant of his departure, a gratification of 90,000 rubles, the addition of a pension of 4000, and a considerable estate in land.

Zoritch at the same time received a landed property of the value of 120,000 rubles, together with the customary presents. This new lover, without education, without 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.

C H A P. X.

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.—Dismission of the favourite Zoritch.—Is succeeded by Rimsky Korzakoff.—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 under his successors*. Catharine II. restored it to its full force. That princess had not inherited the animosity and the

* 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.

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? However it be, as soon as that monarch thought herself safely fixed on her throne, she resolved to govern Denmark, as

* The court of Denmark made considerable presents to the Shouvaloffs, to the Narishkins, and to several other courtiers. It conferred pensions on the state-counsellors Volkoff and Oltzoufieff.

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 Alchberg, 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 Orloff. The empress made use of him in the endeavour to throw an odium on the warlike plans of her husband; and Orloff 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 Orloff, 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

turned out on account of some malversation; afterwards he came 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

exercised a despotism at once arrogant and trifling*.

When the empress recalled Saldern from Copenhagen, she sent in his place Philosophoff, a man not less haughty, and not less jealous of maintaining the ascendant of his court. Philosophoff 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 Philosophoff arrogated to himself.

The count de Saint-Germain † was appointed minister at war in Denmark. Being intimately

* The young queen Caroline Matilda had as grand-maitresse of her house, and who was at the same time her favourite, 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.

connected

connected with count Gœrtz, 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. Philosophoff was informed of it; and, whether he had any particular reason for entertaining an aversion for count Gœrtz, 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 Gœrtz. 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 Gœrtz from reaping any benefit from the offers that had been made him.

Nevertheless, the influence of Philosophoff 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. Philosophoff 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, Philosophoff was the stay of the old count Bernstorff*, devoted 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,

* Uncle of the present minister.—Philosophoff, who had occasion to go and 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 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.”

detruded

detruded from the throne, and exiled to Zell, where she died of the excess of her grief*. The russion minister beheld with satisfaction the success of the conspiracy plotted against Struensee and the young queen; and he reaped the fruits of it. The 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.

* 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.

† 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 russion 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.

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. Philosophoff 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 very youth by his politeness, his modesty, his right way of thinking, 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. 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

* 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.

with what was due to the court of Russia. Notwithstanding this, he was not less equitable towards other powers; and fought 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 its pretensions. He was not ignorant how much the corruption of the Russian ministers was interested in holding Denmark in a state of dependance 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. Philosopher was first won over. Several persons in the higher departments of government, favourites, secretaries, and agents, made mercenary bargains for their speech or their silence. The

* Count Bernstorff died at Copenhagen the 21st of June 1797. If he had been still living, his encomium would not have been printed here.

† Schlesvig.

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, which 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

* 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."

the same at St. Petersburg. Catharine quickly discovered that she had been the dupe of Bernstorff's artifice. Saldern, whose malversations were 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

* Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria.

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 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 §.

* 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 was the known lover of the countess of Lovenskiöld, who had great influence in the party of the Caps.

‡ He died in 1771, and was succeeded by Gustavus III.

§ Upwards of 50 years ago.

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 prescribed to that monarch the form of an oath different from that exacted by the fundamental laws of the country. Gustavus III. signed this 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

* 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.

of France, the count de Vergennes, and they drew up together the plan of the revolution, as it was shortly 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 resort 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 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 partizans 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

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 persons 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 Gustafschæld †, was at that time commander at Christianstadt, a city of Scania. He lived amicably with the officers of the garrison, fre-

* The senator Hermanfon framed a constitution upon a new model; count Scheffer prepared another; the king himself drew up a third.

† This name signifies, in swedish, *the shield of Gustavus*.

quently 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 Peschlin *. 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.

* General Peschlin has been furnamed 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 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.

Fortu-

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.

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

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 show 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

* The representation was Thetis and Peleus; the first opera that was played in the Swedish language.

† When he had entered the guard-house of the admiralty, an officer shut the door with so much violence as to
put

had done 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

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 express'd himself moreover with great elegance in that language; and compos'd several plays in it, much esteem'd by the nation.

nobles.

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 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 obliged 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 passed at the castle; and added, that he had no doubt of 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

* It was baron von Cederströhm. He made no answer; but presented his sword to the king: upon which he was committed to prison.

proceeding to order them out, when baron Rudbeck appeared 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 the diet, with a complaint against Levenhaupt; and ordered the secretary Ellers to minute down in his register, 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, 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 Pefchlin found means to get away*.

The

* A young man, named Hierta, ran after him for the purpose of stopping him. But the general took him by the

the

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 Rudbeck, and some others of the most violent, were arrested. The duke of Hefsenstein, who had been promised by his party to be declared regent, refused to take the 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 assassins * 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

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*.

* Ankarström.

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 dissentions 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 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 contra-
 " dict 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

* 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.

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 scantily provided with money*, gave them all that he had to dispose of.

* 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.

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. Gustavus was apprehensive of it; and therefore had recourse to artifice for repressing his factious subjects. He caused a
report

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 Sweaborg: 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

* 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.

was the only person who started any scruples: he was arrested by the major of his own regiment; and the duke of Ostrogothia received 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 Ostermann 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

* 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.

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.

Gustavus sent to demand what might be the cause of this armament. He was answered in a manner by no means satisfactory. The gallies 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 Tzarsko-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

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, 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

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 attention
“ necessary for seizing the tide of affairs, that
“ he

“ he experienced the difficulties which the
 “ emprefs 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 defied 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 fantastick habit of his own invention was similar to that of the antient 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.

* 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 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 departure of the king of Sweden, the waves of the gulph 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

* The precautions for the prevention of such fatal effects from similar accidents in future have been already mentioned, vol. ii. p. 400. in speaking of the police regulations.

luxury,

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 entertainments 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 peeress 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 the 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 Prozoroffsky, 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 Staschieff, minister from Russia to Constantinople, was solliciting the
Porte

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 Romantzoff then gave the divan to know, that the Krimea had put itself under the protection of Russia, and that the empress would rather re-ignite 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 impulses it received. Perceiving the tardiness and indecision of the Ottomans, the Russians renewed their activity. By means

* M. de Vergennes.

† M. de Saint-Priest.

of presents and promises they gained new partisans in the Krim, and concluded by making themselves masters of that country, while they talked of nothing but its independence. However, by preparing for war, they endeavoured to prevent it. Marshal Romantzoff 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 the capudan pasha for returning to the sea of Marmara without having fought the Russians.

The russian minister Staschieff was attacked on the road not far from Constantinople by two galiengis 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 Krimea 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

obtained several privileges for the greek christians dispersed in great numbers throughout the extensive countries of Moldavia and Vallachia. From that period several inhabitants of the opposite shore of the Danube, who professed the greek religion, abandoned 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 Vallachia should not be liable to be deposed on any pretence whatever.

This affranchisement appeared no less unjust in the eyes of the Turks, than the cession of the Krimea. 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

* They bear the title of despots.

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 Vallachia, as well as of the Krimea, which they promised to evacuate. The Porte granted those of its subjects who professed the greek religion the privileges to 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 broke 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

* The 21st of March 1779.

at Constantinople and to the ambassador of France *: the former of whom also presented to the grand signor and the favourite sultana jewels to the amount of 300,000 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

* The russian minister Staschiew received a property in land, on which were 1000 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 50,000 rubles. M. de Saint-Priest received, besides, three bills of exchange of at least 5000 rubles each, and has since had a pension settled on him of 6000 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 14,000 rix-dollars. Upon this there appeared bills stuck up in various parts of the city, announcing:—"Political forfeits to be sold, to the value of 14,000 rix-dollars. To inquire of the count de Saint-Priest."

† 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.

liberty to indulge, without fighting, her ever-increasing views of invasion, and in 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 Azoff 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; Kamtchatka on one side offers them a way to America, and on the 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 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

* In 1766, the marquis de Beauffet was at that time minister from France to St. Petersburg.

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 nom de Dieu, soyez bon et loyal

* The 9th July.

† Now lord Malmesbury.

“ cheva-

“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 company remained till very late in the ensuing morning.

During

* “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 knighting 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, from 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

During the reign of Catharine, the riches and splendor of the russian court surpassed the powers

ing 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 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 antient 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.

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.

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:

Sese jaculus, sese arcus, seseque 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 Whitsuntide, 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 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.

The

The court-dress for the men, was a coat *à la française*; and for the ladies, a gown and whalebone 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 ruffian 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 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 people were families who possessed as many diamonds as the nobles. The wife of
a ruffian

a ruffian 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, 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 ruffian 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 Ruffiæ; 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 63 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; and among them are several of distinguished station in Germany. They wear a narrow red ribband, edged with silver, to which the figure of the saint is suspended, set with diamonds, and a silver star of

of eight points, on the left breast, with the inscription, *Amore et fidelitate*. In 1790 their number was 25.

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 ruffian characters, which signify, *For labour and patriotizm*. The feast is held on the 30th of August. The monarch, as grand-master, and the knights, attend mass at the Kasan church, at 11 o'clock, from 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 Kasan 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

the day of the order. In the year 1790 they amounted to 122.

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 8, of the second by 11, of the third by 46, and of the fourth by 496 knights.

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 20th coronation-day. Its chapter is held in the church of St. Sophia. The badges, an eight-pointed star, interchangeably of gold and silver, having a red area, bearing a cross, with the ruffian letters, C. P. K. B. *Svætago Ravnoapostelnago Knæsa Vladimira*, i. e. the holy apostle-like prince Vladimir. Round it 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 716.

* See before, vol. ii. p. 319.

The holstein order of St. Anne, founded by Charles Frederic duke of Holstein, in 1735, in honour of his consort the ruffian princess Anna, 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 214 knights.

The number of knights therefore, of all the six ruffian orders, at the beginning of 1790, was 1487.

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 8000. On hearing this, it might be supposed that the crowd would be uncommonly great; 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 dominos.

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

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 Peterhoff, 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 100,000 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 had made an immense fortune by his

* 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 Dantzick, and those of France and Spain. The common people of Russia use only the first

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 20,000 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 such a number of guests. The contentions first began about

fort. 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 12 millions of vedroes *per annum*. The government ought to gain, upon the sale of this quantity, 24 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 Dantzick, and those of France and Spain, which are preferred. The purchase-money of the contract of this latter, which expired in 1774, amounted to 116,000 rubles. The profit on it to the farmers was 760,000 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 200,000 rubles.

the

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 persons who lost their lives amounted in all to at least 500.

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. One great aim of illumination she promoted by her comedies, in which fanaticism, superstition, and enthusiasm, were properly attacked, both with seriousness 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 serbian 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

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 astonishment behind the chair of Catharine a chamberlain of whom he had not the least knowledge. It was Rimsky Korzakoff. From the humble rank of a serjeant of the guards, Korzakoff had been suddenly 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.

Korzakoff 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 influence 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

* Zoritch spent some time at Paris, in the hotel of M. Simolin, the ruffian ambassador. At present he lives at Schkloff, a small town in the government of Mohileff in White Ruffia, on the Dnieper; where he has a theatre, and lives at an enormous expence. With an annual income of 200,000 rubles, he is constantly plagued by the importunity of creditors.

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 Vassiltschikoff, of which the empress 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 empress's library *."

* The writer of this note happened to call at Weitbrecht's shop, while his counters and floors were loaded with the books just come from the binder's for executing this curious order. "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?"—"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 Leipfik. 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 french authors, in a conspicuous part of the library, to be at hand in case some inquisitive visitor should ask for them; and as for the rest, their elegant outfides, as is common in the world, must be a passport for any deficiency within."

C H A P. XI.

Military preparations on the part of Russia.—War between Prussia and Austria.—Congress and peace of Teschin.—Armed neutrality.—Journey of the empress to Mobileff.—Journey of Joseph II. to St. Petersburg.—Journey of the hereditary prince of Prussia to St. Petersburg.—Dismission of Korzakoff.—Lansköi becomes favourite.—Travels of the grand-duke in France and Italy.—Of Bobrinsky.—Invasion of the Krimea.—Death of count Panin and of prince Gregory Orloff.—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

* The 30th of December 1777.

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.

* 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 47 millions of florins for his claim to the allodial succession of the emperor Lewis.

§ In the year 1502.

These

These three princes united in solliciting the king of Prussia to take up the defence of their rights, or rather he himself secretly induced them to put their cause into his hands. Irritated at the aggrandisement 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 pacifica-

* On the 14th of July, general Wurmser attacked the advanced posts of the Prussians at Naschodt.

tion. Moreover declaring, “ That she was con-
 “ cerned in the tranquillity of Germany, both
 “ as sovereign of a country which had a natu-
 “ ral relation with that part of Europe, and as
 “ having amicable connections with the majo-
 “ rity 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.

“ 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 pur-
 “ suance 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 peace 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 im-
 “ minent danger. That the fall of that empire
 “ would necessarily occasion a violent commo-
 “ tion 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

“ and to obviate these calamities, and that the
“ court of Russia could adopt no other prin-
“ ciples 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 40,000 men, and commanded by prince 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 present 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 †.

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

* Counts Zinzendorff 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.

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 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 Hamburg, 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

* One merchant alone of Copenhagen, named Konig, proved to be proprietor of no less than six or seven hundred vessels.

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 considerable 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

suaded 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, to equip each of them a squadron, which should combine with her's 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

* Count Bernstorff.

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 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*.

* The plenipotentiary of Sweden put his signature to it the 21st of July; the plenipotentiary of Denmark the 19th of that month.

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

* The great principle of this act, and of that confederacy to which it gave birth, is, that free bottoms make free goods; and this is carried to the degree 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,

cabinet of St. James's replied, that, from the very commencement of the war, it had issued the

lence, 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, 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 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

the most precise and unequivocal orders to all commanders of vessels respecting the ruffian flag. Notwithstanding this assurance the English continued for some time to stop the ruffian 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 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

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.

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 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

* Sir James Harris.

† Potemkin had four nieces, of the family name of Engelhard. The two elder, who had a great sway over their uncle, and who were said to be his mistresses, are married, one to count Branitzky, grand general of the crown of Poland; the other to count Skavronsky. The english minister at that time was lavish of presents to them of every kind.

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 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 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 impunity, while he kept on good terms with all those whom he knew to possess spirit or cunning.

* It brought on a jaundice, which lasted a long time. The translator cannot suffer the above anecdote to pass, without observing, that all persons who knew Mademoiselle Guibald, and are acquainted with St. Petersburg, must be much surpris'd that not one little winged word of all this transaction should escape, and fly about in some circles at the time.

Of all the generals marshal Romantzoff 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 Romantzoff extended even to countess Bruce, his sister, one of the most intimate confidants of Catharine. By living familiarly with 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.

Korzakoff 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

* Of all the favourites of Catharine, Korzakoff was the most ostentatious in his dress; and it was to him she gave the greatest quantity of diamonds.

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 Korzakoff; and, though he was fond enough of this favourite, he resolved to sacrifice him, in hopes of involving in his fall the sister of Romantzoff.

Potemkin's plan succeeded. The empress was 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

* Lanskoï was sprung from a very antient family in Poland; their original name being Lonsky.—The chevalier-guards consist of 60 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 major's, 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

and interesting a figure as the imagination 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

tary 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 ruffian spread eagle; an eagle likewise adorns the silver plates of armour on the arms and knees, which are fastened by silver cords; and these are attached to the body armour by silver chains. Bandelier, baudrick, and carbine, are furnished with silver scales, and the sabre-sheath 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 1000 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 above-described magnificence.

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 Romantzoff, with Zavadoffsky. Like Zavadoffsky 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 department. 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

* The name Bezborodko, in rufs, signifies *beardless*.

† There was no actual chancellor, because the old count Vorontzoff still retained that title.

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 journies, 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 his grave. Field-marshal Alexander Michailovitch Gallitzin was, at this time appointed governor of the residence.

In the mean time the empress reached Mohileff*, whither the emperor Joseph II. had arrived before her. A number of the grandees of Poland repaired also to that city. The pomp

* She arrived there the 30th of May.

by which Catharine was surrounded, and the luxury of the noble Poles*, formed a whimsical contrast with the simplicity of the manners 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 confirmed by a treaty,

* 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 400,000 florins.

signed

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
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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 splendid 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-selo, 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-selo; 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 continued repugnance shewn by the emperor to all the parade of
pomp

pomp and luxury, Catharine gave him entertainments of uncommon magnificence. But these entertainments had no attraction 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 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

* The Khitaigorod, or the chinese town, is a quarter of Mosco, where a great trade is carried on in furs and all sorts of merchandise. It has the appearance of a perpetual fair.

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 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 entertain-

* It was this passage from Horace :

Multorum providus urbes,
Et mores hominum inspexit.

† Who reigned afterwards under the name of Frederick-William II.

ments 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; from 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 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 chamberlain Bibikoff, who had presumed to disregard the will of the sovereign, was very soon detected. His letters, addressed

* They were out on their travels 14 months.

to count Soltikoff, who accompanied the prince, were very exact. They were intercepted at Riga; and Bibikoff was immediately condemned to go and repent his rashness in the wilds of Siberia.

1781. The armed neutrality in the mean time was displaying its flag in all the northern seas; the ruffian 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 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
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the Khitaigorod, and occasioned a damage to the amount of 3,000,000 of rubles*. Nor was Petersburg free from a visitation of the same nature; the spacious hemp warehouses on the Vassilli-ostrof, about 200 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 a russian ship of war of the line which was dashed to pieces against the rocks that lie just at the water's edge off the isles d'Hières. 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

* 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.

fleets could never pretend to sail out of the Baltic.

At the latter end of this year Catharine issued orders for building 12 ships of the line at Kerfon, and eight others, three-deckers, at St. Petersburg. On the completion of these orders her marine amounted to 42 ships of the line for the Baltic, and 12 of the line for the Euxine, exclusive of frigates, gallies, 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 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
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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 ruffian eagle flying in the Archipelago, and the ottoman fleet at Tschesmè 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 Kafan 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 15 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 Viburg. 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 44 ships of the line, 18 frigates, 12 prames, and 122 gallies. This navy was commanded by a high-admiral, who was the grand duke; a commander in chief of the gallies, 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

admirals M. Spiridoff 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 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-

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 which Russia possesses, 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 on the ocean possessed by 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 gulph of Finland, between Viburg 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

than a sea. Into this statement, however, we do not take the ruffian possessions on the Euxine, nor the almost desert coasts of the White Sea and the Frozen Ocean, nor yet the uninhabitable regions of Kamtchatka.

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 18,000 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

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 he must afterwards enter into an obligation, with the penalty of 140 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,

building, and who must therefore conciliate her friendship; and the rather, as she cannot long hope to be their rival.

1782. The brothers Gregory and Alexius Orloff had long been retired from court. All at once they again made their appearance, and were almost utter strangers to each other. Both of them were married *, and were just come from their travels in France, Italy, and England. Gregory, unable to bear the sight of an all-powerful rival, absented himself again without delay.

Bobrinsky too about this time returned to Petersburg. This darling son, whom the empress had by Gregory Orloff †, seemed destined to arrive at the first dignities of the empire. But the bad habits he contracted on his travels rendered useless the tenderness of his mother, and the care she had bestowed on his education.

Catharine, on seeing Bobrinsky arrived at an age fit for making the tour of Europe, had

* Gregory Orloff had married the young countess Zinovieff, his niece, maid of honour to the empress. He had no children by his marriage. Alexius had only a daughter, who was afterwards married to the son of the minister Panin.

† Catharine had also by Gregory Orloff a daughter, who either died young, or is living in obscurity.

wished

wished to give him in charge to some person whose sagacity, learning, and prudence, rendered him worthy of so much confidence. In order to find such a man, she applied to count Betzkoï, marshal of the court, director of the imperial corps of cadets, and a flatterer of uncommon assiduity. Betzkoï, who thought of little else than the advancement of his family, and who imagined that the natural son of Catharine would necessarily make the fortune of whoever should serve him in the capacity of governor, assured the empress that lieutenant-colonel Ribas, his son-in-law, was the fittest person for filling that office. The empress believed him. Bobrinsky, at that time gentle, modest, docile, quitted Russia under the tutelage of Ribas, and returned to it with that perversity of manners and insolence, which he could not fail to acquire from the lessons and the example of his licentious tutor*.

Though

* Ribas, who is become vice-admiral of the galley-fleet stationed at Nicolaëf, on the Euxine, was born at Naples, of a Spanish family. His father, who was called Boujon, was a farrier at Barcelona. When the Spanish army marched into Italy for the establishment of Don Carlos, Boujon performed some petty services to general De Los Rios, which procured him his attachment. Being come to Naples, he sent for Ribas, and Los Rios, who became minister

Though extremely afflicted at the deviations of Bobrinsky, the empress long bore with them, like an indulgent parent. But seeing that the presence of this thoughtless youth would expose her too often to confusion, she determined to send him into a sort of exile at Reval.

minister at war, employed him in his office. Young Ribas was made sub-lieutenant in the regiment of Sania. Some little affair about passports and patents obliged him to quit Naples. He made for Leghorn, where the squadron under the command of Alexèy Orloff, was then at anchor. The admiral, who had reason to know him to be a very ignorant, and not very scrupulous man, gave him a brevet of lieutenant of one of the ships, and employed him to commence the stratagem that was practised on the unhappy daughter of Elizabeth. He afterwards sent him off to Petersburg with tidings that the victim was fallen into his hands. Ribas, being arrived at Petersburg, was regarded with favourable eyes by the daughter of count Betzkoï, and they were married. He was at the same time appointed lieutenant-colonel, and assistant to his father-in-law. After having attended Bobrinsky through France and Italy, he was promoted to the ranks of brigadier and colonel of the carabineers. At the siege of Otchakoff, prince Potemkin made him chef-d'escadre. Shortly after he commanded the galley-fleet on the Danube, and was raised to be vice-admiral. It may easily be conceived what sort of a seaman he was.—We have been rather circumstantial in this note, in order to shew by what means advancement might be sometimes obtained at the court of Catharine.

On her journey to Mohilef, the empress had observed that the people of White Russia, who for the most part professed the romish religion, were strongly attached, not only to that faith, but to the jesuits. Considering afterwards that there was no great danger in permitting these monks to live in a corner of her vast dominions, whereas, on the other hand, it would be advantageous to her to flatter the opinion of the inhabitants of the new provinces, she appointed Shezronchevitch, a native of Poland, to be catholic archbishop* of Mohilef, to whom she gave as coadjutor a jesuit named Benislaufsky.

At the same time she granted leave for the establishment of a seminary of jesuits, the direction of which was committed to father Gabriel Denkievitch, appointed vicar-general of his order.

Benislaufsky was shortly after dispatched to Rome, in quality of minister from the court of Russia. On requesting of the pope the establishment of the jesuits, he delivered to him, on the part of the empress, a letter, which, from respect to the greek christians, she disavowed in

* Formerly an excellent officer in the prussian service : moreover, a very worthy archbishop.

the gazette of Petersburg*, but which was not, therefore, the less written by her own hand. The following are a few fragments of it :

“ I know that your holiness is greatly embarrassed ; but fear ill agrees with your character.
 “ Your dignity cannot coincide with politics, whenever politics are injurious to religion.
 “ The motives by which I have been led to grant my protection to the jesuits are founded on reason and equity, as well as on the hope that they will prove useful to my people.
 “ That company of peaceable and harmless men shall live in my empire, because, of all the catholic societies, it is the best qualified to instruct my subjects, and to inspire them with the sentiments of humanity and the true principles of the religion of Christ.

“ I am resolved to support these priests against any potentate whatever ; and in so doing I only fulfil my duty, since I am their sovereign, and regard them as faithful, useful, and innocent subjects. I am the more desirous to see four of them invested with the power of administering confirmation at Mosco and at Petersburg, as the two catholic churches

* See the Petersburg gazette of the 20th of April.

“ of those cities are committed to their care.
“ Who can tell whether Providence may not
“ have decreed these pious men to be the instru-
“ ments of that union, so long devoutly desired,
“ between the greek and roman churches?
“ Your holiness may banish every fear, as I will
“ support with all my power the rights which
“ you have received from Jesus Christ.”

The ambassadors of France and Spain, amazed at seeing at Rome a minister accredited by the court of Russia, took various measures for discovering what might be the object of these negotiations. The pope himself informed them of it, and asked them what answer he should make. Each of them consulted his court, who would have nothing to do in the business; and the roman pontiff issued a brief, maintaining the society of the jesuits in the dominions of the empress of Russia.

Perhaps Catharine might make the obtaining of this brief a matter of so much consequence, only because she imagined that all the jesuits of Europe and America would bring into White Russia their treasures and their industry. But, whatever were her expectations, the spoils of Paraguay never came to Mohilef. The disciples of Loyola were too artful to go and surrender themselves

themselves and their riches into the hands of a monarch so suddenly become their patron, and who was not in subjection to the see of Rome*.

The empress at length completed the division of her provinces †, and all of them enjoyed the benefit of the regulations which she had begun to introduce in 1776, in the governments of Tver and Smolensk. Every year of her reign was marked by fresh conquests and salutary institutions.

It has been before observed, that Catharine distinguished herself as an author. The noblest and truly affecting performances of her pen in this quality were undertaken from affection to

* In a conversation, however, with father O'Sullivan at the time, the writer of this note asked him how they could live as a body after the order had been solemnly abolished by the sovereign pontiff? The worthy jesuit hesitated to reply, and made several evasions; but at length, upon the writer's saying that they must certainly be prepared with an answer to a question which it was natural for them to expect, and that he should be glad to know it as a matter of no farther consequence than as it had arisen in his mind, and he had not been able to form a satisfactory reply to it, the good father said it lay in the maxim, *Lex non est lex nisi promulgata*. "Now," continued he, "the papal bull has never been published in the empress of Russia's dominions."

† In the manner described in our preliminaries, vol. i. p. 2, 3, 4, et seq.

her grandchildren. Hence arose the "Miscellaneous Pieces," or, "The Library of the Grand-dukes." Pleasantry and instruction, national history and description of manners, liveliness and gravity, the gay and the severe, are interchangeably blended together; and who is there but must admire the great woman, who, amidst the affairs of such an empire, resting entirely on her own personal energy, was so constantly attentive to the education of her successors? It has somewhere been thrown out with an air of importance, that the "Sketch of Russian History" was taken from Stritter's manuscripts. As if that was a matter of consequence! as if it were seriously expected that the empress should sit down to the tedious investigation of the transactions and authorities of the dark periods of sclavonian history! as if any literary man, intending to deliver lessons of history to his children, would not adhere to the method observed by some authentic writer! But, that a ruler over ten kingdoms should apply herself, with so much zeal and assiduity, in forming the minds of her imperial progeny, that she understood what was proper for them to learn, and took the pains to see that they were taught it well: this is worthy of particular notice by the pen of the historian; and the delightful "Tale of the tzarevitch
"Chlor"

“Chlor” will at once captivate the heart of every child, and please every thinking man. An empress wrote it, and drew none of the materials from any learned man’s papers.

Catharine was eminently respectable in the circle of her family. With a severe, but always fond concern, with the only proper method of treating children, in contradiction to her maternal tenderness, when it was necessary to maintain the authority of the preceptor, she prosecuted the culture of the affections and talents of her grandsons, and lived to see herself amply rewarded for the cares she bestowed. She conversed with the tutor in their presence; and, when they were absent, wrote marginal remarks on their lessons, one while addressed to the scholars, and at others to the teacher. One instance of this kind may suffice. The subject of the morning had been, the nature of the government in Switzerland, on which the tutor had discoursed in conformity with his liberal turn of mind. On returning to their studies the following day, they read at the bottom of the exercise, in the hand-writing of her majesty, “*Monsieur l’Harpe, continuez vos leçons de cette sorte; vos sentimens me plaisent beaucoup.*”

This year was marked by the inauguration of the famous statue of Peter I.—a work in

which the genius of Stephen Falconet so happily seconded the intention of Catharine.

The empress having resolved to erect in the city of Petersburg an equestrian statue of Peter the great, she wrote to Falconet at Paris, to come and execute that monument. He conceived the design of having for the pedestal of his statue a huge and rugged rock, to indicate to posterity, whence the heroic legislator had set out, and what obstacles he surmounted.

An idea so novel and so sublime met with general approbation: and now the business was to find a mass of stone which in shape and bulk might correspond with the grandeur of the design.

Chance, which is only favourable to great undertakings, and does nothing for mediocrity, stepped in to assist the discovery. Near the village Lachta in Karelia, a rock was found, which Nature had placed in a vast morass, not far from a bay formed by the gulph of Finland. At first sight of this mass it was deemed proper for the execution of the views of the artist. On measuring it, it was found, that the height of it, taken from the horizontal line, was 21 feet by 42 in length and 34 in breadth.

The very idea of moving such an enormous mass was sufficient of itself to deter any persons
from

from the attempt : but under the reign of Catharine II. difficulties were no hindrances to the execution of a plan. Accordingly, the bold project, worthy of the ancient Romans, was formed for transporting this rock to Petersburg.

In order to this, a beginning was made by removing the ground to discover its foundations. It was natural to imagine, that what appeared above the morafs was no more than the summit of a rock which sunk deep in the bosom of the earth ; but the workmen were justly surpris'd in finding that this solid mass of stone was absolutely detached, and lay upon the ground as if placed there by a miracle.

To this singular discovery another succeeded not less remarkable : which was, that in all this vast morafs and its environs, not another stone was to be found, nor even gravel or sand or any other kind of substance analogous to this stupendous rock, or adapted to form its constituent parts.

But what struck the beholders with most astonishment was the interior of the stone. A stroke of thunder had damaged it on one side. On knocking off the shattered fragment, instead of homogeneous particles, a collection of all sorts of precious stones appeared : crystals, agates,

granites, topazes, cornelians, amethysts, presented to the eyes of the curious a sight not less unexpected than magnificent, and to the naturalists an object of interesting investigation*.

All these circumstances, which Nature had combined in this rock, were powerful motives for sparing neither pains, nor expence, nor labour, for drawing it from its place, and setting it as a monument, the only one of its kind in the world, and worthy of perpetuating the memory of the greatest of monarchs.

The first discovery of this stone had been made in the month of November 1768. The labourers employed about it proceeded in their work so briskly, that, in the month of March in the following year, they were able to raise it above the ground for placing it on grooves filled with cannon-balls, and dragging it forward by windlasses towards Petersburg †.

One

* Thousands of these, as well as other parts of the stone, were cut and polished into bracelets, rings, necklaces, snuff-boxes, heads of canes, &c. and found a very rapid sale, not only among people of fashion, but throughout the empire.

† The mechanism for the conveyance of this rock was invented by count Carbury, who here went under the name of the chevalier Lascari. A solid road was first made from the stone to the shore; then brass slips were inserted under the
stone

One cannot sufficiently admire the ardour and the celerity with which, in so short a space of time, and in the most inclement season of the year, so much of this extraordinary enterprise was completed: but what remained to perform presented a far more arduous operation.

This immense stone was situate at the distance of 11 versts, or about 41,250 english feet, from the spot where the monument was to be erected, to which it was to serve as the pedestal.

On its transport thither it must pass over heights, cross morasses and swampy ways, be conveyed over rivers, fall down the Neva, be disembarked and drawn by land to the place of its destination.

Whoever would form a just idea of the greatness of this undertaking, and the labours it required, must consider that the weight of this enormous mass, geometrically calculated, amounted to three millions two hundred thousand pounds. The largest obelisk that is known,

stone to go upon canuon-balls of five inches diameter in metal grooves, by windlasses worked by 400 men, every day 200 fathom towards the shore. The water transport was performed by what are called camels in the dock-yards of Peterburg and Amsterdam, by which first-rates and other ships of war, &c. are lifted over shallows or bars of sand, to their place of destination.

that

that which Constantius, son of Constantine the great, caused to be transported from Alexandria to Rome, weighs only 907,789 pounds, which does not come up to the third part of the weight of the rock of Petersburg.

Such is the stone which supports the equestrian statue of the legislator of Russia. The history of the arts knows of nothing either so great or so marvellous.

The statue itself is truly a master-piece. Falconet has succeeded in the resemblance to admiration; the features of the tzar's countenance are wonderfully well expressed*. The artist represents the hero on horseback as in the act of ascending a steep rock, the summit of which he purposes to attain. Peter is crowned with laurels and in an asiatic dress; he extends his right arm with great dignity, while with the left he holds the bridle of his horse, whose beauty of form and elegant attitude captivate the admiration of all spectators. He stands only on his hinder-feet, and is in the attitude of a fiery courser resolved to attain the summit of the rock. To combine

* In the model of the head of the hero, the artist Falconet disclaimed all merit. It was the production of a lady, mademoiselle Collot, who afterwards was married to Peter Falconet, the son of the artist, and is a performance of uncommon excellence.

solidity with excellence was therefore difficult; but this the ingenious artist found a way to accomplish. The brazen serpent which is trampled on by the horse, is emblematical, doubtless, of opposition to the views of the monarch; but it artfully serves likewise to give an equipoise to the statue; the point of bearing is by this means not perceived, which is the full and flowing tail of the horse gently falling on the serpent writhing with pain*.

Too much of the stone was chipped off by M. Falconet, so that at last it was in want of an addition. It is grounded on piles closely driven; and has on the side towards the admiralty, in letters of cast metal: PETRU PERVOMU EKATERINA VTORAIA. 1782. and on the side next

* The fount of the statue was likewise done by M. Falconet, in a house built on purpose adjacent to the stone. The metal is a bronze of copper with some tin and zinc, and weighed 44,041 rufs pounds; the iron inserted in the hinder part of the horse, to preserve the balance, was 10,000 in weight. The head, the arms, the feet, and the drapery of the rider, are of the thickness of three, and the body of four lines; the head and the fore feet of the horse are three lines thick, but the thickness increases hindwards to one inch. Few founts of such a magnitude have ever been so thin. It is a colossal statue, the figure of the monarch being 11 feet in height, and the height of the horse 17 feet.

the

the senate the same in latin: PETRO PRIMO
CATHARINA SECUNDA.

On the day* of the ceremonious disclosure of this noble monument to the public, the empress appeared in the balcony of the senate-house, and solemnized the event by the distribution of gold and silver medals, and by a gracious ukause, which put an end to every process of more than ten years standing, discharged all debtors who had been five years in confinement, and remitted all debts to the crown below the sum of 500 rubles†.

* The 7th of August 1782.

† The expence of this monument was truly imperial. The transport of the rock, its pedestal, from Lachta, cost 70,000 rubles. Falconet's salary for nine years came to 48,000 rubles, and he received 26,800 rubles as a compensation for free quarters: he was paid apart for the foundery 17,500 rubles; his three assistants 27,284 rubles, the melter Kailoff 2500 rubles, &c: all together amounting, by the accounts of the office for public buildings, to 424,610 rubles.—Mademoiselle Collot acquired such great reputation by composing the head of the hero, that she was employed to make a bust of the empress in marble, and engaged by many of the nobility in works of like nature for them. The medallion of the late lady Cathcart, who died in 1772, at Petersburg, for her monument in Scotland, is the work of her chisel. This female artist, during her stay in Russia, by her indefatigable industry, gained a competency of about 50,000 rubles.

1783. Not long after this, Catharine instituted the order of St. Vladimir as a reward to such of her subjects as had faithfully served the country in any civil employment; having already created the military order of St. George*, the grand cordon of which is only given to generals who have gained a battle. It must be owned that the hope of obtaining this recompence has probably procured many a victory to Russia. None knew better than Catharine what influence the decorations of vanity have upon mankind.

Russia now beheld the rapid increase of the advantages derived from her late conquests. Her commerce on the Euxine was making fresh progress from day to day. The Russian vessels passed the Dardanelles, and proceeded to trade at Aleppo, at Smyrna, and in the ports of Italy. The racy and delicious wines of Greece were brought into White Russia, and from thence were sent over all Poland.

Catharine had recently caused the foundations to be laid of the city of Kerson, on the shores of the Dniepr, at the distance of about ten leagues from Otchakoff; and prince Potemkin accelerated the works with incredible activity. He was frequently seen to set out from Petersburg,

* For a brief account of these orders the reader is referred to p. 144 of this volume.

fly as it were to the banks of the Dniept *, and make his appearance again on those of the Neva †, in less time than would be requisite for an ordinary man to perform the journey to Mosco. Kerfön already counted 40,000 inhabitants within its walls; and from its yards were launched not only vessels for the purposes of commerce, but ships of war destined to strike terror into the ottoman empire.

This advantage rekindled the ambition of the empress and Potemkin. They longed with equal ardour for the conquest of a country without which they could not hope to realize their plans against the turkish empire, and the possession whereof would probably be sufficient to compensate the failure of those plans. Catharine began by detaching the Krimea from Turkey, and immediately resolved to invade it. The fertility of that country is still a matter in dispute: but the resources it affords to her

* Kerfön, founded in 1778, is situated on the shores of the Dniepr, a little above the mouth of the Bogh, and in the neighbourhood of the Liman, a swampy lake, the entrance to which is guarded by the fortress of Kinburn, and is about a mile over. The Liman has depth enough for the reception of large vessels; but they very quickly decay in it, as the water is fresh.

† The distance from Peterfburg to Kerfön is 2000 versts.
armies,

armies, and the advantages it holds out to commerce *, cannot be called in question. The importance of the Krimea being so great in the opinion of Catharine, a short description of it will be here expected.

The Krimea is a narrow peninsula, of about 75 leagues in circuit, situated to the south of Petersburg, between the 51st and the 54th degrees of longitude, and in the 46th degree of latitude. Its shores on the south and the west are laved by the Euxine; the sea of Azoff and the Palus Mœotis inclose it to the east and the north. The isthmus which joins it to the continent is not, in breadth, above a league and a half. From this isthmus, on which is built the fortress of Perekop †, to the hill Karafu-bazar, the country is only a vast plain, rising insensibly to the top of the hill, which forms the southern coasts.

The plain which extends from Perekop to the river Sargir is in length about 25 leagues. It contains a great number of morasses and lakes,

* Of what benefit it was to the antient Greeks, and afterwards to the Genoese, who got possession of it in 1471, and were driven out of it by khan Bangli-Gueray, is well known.—For a more particular account of the Krim, see that transmitted by the writer hereof to the Gent.'s Mag. August 1786, and thence copied into Ann. Reg. vol. xxviii. p. 129.

† The Tartars call it Or-kapi.

which

which furnish salt to the provinces adjacent to Russia, to the Krimea itself, to Natolia, and to Bessarabia.

Almost the whole plain may be traversed without meeting with a running-stream. The inhabitants of that part are obliged to construct, contiguous to each house, reservoirs for the preservation of rain-water. The land is there destitute of trees of all kinds. Not a single bush, not even a briar, is to be seen. The plants cultivated there are in a wretched condition. This nakedness of the ground, however, is not to be attributed to the defect of fertility, but to the numerous herds and flocks continually roaming about this part of the Krimea, devouring or destroying the vegetables it produces, at the very instant they begin to push upward.

The inclination of the Tartars for the nomadic life, and their aversion to agriculture, is the reason that this country is left to desolation. But if these people could be once brought to divide the land between them, there would be pasturage enough, and the remainder would abundantly produce the vegetables necessary to life. If one Tartar would addict himself to the culture of the earth, his labour would suffice to supply the wants of a hundred of his countrymen.

The Krimea may be divided into two parts; the flat country and the mountainous. The former, which extends from Perekop to Kosloff, and from the river Bulganak to Karasubazar, to Keffa, and to Yeni-kaly, is sprinkled with a number of small villages, the inhabitants whereof live upon the profits arising from salt and the products of their cattle. The mountains lie to the south, along the Euxine; and, in a right line extend to the west, from Keffa as far as the vicinity of Belbek.

The two most considerable rivers of the Krimea are, the Salgir and the Karasu; which fall into the Palus Mæotis. The former takes its source not far from Achmetshed, and the second arises near Karasu-bazar; from which place, after having irrigated the adjacent plain, it flows into the Salgir. All the other rivers and streams that fall from the chain of mountains, beginning at Keffa, take a north and north-east course, excepting that which issues from mount Akta, beyond Achmetshed. The other rivers fall into the Euxine: these are the Amna, the Katsha, the Belbek, the Kasoulki.

The mountains are covered with forests of timber trees, the haunts of savage beasts. The land of the vallies is fertile; and for being prolific, waits only for the hand of the labourer.

Grain of all kinds and the vine flourish on their declivities. The mountains contain mines, which are supposed to be extremely rich; but the mountaineers despise these natural bounties: the produce of their flocks, and a little bread, suffice them for subsistence*.

The isle of Taman, situate at the entrance of the strait which connects the sea of Azoff with the Euxine, is rich and very populous.

The Kuban, a vast and arid desert, which extends from the frontiers of the Krimea as far as the foot of mount Caucasus, has, like the Lesser Tartary, but a scanty population.

Such are the countries of which the court of Petersburg, since the peace of Kainardgi, has impatiently waited for the moment of getting possession.

Catharine had no other view in raising Sahim-Gueray to the place of khan, than to make

* The myrzas, or nobles, and all the opulent Tartars in general, reside continually in the country; never coming into towns but on matters of business. They have no courts of judicature in the country. Disputes are extremely rare; and whenever they happen, they are decided on the spot by the authority of the koran. Petty differences, that arise in the villages, and cannot be adjudged by the koran, are amicably settled by the elders or abeses. But in the towns, all affairs of importance, excepting cases of murder, are brought before the kaïma-khan, or commandant, who pronounces without appeal.

him the instrument of her ambition; she only loaded him with caresses and benefits, in order to render him a more resistless victim. That prince, of a mild but weak and open disposition, was far from suspecting the designs of the Russians. He was fond of novelties, and delighted with the arts of Europe: the people of the court indulged his inclination; they procured him the enjoyments of voluptuousness and the refinements of luxury. He presently learnt to despise the manners of his country. He quitted his usual manner of eating, engaged a russian cook, and had his dinner served up upon plate. Instead of going on horseback, like the rest of his countrymen, he travelled and paraded about the streets in a magnificent berlin. Heedless of his independence, and to the degradation of his dignity, he solicited a title in the russian army; and accepted a captain's commission in the preobaginsky guards; of which she sent him the uniform, with the ribbon of St. Anne. Vassilliesky and Konstantinoff, russian agents, decorated with the title of ministers plenipotentiary, were by turns the counsellors of this too confident prince; and those who contributed most to his ruin. The Tartars loudly condemned his manner of life, and his attachment to Russia; but, as he governed

them with gentleness and equity, they ascribed his deviations rather to the christians than to himself.

In the mean time the Russians were in want of a pretext for marching their troops into the Krimea. They strove hard to foment some revolt, that the khan might implore their succour, and surrender himself entirely to them. Money, presents, sinister counsels secretly spread by their emissaries, presently raised him enemies even in his own family. Two of his brothers, one of whom, named Batti-Gueray, was governor of the Kuban, made an attempt to surprise him in the city of Keffa *, where he resided, and forced him to fly for shelter to Taganrok. Immediately a russian army marched to his relief. Potemkin hastened thither himself; and his name alone was sufficient to awe Batti-Gueray, who sent to inform him that he voluntarily divested himself of the power which he had usurped.

The khan Sahim-Gueray now entered again the Krimea; and, having called together the greater part of the Tartar chiefs, he delivered up to them thirteen of the principal rebels, who

* The antient Theodosia, or the Cimmericum of antiquity.

were put to death on the spot. After which he said:—"You see before you my two brothers and myself: which of us will you have to govern you? Name him freely. I will subscribe to your choice."—All the Tartars swore that they would have none but Sahim-Gueray.

This arrangement was not perhaps very agreeable to the court of Petersburg; but, whatever course the Tartars should have taken, its resolution was already adopted; the Krimea was to be usurped.

The empress immediately sent off reinforcements to her armies in Poland and the Ukraine; and made every preparation that a speedy declaration of war could require. She then wrote to her minister at Constantinople to demand far more extensive advantages than those which had been stipulated by the treaties; and to oblige the divan to promise, that, whatever might hereafter be the fate of the Krimea, it would not interfere. She did more; she engaged the imprudent Sahim-Gueray to demand the cession of Otchakoff.

The divan was incensed at all these pretensions: but, feeble and disunited, they feigned a desire to go to war; yet murmured, instead of flying to arms. They, however, sent a pasha

to take possession of the isle of Taman. Sahim-Gueray, pushed on by the Russians, summoned the pasha to retire. Instead of obeying, the irritated pasha caused the envoy of the khan to be beheaded. The Russians, pretending a determination to avenge the affront put upon that prince, requested him to grant them a passage for their troops to go and attack the Turks: but, no sooner were they entered his dominions, than, instead of proceeding against Taman, they fell back, and spread themselves over all the peninsula, of which they easily became masters. General Balmain* took by surprise the town of Keffa, where the khan was, and forced the imams, the myrzas, and the other principal Tartars, to take the oath of allegiance to the empress.

During these transactions general Suvaroff had been employed in subduing the Tartars of the Kuban and the Budziaks. Prince Potemkin, who had advanced to the regions beyond the Kuban, was receiving the homage of sultan Batti-Gueray and the hordes that roam about those extensive districts.

The Russians continued for some time to flatter the khan, and promised him a pension of

* This officer is descended of a good family in North Britain.

800,000 rubles *. But both the prince and his country did not the less remain under the yoke.

Though this invasion, executed in violation of every law of nations, and under sanction of the sacred names of avenging justice and protecting friendship, had not roused even ottoman indolence to arms; Catharine nevertheless published a manifesto to justify, in the eyes of Europe, the spoliation of the unfortunate Sahim-Gueray, and to accuse the Turks of having broke the treaty of Kainardgi.

In the mean time the russian khan abdicated his throne, and transferred the supposed right to the dominion of his country to the empress. This was no less than an absolute sale of a people and their country, the khan receiving considerable estates in Russia for the purchase. It seems remarkable, that neither this abdication nor purchase are specified as affording any title or claim to Russia upon the country; nor indeed are they at all taken notice of in the manifesto published by the empress on the occasion †.

In that piece, which is signed by her majesty, and dated at St. Petersburg on the 8th of April

* Previous to the conquest he had a revenue of three millions of rubles.

† Which the reader may see at large in the Appendix subjoined to this Volume.

1783, (although it did not make its appearance until late in the summer,) the Krimea, the Kuban, and the island of Taman, are declared to be for ever annexed to her dominions. It states, that the great successes which enabled Russia to subdue the Krimea in the late war, and to have retained it, if she had so chosen, at the peace, would have afforded her a full right to its dominion. But that, and many other conquests, were sacrificed to her desire of establishing the public tranquillity, and the friendship between the two empires, upon the most permanent foundations. That these motives had induced her to stipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, as the means of cutting off every possible cause of future dissention.

The failure of this design, and all the subsequent troubles of the Krimea, are partly attributed to the secret insinuations and conduct of a certain un-named, but well understood, power, in fomenting the discontents, partly to the restless temper of the Tartar nation, and partly to their being so long accustomed to servitude, that the greater part of the people were incapable of understanding or enjoying the benefits of that freedom and independence which had been obtained for them. To indemnify Russia for
the

the expence of money and blood she had already been at, to prevent similar consequences in future, for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and to remove all causes of farther contention between the two empires, were held out to be the objects of the present measure. The Tartars were assured that they should be placed upon an equality with the antient subjects of Russia, and that they should enjoy the most absolute liberty of conscience, with the full exercise of their public worship and religious ceremonies.

This manifesto was answered by the Porte in so masterly a manner, both with respect to style and matter, that it might be considered as a model for such documents. After pointing out, and severely animadverting upon the encroaching disposition and the over-ruling spirit of the court of Petersburg, and examining and invalidating the pretended claims upon the Krimea, it proceeds to expose, in a very striking point of view, that wantonness of power, and inordinancy of ambition, which could extend them to the Kuban, to the isle of Taman, and to the sovereignty of the Euxine. It puts the question, What pretension of right can Russia have to territories annexed for ages to the dominions of the Porte? Would not such claims, on any
part

part of the russian empire, be instantly repulsed? And can it be presumed that the Sublime Porte, however desirous of peace, will acquiesce in wrong, which, however it may be disguised by ambition under the colour of policy, reason and equity must deem absolute usurpation? What northern power has the Porte offended? Whose territories have the ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the turkish standard displayed? Content with the boundaries of empire assigned by God and the prophet, the wishes of the Porte are for peace: but, if the court of Russia be determined in her claims, and will not recede, without acquisitions of territory which do not belong to her, appealing to the world for the justice of its proceedings, the Sublime Porte must prepare for war, relying on the decrees of heaven, and confident in the interposition of the prophet of prophets, that he will protect his faithful followers in the hour of every difficulty.

The Porte, but little versed in the art of reasoning, and yet determined to reply to the empress's manifesto, had recourse to a christian pen*, which easily proved the injustice of Catharine's pretensions, and the perfidiousness of

* The answer of the Porte was attributed to sir Robert Ainslie, the english minister at Constantinople.

her conduct: but of what avail are such writings? The causes of sovereigns are pleaded effectually only by the sword; and for a long time the Turks were afraid to employ it, or employed it but badly against the Russians.

Not doubting that the Turks would declare war against her, and being apprehensive that Gustavus III. might take advantage of the absence of the Russian armies for attacking her in that quarter, Catharine formed the design of concluding a new treaty of alliance with that prince. She had already proposed it to him several times, both by the minister whom he had at Petersburg, and by that whom she kept at Stockholm; but her attempts were without effect. She resolved on having a second interview with the Swedish monarch.

The place of appointment was fixed for Frederiksham, a small town strongly fortified on the gulph of Finland, and the last possessed by the Russians on the side of Sweden. The empress repaired thither * in a yacht. She was attended by count Ivan Chernicheff, the minister Bezborodko, the grand écuyer Narishkin, the favourite Lanskoï, and several ladies of the court; among

* The 29th of June.

whom

whom were princess. Dashkoff, who for some time past had, to all appearance, regained the friendship of Catharine.

Gustavus * had in his suite count Kreutz †, his first minister, general Armfeldt, Munck, and several other officers.

The empress had previously caused two contiguous houses to be hired, which were furnished with great elegance, and between which a gallery of communication had been constructed. One of these was occupied by herself, the other served as quarters to the king of Sweden; in such manner, that during the four days that these two sovereigns remained at Frederiksham, they might freely discourse together as often as occasion required ‡.

* Only a few days before, being at a review, he had his arm broke by a fall from his horse.

† The same who had been ambassador in Spain and in France,

‡ The empress, who was lavish of her fine speeches to the swedish monarch, engaged Hoyer, a danish painter, to execute a picture, where that princess and Gustavus III. are represented sitting and conversing amicably together. The author of this history saw the original of this picture in the cabinet of the king of Sweden at Droningsholm; he likewise saw a copy of it at the painter Hoyer's house at Copenhagen.

The

The peace had been signed some months before*. There was no longer any reason for keeping the neutrality of the north in arms; yet the empress, being desirous of it, Gustavus consented. She afterwards proposed to that prince to remain neuter during the war with the Turks; and assured him, that after the termination of that war she would assist him in gaining possession of Norway. Flattered with this hope, Gustavus promised to comply with all that Catharine required; and they parted highly satisfied one with the other, and their minds filled with their different schemes of conquest.

Before she quitted Frederiksham, the empress gave her portrait to count Kreutz, and testified her magnificence towards the Swedish officers. Gustavus also made divers presents to the Russian ministers and courtiers. He decorated the favourite Länskoï with the order of the polar star; and, on his return to Sweden, he sent to princess Dashkoff a diploma of member of the academy of Stockholm.

The Porte was the less eager to make war, as the preparations of the Russians seemed infallibly to assure them of victory. Seventy thousand men, under the orders of prince Potemkin,

* In the month of January.

were assembled on the frontiers of the Krimea. Prince Repnin was at the head of 40,000, in readiness to back the former. Marshal Romantzoff, with a third army, had his general quarters at Kieff. The squadrons of the Euxine were armed; and ten sail of the line, with several frigates, were only waiting the signal for proceeding from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

1784. The court of London, vexed that Russia had appeared at the head of the armed neutrality, strained every nerve to induce the divan to have recourse to arms: but in vain. France and Austria prevented it. Instead of fighting, they took the better mode of negotiation. By a new treaty, signed at Constantinople, between the russian plenipotentiary Bulgakoff and the ministers of the grand signior, the empress retained the sovereignty of the Krimea, of the isle of Taman, and a great part of the Kuban; and the Turks acknowledged the right which she pretended incontestibly to have to the dominion of the Euxine, and to the passage of the Dardanelles. Thus Catharine acquired, without the necessity of going to war, a vast territory, and 1,500,000 new subjects.

The empress restored their antient names to the Krimea and to the Kuban. The former of these

these countries was called Tavrída, and the other Caucasus*.

The example of Sahim-Gueray might have taught the other princes to dread the cruel protection of Russia: but the presents of prince Potemkin dazzled the eyes of some of them. Heraclius, sovereign of Kartalinia and Kakhetti, who had formerly borne arms under the famous Thamas Kouli-khan, and fought in the last war of the Russians against the Turks, performed homage to Catharine for his dominions.

Solomon, sultan of Immeritia and Georgia, was also pursued by the courteous intrigues and the treacherous benefits of the empress and the favourite. Brave and haughty, he at first resolutely persisted in depending entirely on his

* Which never fail to remind us of the old stories of the grecian history: Iphigenia in Tauris; the race-ground of Achilles; the cities Pantikapæum, Bosphorus, Tanais; and of the chained Prometheus, the tribes of Caucasus, and Circassia, still famous for the beauty of its ladies. The territory of the Krimea is larger than the kingdom of Prussia was at that time (that is, East and West Prussia and the Netz district); has a rich soil, but is poor in people. Catharine herself brought away in 1779 the numerous Greeks that inhabited the southern part of the peninsula into her own country; though they have not been very prosperous in their new districts: at that time, therefore, she seems to have had no thoughts of taking possession of it.

scymetar; but a mound of gold, a crown, and ostentatious promises, reduced him to slavery. Shortly after this he died; and sultan David his son was incapable of imitating him, except in his weaknesses.

Potemkin did not invade the country of the Zaporavians; but, ever combining artifice with force, he carried off 60,000 of these Kosaks, and sent them into the Krimea, where he founded those colonies which at present furnish sailors to the squadrons of the Euxine, and especially to the galley-fleet of Nicolaeff.

While employed in extending the empire of his sovereign, prince Potemkin was not unmindful of his personal interests. Though proprietor of immense estates in different provinces of Russia, he still acquired a part of the rich domains which the princes Lubomirsky and Sapielha had possessed in Podolia and Lithuania. His enemies thought that he was providing for a retreat into Poland: but, whatever were his intentions, never did his favour appear so firmly established, never had he been attached to Russia by so many titles and employments. The empress honoured him with the surname of Tavritschesky *, gave him the government of Tavrida,

* The Taurian.

with the rank of grand admiral of the Euxine, and built for him the magnificent palace in Petersburg which bears the name of Tavritschesky.

This superb edifice, the Taurian Palace, consists properly of only a ground floor; but the body of the building, the wings whereof extend to a prodigious length, has over the portal two stories, supported by columns, which are covered at top by a grand cupola. The entrance of the main building leads into an open space, in which on both sides lodging rooms project. Through this is the grand entrance into a quadrangular vestibule, surrounded by columns of extraordinary magnitude, and lighted from above by the windows of the second story. A gallery at a considerable height runs round it, for the orchestra, which is also provided with an organ. From this vestibule the spectator proceeds into the grand hall, through a double row of columns. If it be possible by verbal description to excite the impression which the sight of this temple of gigantic architecture produces, it can only be done by the most artless and simple representation. Let the reader then figure to himself a hall upwards of 100 paces in length, proportionably broad, having the roof supported by a double colonnade of colossal pillars. At about

half the height between these pillars are boxes, ornamented with silk curtains and festoons. In the passage formed by the double rows of pillars, hang at stated distances large crystal lustres from London, the lights of which are reflected by a mirror of uncommon size at each end of the room. The room itself has neither ornaments nor furniture, it being only designed for grand entertainments: but, in the two semicircles which terminate the colonnades, stand two vases of carrara marble, which by their extraordinary magnitude and the excellence of the workmanship, correspond with the grandeur and magnificence of the whole. Now let the reader, with his intellectual compasses, strike out a semicircle from one end of this great colonnade to the other, on the side facing the vestibule by which he entered, and this will inclose the winter-garden, of itself an enormous building; the roof of which being too large to support itself without columns, these are made to resemble palm trees. The warmth is kept up by numerous flues in the walls and columns, and leaden pipes with hot water run in various ramifications under ground beneath the parterres and grass plots. The walks of this garden lead between flowery shrubs and fruit-bearing hedges, in serpentine directions over little hills, and to a variety of bowers, occasioning

caſioning at every ſtep ſome new ſurpriſe. The eye, when weary of the luxurious mixture of gaudy colours in the vegetable world, recreates itſelf in contemplating the choicest productions of art. Here a grecian head invites our admiration; there the attention is fixed by a motley collection of rare fiſhes in crystal vaſes. We turn from theſe objects to enter a grotto of mirror-glaſs, which reflects the trees, and plants, and ſtatues, and flowers in multiplied diverſity, or to gaze at the ſingular mixture of colours in the faces of a mirror-obelisk. The genial warmth, the odour of the nobler plants, the voluptuous ſilence that reign in this enchanting garden, lull the fancy into ſweet romantic dreams: we think ourſelves in the groves of Italy, while torpid nature, through the windows of this pavilion, announces the ſeverity of winter.—In the centre of this bold creation ſtands on an elevated pedeaſtal the ſtatue of Catharine II. of carrara marble, with the attributes of legiſlatrix.—On the death of prince Potemkin the empreſs adopted this as her autumnal palace; for which purpoſe the left wing was lengthened by taking in the whole ſide of a ſtreet. In making the neceſſary alterations 1500 men were employed, who continued their work in the night by the light of torches, that it might be ready for the coming autumn.

Compare the foregoing description of the winter-garden with that of the climate of Russia*.

In proportion as the number of those who had long been in her service diminished, Catharine doubtless was the better able to judge of their value. She lost now the two principal chiefs of the conspiracy that had placed her on the throne. Count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin and prince Gregory Orloff died almost at the same time, one at Petersburg, the other at Mosco.

Panin died of grief and chagrin, a fatal malady to which discarded ministers are very liable †. From the moment when Potemkin resisted him in the council and deprived him of the management of affairs, he began visibly to decline, and was a stranger to all repose of mind but what he looked for in death.

Prince Orloff closed his term of life in a still more tremendous manner. Though he re-

* In our preliminaries, vol. i. p. 44, 45, & seq. See Storch's "Gemælde von St. Petersburg."

† Count Panin died the 31st of March 1783, and left behind him the character of an honest well-meaning man. At his death his estates were sold for 173,000 rubles, which was not sufficient to pay his debts. Many instances of his generosity are well known: of 9000 boors once presented him by the empress, he gave 4000 among three of his secretaries in the department of foreign affairs.

remained in possession of the benefits which the empress had heaped upon him, and was the husband of a young and handsome wife, the presence of the new favourites was insupportable to him. He passed almost all the latter years of his life in travelling. In 1782 he stopped at Lausanne, where he had the misfortune to lose his wife, which threw him into a deep melancholy. He immediately returned to court, but it was only to present to his former friends the sad spectacle of his insanity. At one moment he delivered himself up to an extravagant gaiety*, which made the courtiers laugh: then, bursting out into reproaches against the empress, he struck terror and amazement in all that heard him, and plunged the monarch herself in the bitterness of grief. At length he was forced to retire.

* When Gregory Orloff was all powerful at court, he frequently called Catharine by the diminutive of her name, *Kattinka* or *Katouschka*. After his return from his first travels, he retained this habit. He had brought with him from Holland a sort of doctor, or rather a buffoon, named Janijoffy, who took the same liberty. The empress was at times subject to fits of low spirits, of which this physician pretended to cure her; and when he found her in a dull humour, he would say, "Kattinka, we must be cheerful" in order to be well, and we must walk in order to be cheerful"—Then, giving her his arm, he walked with her about the gardens of the palace.

to Mosco. There his remorse revived with tenfold fury. The bleeding shade of Peter III. pursued him into every retreat; haunted his affrighted mind by day, and scared him in the visions of the night; he beheld it incessantly aiming at him an avenging dart, and he expired in despair*.

In the former period of his favour, Gregory Orloff had received of the empress a medallion surrounded with brilliants, on which was the portrait of that princess, and he wore it at his button-hole. After the death of the prince, count Vladimir Orloff came to Petersburg to present this miniature to the sovereign, who, returning it to him, bade him give it to his brother Alexèy, whom she permitted to wear it. Surely an awful present!

Alexius Orloff resided at Mosco at the time of the empress's death. Who would have thought that the sequel to the revolution of 1762. was to be acted in 1797? The new emperor Paul Petrovitch, on coming to the crown, caused the corpse of his father Peter III. after so many years had elapsed since its interment in the church of the monastery of St. Alex-

* In the month of April 1783.

ander Nefsky, to be taken up and brought to the palace, in order to pay it similar honours with those to be shewn the defunct empress his wife. In the printed ceremonial, prince Baratinsky and count Alexèy Orloff were to stand one on each side the corpse of Peter as *chief mourners*. That unfortunate monarch having omitted the ceremony of coronation, the imperial crown was fetched from Mosco, and placed upon his coffin as it lay beside that of the empress, and over both a kind of true-love-knot, with this inscription in rufs: "Divided in life, united in death." The two chief mourners took their station in presence of the assembled court amid sable cloaks, black hangings, lighted tapers, and all the solemnity of imperial woe. Count Alexèy, being blessed with strong nerves and much usage of the world, stood out the doleful scene; while prince Baratinsky, with a heart of finer mould, fainted under the weight of grief: and it was only by the repeated application of volatile salts and other stimulants, that he could be made to support his station during the three hours appointed by the ceremonial. Count Orloff, afterwards, received permission, without asking for it, to visit foreign parts; and prince Baratinsky was spared the trouble in future of paying his attendance at court.

It happened in 1780, or thereabouts, that, after presenting some travellers at court, the english minister and his countrymen were honoured by her majesty's conversation, during which she said, in her lively manner, and shewing prince Baratinsky who stood pretty near her : " Voila un homme qui m'a rendu le plus grand service dans un moment extrêmement critique." At hearing this, all present were filled with the utmost astonishment, as the particulars of the revolution made one of those *secrets* which everybody knows; and it would have for ever remained liable to a wrong interpretation, if her majesty had not almost immediately added, that, in stepping out of her carriage, her foot twisted at the ankle, and if prince Baratinsky had not caught her at that instant, she must have fallen on her face to the ground. This little anecdote, trifling in itself, seems to afford matter in evidence that she was ignorant of the manner of her husband's death as generally believed, Otherwise it can scarcely be imagined that a person of her presence of mind would have hazarded so ambiguous an expression.

C H A P. XII.

Relations of Russia with Persia, China, and Japan.—The empress resolves to defend the rights of Joseph II. over the Scheld.—Adventure of the grand duke at Gatschina.—Death of Lanskoï.—Marriage of prince Potemkin.—Yermoloff becomes favourite.—League of the electors.—Treaty of commerce with France.—Dinner of Toleration.—Momonoff succeeds Yermoloff.—The empress purchases the libraries of Voltaire and d'Alembert.—1784, 1785, 1786.

THE vicinity of the Caspian invites the Russians to trade with Persia; and by Persia they can easily prosecute a commerce with India. Accordingly, they have long profited by this advantage. Tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, who in a manner prepared the reign of his son Peter I. as Philip had prepared that of Alexander, caused some small vessels to be built by his dutch carpenters*, with which he protected the commerce carried on by his subjects with

* About the year 1660.

the inhabitants of the provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderan.

Peter I. whose genius favoured every thing that was grand or useful, extended these relations still farther, and established a counting-house at Schamachy, a rich and commercial town, which is said to have been the antient abode of Cyrus *. Persia was at that time a prey to a number of petty rebellious tyrants, who, taking advantage of the quarrels between the usurper Mahmoud † and the feeble Schah-Husseïn ‡, pillaged and ravaged those delightful countries. The Lefguis, a race of Tartars who are the antient Albanians, rushed down from mount Caucasus, made themselves masters of Schamachy, and massacred the ruffian merchants with the other inhabitants.

Justly incensed at this outrage, Peter demanded justice of its authors: but, either from inability or insolence, satisfaction was denied him. From that moment he resolved to seek

* He is called Kur-khan by the Tartars and Persians, who relate many particulars concerning that prince, unknown to the histories in use among us. Some pretend that he had his name from the river Kur.

† Son of the barbarian Mirvéitz.

‡ Schah, or Schach, signifies *sovereign*. Sophi is not a title; it is the name of a family, which traces back its origin to Tamerlane,

his own revenge, and by taking advantage of the troubles in Persia, to gain possession of the whole western coast of the Caspian. He embarked * on that sea, sailed as far as the town of Andréoff, landed, and proceeded to lay siege to Derbent, capital of the Dagestan. Derbent †, a fortified town of considerable length, and taking its name from having formerly an iron gate, made no greater resistance than it since did in our times, when attacked by Valerian Zuboff ‡. The troops of Peter I. were victorious not only at Derbent but before the opulent town of Bachtu; and three provinces remained submissive to the Russians, till they were afterwards re-conquered by Thamas Koulikhan.

The interruption of the commerce of the Russians with Persia lasted for some time. It was not till 1744 that it was revived by the English, who obtained of the empress Elizabeth permission to navigate the Caspian. By this navigation they procured great quantities of fine silks, cotton, and the other valuable commodities the growth and manufacture of Persia.

* In 1722.— See the history of Peter the great.

† Derbent, or Iron-gate, is called by the Turks Demir-Cadi.

‡ In the year 1796.

They established a factory at Meschek; they travelled with the caravans as far as the Greater Tartary, to Samarkand, and to Bolkara.

The appearance of the english flag upon the Caspian gave umbrage to the famous Thamas Kouli-khan: but, unable to contend with it, that artful tyrant came to the resolution of depriving the Russians of its assistance. In order to effect this, he gained over the captains Elton and Woodroffe *, who had under their command the english vessels, and they entered into his service.

Elton, on being made admiral by Thamas Kouli-khan, caused ships of war to be constructed, with which he forced the russian vessels to salute the persian flag, and to acknowledge its superiority. The empress Elizabeth, having information of this proceeding, immediately revoked the permission which she had granted to the english company, and sought means of avenging herself on Thamas Kouli-khan, by raising him up enemies among his own soldiers. Shortly afterwards, this conqueror, while preparing to make a descent on Russia, was assassinated, during his sleep, in the plains of Mogan.

* It is to these two navigators that we are indebted for the only good map that has ever been made of the Caspian.

From that time the Persians, being involved in fresh troubles, thought no more about the affairs of the Caspian; and all their ships were destroyed by the Russians.

By the treaty of commerce renewed with the court of London in 1766, Catharine restored to the English the privileges of which they had been deprived by Elizabeth. But, whether from want of confidence, or whether on account of the confusions that were secretly raised among them, they were never able to make that trade so profitable as their first company had done.

The Russians then are almost the only people who derive any great advantage from the commerce of the Caspian. With about 100 vessels of between 40 and 80 tons burden, they go and fetch silk and cotton from Ghilan, carpets and fine stuffs from the other provinces, carrying in exchange to the Persians, iron, steel, and furs.

Independently of this traffic, the Russians carry on a considerable fishery on the Caspian. In that sea they take the shamaï, a fish resembling the herring, and the kossa, greatly superior in flavour to the roach of the ocean*. They

* The fish of the Caspian is of a taste far more delicate than that of other seas. This superiority is attributed to the quality of the waters, which is bitter and not salt.

also take great numbers of sea-dogs, the skins of which they sell to the English and the Dutch, making use of the fat in the preparation of soap.

The rivers of Persia also supply the Russians, with great quantities of those fish from whence the caviar * is made ; a grand article of commerce,

* Caviar, by the Russians called *ikra*, an article of so much consequence to the industry and to the palates of the Russians, is prepared in the parts about the Volga, the Ural, and the Caspian, of the roes of sturgeons, sterlets, fevrugas, and sitrinas. The lump of roe is the first thing taken out after cutting up the fish. A large beluga will yield about five pood of roe ; but which, on account of the quantity of viscous matter mixed with it, is not much esteemed. From a sturgeon never more than 30 pound has been taken, and from the fevruga only 10 or 12. As of the beluga-roe five eggs weigh a grain, so a large beluga has six or seven millions of eggs. The different treatment of the roe determines the different quality of the caviar. The first species is the pressed caviar. To this purpose the roes are only cleansed from the coarsest strings and fibres, salted with two pound of salt to the pood, and spread out to dry in the air. This preparation in fair weather requires about six hours, and in cloudy weather at most a day. It is now immediately put into tubs. To make this sort for sale, it is common to take the spoiled roes of dead fish thrown upon the shore, or such as are too greasy for other sorts, and even the fragments and offals that would not pass through the sieve for the finer kinds, salt it in boxes, and then tread it down in tight tubs. Such caviar costs in Astrakhan

merce, and without which scarcely any eatables are served in the north.

The

Astrakhan half a ruble the pood.—The seasoned or grainy sort is better than this. When the roe is cleaned from the coarser particles, it is shaken into long troughs, salted with eight or ten pounds to the pood, and well mixed with it. It is now brought to the sieve or stretched net-work, through which it is squeezed, in order that the remaining fibrous parts may be completely separated: then, like the former, it is pressed in tubs. The pood costs between one and two rubles; and this sort is the usual food of the common people during the lents or fasts enjoined by the religion of the country: but it is too salt for the taste of every one. The best sort is the sack-caviar, for the cleanliness of its preparation and its exquisite relish. After being cleaned it is steeped in brine, till the grains are quite soft. It is then hung up in long pointed bags, like jelly-bags, about half a pood in each, and brine again poured in upon it. When this is all drained off, the bag is wrung between the hands till all the moisture is out. It is then set to dry twelve hours in the bag; it is trod down in tubs by a fellow in leather stockings. This sort requires the roe to be quite fresh, and is the dearest, costing two rubles the pood, and upwards. In winter the roe is eaten entirely fresh; and a great dainty it is. In general, the standard for good caviar is, the less salt the better; but likewise the less time will it keep. The best caviar, as well as the best isinglass, comes from the river Ural, where the Kosaks have the best method of preparing them. Formerly the trade in caviar was a monopoly of the crown; and in Peter the first's time the contract brought him 80,000 rubles, in the middle of the present

The fleet maintained in the Caspian by Catharine was constructed of oaks from Kafan *, and consisted of three frigates, five corvettes, and a bomb-boat. These vessels were continually cruising along the coasts of Persia, and burnt all the ships, and even all the floats of timber which they happened to meet. Their commanders had besides positive orders to sow discord between the several khans, and always to support the weaker against the more strong ; a method which the empress had found too successful both in Poland and in the Krimea, to admit of her neglecting it in behalf of the Persians.

In 1782 that princess adopted the resolution of executing the project formed by Peter I.

present century 100,000. At present it is free. In the year 1764 the quantity exported amounted to 48,000 rubles, in 1768 only to 41,000. In later years the quantity exported has been more various than that of isinglass. In the year 1778 it amounted to 2758 pood, in 1783 to 10,706 pood, in 1786 to 2476 pood, in 1788 to 15,441 pood. Caviar goes mostly to Italy, (pressed, of course, because of the voyage,) where it is eaten by the rich in fast-time. In Germany also, with the increase of luxury, it is now much more in request than it was 30 years ago, when a physician in a publication called it a delicacy almost unknown.

* The environs of Astrakhan furnish none at all.

against Persia, by extending her dominion on the western shores of the Caspian. The dissensions which continued to lay waste those fertile regions seemed to favour her ambitious views. But she met with some obstacles which she had not expected.

The most powerful of the tyrants of Persia was at that time the khan Aga-Mahmed. Sprung from one of the first families of the Korassan, Aga-Mahmed was still in his cradle when his father and his brothers were * strangled by order of Thamas Kouli-khan. The conqueror contented himself with taking precautions to prevent this infant from ever perpetuating his race : but Aga-Mahmed nevertheless, like the eunuch Narfes, became a warrior and a statesman.

After the death of Thamas Kouli-khan, the mother of Aga-Mahmed married again, and had several other children, who became the determined enemies of their brother. One of them, Murtuza Kouli-khan, thinking to procure powerful succours from Russia, appeared to be, with the utmost servility, devoted to that cabinet. But, in spite of Murtuza, in spite of Abulfat, son of Kerim-khan the last ruler ; in short, in spite of all his rivals, Aga-Mahmed

* It was about the year 1738.

had the skill to render himself master of the Ghilan, the Mazanderan, the Schirvan, and several other provinces.

The empress gave orders to count Voïnovitch *, commander of her squadron on the Caspian, to employ all possible means for forming some establishments on the persian coasts. Voïnovitch sailed with the necessary troops and ammunition, and repaired to Asterabat, the best port of the Mazanderan, which is the antient country of the Mardi. Aga-Mahmed then resided at Ferabat ; where Voïnovitch presented him his request for permission to establish a counting-house on the coast. The khan, considering perhaps that he was not able to drive away the Russians by force of arms, or rather choosing to employ artifice against them, pretended to accede to the desires of Voïnovitch.

The Russians immediately set about constructing a fortress, which they furnished with 18 guns ; whereof Aga-Mahmed being informed, continued his dissimulation, but was resolved to give them a check. He came to look at the

* Count Voïnovitch was a Slavonian by birth. Eight years after his expedition into Persia, he served in the Euxine in quality of commodore : but, happening to displease prince Potemkin, he made him lay aside the russian uniform, and dismissed him with disgrace,

fortress, admired the building, praised the activity of the Russians, and invited himself to dine, with his attendants, on board the frigate of Voïnovitch.

After having merrily spent the day, and testified great friendship for the Russians, the khan engaged them in return to come and take a dinner at one of his country-seats among the mountains. Thither they repaired the succeeding day. But they had no sooner entered his house, than Aga-Mahmed caused them to be put in irons; at the same time threatening Voïnovitch to have his head cut off; and to serve all his officers in the same manner, unless the fortress was immediately razed to the ground.

Voïnovitch, who plainly saw that all resistance would be fruitless, signed an order, which was carried to the commandant of the fort. The cannons were re-shipped, and the wall broke down. This done, Aga-Mahmed ordered the Russian officers into his presence; and, not satisfied with loading them with scornful and injurious language, he delivered several of them over to his slaves; who, after inflicting on them every sort of indignity, were commanded to drive them and their companions, with scourges, to their ships.

The court of Petersburg revenged itself no otherwise for these affronts than by continuing

to foment the dissensions that were raging in Persia. Its agents there raised up against Aga-Mahmed a rival, who speedily became the most formidable of his enemies, and took from him the province of Ghilan. This conqueror, who was called Ghedahed-khan, profiting by the arms and ammunition secretly conveyed to him by the Russians, seemed ready to despoil Aga-Mahmed of all his power. But the latter, finding means to corrupt the Russian agent, Tomanoffsky, and the consul Skilitch, both residing at Sinfil, they betrayed Ghedahed-khan, and delivered him to Aga-Mahmed; who caused him to be beheaded, and became once more the quiet possessor of the Ghilan.

In the mean time the Russians affected publicly to take no part in these quarrels. Some time after the death of Ghedahed-khan, prince Potemkin commissioned one of his officers to go and compliment Aga-Mahmed, who was then at Riatsch, the capital of the Ghilan; recommending him, at the same time, to study the character of the khan, and to sound his intentions in regard to Russia. The officer repaired to Riatsch, and easily obtained an audience of Aga-Mahmed. But, on conversing with him, he perceived him to look gloomy and thoughtful; which caused him to suspect some sinister design. Upon this, he artfully observed, that
although

although he was in the service of Russia, he was born an Englishman, and that his nation was strongly attached to the Persians, with whom it carried on an extensive commerce in the gulph of Bassora. Suddenly the khan assumed a smiling air, spoke to the envoy in a gentle tone, and dismissed him with presents.

These reciprocal testimonies of false goodwill were followed by a prompt aggression. Murtuza-Kouli-khan, supported by the Russians, attempted to make a new incursion into the Ghilan; but he was repulsed by khan Solyman, who commanded there in the absence of Aga-Mahmed; and this latter lost no time in bending every effort to the entire subjugation of Persia and Georgia*. Nor was he content with this: inheriting the projects of the formidable Shah-Nadir, he wanted to make himself master of the province of Astrakhan, and shut up the Caspian from the Russians. But how could he effect this, unless the Turks would act in concert with him? And have ever the Turks been able thoroughly to concur with an ally in hostilities against their enemies?

The commerce carried on by the Russians with China was not less beneficial than that of

* The Russians have since made themselves masters of Georgia and Circassia.

the Caspian. It is now about 130 years * since the Siberians and the Bukharians first set up the caravans, which, crossing chinese Tartary, carried their commodities as far as Pekin. These consisted in furs, for which they received in exchange gold, silver, precious stones †, stuffs, tea, and all those objects invented by the Chinese, and to which their industry, often fantastical, has given so great a degree of perfection.

The arrogance and ill conduct of the Russians soon caused them to be denied access to China. They were no longer allowed to traffic beyond the frontiers of that empire; their commerce was at several periods interrupted and resumed: at length, some time before the death of the empress Elizabeth, fresh quarrels brought on a new suspension.

Catharine saw the necessity of reviving this commerce, and accordingly made proposals to the emperor of China; which were agreed to by that prince, who in 1780 appointed the little town of Kiachta to be the common rendezvous to the Russian and Chinese merchants. The

* Towards the year 1653.—The caravans employed three years in going to Pekin, stopping there and returning to Tobolsk.

† The largest ruby that is known to be in the world was brought from China to prince Gargarin, governor of Siberia. It came afterwards into the hands of prince Mentchikoff, and is at present one of the ornaments of the imperial crown. See the history of Peter the great.

empress, at the same time, sent an archimandrite from Mosco, with several young Ruffians, to go to Pekin to study the chinese language.

She also set on foot several maritime expeditions to Kamtschatka. After the example of the English, who make voyages for the sake of purchasing furs on the north-western coast of America, several Ruffian vessels proceeded to China; where they traded with success.

There was yet another country with which Catharine was desirous of having commercial connections. The northern coasts of Ruffia, and especially her establishments in many of the isles of the northern Archipelago, approximated her with the natives of Japan. As we have often had occasion in other instances to remark, so now again a favourable incident occurred to promote the design of the empress.

Some Japanese were shipwrecked in these unfrequented seas *, and saved themselves on the coast of Ruffia. An inhabitant of Irkutsk, named Laxmann, brought one of them to Petersburg. Catharine received him with kindness, and gave him masters, who, while they were teaching him the ruffian and tartarian languages, learnt enough of the japanese to enable them to form some commercial connections. This en-

* The Japanese bark was stranded on Mednoi-ostroff, or the Copper island.

terprise has not as yet been attended with any great degree of success: but there is no reason to doubt that Russia, sooner or later, will share in the great profits made by the Dutch at Japan.

Though Catharine was adding to her vast dominions in every quarter; though she appropriated to herself, in peace or war, all the territory on which she could seize with impunity, she was not the less jealous of every accession of power to her rivals. She had long been particularly uneasy at the increasing fame of Frederic II. and the preponderance he had acquired in Europe. From the first partition of Poland, Frederic had daily been making encroachments on the privileges of the city of Dantzick, and pressed it to such a degree, that it was almost obliged to surrender itself to him, or relinquish its commerce. Catharine was the more exasperated at seeing Dantzick fall under the power of the Prussians, as the court of Russia had long since itself formed the project of taking possession of that town, and had only been induced to lay it aside by the private remonstrances that were made by the government of France to the chancellor Vorontzoff*.

* The chancellor Vorontzoff was long engaged in an epistolary correspondence with Tercier, entrusted, in conjunction with the count de Broglio, with the secret correspondence of Louis XV.

The magistrates of Dantzick were artfully invited by the minister Stackelberg, to implore the protection of Catharine. She immediately wrote to the king of Prussia with an offer of her mediation ; which procedure retarded, for some time, the invasion of Dantzick.

Another corner of Europe was in the mean time disturbed by differences of an opposite nature. Joseph II. had formed the design of opening the Scheldt. To this an opposition was made by the Dutch, who used every effort to engage Frederic to support by force of arms their covetous pretensions. Catharine, on this occasion, declared that she was resolved to support the rights of the emperor of Germany. Upon this, the Dutch, whose cannon had already insulted the austrian flag, dreading an exclusion from the ports of the Baltic, adopted the wisest method, of negotiating instead of fighting.

While Catharine was securing peace without the empire, and giving it to other powers, cabals and intrigues were reviving in her court. No methods were left unemployed by the disaffected for inciting the grand duke against his mother, and for irritating that princess against him. His imperial highness generally spent the autumn at Gatshina, a country seat distant about 18 versts from Tzar'sko-selo. All at once a report was spread

spread that he designed to build a town there, and to give liberty to all who should come and live in it. The prince was not a little surprised to see the peasants running in crowds from various parts of the empire to partake of these benefits. But, with great prudence, he kindly dismissed them, and thus dissipated an incipient revolt, from which undoubtedly great advantages were expected by the parties concerned.

The perspicacity and the zeal of Bezborodko rendered him necessary to the empress; and, having succeeded to Panin, he seemed to have inherited his sentiments. Connected with the family of Vorontzoff*, he was the secret opponent of Potemkin, who disdained all his enemies, openly braved them, and sometimes made them objects of his sport with peculiar address.

Lanskoï, beloved by Potemkin, to whom he was also greatly attached, became daily more dear to the empress. The education of this favourite had been much neglected; Catharine took the care of his improvement on herself. She adorned his mind with every useful know-

* The two Vorontzoffs are brothers of princess Dashkoff, and of the favourite lady of Peter III. One of them, Alexander Vorontzoff, was placed at the head of the college of commerce; the other, Sergius Vorontzoff, is the present minister in England.

ledge; and he was very soon as distinguishable for his acquirements, and the superior elegance of his manners, as he was already by the graces of his person. Her love for this amiable youth was ardent and sincere: she admired in him her own creation. But this satisfaction was not of long continuance. Lanskoï was attacked with a violent fever, and perished in the flower of his age, in the arms of her majesty, who lavished upon him, to the very last moment, all the tenderness the most passionate love could inspire.

When he was no more, she gave herself up to the most poignant sorrow. The imperial apartments, from the abodes of joy resembled now the lonely desert. Catharine refused all sustenance for several days, and remained three months without going out of her palace of Tzarisko-felo*. She afterwards raised a superb mau-

* On the first shock occasioned by the death of Lanskoï, the empress ordered herself to be put to bed, indifferent to life or death, being almost entirely absorbed in grief. The grand duke and grand duchess, on hearing of this, drove immediately to Tzarisko-felo: but when they were arrived at the door of the bed-chamber, and their presence was announced to the empress, she called to them in an altered tone of voice not to come in; and they were obliged to return without seeing her.

soleum * to Lanskoï, in the gardens of that imperial seat, just visible through the trees from the windows of her private apartment; and, more than two years afterwards, accidentally walking near this monument, the people of the court who were with her, observed her to shed abundance of tears †.

Prince

* This beautiful little piece of architecture was constructed by Mr. Charles Cameron, an english artist.

† The fortune of Lanskoï was estimated at 3,000,000 of rubles. He bequeathed it to the empress, which she returned to the sisters of that favourite, reserving only to herself the right of purchasing the pictures, the medals, the library, the plate, and one landed estate valued at 400,000 rubles, of which she had made him a present.—One fine collection of coins, however, was irreparably lost some time before. In 1780 the late Dr. John Glen King made a visit to Petersburg, and brought with him a collection of british and saxon coins that had been begun by Charles I. and being sold after the death of that unfortunate prince, it passed into different hands, receiving additions by its several possessors; at length being bought by a clergyman who had a taste that way, he increased it by purchases, to the detriment of his slender income. On his decease it was almost the only property that fell to his widow. Not able to find a purchaser for it in England, the doctor humanely took charge of the collection, in hopes of disposing of it in Russia for the benefit of the relict of his friend. He was advised to offer it to the new favourite; and Lanskoï, on hearing the account of it, accepted the offer, paid the money, and ordered

Prince Potemkin took upon him to dispel the grief of Catharine. He was almost the only person who could presume to penetrate the solitude in which she passed her hours. His influence with her increased from day to day; and, whether from gratitude or from real attachment, she resolved, it is said, to bind him to her by indissoluble ties, and secretly gave him her hand*.

The bonds of wedlock were unable to fix either the taste of Potemkin or the fancy of Catharine. He soon set himself free from the obligations this tie imposes, and delegated them to a younger and more ardent favourite.

ordered it to his new house. There it was negligently placed; and some few days afterwards, the coins were seen in the hands of the children of the vassals that had the unfinished buildings in their care, who were rolling them to and fro; in short, some pieces fell through the floors, others perhaps found their way to the brandy-shop, Lanskoï never thought of his purchase more, and it was entirely lost without any inquiry being made about it.

* Undoubtedly nothing is more difficult than to prove the authenticity of such a marriage. But the french authors say, that a person highly worthy of credit assured them that the nieces of prince Potemkin were in possession of the certificates of that event, and that one of them told him so. After all, both the empress and prince Potemkin being dead, this secret is of no more importance than that of the marriage of Louis XIV. with madame de Maintenon.

All who had ambition at court were desirous of seeing the place now vacant by the death of Lanskoï, filled up by some personage who would allow them to share in the favours dependent on it. Princess Dashkoff was industrious in her endeavours to obtain it for her son; and success for a moment seemed to wait on her intrigues.

The young prince Dashkoff was tall, well made, and of a figure adapted to make some impression on the heart of the empress*. Prince Potemkin, who was aware of the measures employed to bring this matter about, carefully avoided any apparent opposition, knowing that contradiction only serves as a stimulant. Feigning on the contrary a wish to favour the young Dashkoff, he took greater notice of his family, with whom he had hitherto been on very indifferent terms. No one was better skilled in the art of observing and imitating whatever was ridiculous in the persons whom he frequented; and he neglected not to make Catharine remark those of princess Dashkoff and her son. The

* Prince Dashkoff is now, or was lately with his regiment at Mohileff. Among a number of other accomplishments which he possesses, he speaks the english language remarkably well, having had his education in Scotland. The prince is a fellow of the royal society of London.

emprefs laughed heartily at his mimickry ; and the next day Potemkin sent to her, one after another, two subaltern officers of the guards, Yermoloff and Momonoff, with some trifling commission, in order to give her an opportunity to see them. Catharine decided in favour of the former.

A ball was given at court. Young Dashkoff was there, and displayed an extraordinary magnificence. The courtiers imagined his triumph was at hand, and already paid him those marks of deference which are the appendages of favouritism. Potemkin redoubled his attention to princess Dashkoff. With this she was so delighted, that on the following day she wrote him a note, requesting him to admit her nephew the young count Butturlin into the number of his aides-de-camp. Potemkin mischievously answered her, that all the places of aides-de-camp to him were full, and that the last had just been given to lieutenant Yermoloff.

The name as well as the person that bore it were alike unknown to the princess Dashkoff. That very day she became acquainted with them both, on perceiving Yermoloff at the Hermitage, standing behind the chair of the emprefs.

1785. Frederic II. who regarded the alliance between Austria and Russia as highly dangerous

dangerous to Prussia, and even to all Germany, invited the electors and the other princes of the empire to unite for the defence of the germanic constitution *. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, was one of the first who entered into the confederacy: a step which caused great displeasure both to the empress and to Potemkin.

The court of London, desirous of renewing its treaty of commerce with Russia, sent, in quality of minister plenipotentiary, to St. Peterburg, Alleyne Fitzherbert esq. † who, to the untowardness of circumstances, added the mistake of attaching himself to the party of the Vorontzoffs and of Bezborodko. The commerce which binds Russia to England is equally beneficial to both powers; and Catharine certainly had no desire to relinquish it: but she was not displeas'd at being able to give a proof of her resentment against the court of London, by delaying the renewal of the treaty ‡.

Perhaps it may be necessary here to state briefly in what the commerce carried on by the English with the Russians consists. This com-

* The treaty was signed at Berlin the 23d of July 1785.

† Now lord St. Helens.

‡ That treaty had yet two years to run.

merce began in the port of Archangel, which the English discovered about the middle of the sixteenth century, while in search of a north-east passage to the Indies. From Archangel they went up the Dvina, proceeded over land to Mosco, and there formed connections, which they afterwards greatly extended, when Peter I. had completed the conquest of Livonia, and opened to them the ports of St. Petersburg, of Reval, of Riga, and of Narva. Since that æra the commerce with Russia is become one of the most lucrative in which Great Britain is engaged, and the most useful to her marine.

The English carry to Russia * the products of their country, of their manufactures, and of their colonies

* About the year 1553, in the reign of Edward VI. on the proposal of the famous navigator Sebastian Cabot, a vessel was fitted out for the purpose of discovering a north-east passage to China and India, the command of which was given to sir Hugh Willoughby, and after him to Richard Chancellor. This latter was wrecked in the bay of St. Nicholas in the White-sea, where at that time was only a monastery. From this accident began the trade between the English and the Russians. Tzar Ivan Vassillievitch soon after this caused the harbour of the Archangel Michael to be made, granted several privileges to that nation, and at length arose from this connection the considerable mercantile city of Archangel. The commerce here soon increased, and in 1655 the commodities exported from it to England

colonies in the two Indies, as well as the wines and the brandies of France and Spain, which they fetch from the ports of those countries, and by which they not only make a considerable profit, but gain likewise the freight of their ships.

The Russians, in exchange, give them corn, furs, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, tallow, deals, and masts, without which Europe could never fit out those fleets which cover the seas, and often tinge them with blood. The English have moreover established at Mosco, at Tula, at

already amounted to 660,000 rubles: from 1697 to 1701 upon a yearly average 112,251l. sterling, while the imports from England amounted only to 58,884l. sterling. The revenue of the crown in Archangel amounted annually to about 100,000 rubles, a sum, which, according to the then value of money, was very considerable. The principal articles of export at that time were, potashes, caviar, tallow, wax, hides, hemp, feathers, tar, linen-yarn, beef, rhubarb, silk, (probably chinese or persian,) cork, bacon, cordage, leather, hogs-bristles, &c. all therefore raw materials. Under Peter I. a great alteration in this commerce ensued: for, when he had built St. Petersburg, he drew thither the trade from Archangel, which former city thereby became the chief commercial town of the russian empire.

These particulars are partly taken from the memoirs of Favier, and the writings of Busching and the learned professor Busch.

Kasan,

Kasan, at Astrakhan, and in some other towns in Russia, mercantile houses which trade to the ports of the Caspian, and send their commodities into Tartary. In these places they have manufactories, in which the wages of the workmen are far lower than in England, and where their factors make sails, cables, anchors, and hammered or cast iron as well as copper.

Though entirely passive for Russia, this commerce procures her annually a balance of 1,000,000 of rubles in time of peace, and 1,500,000 in time of war. But how great the advantage to England! What immense resources it affords for the support of her navy, and for the perpetual augmentation of her connections in every part of the globe!

The french ambassador at* Constantinople had instigated, almost contrary to his own inclination, the court of Petersburg to act in concert with that of Versailles. This minister had lately been recalled. Vergennes, who was sensible of the necessity of forming some connections with Catharine, procured the appointment of count de Ségur to the embassy of Petersburg †. This young negotiator was peculiarly suited to

* M. Saint-Priest.

† He arrived there in the month of February 1784.

so important a mission. To great mental endowments, he added an extensive erudition, combined politeness with dignity, and the art of persuasion with frankness of character. He could not fail of being agreeable to Catharine, and of gaining the regard of Potemkin, who, with his haughty roughness, always knew how to appreciate real merit.

Never any french minister, since La Chetardie *, had been able to succeed at Petersburg. By his servile compliances, Breteuil had favoured the schemes of Catharine, who presently learnt to despise him. The solemn gravity of Beauffet was tiresome to that princess. The insignificant mediocrity of the marquis de Juigné disgusted her, and the comte de Vêrac could never obtain from her the smallest degree of confidence, because he stammered in speaking to her at his first presentation. The comte de Ségur repaired the mischiefs occasioned by his aukward predecessors.

The empress was desirous of visiting the famous canal of Vishney-Volotshok, which

* La Chetardie had assisted the empress Elizabeth in mounting the throne, which however did not prevent him from running the risk of being assassinated, by villains whom the chancellor Bestucheff had hired to way-lay him on the road, and who fired at his carriage.

unites the Volga with the Ilmen lake, that again with the Ladoga, and consequently the Caspian with the Baltic. Prince Potemkin, Yermoloff, count Bezborodko, several others of the court, the english minister, and the ambassadors of France and of the empire, accompanied her on this journey.

One day the ambassador of France going to talk as usual with Potemkin, found him more angry than ordinary with the court of London. Dexterously taking advantage of this opportunity, Ségur represented to Potemkin the benefit that would result to Russia from having a commerce direct with France, instead of leaving to the English all the profits * which they draw from both the one and the other of those powers. Prince Potemkin engaged him to commit his observations to paper, and promised to speak of them to none but her majesty. The ambassador immediately returned to his barge; and finding

* Such nations as have no treaty of commerce with Russia are obliged to pay the duties in dollars. They must therefore buy the ruble at 135 to 145 kopeeks the ruble, which is really worth no more than 125 paper money. The nations then that have a treaty gain 12 per cent. on the duties, which, independently of other advantages, is a considerable benefit.—The ambassador obtained besides of the court of Russia a diminution on the import duties on french wines.

nobody there excepting count Cobentzel and Mr. Fitzherbert, who were amusing themselves at back-gammon, he borrowed the inkstand of the latter. It was therefore with the pen of the english minister, that he drew up the plan of a treaty of commerce between France and Ruffia. This paper being immediately conveyed to Potemkin, was communicated to the empress, and obtained her consent: this done, it was faithfully returned to the ambaffador, being desired to present it, according to custom, to the vice-chancellor Ostermann.

On the receipt of this paper, Ostermann, not knowing that it had already the approbation of the empress and Potemkin, and being entirely devoted to the English, told the ambaffador that he could not presume to flatter him with the hopes of success. The ambaffador kept silence. The plan, being laid before the council, was immediately approved of by all; and it was in this mannér that the treaty of commerce between France and Ruffia was brought about.

Previous to the signing of this treaty, Ostermann and Bezborodko observed that it was expected that France should declare her adhesion to the armed neutrality. A notification of it was given to the ambaffador, who consented, provided that the court of Petersburg would

would promise to conclude no treaty with any other power unless upon the same conditions. This clause, inserted in opposition to the interests of England, retarded for a long time the renewal of the treaty solicited by Mr. Fitzherbert.

The french ambassador, at his departure, had mentioned the hope he entertained of concluding a treaty of commerce with Russia. He was hastily answered, that there was no possibility of such an event. On his writing to his court that this treaty was on foot, the count de Vergennes dispatched a courier to inform him that it was no more than an empty lure thrown out to him by the court of Russia, and that he surely would bring the dignity of the king into question if he acted upon it. The treaty was already concluded when the courier arrived at St. Petersburg.

Ere she returned to her residence, Catharine made a visit to Mosco, and was there less unfavourably received than she had before been on similar occasions. Time had almost effaced the remembrance of her usurpation. Among the persons who appeared at her court was Goudovitch, who was easily distinguished by the extreme simplicity of his dress, from the crowd of courtiers bespangled with stars, crosses, and badges of knight-

knighthood. His presence alone called up the image of Peter III. in every breast.

Countess Romanovna Vorontzoff had been long recalled from exile, and was married to admiral Palianky. The empress never invited her to court, but she sent for her daughter and admitted her into the number of the maids of honour; whether from compassion to the mother, or from kindness to the family of the Vorontzoffs, is uncertain.

The spirit of toleration that animated the whole of Catharine's administration, was a very remarkable and almost singular phænomenon in a despotic government. Notwithstanding all opposition, the empress was true to the resolution she formed at the commencement of her reign; and, from that moment to the day of her death, not one instance occurred of a human being suffering, in any respect whatever, on account of his religious opinions. Not only the conquered provinces were protected in the free exercise of their religion, but lutherans, calvinists, moravian brethren, papists, mohammedans, heathens, and people of all countries and persuasions, might aspire to any post under government, and hold any civil or military employment or dignity, if they were but worthy,

or deemed worthy of it. The intolerant of more polished nations might go to the provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, Finland, and Russia, to take lessons of moderation and christian forbearance. But at Petersburg the general and peculiar feature in the public character is toleration; a virtue which, in some sense, has long since taken root in the nation at large, but in the residence, from the confluence of such numbers of people of various persuasions, and the most diversified systems of faith, of the most dissimilar manners, customs, opinions, and prejudices, has acquired so general and extensive a sway, that certainly it is not easy to find a spot of earth upon the globe, where, in this respect, a man may more quietly pass his days than at St. Petersburg. It is to be understood, moreover, that the word "toleration" is not here confined to that narrow meaning in which it is usually taken in speaking of an extorted and commanded forbearance in matters of religion, or of the permission for the weaker party to exist by a stated law. The idea here connected with the term includes a voluntary and universally diffused forbearance, in every place, and towards every person, his manner of thinking and acting. It therefore comprehends not only religious, but also political and social toleration, and

is

is remarkable, not as the characteristic of the form of government, but as that of the public*.

That religious toleration prevails in Russia appears plainly hence, that the great and extensive liberties which the tolerated sects of religion enjoyed under Catharine's protection, no where, either among the populace or the higher classes, never even among the clergy, excited the smallest discontent or rivalry. Prelates of the greek church lived with the religious teachers of other confessions of faith in the most friendly and familiar intercourse, and invited them to their tables and converse †; ruffian popes, when not in function themselves, occasionally frequented the worship of the protestants, prosecuted their studies in Holland, England, and Germany,

* Storch, Gemælde von Petersburg, vol. ii. p. 504.

† The writer of this note recollects with particular pleasure the agreeable hours he has passed at the monastery of St. Alexander Nefsky, with that excellent and amiable metropolitán and archimandrite Gabriel archbishop of St. Petersburg and Novgorod, also with Plato archbishop of Mosco, Eugenius bishop of Pultava, Shezronchevitch the catholic archbishop of Mohilef, Pamphilief her majesty's confessor, and numbers of the parochial clergy. Nor can he ever forget the hospitable reception and entertainment he received, on a journey in the depth of winter, from the bishop of Kargapol, at his monastery on the banks of the Svir.

where

where they sometimes attended theological lectures. One instance even occurred of a respectable ruffian clergyman giving his daughter to be educated by a lutheran preacher. Among the laity of the greek sect of religion, this compatibility naturally proceeds farther. They appear not only as invited witnesses and sponfors on solemn occasions, but often, in the churches of the foreigners, readily contribute to the support of their churches and schools, put their children to be educated by foreigners, and intermarry with them without hesitation, to whatever communion they may belong. In social intercourse never was any trace of religious party-spirit discernible. Conversations in regard to differences in religion were seldom heard; debates on subjects of that nature, never.

Examples of this amiable virtue would have turned to the disgrace of foreigners, had they not strove to follow them. But also among these a mutual toleration and indulgence prevailed, such as is but rarely seen even in the most enlightened countries. Clergymen of all religions lived in the greatest harmony, for the most part on an intimate footing. For several years the reformed and lutheran preachers held weekly meetings, in order to confer on matters of religion and the exercise of their duties, and

to keep up their union by familiar converse*. This laudable circle was also visited at times by some of the catholic and russian clergy. Not many years ago, when the place of preacher to the german reformed congregation was vacant, the librarian of the academy of sciences †, who was a lutheran and not in orders, for a long time delivered discourses from their pulpit; and the english chaplain, on similar occasions, has often exhorted the french calvinist congregation on the great festivals of the church ‡. It was not unusual for lutheran preachers to administer the communion to the reformed, and preachers of the latter persuasion have delivered funeral sermons in lutheran churches. Nay, it once happened that a lutheran preacher was sponsor to a catholic child; as he might easily, since the catholic priest omitted those questions to which the other, according to the system of his church, could not answer in the affirmative. Foreigners of all sects of religion contracted marriages

* Alternately at each other's house. They consisted of Mr. Martin Luther Wolff, M. Lampe, M. Grott, M. Reinbott, M. Krokius, M. Reynhold, and the english chaplain.

† M. Buffle, editor of the Peterburgische Journal, and other works.

‡ Properly speaking, it was on the day after these festivals; otherwise it would have been impossible.

with each other and with Ruffians, without attracting the flightest remark. For his religious opinions, in fhort, however extraordinary, no man had any thing to apprehend from the government or his equals, if he did not attempt to force them upon others, or feek to make profelytes. A great part of the foreigners even lived without profefling themfelves of any ecclefiaftical connection; but no one ever fet himfelf up as an inquirer into the faith of thefe independents, and none troubled themfelves about them.

The empress, not fatisfied with having appointed a catholic archbifhop, and eftablifhed a feminary of jefuits at Mohilef, and with having fupported iflamifm in the Krimea, fhe gave to her people almoft every year fome folemn inftance of the protection fhe granted to the liberty of worfhip. On the day of the benediction of the waters*, her confeflor, by her orders, invited to his houfe the ecclefiaftics of all communions, and gave them a grand entertainment, which Catharine called the Dinner of Toleration. Accordingly this year, at the fame table were feated, the patriarch of Grufinia or Georgia, the archimandrite of St. Petersburg, the bifhop of Polotfk, the bifhop of Pfcove,

* The 6th of January. It was continued for feveral years.

a catholic bishop, a prior of the same religion, franciscans, jesuits, an armenian priest, lutheran preachers, calvinists, and the english clergyman: in short, here were priests of no less than eight different forms of worship. It has been calculated, that the offices of religion are performed in Petersburg in fourteen different languages.

Ever since the commencement of her reign, Catharine had laboured with unremitting assiduity in diffusing instruction among her people. She had already, as we have seen, founded houses of education in several towns. She now took up the resolution of establishing them in like manner in various parts of the country. To this end a commission of public instruction was erected, at the head of which was placed her former favourite Zavodoffsky, who, without resuming his office in that capacity, was however taken again into distinguished notice, and had been appointed secretary of the cabinet, and governor of the Lombard, or loan bank.

This being an establishment of so singular a nature, deserves a little further mention. The empress, reversing the usual order of things, instead of borrowing money from her subjects, now became the great money-lender of the empire. Upon this principle she opened a bank, the capital of which consisted of 33 millions of rubles; and

was empowered to emit bills; with the currency of money, to the amount of 100 millions more; (which, at the lowest evaluation of the ruble at that time, amounted to 20 millions sterling;) but it was particularly restricted from ever exceeding this prodigious emission of paper. Of the capital fund, 22 millions were to be lent to the nobility for the term of 20 years, upon mortgages on their estates, at an interest of five *per cent.* besides a payment of three *per cent.* which was to be applied annually towards the discharge of the original debt. The mortgages were not to include the whole estate; but such a number of villages, with the peasants appertaining to them, as should appear to the directors a sufficient security; the male peasants to be estimated at 40 rubles per head, the females at 30, well-grown boys and girls at 12. The mortgaged estates were not subject to confiscation; but heavy pecuniary mulcts were to arise upon any delay in paying either the five *per cent.* interest, or the three *per cent.* which is allotted to the discharge of the principal; and if these mulcts be not sufficient to remedy the contumacy or neglect, the directors were to take the administration of the estate into their own hands. Four periods were stated in the course of the term, at
any

any of which the borrower might redeem his estate by paying off the rest of the debt.

The remaining 11 millions of the capital were destined to the encouragement both of foreign commerce and of the internal trade of the empire, by being lent out to merchants and retail-dealers for the term of 22 years, at only four *per cent.* interest, with the same annual application of three *per cent.* towards the discharge of the principal. The bank was likewise to act as an insurance-office with respect to fire; but the houses must be built of brick or stone; and all foreigners as well as natives were admitted to the privilege of depositing their money in it, and of having her majesty's imperial word pledged to them as a security.

In the commission for the normal schools, after Zavodoffsky came the learned Epinus* and Pastukoff †, private secretary to the empress. The other members of the commission were persons of no consequence, admitted through Zavodoffsky's interest.

* Epinus had been preceptor to Paul Petrovitch. He is a man not less distinguished by his virtues than by his extensive erudition. He has published several pieces on the mathematics, and a theory of the loadstone, much esteemed.

† Pastukoff was likewise employed in the education of the grand duke Paul.

The

The commission was much divided in opinion touching the manner of instituting the normal schools, so as to fulfil the intentions of the empress. Epinus, who was apprehensive lest obstinacy and ignorance should prevent the execution of the project; advised the adoption of the austrian method; and after much resistance, his opinion was agreed to. He was undoubtedly aware of the defects in the austrian practice; but he thought it better to erect imperfect seminaries, susceptible of progressive correction, than to have none of any kind.

The empress then proposed a variety of questions to Joseph II. concerning the normal schools of Austria: in consequence of which the emperor sent Yankovitch to her, as a man qualified to impart to her the information she required. Yankovitch, an old country schoolmaster, destitute of all talents, was no sooner arrived at Petersburg, than he was decorated with the title of counsellor of state, appointed director of the normal schools, and assessor to the commission of public instruction. He became, at the same time, the flatterer of Zavodoffsky and the antagonist of Epinus.

The importance attached by the empress to her commission of public instruction was such, that she was perpetually employed in sending

notes to them, communicative of her ideas for the bringing to due perfection of these normal schools. Moreover, she attended them herself, while the lessons were performing.

A learned German*, member of the academy of sciences, consented to be professor of geography and history in the Russian language: a very fortunate circumstance; as no Russian would have been capable of it. Catharine, being present one day, with several of her courtiers, at a lecture which the academician was delivering on the several tribes that inhabit Siberia, after listening to him with fixed attention, she bestowed great commendation on him both for his knowledge and his zeal. She afterwards proposed an objection to some of his observations; to which he replied in the most satisfactory manner. Zavodoffsky and some others, unaccustomed to see a literary man utter an opinion contradictory to that of the sovereign, seemed to take fire at this great instance of presumption; but the empress was eager to acknowledge that she had been led into a mistake; and returned thanks to the academician for having rectified it with so much ability. Observing, at the same time, the displeasure of Zavodoffsky,

* A native of Hanover, who composed the only accurate work on the geography of Russia that ever appeared.

she embraced the opportunity offered her by the moment of his attending her to the carriage, to order him to repeat her thanks to the professor. This, however, did not prevent the president of the board of instruction from punishing this worthy man for his courage, by turning him out of his place, and even out of his lodgings. These particulars may perhaps appear of little consequence ; but every thing that tends to the exhibition of personal character is always fit matter for biography.

1786. Yermoloff had arrived at the pinnacle of favour ; and he was thrust from it by his own imprudence. This favourite, tall, fair-complected, and of a figure declarative of a soul that could not be roused from apathy, was jealous to an extreme. He presently behaved ungratefully to prince Potemkin, to whom he owed his fortune. He eagerly laid hold of every opportunity that offered to injure him ; and it was only in opposition to him that he defended the unhappy khan Sahim-Gueray, the payment of whose pension was cruelly neglected. The empress, who became every day more indulgent to her lovers, shewed some coolness to Potemkin, and even to the ambassador of France, whose interest at court gave equal offence to Yermoloff.

Bezborodko, Alexander Vorontzoff, and some others of the court, contributed, by their instigations, to exasperate the favourite. Yermoloff had an uncle, named Levasheff, whom Potemkin had dismissed from the service with disgrace, in consequence of a quarrel at play *, in which this Levasheff had the wrong side of the question. Yermoloff complained of it to

* Potemkin played enormously high, but always generously.—Being at Mohilef, where this brutal Passick was commandant, and who had been raised to a general's rank, in reward for the part he had taken in the dethronement of Peter III. he pointed at pharao; Passick, who cut, had the effrontery to try to slip away a card. Potemkin perceived it, took him by the collar, and gave him about 20 cuffs in the face; after which he set out for Petersburg. All that were present at this scene looked upon Passick as a lost man. But having a daughter who was maid of honour to the empress, and who moreover was very handsome, she easily obtained the delinquent's pardon. Potemkin was often hurried away by his passions. He once struck prince Vassili D. under pretence that this prince took the part of general Kretschetnikoff; but the real cause of his anger was, that, being fond of the princess D. she had resisted his importunities. He also struck prince Volkonsky, because, while at table, that prince clapped his hands at some witticism from this despotic favourite. Prince Potemkin rose up, took him by the collar, gave him several blows with his fist, saying, "What! you applaud me as if I were a buffoon!" Then, turning to the austrian general Jordis, who was also at table: "There, general," said he, "that is the way to treat this sort of scoundrels."

the

the empress. Potemkin being reproved by her majesty, felt himself so hurt by it, that he haughtily said to her:—"Madam, there is but
 " one alternative, you must either dismiss Yermoloff or me: for, so long as you keep that
 " white negro*, I shall not set my foot within
 " the palace."—The same day Yermoloff received orders to travel. Momonoff succeeded him.

These intrigues were scarcely heard of beyond the precincts of the court: and Catharine's love of glory was universally known.

During his travels into the inner parts of Russia, the learned professor Pallas had collected a great number of natural curiosities, and by this means had formed a valuable cabinet. The empress purchased it of him at a very round price; as she had also some years before purchased the library of d'Alembert and that of Voltaire†.

Several

* Potemkin called Yermoloff by that name, because he was so extremely fair.

† Voltaire had not long been dead when Catharine commissioned her correspondent at Paris to buy for her the library of the author of "Mahomet." Madame Denis, who had inherited that library, told the correspondent that she would not sell it, but that she would willingly make her homage of it to the empress. Upon this her majesty wrote her the following letter:

Several travellers had at various times, by her orders, traversed the northern Archipelago, and the

“ Petersburg, Aug. 15, 1778.

“ I just now learn, madam, that you consent to make a
 “ surrender to me of that precious deposit left you by
 “ your late uncle, that library which souls of sensibility
 “ will never behold without recollecting that this great man
 “ had the art of inspiring mankind with that universal
 “ benevolence, which all his writings breathe, even those
 “ of mere entertainment, because his soul was deeply pene-
 “ trated with it. No man before him ever wrote like him :
 “ to future generations he will be both an example and
 “ a rock. To equal him, genius and philosophy must
 “ unite in one person with literature and entertainment ; in
 “ a word, he must be M. de Voltaire. If, with all Europe
 “ I have taken part in your grief, madam, for the loss of
 “ that incomparable man, you have entitled yourself to
 “ participate in the grateful returns I owe to his writings.
 “ I am, indeed, extremely sensible to the esteem and the
 “ confidence which you shew me. It is highly flattering
 “ to me to see that they are hereditary in your family. The
 “ generosity of your behaviour is your security for my
 “ favourable sentiments in regard to you. I have written
 “ to Monsieur de Grimm * to deliver to you some incon-
 “ siderable testimonies of it, which I desire you to accept,

“ CATHARINE.”

Her majesty had written on the cover :—“ For madame
 “ Denis, niece of a great man who loved me much.”

* M. Grimm was at Paris the literary correspondent of the empress.

the remotest of the ruffian provinces. In the year 1785 she sent again several learned persons, some towards Caucasus, others to the frontiers of China, for the purpose of discovering, exploring, and examining, the most remote provinces, and the yet unknown parts of that immense empire. The difficulties and perils to which this expedition by land was supposed liable, through the trackless deserts which were to be explored, the inhospitality of the climates, and the barbarity of the nations that were to be encountered, with the numberless obstacles of various sorts that were to be surmounted, rendered the prospect much more terrible than it had appeared to our circumnavigators in any of their late great voyages of discovery. The boldest and most enterprising persons of all nations were accordingly sought out for this undertaking, and high rewards and promises held out as an encouragement to their zeal and perseverance. Baron de Valchen Stedtz, who had a regiment of cavalry in the empress's service, was appointed

At the conclusion of this letter, the empress requested of madame Denis a plan in relief of the façade and of the interior distribution of the château de Ferney, as well as the gardens and its avenues, as she purposed to have a building exactly like it in the grounds adjacent to Tzarzkofelo.

commander in chief upon this expedition. His corps consisted of 810 chosen men, who were led on by 107 officers of different degrees of distinction, and accompanied by pioneers, artillery-men, handicraftsmen, draughtsmen, engineers, an historiographer, and naturalists. It need scarcely be observed, that they were amply provided with all manner of necessaries, and that they were furnished with credentials suited to every circumstance and situation. It was supposed that the expedition could not be completed within three years.

The only fruit of their discoveries which came to the knowledge of the public was that of a small fugitive colony of strangers and christians, whom they found shut up from the world in a most sequestered part of the wilds of Caucasus; and who, in the language of the country, are called Tschetshes. These poor people are said to lead lives of the most exemplary piety, and to exhibit a primæval simplicity of manners. They are totally ignorant of their origin, any farther than knowing that they are strangers, as which they are likewise considered by the scattered neighbouring nations. From an affinity in their language, and some other circumstances, they are supposed to be descended from a colony of Bohemians, who flying from the religious
perfe-

persecutions in their own country towards the close of the fifteenth century, found at length a refuge from oppression, in the distance from the rest of mankind which these remote deserts afforded.

Not satisfied with the discoveries which this expedition by land might produce, the empress formed another by sea about the same time, in order to extend and ascertain those which, within the present century, have been unsuccessfully attempted or imperfectly made by different russian navigators. Lieutenant-colonel Blau-meyer was appointed to conduct this expedition, and commissioned to take along with him, besides able navigators, a number of persons skilled in various arts, to assist in making proper inquiries, and in turning to the greatest advantage such discoveries as they might make, or were already made. They were to embark at the mouth of the river Anadyr, and to prosecute with greater accuracy and stricter observation those discoveries which had been made by former navigators, of several inhabited islands lying about the 64th degree of latitude, in situations advantageous for trade. They were then to double T'choukoskoï-nofs, and entering the straits which separate Siberia from America, to pursue their voyage at least to the 74th degree of latitude ; but if they found the seas practicable,

practicable to proceed as much farther as circumstances would permit.

It is a singular circumstance, at least in the modern history of the old world, for a prince to be under the necessity of undertaking great expeditions by sea and land, in order to discover new countries within his own dominions. Such is the vastness of that unbounded empire!

But the great work, which, if ever it be completed, will be a lasting monument to the glory of Catharine, is the navigable canal in the province of Tver, which, by opening a communication between the river Tvertza and the Msta, the former of which falls directly into the Volga, and the latter, by the great lakes, opens the passage to the Neva, will not only establish an inland navigation through all the vast countries that lie between the shores of the Caspian and the Baltic, but will actually unite these distant seas; an union unexampled in the history of mankind.

These enterprises have by some been attributed rather to a vain desire in Catharine of causing her name to be resounded throughout Europe, than from a real love of the sciences. In confirmation of which it has been observed, that in the latter case care would have been taken to publish to the world whatever these travellers

travellers had discovered, either without or within her extensive dominions. But, though their departure was always emphatically announced, their return was only attended by a clandestine light.

In 1784 Mr. Pallas conceived the plan of a new expedition to the northern Archipelago, and drew up instructions for the navigator who was to be employed in it. This navigator was Billings, the Englishman, who had been assistant-astronomer to the justly celebrated captain Cook, in his voyages round the world. He first proceeded to the river Kovima, where he caused a vessel to be built, for the purpose of doubling Tchouktskoi-nofs, but in this attempt he was not able to succeed.

The year following Billings sailed about the islands of the eastern ocean, departing from Okhotzk and the bay of Avatsha as far as the coasts of Japan. He even constructed the charts of his voyage; but the discoveries which he made are not of much importance. He, however, collected several curiosities, and brought to Petersburg a native of Unalashka, and a woman whom the inhabitants of that island had carried off from the shores of America, and who related that she came from a part of the continent very remote from that coast.

Being

Being returned to Petersburg, Billings began to put into order, with the assistance of Mr. Pallas, the journal of his voyage *. But it is much to be feared that the work will break off in the middle, and like those we spoke of before, be lost to the public †.

The empress, desirous of augmenting the population of Kerson, and her newly acquired provinces of Taurida and Caucasus, published a manifesto inviting foreigners to come and settle in those countries. We shall here insert a few fragments from it.

“ The protection which we habitually grant
“ to strangers who come either to carry on their

* John Ledyard, the American, if he had not been stopped on his journey, was the man who would doubtless have given us much excellent information; having about 16 years ago formed the design of travelling on foot to the Tschouktschis, of crossing Behring's straits with some of them, and thence proceeding to the english settlements at Hudson's bay. He undertook this extraordinary journey alone and unarmed. He was arrested at Yakutsk, under pretence of his being a spy, and conveyed away to the frontiers of Prussia, whence he returned to England. This intrepid pedestrian, went afterwards to Ægypt in the design of traversing all Africa on foot: but death put a stop to his noble undertaking at Grand Cairo.

† The truth of the matter is, that it contained little or nothing worth communicating to the public.

“ COM-

“ commerce, or to exert their industry in our
 “ empire, is generally known. Every one may
 “ enjoy in our dominions the free exercise of the
 “ religion of his fathers, a perfect security, and
 “ the protection of the laws and government.
 “ All the necessaries and the accommodations of
 “ life, as well as the means of acquiring riches,
 “ there offer themselves, both from the fertility
 “ of the soil and the objects adapted to com-
 “ merce. The territory of Caucasus, in sub-
 “ mission to our sceptre, affords all these resources
 “ in greater abundance than the other provinces
 “ of our empire. Foreigners who are willing
 “ to settle there, whether in the towns, or in the
 “ country, will be sure to find a peaceful asylum
 “ with many advantages. They shall be,
 “ during six years exempt from all duties to the
 “ crown. If, at the expiration of that term
 “ they shall signify their intention to leave our
 “ dominions, they shall be at full liberty to go,
 “ on paying only the value of the imposts of
 “ three years*.”

By another manifesto which appeared within a few months after the former, the empress declared to all the inhabitants of Russia and

* This manifesto bears date from Tzarisko-selo, the 14th of July 1785.

Tartary, that it was no longer required of them in addressees to her, to call themselves her *slaves*, but only her *subjects* *. That princess was not ignorant of the means of rendering herself popular, and she often employed them with art. One of those which served greatly to render her so, was the care she took of children. Whether from inclination or from policy, she had always a great number of them in her apartments. There they enjoyed the same liberty with the princes her grandchildren; and she returned their caresses with extreme complaisance.

The same style of outward magnificence, with the same munificent spirit in the disposal of bounties or rewards, which had so eminently distinguished the court of Petersburg through the reign of Catharine, still continued to be its principal characteristics. Every thing that comes within these descriptions was done in the highest style of grandeur, and seemed not only suited to the present greatness, but to the rising hope and fortune of that empire. Indeed the empress proceeded upon so large a scale in these matters, that it seemed rather to be graduated by an

* Letters, memorials, and petitions, with erasures in them might be presented to her without danger of her taking offence. She never imagined that there was any intention therein of insulting her dignity.

asiatic than an european model. It is not often seen, at least in the western world, that a great military power, whose ambition and armaments spread apprehension or terror all round, and which seemed almost constantly looking for war, should at the same time exceed all others in the splendid establishments of peace and luxury.

The empress had publicly announced, in the beginning of the year of which we are treating, her intention of making a magnificent progress to Kerfon and the Krimea, in order to her being crowned soveraign of the new conquests. This design was apparently conceived at first in the most splendid ideas of eastern magnificence and grandeur. It was given out, that Catharine was to be crowned queen of Taurida, and to be declared protectress of all the nations of Tartars. That, in order to render the solemnization of this great act the more august, awful, and more extensively striking, she was to be attended by the metropolitan, by six other archbishops, and by a great body of the clergy; which with the court and its attendants, would have formed a prodigious train. Triumphal arches were to be erected, and enriched with sculptures, devices, and inscriptions, on the approaches to Kerfon, and in the town. The empress was to be drawn on the latter part of the way in a triumphal car,
with

with a wreath of laurel on her head; and the concourse of people was expected to be so great, that the multitudes which attend the pilgrimages to Mecca would no longer be regarded as a wonder. She was besides to be escorted by a formidable army, to consist of no less than six regiments of cavalry, and 22 of infantry. The magnificence of the procession, whether by land or by water, was to be suited to that of the grand concluding ceremonial. A fleet of galleys were built on the Dniepr; and besides their embellishments and decorations, were to be furnished with all the accommodations necessary for a court, or usually found in a great city. It seemed as if cost was a matter not to be thought of in these preparations; and it is scarcely credible, though positively asserted, that the prodigious sum of 7,000,000 of rubles* had been originally dedicated to the purpose only of those presents which were to be distributed at the coronation.

The same allowance is probably to be made for vanity and exaggeration in some of these accounts, which is usually necessary in similar cases: but it is certain, however, that every thing that could be conceived splendid or grand,

* Amounting to about 1,500,000l. sterling.

was included in the original design, and the usual magnificence of the empress seems to give a sanction to the whole. It is likewise to be remembered, that there was a grand political object in view in this splendour and expence; that it was undoubtedly expected that all the adjoining nations would have been either terrified by the power, or fascinated by the pomp, splendour and wealth, which were now to be displayed; and that the tartar chiefs, under these impressions, would not only have rendered the scene truly glorious, by coming from all parts to do homage to the new monarch of the east, but that she would thereby have enlarged and secured her dominion without the trouble of war and conquest.

C H A P. XIII.

Catharine II. takes a journey to the Krimea.—Assassination of kban Sabim-Gueray.—The Turks declare war against Russia.—Gustavus III. invades Finland.—Sea-fight between the Swedes and the Russians.—Bentzelstierna makes an attempt to burn the russian fleet at Copenhagen.—Capture of Otchakoff.—Peace of Varela.—Victories obtained over the Turks.—Capture of Ismail.—Dismission of Momonoff.—Elevation of Zuboff.—The court of Great Britain sends Mr. Fawkener to Petersburg.—Peace of Yassi.—Death of prince Potemkin.—1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792.

THE grand political object which Catharine had in view in this intended display of magnificence and power, was, after having solemnly taken the sceptre of the Krim, and awed the surrounding nations into submission, to conduct her grandson Constantine * to the gates of that
Oriental

* At his birth he was put into the hands of greek nurses fetched on purpose from the isle of Naxos. He was always dressed in the fashion of the Greeks, and surrounded by

Oriental Empire to which she had destined him from his birth. All was in movement for completing the preparations, when the young prince fell sick of the measles, and he was obliged to be left at Petersburg. This circumstance, together with the news of some skirmishes, and even more serious engagements that had happened in the Krim between the Russians and the Tartars, occasioned a great alteration in the scheme of the progress to Kerfon. It was now greatly narrowed in the design, was disincumbered of much of its intended superb magnificence; the great object of the coronation, and of the assumption of new titles was entirely given up; the formidable military force that was expected did not attend; the procession did not take place at the time proposed; and the only end obtained, saving the conferences held with the king of Poland and the emperor, was nothing more than the empress's shewing herself to the new subjects, and appearing to take some sort of formal possession of Kerfon and the Krimea.

by children of that nation, that he might acquire the greek language, and which he spoke with great facility. It was even in regard to him that the grecian cadet-corps of 200 cadets was established. See before, vol. iii. p. 79.

The Georgians, Lefghis, and other Tartars that inhabit these unmeasured, and almost unknown regions, and who seem scarcely to know any particular owner, as soon as the report of the intended grand progress was spread amongst them, instead of producing the expected effect, in dazzling or terrifying these Tartars, it served, on the contrary, as a signal of general and immediate danger, to cement their union in the strongest manner, and to urge them to the greatest possible exertion, and to the most determined resistance. This soon became apparent; and the war of the Krimea daily became more serious.

The empress set out*, accompanied by her ladies of honour, by the favourite Momonoff, the grand-ecuyer Narishkin, count Ivan Chernicheff, the two counts Shuvaloff, and several more of the courtiers, with the ambassadors of Austria and France, and the english envoy. The sledges travelled night and day. A great number of horses had been previously collected at every station; great fires were lighted at the distance of every 30 fathom, and an immense crowd of persons attracted by curiosity skirted the road.

* The 18th of January 1787.

On the sixth day the empress arrived at Smolensk. Fifteen days after she made her entry into Kieff, where the princes Sapieha and Lubomirsky, the Potockis, the Branitskies, and most of the other nobles of Poland who were devoted to Russia, had repaired to meet the sovereign.

Prince Potemkin had gone on before. He joined her at Kieff, as well as prince Nassau-Siegen; who, for some time past, had been engaged in the Russian service. Marshal Romantzoff was there also. Already hurt at the arrogance of Potemkin*, he had, during his stay at Kieff, additional causes of complaint, and his discontent became visible. But, whatever value the empress set upon the brilliant services of the vanquisher of the Ottomans, the favour of Potemkin was undiminished.

Fifty magnificent galleys had been disposed on the Dniepr for the reception of the empress. Her majesty, at the beginning of the spring, went to Kremenchuk, and embarked † there attended by a numerous suite.

* Marshal Romantzoff was general-in-chief of the cavalry, and during the space of 14 years there was no promotion in that corps; because prince Potemkin had a dislike to the marshal.

† The 6th of May 1787.

The next day the fleet cast anchor over against Kanieff. The king of Poland, who had come thither under his old name of count Poniatoffsky, repaired immediately on board the empress's galley. The two sovereigns had not seen each other for the space of three and twenty years*. On their first meeting, Catharine seemed rather affected: but Stanislaus Augustus preserved his entire presence of mind, and discoursed with great composure. Soon after this they remained alone in the apartment belonging to the empress, and had a private conference which lasted somewhat more than half an hour. After which, they went over to another galley, where they dined together. Catharine decorated her former lover with the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew:

Prince Potemkin, who had never seen the polish monarch, seemed quite enchanted at now meeting him. It was perhaps to the impression which it made on him, that Stanislaus Augustus has to ascribe the preservation of his crown for some years longer than he otherwise would. However this be, he retired that evening highly satisfied to all appearance at the reception he had met with, and the fleet continued its course.

* It was said that a private interview between them took place at Riga in 1764.

At Kremenshuk the empress was lodged in a house superbly ornamented. There she found an army of 12,000 men in new uniforms, who presented before her a sham-fight by manœuvring in four columns, with a square battalion of Kofaks*.

The passage by water was still more agreeable. The shores of the Dniepr were covered with villages constructed for the occasion, with peasants elegantly dressed tending numerous flocks, who came by cross-roads to different places on the coast, which the fleet was to pass, and were thus incessantly re-produced before the eyes of the voyagers. The beauty of the season even added to the magical effects of the spectacle presented to the empress, and all together converted this almost desert region into a delightful country.

Joseph II. † had arrived at Kerson some time before the empress. He set out to meet her, and joined her majesty at Kaïdak; where she immediately landed, and proceeded by land to

* It was on that occasion that the empress, who was granting favours to every body, and of whom every body was pressing to ask them, said to Suvaroff:—"And you, general, do you want nothing?" "Only that you would order my lodgings to be paid, madam," answered Suvaroff. His lodgings cost two rubles a month.

† Under the title of count Falkenstein.

Kerson, to which place the emperor returned with her.

Kerson was already an opulent city; having a harbour full of vessels, and dock-yards well supplied. A 66-gun man of war was launched in presence of the empress, and a frigate of 40 guns. As her majesty was going through the several parts of the town, she read upon a gate, on the side to the east, a greek inscription of this import:—"BY THIS THE WAY LEADS TO "BYZANTIUM."

There was at that time a great number of foreigners: Greeks, Tartars, French*, Spaniards, English, Poles; some drawn thither by curiosity; others by the desire of paying homage to the empress. Prince Potemkin presented to her Miranda †, who, being obliged to fly his native country, sought an asylum among the Russians, and is since become a general in the service of the French.

* Among the French were Edward Dillon and Alexander Lameth.

† Miranda, a fugitive from the Havannah, had gone to New York and into Canada; from North America he went to Constantinople and to Kerson. Being afterwards at Petersburg, he was demanded by the chargé des affaires of Spain. But the empress refused to give him up; and when he quitted Russia, she recommended him to her ministers at foreign courts.

Among the women who had resorted to the court of Catharine, was a grecian lady already famous *, whose charms had touched the heart of prince Potemkin, and seemed likely to snatch him away from the crowd of beauties who were contending for his favours.

Long before her departure from Petersburg, the empress had sent major Sergius to Constantinople, for the purpose of acquainting the divan that she designed to come into the Krimæa. The divan shewed symptoms of uneasiness at it: they almost considered this journey as an aggression. They took measures to repel it; and while the empress was at Kerfon, four turkish ships of the line came and anchored at the mouth of the Borysthenes. These ships were neither inclined, nor, had they been so, were they able to make any successful attempt; but the very sight of

* She was called madame de Witt. From his partiality for her, prince Potemkin gave the government of Kerfon to her husband. This did not prevent madame de Witt from committing some infidelities to prince Potemkin. Under pretence of going to see her mother, who was a poor tradeswoman at the seraglio, she went to Constantinople with the countess de Mnischeck. Choiseul-Gouffier gave her lodgings in the hotel de France. After the death of Potemkin, madame de Witt followed the fortune of Felix Potocky; and, at the solicitation of the countess Potocky, the empress caused her to be shut up in a convent.

them caused disturbance to Catharine. She beheld them with scorn, and could not turn away her eyes from them.—“ Do you see ?” said she to her courtiers, “ one would suppose that the “ Turks had no recollection of Tschesmé !”

Joseph II. received at Kerson the first news of the rebellion that had broke out in Brabant. Some persons exhorted him to repair immediately to Brussels, and to act with great moderation, as the best means of appeasing an irritated people. That prince made no discovery of the measures he intended to pursue, nor did he take the road to his dominions. On the contrary, he followed the empress, who set out on a journey to visit the inner parts of the Krimea.

The empress was received in that peninsula by the principal myrzas, whose troops made various evolutions in her presence. All at once the carriages were surrounded by a thousand Tartars, forming themselves into an escort. Joseph II. who had not been apprised of what was to happen, expressed some uneasiness ; but the empress preserved her usual tranquillity. These Tartars had been placed there by prince Potemkin. They had certainly no sinister design ; and if they had, they would never have dared to put it in execution ; being well aware,
that

that Potemkin had, not far from the place, an army of 153,000 men.

Catharine made her entry with great pomp into Bachtschifarai, and lodged, together with her suite, in the palace of the khan. In the evening she was entertained with the spectacle of a mountain artificially illuminated, in such a manner as to seem as if all on fire. Wherever she went, every exertion was made to present her with some agreeable object; and she employed every means in gaining the affections of the people. She allotted funds for building two mosques. She distributed considerable presents among the myrzas. The myrzas testified the most ardent devotion towards her; and six weeks afterwards they declared in behalf of the Turks.

On her way back, the empress was conducted to Pultava. On her reaching that place, two armies appeared. They approached; they engaged; and gave Catharine an exact representation of the famous battle in which Charles XII. was completely routed by Peter the great.

This spectacle was worthy of prince Potemkin, and of the two sovereigns to whom he gave it. Joseph II. on whom the very name of a warrior made a lively impression, could not refrain from
deploring

deploring the misfortune of the swedish monarch: he was nevertheless extremely delighted with all that was done both by Potemkin and the empress. He was so captivated by the behaviour of Catharine, that he expressed his inclination to assist her in causing her grandson to be crowned at Constantinople.

Joseph II. however, could not help testifying his surprize at the extraordinary complaisance the empress shewed to Momonoff. The favourite at times would strangely exhibit his influence; and his vanity seemed to be flattered in being able to give illustrious witnesses to his puerile triumphs*.

At Mosco Joseph II. took leave of the empress; and, rapidly crossing Poland, returned to his dominions, while that princess pursued the road to Petersburg †.

* It is the custom in Russia, when playing at whist, instead of markers, to use pieces of chalk in a little case of silver or ivory, with which the amount of the game is scored in figures on the green cloth. Momonoff was every day of the empress's party: and, having some knowledge of drawing, he sometimes took the chalk, and amused himself with making caricatures on the table, while the sovereign, with the cards in her hand, condescendingly waited till he had finished his scrawl, to proceed in her play.

† She arrived there the latter end of July: her journey having lasted six months and four days.

The

The unfortunate khan, Sahim-Gueray, was not in the Krimea when the empress visited that peninsula. After having divested him of his power, Potemkin retained him for some time with him at Kerson; where that imprudent Tartar wore the uniform of general of the préobajenskoi guards, and was decorated with the ribbon of a ruffian order. He was afterwards sent to Kaluga; his pension was stopped, himself left in the most extreme destitution; and he was obliged to abandon his native country, to throw himself into the arms of the Turks, whom he might have regarded as his most mortal enemies, if the Ruffians had not been so.

He first retired into Moldavia, where a capigibachi and the hospodar long advised him in vain to repair to Constantinople. Colonel de Witt*, then commander of the fortress of Kamienieck, and obsequiously devoted to prince Potemkin, united his sollicitations with those of the capigibachi. But Sahim-Gueray still held out. He doubtless foresaw the fatal lot that awaited him. In short, his person was seized, and he was transported to the isle of Rhodes. There Sahim-Gueray took refuge in the house of the

* The husband of the madame de Witt before mentioned.

french consul *, of whom the Turks immediately demanded his surrender. The consul, thinking that they would not dare to violate his asylum, generously refused to give up the man who had put himself under his protection; but they threatened to set fire to his house, and seizing the opportunity his momentary absence gave them, they tore down the arms of France from over the gate, which they went and placed against a neighbouring house, and strangled the unfortunate khan. Thus it was that the Turks took vengeance on this prince for his defection, and that the Russians rewarded him for having ceded to them his dominions.

Some time previous to the departure of the empress for the Krimea, Bakunin, the minister of the department of foreign affairs, and at first in the highest degree of favour, received orders to travel. Bezborodko † was desirous of placing
Markoff

* The name of the consul was Mille.

† The ministers, properly speaking, are the heads of the principal departments or colleges, and especially those of the college of foreign affairs. The chief, or the vice-chancellor (the post of chancellor being vacant) may be considered as prime minister. Count Ostermann is a man not at all above the ordinary stamp, whose father and grandfather filled the same office before him: he who held it under the empress

Markoff at Petersburg. Nothing farther was necessary for procuring the banishment of Bakunin. But whether he was unable to resist the chagrin he experienced from losing his place, or whether it was some other cause that accelerated the period of his life, Bakunin had not an opportunity to carry the secrets of the government into foreign countries: he died almost suddenly.

emprefs Anne was involved in the disgrace of marshal count Munich, and did not bear his reverse of fortune with so much fortitude as the marshal. The second of the same college was M. Bezborodko, looked upon as a very laborious statesman; and his rapid rise would be almost incredible in any other country. Not twenty years ago he was secretary to marshal Romantzoff. His chief talent consists in a thorough knowledge of his native language, which he writes in a pure style: a talent extremely rare among the Russians, and which alone has made the fortune of numbers. The empress reposed great confidence in count Bezborodko; employing him to terminate the negotiations interrupted by the death of prince Potemkin. It was at that time reported, that he intended shortly to retire, though still in the prime of life, and capable of service for many years to come. A considerable income, a taste for pleasure, and the love of independence, all together seemed to give room to think that he would willingly submit to the efforts of a powerful cabal directed against him, and retire to Mosco, peaceably to enjoy his opulence: however, this retirement has not yet taken place, and the czar Paul wisely reposes as much confidence in him as his mother had done before.

Markoff

Markoff was then recalled from Stockholm, and put in the place of Bakunin ; while Andrew Razumoffsky, whose talents and courage procured him the esteem of Catharine, was translated from Denmark to Sweden.

Markoff, the son of a russian peasant*, acting at first in capacity of secretary to prince Galitzin, minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, had accompanied prince Repnin to the congress of Teschen, and was afterwards sent to Paris, where he received orders from the empress to go into Sweden. Being active and artful, he suited Bezborodko, especially as there was a great similarity in their pursuits of pleasure. Accordingly, a great intimacy soon sprung up between them, which the latter had afterwards some reason to repent †.

However,

* M. Markoff followed next to count Bezborodko in the same college. He passed for the most sagacious of the three ; which was not saying a great deal. However, it must be owned, that both his talents and attainments are of rather a superior cast ; and he might have aspired to the foremost places while the empress lived, and which he would have filled as well as any other person ; always supposing that he were to have no other competitors than the people then about the court.

† He was removed from his post by the present emperor Paul, soon after his accession to the throne.—The ministerial functions never prevented him from attending to the promo-

tion

However, prince Potemkin wished, at all events, to induce the Turks to commence hostilities. Independently of the hope of again dismembering the ottoman empire, he was desirous of war from a private motive, — a motive which rendered it necessary to him. Though in a manner burthened with titles, honours, dignities, and crosses of knighthood, he still wished to procure the grand ribbon of the order of St. George. For the obtaining of this, he must

tion of the arts: while minister at Stockholm, a french actress appeared to him worthy of shining on the stage of Petersburg; and he conceived it not incompatible with his dignity to take charge of this modern Melpomene. Perhaps it might have been as well to have first obtained the consent of the managers of the theatre at Stockholm: but having only in view the glory of his country, and the claims he should acquire on its gratitude, by procuring to the imperial residence of the russian empire so enchanting a subject, may be admitted as an excuse for this piece of neglect. Madame Hufs, on her part, resolved not to be ungrateful towards the man to whom she was indebted for figuring in one of the first theatres of the world: she never quitted him, lodged at his house, and allowed him not to recreate himself, after the painful business of the ministry, any where but with her. Madame Hufs is certainly an incomparable actress, by the confession of many persons who have frequented the theatres of London, as well as that of Petersburg.

have the command of an army, gain a victory, and consequently cause the death of a multitude of soldiers. But, in the sight of the ambitious, what are the lives of several thousands of men in comparison of an ornament that flatters their pride ?

Bulgakoff, minister of Russia at Constantinople, had been at Kerson, to inform the empress of his secret operations, and of the dispositions of the divan. That minister had formed correspondencies in Ægypt, by means of baron Tholus, consul-general of Russia at Alexandria. Another consul which Russia kept at Smyrna, named Peter Ferrieri, engaged in all the intrigues of which a daring Greek is capable. A third endeavoured to raise insurrections in Moldavia. The russian ships made a licentious use of the numerous privileges which had been granted them by the Porte ; and the court of Petersburg perpetually gave countenance to this violation of treaties.

The Porte, discontented at this conduct, and irritated at the discovery of a correspondence between Ibrahim-bey, one of the rulers of Cairo, and the russian minister, gave orders to the capudan-pasha to go and quell the disturbances in Ægypt. Within a few days afterwards,
the

the grand vizir and the reis effendi demanded a conference* of the minister, at which they delivered to him a memorial succinctly drawn up, to which they requested him to give an immediate answer. This memorial stated :

“ That experience having shewn that the
 “ russian consul in Moldavia was a restless and
 “ turbulent man, who employed all sorts of
 “ means to disturb the peace of the two empires,
 “ the grand signior insisted that he should leave
 “ his dominions without delay.

“ That the troubles which had now for two
 “ years been raging in Georgia, being evidently
 “ the effect of the protection which the empress
 “ had granted to prince Heraclius, against the
 “ spirit of the treaties subsisting, it was but just
 “ that the russian troops should quit Teflis, and
 “ retire so far from that kingdom, as was requi-
 “ site to the restoration of tranquillity.

“ That the russian vessels which passed be-
 “ fore Constantinople, having always prohibited
 “ merchandize on board, his sublime highness
 “ required, that all these vessels should be
 “ visited without exception.

“ That the Sublime Porte, being assured that
 “ prince Alexander Mauro-Cordato, who had

* The 26th of July.

“ fled from Yari at the beginning of February,
 “ had found an asylum in Russia, it demanded
 “ that this prince should be abandoned.

“ That the Russians must furnish the inhabit-
 “ ants of Otchakoff with a greater quantity of
 “ salt than they have hitherto done.

“ That, lastly, the grand signior demanded a
 “ power to appoint, in the Russian dominions,
 “ agents to protect the commerce of his
 “ subjects.”

For answering this memorial, Bulgakoff re-
 quested time to consult his court. This was
 readily granted ; but the divan soon met again,
 and resolved that it was needless to wait for the
 answer from Petersburg. War was declared in
 Constantinople, and Bulgakoff shut up in the
 castle of seven towers*.

The internuncio † of the court of Vienna,
 and the ambassador of France ‡, united their
 efforts with the divan to obtain the release of
 Bulgakoff. All their endeavours were fruitless.
 The minister of Great Britain had at that time
 more influence than they, and entered warmly
 into the resentment of his court, which had
 beheld with a jealous eye the empire of Russia
 forming a treaty of commerce with France.

* The 18th of August.

† Baron von Herbert.

‡ M. de Choiseul-Gouffier.

The Turks began to make preparations for war with the greatest alacrity. They ordered 80,000 men to march, to cover Otchakoff. A formidable army advanced to the shores of the Danube; and the grand vizir was in readiness to unfurl the standard of Mohammed at the head of the ottoman troops.

A squadron of 16 ships of the line, 8 frigates, and several gallies, entered the Euxine under the command of the capudan-pasha.

The old admiral was just then returned from Ægypt, where he had subdued the rebellious beys, Ibrahim and Amurath, and collected a tribute of more than twelve millions of piastres. But he was still humble under all this success. He even now recollected with grief the disasters of Tschesmè; and, previous to his departure for the Krimea, he called together the principal officers of his fleet, and made them the following speech:

“ You know whence I am come, and what
 “ I have atchieved. A new field of honour
 “ invites me, as well as you, to devote the last
 “ sigh to the honour of our faith, to the service
 “ of the sultan and the invincible nation, who,
 “ in the present situation of affairs, demand the
 “ last drop of our blood.—It is in order to fulfil
 “ this sacred duty, that I now part from those

“ of my family that are dearest to me. I have
“ granted liberty to all my slaves of both sexes ;
“ I have paid them all that I owed them ; and I
“ have rewarded them according to their deserts.
“ I have bid my last adieus to my wife ; and I
“ am going in quest of battles, in the firm reso-
“ lution either to conquer or to die. If ever I
“ return, it will be by the signal favour of
“ heaven. If I am desirous that my days
“ should be prolonged, it is only that they may
“ be terminated with glory. Such is my im-
“ moveable resolution.

“ You, who have ever been my faithful
“ companions, I have called you together to
“ exhort you to follow my example in this
“ decisive conjuncture. If there be any one of
“ you who feels not the courage to be willing to
“ die in the glorious conflict, let him declare it
“ freely. He shall find favour before me,
“ and shall immediately receive his dismissal.
“ Those, on the other hand, who shall be
“ wanting in courage to execute my orders in
“ battle, must not pretend to find an excuse in
“ contrary winds and the disobedience of their
“ crews ; for I swear by Mohammed and by the
“ life of the sultan, that I will have their heads
“ cut off, and the heads of their crews. But he
“ who shall display courage, and perform his
“ duty,

“ duty, shall be liberally rewarded. Let all
“ those who are willing to follow me on these
“ conditions, rise up then, and swear to obey
“ me faithfully.”

At these words all the commanders having risen, swore to conquer or to die with their grand admiral. “ Yes,” exclaimed he, “ I acknowledge you all as my brave and faithful companions ! Go, return to your ships. Call your crews upon deck. Communicate to them my speech ; receive their oath, and keep in readiness for sailing to-morrow.”

The Turks, suspecting the fidelity of the Greeks, disarmed them all : at the same time publishing a manifesto to invite the Tartars to return to their allegiance to the grand signior. That race regretted the loss of their former masters, and detested their new ones. In vain did the empress load them with presents ; in vain had she caused the koran to be printed *, and mosques to be built ; they saw in her only the christian, and in their heart preferred to her a mussulman prince. The myrzas then met and elected for their khan Shah Par-Gueray, who soon beheld under his orders an army of 40,000 men.

* The empress had the koran or kour'ann printed at Petersburg for the use of the inhabitants of Taurida.

At Petersburg the news of the war was received with transports of joy. It had long been foreseen by the empress; and she expected it with impatience. All her preparations were made. She had already a great force in the Kuban; and detachments of her armies were on their march to the Krim. The whole face of the country, from Kaminiék to Balta, was covered with her troops. Prince Potemkin, commander in chief of all these forces, had under his orders Suvaroff, Repnin, Kamenskoï, Kakoffsky, and a number of other generals. Marshal Romantzoff, unwilling to be an instrument to the glory of Potemkin, excused himself on account of his great age, and refused the command, of which some remains of a forced respect had procured him the offer. His son went, and joined the army.

A fleet of 8 ships of the line, 12 frigates, and near 200 chebeks or gun-boats, was equipped in the Euxine; and two strong squadrons under the command of admiral Kruse and admiral Greig, were in readiness at Cronstadt to sail for the Mediterranean.

By the alliance of Joseph II. the empress was secure of another powerful support, as that prince was no less desirous than herself of a war with the Turks. Eighty thousand Austrians

were on their march to Moldavia: in a word, all seemed to announce the approaching overthrow of the ottoman empire.

Catharine, in the mean time, dissembling both her sentiments and her designs, published a manifesto, in which she reproached the Turks with the infraction of the treaties which had been violated only by herself; and, after a long enumeration of the pretended wrongs committed by the Porte, she added:

“ That, provoked by so offensive a conduct,
 “ she had, much against her will, been obliged
 “ to have recourse to arms, as the only means
 “ left her for asserting the rights which she had
 “ acquired at the price of so much blood, and
 “ to avenge the dignity of her crown, injured by
 “ the violence that had been used towards her
 “ minister at Constantinople; that, perfectly
 “ innocent of all the calamities inevitably en-
 “ gendered by war, she had a right to rely, not
 “ only on the providence of God and the assist-
 “ ance of her allies, but on the devout aspira-
 “ tions of the christian world, for the triumph
 “ of a cause so just as that which she was forced
 “ to maintain.”

This manifesto was soon followed by a second, which declared:—“ That the Porte had had the
 “ arrogance to insist on a categorical answer to
 “ its

“ its absurd demands ; and that the empress,
 “ forced to repel the aggression of the enemy
 “ of the christian name, armed herself with con-
 “ fidence under the protection of that righteous
 “ God who had so long and so powerfully pro-
 “ tected the russian empire.”

In support of these memorials by which Catharine was moving heaven and earth against the Ottomans, means were employed still more adapted to the superstition of the Russians ; papers were dispersed emphatically publishing the prophecies of the patriarchs Jeremiah and Nikon*, predicting the speedy ruin of Constantinople. This was at the same time an indirect manner of combating a sort of false prophet called the Sheik Mansour, who, affirming that an angel had appeared to him in the midst of a wood, had been able to collect an army, and to raise against the Russians all the hordes of mount Caucasus.

The empress earnestly solicited the ambassador of France to engage his court to join her for the dismemberment of the ottoman empire. In return for this service, she offered to cede to France the possession of Ægypt, of the conquest

* Nikon, raised to the patriarchal dignity in 1652, changed the antient liturgy of the greek church.

of which she thought herself secure. But the ambassador was averse from trusting to the specious bait. He knew that if Turkey was to be partitioned, Ægypt would be less desirable to the French than the isle of Candia. He knew, that though it would be advantageous for France to have a treaty of commerce with the Russians, it was greatly more to her interest to prevent the demolition of the Turks, with whom she was engaged in a more safe, more lucrative, and more convenient commerce. In short, he knew that the inefficient government of Constantinople could never, like that of Petersburg, threaten to disarrange the equilibrium of Europe. Besides, what right had Catharine to reckon on the submission of Ægypt? Her consul-general Tholus, it is true, maintained several correspondencies there; he had secured the beys Ibrahim and Amurath in his interest; but the temptations which he threw out to another bey, named Ismaël, were not attended with the same success. Ismaël caused him to be arrested, and sent him to the pasha of Cairo, who detained him prisoner.

In her endeavours to incite the christian princes to arm against the Turks, Catharine surely never supposed that they would second her in all her ambitious schemes, or that they would remain at
least

least calm spectators of her triumphs. She was not ignorant that England was instigating the Porte to go to war, and was sending it supplies; and that Prussia would not patiently suffer either the aggrandisement of Russia or of the house of Austria. But what the empress did not foresee, was the resolution of Gustavus III. to declare war against her immediately.

1788. Since count Ostermann had quitted Stockholm, his successors * had faithfully imitated his conduct. But no one had distinguished himself so much by his boldness as count Andrew Razumoffsky. Jealous of regaining the favour of his sovereign, that minister was perpetually working to sow dissensions among the Swedish nobles, of whom the greater part were discontented with their king, and were but too much inclined to listen to the insidious advice of the Russian.

Gustavus resolved to take his revenge. Before the Turks had declared war against Russia, Heideftam, his minister at Constantinople, had already received orders to conclude a treaty of alliance with them. The Turks recollected with reverence the victories of Charles XII. They thought that a king of Sweden might

* Mouschin-Poufkin, and afterwards Markoff.

make a powerful diversion in their favour. They promised Gustavus to grant him considerable subsidies, which in part were paid him on the spot. Besides, Prussia lent him money, and England promised him the assistance of a fleet. That prince therefore began to arm.

Being a witness to the preparations that were going forward at Stockholm, count Andrew Razumoffsky haughtily asked to what end they were making. Gustavus, with still greater haughtiness replied, that he was not accountable for his actions to any foreign power. It was somewhat extraordinary to see an ambassador disputing in the capital of Sweden the prerogatives of the swedish monarch, and pretending to set bounds to his power. Gustavus, justly exasperated at this instance of presumption, ordered Razumoffsky to depart from Stockholm. But the Russian found means, under various pretexts, to defer his departure for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding this, the preparations for war went on with the usual ardour. The fleet was equipping at Carlescrona; the troops to be embarked were gathering round the capital; others were on their march to Finland. It was artfully propagated that it was necessary to put the kingdom on its defence, as the court of
Petersburg

Petersburg had threatened Sweden with an attack, unless Gustavus would consent to furnish her with succours against the Turks. The swedish soldiers burnt with desire to measure swords with a nation which their ancestors had so frequently vanquished. In a word, they were embarked, and the fleet which had them on board arrived in Finland, whither Gustavus was gone before.

The troops had scarcely set foot on the frontiers, than a small detachment of russian chaffeurs made a feint to dislodge a body of Swedes who defended a bridge. Some fire-arms * were even discharged on both sides, which Gustavus readily took for a signal of war. His orders were already given, and his squadron captured two russian frigates that were cruising off Sveaborg, for the purpose of exercising the marine cadets of Petersburg.

Gustavus resolved to march against Frederiksham ; but, as they had not yet been able to get the heavy artillery on shore from on board

* By the swedish constitution, the king cannot attack a foreign power, without the consent of the diet.—The Russians pretend, that Gustavus III. had disguised the boors of Finland as russian soldiers, and consequently caused his own subjects to be killed, in order to have a pretence for entering the russian territory.

the squadron of Carlescrona, he now conceived the design of attacking the town on two different sides at once, and take it by assault.

Terror and amazement took possession of every breast at Petersburg. All the ruffian soldiery had been sent off against the Turks. At the first moment of alarm the empress had no more than some invalids and a few detachments of her guards to send to the relief of Frederiksham. No doubt was entertained that Gustavus would get possession of that place, and proceed to lay siege to the residence. Catharine was extremely uneasy, but always preserved the appearance of perfect tranquillity. The french ambassador just at that time entering the palace, her majesty asked him, what news were talked of? —“ That you are going to set out for Mosco, madam,” returned he.—“ You did not believe it,” she immediately answered. “ I have given orders for a great number of post-horses to be kept in readiness; but it is for the purpose of bringing foldiers and cannons.”

She did really bring together the few troops that were dispersed among the less distant garisons, and sent them into Finland to join the detachments that were already there. The command of this incomplete army was given to

Mouschin-

Mouschin-Pouskin, an inexperienced general, whose reputation for military conduct was not calculated to still the apprehensions of the people of Petersburg.

The empress hastily published a declaration, in which, complaining of the behaviour of the king of Sweden, and of the necessity to which he had reduced her of arming against him, she artfully dissembled the weakness of her troops in Finland, and said, on the contrary, that the garrisons had been reinforced, in the way of precaution, a long time before the aggression of the Swedes.

At the same time she ordered baron Nollken, the swedish minister, to quit the empire without delay.

The swedish fleet, consisting of 20 ships of the line, six frigates, and several corvettes, paraded about the gulf, and even advanced to within sight of the batteries of Cronstadt, and seemed to bid defiance to the russian armament. That armament had received sailing orders for the Mediterranean; but the appearance of the swedish fleet occasioned them to be recalled. The admiral received a command to make ready for sea, but an incident of a singular nature prevented his compliance.

It is well known that there is a want of native officers of sufficient ability and experience, to conduct the operations of the russian navy with judgment and effect. It was not perhaps in the nature of things that this deficiency could be fully supplied by foreigners: it was however the only resource; and the conclusion of the american war afforded a considerable supply of young english officers, whose minds were too alert to live out of action if it could any where be found. Few, if any, of these had risen to any higher rank in their own service than that of lieutenant, so that the command of single ships seemed the highest advancement to which they could yet be competent. They were however of the utmost importance to Russia in the present state of things; and Great Britain, notwithstanding the jealousies subsisting between the two courts, refrained from proceeding to the extremity of recalling them home.

This known scarcity of commanders could not fail to attract the attention of foreign adventurers, who had acquired any experience and reputation in maritime affairs. Of this number was the english pirate and renegado Paul Jones, who had rendered himself so notorious in the american war, by the mischiefs which he did to the trade of his country, and whose desperate

courage, which only served to render his atrociousness conspicuous, would, in a good cause, have entitled him to honour.

This man could not but experience the common fate incident to his character; and, finding that he did not meet the consideration which he expected in America, he made a tender of his services to the court of Petersburg; where he was gladly received, and immediately appointed to a high command in the grand fleet which was under equipment at Cronstadt. The british officers, full of those national and professional ideas of honour which they had imbibed in their own country and service, considered this appointment as the highest affront that could be offered to them, and a submission to it an act of such degradation, that no time or circumstance could wipe away the dishonour. They accordingly went in a body, to the amount of near 30, without a single dissentient lagging behind, or hesitating on the account of inconvenience or personal distress, to lay down their commissions; declaring at the same time, that it was impossible for them to serve under, or to act in any manner or capacity whatever, with a pirate or a renegade.

Nothing could have been more vexatious or more embarrassing to the court of Petersburg,
at

at the present critical period, than this spirited conduct of the officers. Punctilios of honour, operating in the face of command, was a thing unheard of in that service. No Russian, under the first rank or order, would dare to insinuate such an idea. As it was, it could not be considered as less than a direct insult to the court, and any submission to it as a grievous derogation from its dignity. It would besides establish a precedent which might be troublesome or dangerous with respect to her own subjects. It was well for the officers that they were not the subjects of a small state, and that this did not happen in a season of peace, when their services might be dispensed with. The necessity of the time however prevailed. The appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the Cronstadt fleet was recalled; and that adventurer (whose character of an impetuous courage had made an impression on the court far beyond its real value) was dispatched to the armament in the Euxine as second to the prince of Nassau. In the mean time, a scandalous adventure with a girl which made a noise in the town, occasioned him to think it advisable to quit the country entirely.

The Russian squadron commanded by admiral Greig now put to sea, and the hostile fleets came in sight, or rather approached each other,

in a fog, off the island of Hoogland. The action did not commence till five o'clock in the afternoon, and in two hours so many ships were disabled on both sides, that they were mutually obliged to lay by and refit, in order to prepare for a renewal. At eight o'clock the battle was renewed with apparently a fresh accession of rage on both sides. Nothing could exceed the dreadful violence of the action, or the fury and determined obstinacy with which it was maintained. The darkness was so great, that the knowledge of each ship was in a great measure confined to her own sphere of action; so that ignorant and heedless of what was passing elsewhere, she fought as if all depended upon herself individually, and as if victory or destruction were the only alternatives. The victory, as is usually the case in actions not apparently and absolutely decisive, was claimed by both fleets, as a flagship had been taken on either side.

From this time to the end of the campaign, the Swedes continued shut up in the harbour of Sveaborg, being precluded even from the means of refitting, while the Russian fleet rode the triumphant mistress of all the seas within the Sound; nor was it long before a numerous flotilla of small vessels, laden with provisions for the army in Finland, as well as for the fleet, through

through the fatal lack of protection, became a prey to the enemy.

The joy which this sudden turn of affairs occasioned at Petersburg, may be estimated from the panic which had so lately, for the first time, seized the residence; and the importance that was set upon the service at court, was fully shewn by the favour which the empress conferred upon admiral Greig. A letter, written to him with her own hand, was filled with praise and acknowledgment; and this honour was succeeded or accompanied by the substantial benefits of a considerable sum of money, and of a good estate in Livonia. This commander, who was singularly fortunate in his life, seems to have been no less so in its period, which took place before the close of the year, when he was loaded with all the honour and favour which he seemed well capable of receiving. The distinction and honour paid to him did not end with his life. His funeral was, by the express orders of the empress, celebrated with the greatest pomp, being decorated and adorned by all those appropriate naval and military honours, which the martial nations of Europe have assigned as the last tribute to the memory of the brave.

Gustavus now offered proposals to the empress for an accommodation, on conditions purposely

calculated to wound the pride of that princess. He required that count Razumoffsky should be exemplarily punished for the intrigues and machinations of which he had been guilty at Stockholm; that the part of Finland and of Karelia that had been ceded to Russia by the treaties of Neustadt and Abo, should be restored to Sweden; that the court of Petersburg should make peace with the Porte, under the mediation of Sweden, who would propose to re-establish the independance of the Crimea, in conformity with the treaty of Kainardgi, and in case of a refusal, should fix the boundaries, such as they were in 1768. He farther required that Russia should immediately disarm, and consent that Sweden should remain armed until after the conclusion of the treaty.—“What language! exclaimed Catharine. “If the king of Sweden “were already at Mosco, I should even then “shew him what a woman like me is able “to do, standing on the ruins of a mighty “empire.”

Instead of making any reply to the proposals of Gustavus, her majesty recalled general Mikhelson, who was fighting against the Turks; conferred on him the command of her army in Finland, and reinforced that army with 20,000 men. Besides, she reckoned on the defection of
the

the officers of Gustavus; and they soon found that she was not mistaken.

The Swedish monarch was already within a short distance of Frederiksham. He had caused a part of his troops to be embarked on board of galleys, giving orders to general Siegeroth, who had the command of them, to go and land on the other side of the town, to begin the attack as soon as ever the troops were on shore, and to fire a cannon as a signal for acting on both sides at once.

Siegeroth was retarded by contrary winds, and had great difficulty in landing his troops. He however succeeded at length, and gave the signal agreed on. Immediately Gustavus resolved to lead up his men. But some of the principal officers, at the head of whom was colonel Hesteko, represented to him how very difficult it was to attack the fortrefs on the side where he was; that it was against their duty to allow him to expose his person to inevitable danger, and that he himself ought to set some value on the lives of his faithful subjects.

This certainly was not such language as was held by the conquerors of Narva: but Gustavus III. had no resemblance with Charles XII. Nevertheless, expressing his surprize at these words of his officers, he replied that he would be obeyed. Upon this, several of them united

in declaring that they could not undertake an offensive war without the consent of the nation; that they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their country; but that they would never resolve to attack a neighbour who had not provoked them.

Stung with this resistance, the king addressed himself to the soldiers. The regiment commanded by colonel Hesteko immediately laid down their arms, and their example was followed by the greater part of the army. Gustavus now charged lieutenant colonel Rosenstein to go and tell general Siegeroth, to reembark his troops; and he himself retreated to Kymenagorod. The next day he caused the officers who had refused to march to be put on board a ship, and sent them to Stockholm; where they were received by the populace with every mark of displeasure, and were shortly after put under arrest.

It is not to be doubted that the nobles, who regretted the change in the antient form of government, were willing to avail themselves of this opportunity for bringing it back to its primitive state, and were acting in concert with Russia*. But a number of other officers, whom

* Letters were intercepted of a correspondence which was carried on by some of the principal officers with the court of Russia.

they had gained over, were not in the secret; and the soldiers especially could not be acquainted with it.

The defection of the Swedes was more than a victory to Catharine. Not satisfied with this advantage, that princess, conformably with the treaties subsisting between her and Denmark, called for the succours she had a right to demand of that power against the Swedes. Though wisely inimical to war, the court of Copenhagen was faithful to her engagements. She immediately ordered a fleet to be equipped; and the prince royal, accompanied by prince Charles of Hesse*, went on board, in order to proceed to Norway, and put themselves at the head of the troops.

The Norwegians, a simple and generous nation, maintaining amidst their rocks the purity of antient manners, and that valour which rendered them so famous under Margaret of Valdemar; the Norwegians, whose lofty stature, flaxen hair, and venerable beards, keep alive the remembrance of their fathers, those heroes who so often invaded England, and received the well-earned honour of being celebrated in the strains

* The prince of Hesse is father-in-law to the prince of Denmark.

of Offian ; the Norwegians heard not in vain the signal of war. At the voice of the prince of Denmark, they darted through the passage * ensanguined by the death of Charles XII. entered the western provinces of Sweden, forced, at Quistrum, a part of the regiment of Westrogothia to capitulate, made themselves masters of Oudewalla, and of all the other places they came to in their way ; and went and laid siege to Gothemburg.

Gothemburg, after Stockholm, is the most considerable city of Sweden. The loss of it would have been almost irreparable to Gustavus. That prince was already returned to his capital, when he learnt that Gothemburg was besieged : whereupon he sent the regiment of Yemland and his own guards to reinforce the garrison, and repaired himself to Dalecarlia. There he assembled the peasants, reminded them of what they had achieved for Gustavus Vasa, and conjured them to march with him to the defence of their country.

* Near Frederikshall. It may here be observed, that there is no longer any doubt in Sweden that Charles XII. was assassinated. An officer of the name of Cronsted, who died at a very advanced age, declared that he himself killed Charles XII. at the instigation of that monarch's brother-in-law.

Three thousand Dalecarlians followed him at once. They were imitated by the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces; and Gustavus soon found himself at the head of a numerous army: but, dreading lest Gothemburg should surrender ere these succours arrived, he departed with one of his aides-de-camp and a single domestic, put on a disguise, that he might not be known to the enemy, and penetrated as far as the walls of the city. He at first met with great difficulty in entering the gates. The soldiers would not believe that it was their king; but at length the gates were opened to him.

Notwithstanding his presence, notwithstanding the army that followed him, Gothemburg would have been taken, had it not been saved by the arrival of unexpected succours.

Mr. Gilbert Eliot, the english minister at Denmark, was no sooner informed that Gothemburg was in danger, than he quitted Copenhagen, crossed Sweden in great expedition, and repaired to the camp of the danish prince. He summoned that prince to raise the siege of Gothemburg, declaring to him, that unless he evacuated the territory without delay, England would lay an embargo on all the danish ships in her ports, and would send a squadron to bombard the castle of Kronenburg.

The

The prince of Denmark, struck with these menaces, immediately thought of retiring, when the prussian minister* came and seconded that of Great Britain. A truce was presently concluded; and the army of the danish prince peaceably returned to Norway. It was certainly to the spirit and activity of the british minister, that Gustavus was indebted for the preservation of Gothemburg. The menaces held out by that envoy had not been prescribed him in his dispatches; but they succeeded; and he was highly applauded by his court.

In the mean time the russian forces that were gone against the Turks and the Tartars were gaining frequent advantages. The fleet of the Euxine fell in with that of the capudan-pasha, of 16 ships of the line, and obliged him to avoid an engagement by flight. Not long after, the capudan-pasha, having been to reconnoitre the gallies and armed boats under the prince of Nassau, off Nicolaef, not far from Otchakoff, immediately collected all the vessels of every kind in the road of that fortress, to the number of 57, and prepared in person to attack the russian squadron, stationed at about two leagues from the place where the Dniester falls into the

* Count von Rhode.

Euxine. On the 18th of June he advanced, with a favourable wind from the Liman, which he had entered, against the Russians, who were waiting to receive him. The Turks, still having the wind in their favour, began the cannonade, but at too great a distance to effect any harm. The Russians remained quiet till the enemy was within reach, and then fired so successfully, that, notwithstanding the capudan-pasha's great superiority, he was obliged, after an engagement of five hours, to retire in great disorder under the guns of his grand fleet, which was below Otchakoff; and the prince of Nassau returned to his former station. The Turks had three gallies sunk, and most of their crews drowned; and many more were damaged and disabled. The Russians lost not one vessel, and had very few killed and wounded. Prince Nassau displayed great bravery in this action; but the victory was chiefly owing to the talents of captain Fanshaw, an english officer, with two french officers, Varage and Verbois*, and above all to the dutch captain Winter.

Here it was seen what courage national pride can inspire, even in the breast of slaves. When the capudan-pasha's ship caught fire, a turkish

* Verbois afterwards perished in a vessel that blew up in the road before Otchakoff.

faiior ran across the flames to save the flag; and while he was unfastening it, a russian sailer, not less intrepid, jumped into a canoe, climbed on board the ship ready to blow up, seized on the flag, and brought the Turk with him prisoner.

The generals Taliesin and Tekely defeated, in several rencontres, the Tartars of the Kuban. Tamara had already made himself master of Georgia, and kept the Lefghis in awe.

In the mean time vast armies were preparing for the field. Nothing that tended to ensure the most decisive success could be withheld from the grand favourite prince Potemkin, in whose department the war lay. It was even expected, that, in the distribution of kingdoms and empires, a sovereign dominion, under whatever title, would be allotted to his share*. Those Russians who considered themselves as patriots, entertained in the mean time the most serious apprehensions of the consequences which might ensue, under certain possible and natural circumstances, from so vast a power being lodged in the hands of a single man, as he already possessed. With respect to the war, nothing could

* There is little doubt that the idea at this time was to have formed the territories of Moldavia and Valachia into a monarchy, for the sake of placing prince Potemkin at its head.

exhibit a more forbidding or a more deplorable aspect than the intended scene of action. Famine, pestilence, with all the desolation and calamity of a long and most cruel war, had laid waste the tartar countries, and ravaged both the turkish and russian borders; so that all the provision for the armies, the single article of green forage excepted, was to be brought from an immense distance.

In defiance of these difficulties, a vast russian army, estimated at 150,000 men, appeared on the banks of the river Bohg †, adjoining to the confines of Poland, Turkey, and Tartary, and on the way to the Euxine, under the orders of prince Potemkin and general Romantzoff. These being assisted by prince Repnin, generals Suvaroff and Kamenskoi, frequently beat the Turks, who avenged themselves on the Austrians. This great force was supported by a field-train of 137 pieces of artillery, besides an enormous park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, destined for the siege of Otchakoff; and furnished with that exuberance of powder, ball, shells, and all manner of military machines, which are the usual concomitants of a russian army, particularly when engaged, as at present,

* About the 18th of June 1788.

upon favourite service. A large portion of this army, under the command of general Romantzoff, was designed to enforce respect on the side of Poland and Lithuania, and to furnish a strong separate command under general Soltikoff, to support the austrian commander prince Cobourg on the side of Moldavia; with a view first to the siege of Khotyim, and, after that capture, to the conquest of the whole province. This assignment of the active and principal service to prince Potemkin was so decisive a victory over his great rival and competitor for honour and favour, general Romantzoff, and so grievous a mortification to the latter, that it presently after occasioned his resignation.

While these transactions were going forward, prince Potemkin was employed in the siege of Otchakoff. Fortifications of uncommon strength, an abundant supply of ammunition, a numerous garrison, and the severity of the season, seemed necessarily to render this place impregnable. The besiegers suffered so greatly from cold, that they had been obliged to dig subterraneous huts to screen themselves from its fatal effects: being likewise in want of provisions, they died in great numbers every night. But the frost, which caused them so much trouble to resist, assisted them in taking the town.

town. Observing that it was open to attack on the side of the Liman, where it was less fortified, and where the ice facilitated access to it, prince Potemkin suddenly sent orders to command the assault; and, while he remained in his camp with his mistresses, his lieutenants, at the head of a party of troops, rushed into the town, and spread carnage and desolation on every side. It is not, however, to be thought, that prince Potemkin was detained by fear: for several days before he had passed many times to and fro, with the utmost coolness, under the very cannon of the ramparts*, because he had learnt, that some one or other had dared to suspect his courage. He absented himself from the assault of Otchakoff for no other reason than that it did not present him with an opportunity for distinguishing himself in an extraordinary manner.

Prince Anhalt-Bernburg followed a different conduct. He was the first to enter the town, at

* It is related that, in one of these walks, a general officer, who accompanied him, had his thigh carried away by a cannon-ball, and suffered some cries to escape him. "What do you cry for?" said Potemkin coldly. The officer was silent from respect. He died the next day.

the head of the grenadiers * and chasseurs. The fight was long and bloody, both on the ramparts and in the streets. The turkish soldiers defended themselves with obstinate bravery; and almost all of them were slain with their weapons in their hands. The rest were put to the sword; and a great part of the inhabitants met the same fate.

The Russians now gave up the town to plunder. They entered the houses; and, after putting the masters of them to death, carried off the valuables, and abandoned themselves to all the horrors of debauchery and rapine. The scenes of riot and slaughter lasted three whole days, and cost the lives of more than 25,000 Turks. In making the assault, the Russians lost 12,000 men.

1789. These conquests were nearly as fatal to the victors as to the vanquished: but Catharine was not the less ardent in continuing the war. She ordered a fresh levy of recruits throughout her extensive domains; for the purpose at once of reinforcing her armies in the Krimea and on the banks of the Danube, of stationing others in Poland, and of marching a formidable force

* Prince Potemkin had created a body of 40,000 grenadiers and the same number of chasseurs. He must always be in extremes.

against

against the Swedes. But men began to grow scarce in the ruffian empire: the wilds of Siberia were therefore ransacked for its exiles; and a part of them were brought to be incorporated with the recruits.

During all this time Gustavus III. was employed in forming schemes of revenge. He could not forgive the empress for the dissentions which her agents were perpetually fomenting in Sweden, nor the danish government for the support it had given to Russia. A lieutenant-colonel, named Benzelftierna, took up the resolution of administering to the animosity of his master.

The ruffian squadron had entered the road of Copenhagen, where it was detained the whole winter by the ice. Sprengporten, the swedish ambassador, was a frank and generous old man, much respected by Gustavus, but in whom he placed no great degree of confidence. Without recalling this ambassador, his majesty conferred the title of *chargé des affaires* on a person named Abeldyl, and sent him to Copenhagen, earnestly recommending it to him to have a vigilant eye on the proceedings of the Russians and the Danes.

Benzelftierna lost no time in joining Abeldyl; and, under pretence of setting on foot some new

speculation in commerce, connected himself with a captain O'Brien, a native of Ireland. He purchased his ship of him, paying 12,000 rix-dollars in advance *; and, leaving him in the command of it, entered into a written engagement farther to pay him a like sum, if the enterprise should succeed. He then freighted the vessel with casks well pitched within and without, and filled with brandy; and ordered him to take advantage of the first north-east wind, by setting fire to his ship. By this execrable contrivance it was intended, not only to burn the Russian fleet, but that of the Danes also.

O'Brien had the indiscretion to speak of his agreement to one of his friends named Test. This man, struck with horror at what he heard, went in all haste to report it. The Danish ministry immediately sent people to search the vessel, and caused O'Brien to be taken into custody. Benzeltierna, suspecting the failure of his plot, had gone for safety to Abeldyl, who sent him to the house of a minister of his acquaintance; whence he was enabled to make his escape in the livery of a domestic.

The Danish sailors, excited by the Russians, assembled in great numbers about the gate of

* About 3000l. sterling.

Abeldyl, declaring their intention to murder him, and set fire to his house. But, having foreseen this tumult, Abeldyl had already gone off to the coasts of Scania*. The rioters were dispersed by a detachment of the military.

The

* The design of setting fire to the men of war in the harbour of Copenhagen was doubtless horrible. But perhaps the Russians had no reproaches to make the Swedes on that head. These two nations, who have often contended with so much courage, have sometimes seen their courts descending to the vilest stratagems against each other. Stockholm will never forget the assassination of major Saint-Clair. In 1738, Saint-Clair, who had been sent to Constantinople with powers for negotiating, was returning with a Frenchman named Couturier. Being arrived at Khotyim, the pasha informed him, that he was laid wait for by two emissaries of Russia: the same thing was likewise told him by a Pole. Saint-Clair rejected the advice with indignation. At an inn in Breslau he met the Russian captain Kutler, lieutenant Levitzki, and four soldiers disguised as servants, who, after having recognized him, went and waited for him near the village Zauche. There Kutler came to him, greeted him politely, and asked whether he was not major Saint-Clair? Being answered in the affirmative, he arrested him in the name of the empress Anne, and conducted him into a wood near Neuburg. Here he made him alight from his carriage, led him about twenty paces from it, fired a pistol at him, and, on his falling, caused him to be dispatched by the four soldiers. During this time, Levitzki, who was placed as a guard on Couturier, coldly said to him:

“ Ne timeas, peccatum esset contra spiritum sanctum male-

The atrocious attempt of Benzeltierna was not calculated to work a reconciliation between the two courts of Petersburg and Stockholm; and the operations of the war were resumed with vigour. The fleets of the two nations met at the distance of a few leagues from Bornholm: but the wind permitted them not to come to an engagement.

The Swedes having fitted out a fleet of galleys and gun-boats, the empress opposed to them one of similar construction, under the command of the prince of Nassau, who had quitted the Liman * and the Euxine for that purpose; having likewise, as it was said, had some differences with prince Potemkin †.

“ facere viro probo sicut te. Iste habuit quod merebat; “ erat inimicus magistri. Inimicus magistri est inimicus “ Dei; et puto me non peccasse interficiendo eum.” The assassins then proceeded to divide the effects of the two travellers between them, and carried Couturier into the Russian fortrefs of Sonnestein, whence, on being discharged, he was assured that, if he ever spoke a word of the assassination of Saint-Clair, they had means for seizing him and punishing him, wherever he should happen to be.

* A broad lake, formed by the Dnieper and the Bogh, before their junction with the Euxine; and which is itself so considerable a piece of water as to be distinguished by the name of the Liman sea.

† They were reconciled afterwards.

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The ruffian gallies fell in, by furprife, with the fwedifh gallies near Rogenfalm; and prince Naffau, always affifted by the counfels of Varage*, captain Winter, and a milanefe officer, the chevalier de Litta†, gained the ruffian flag a fecond victory. Winter, to whom the fuccefs of this day was principally owing, was ftruck by a cannon-ball, and died of the wound.

During this engagement between the galley-fleets, the Ruffians had attacked the fwedifh army, ftill in the neighbourhood of Frederiksham. Their advantages by land were not lefs confiderable than thofe by fea; and they forced the troops of Guftavus to evacuate ruffian Finland.

The fwedifh monarch, having collected frefh forces, was preparing for a fecond invafion of the ruffian territory: but Catharine had had time to put them in a ftate of defence. The two armies met; and the Ruffians, commanded by general Numfen‡, gained a complete victory.

* Some time after this engagement, Varage was killed in a quarrel with the Kofaks.

† The chevalier de Litta, a Milaneze, commander of the order of Malta, is vice-admiral of the galley-fleet.

‡ General Numfen is a Dane, and has been long employed in the ruffian fervice.

1790. Gustavus was not discouraged by this series of ill success; but went in person on board the galley-fleet, to go in quest of the prince of Nassau; from whom, after a desperate battle, he captured 30 vessels. Not long after he disembarked, at the distance of not more than 30 miles from Petersburg, several battalions of infantry and some squadrons of light troops. The residence was a second time struck with consternation; during which the empress was at Tzarsko-selo, and never quitted that country-palace.

The grand fleet of the Swedes, commanded by the duke of Sudermania, pursued the russian squadron into the very port of Reval. This imprudence cost them two of their ships. But this mistake was followed by one of greater magnitude, as attended with more danger. They conducted into the gulph of Viborg both their squadron of men of war and the galley-fleet, commanded by Gustavus III. By this ill-judged step the entire destruction of the swedish navy seemed inevitable: but it was saved by two russian admirals, Tschitschagoff and the prince of Nassau.

Admiral Tschitschagoff, who had under his command a fleet far more numerous than that of the Swedes, neglected to provide with batteries
the

the only two passages by which it was possible for the Swedes to escape. These latter, who were in absolute want of provisions, and could not have long remained in the gulf, attempted to make their way out by setting fire to the ruffian squadron that blocked up the passage. The wind coming favourably round to the east, they got ready and sent a fire-ship to lead the van, in order to force the ruffians to disperse*. But the fire-ship struck upon a sand-bank and did no harm to the Ruffians, while they set fire to several of the swedish ships which the wind forcibly drove towards them. Nine ships of the line, three frigates, and upwards of 20 gallies fell into the power of the Ruffians.

This action was particularly fatal to the british officers. Captain Denison, a gallant and skilful officer, had his head shot off by a cannon-ball; captain Marshal, in attempting to board one of the enemy's ships, fell into the sea and was drowned; captain Miller, equally bold and enterprising was severely wounded in his leg; captain Aikin, likewise a spirited and brave commander, had his thigh-bone shattered so as to render amputation necessary, and about four years afterwards died of an epidemic fever at Cronstadt.

* The inventor of this stratagem was sir Sidney Smith, then attendant on the king of Sweden.

Several others were severely wounded ; and captain James Trevenen, after having gallantly distinguished himself in the action, was mortally wounded by the last shot fired by the enemy, and died on the fifth day after *.

The

* This gentleman was a native of Cornwall, and of a very respectable family in that county. After receiving his education at the royal academy at Portsmouth, in the year 1776 he embarked as a midshipman with captain Cook, on his last voyage to the south seas. In taking astronomical observations, and surveying the various coasts, he proved an able assistant to that great navigator, who justly considered him as a young man of ample promise to do honour to the service and to his country. On his return from that expedition in 1780, he was promoted by the earl of Sandwich to the rank of lieutenant ; in which capacity he sailed, till the conclusion of the war, with captain King, who had the highest esteem and friendship for him. Being impatient of an inactive life, in the year 1787 he solicited employment of lord Howe, then at the head of the admiralty ; but, unfortunately for the naval service of his country, his application proved ineffectual. This refusal induced him to draw up a plan of discovery, and a proposal for opening an intercourse by sea between Kamtchatka and Japan, and the northern parts of China ; which was laid before the empress Catharine, and so well approved of by her, that she immediately sent an officer express to invite him over to carry it into execution. He arrived at Peterburg the latter end of 1787 ; but the war with the Turks breaking out, put a stop to the intended expedition, and he was prevailed upon to accept the command of a ship of the line. In the various engagements

The remainder of the Swedish gallees retreated behind the rocks of Schwenko-fund, which form several petty isles on a level with the water's edge. The prince of Nassau, whose fleet was twice as strong as that of Gustavus, advanced to give him battle. His unskilfulness offered an immense advantage to the Swedes; he was completely beaten, and lost the half of his fleet, with more than 10,000 men. However, his arrogance and vanity did not forsake him. Imagining that the people under his command had suffered themselves to be beaten purposely to tarnish his glory, he wrote to the empress:—
 “ Madam, I have had the misfortune to fight
 “ against the elements, the Swedes, and the
 “ Russians. I hope that your majesty will do
 “ me justice.”

The empress returned him for answer: “ You
 “ are in the right, because I am resolved that
 “ you shall be so. This is highly aristocratic;

engagements that afterwards took place in the Baltic with the Swedes, he bore a very active part, and was honoured with repeated marks of the empress's favour; and doubtless had he lived, would soon have arrived at the foremost rank in her service. He was a man of strong natural abilities, greatly improved by cultivation; and possessed a high sense of honour, and a liberal enlightened mind.

“ but

“ but it is therefore suitable to the country in
 “ which we live. Depend always on your
 “ affectionate CATHARINE.”

Thus were the Russians at length defeated, partly, it may be said, on their own element, and entirely in their own favourite manner of fighting, in which they were deemed irresistible; so that as the Swedes formerly taught them to conquer by land, they now in return taught the Swedes to beat themselves in this new severe mode of deciding the fortune of war. The prince of Nassau likewise, who had plumed himself highly on being the king of Sweden's direct adversary, and who shewed some evident marks of ostentation on his successes against him, was now compelled to lower his crest, and to resign his laurels to a superior foe. The scanty provision made for him afterwards by the empress*, whose usual magnificence, expence, and liberality being considered, sufficiently shews that this misfortune served much to wear away the memory of his former exploits. Indeed

* The empress had conferred on prince Nassau the rank of admiral of the galley-fleet of the Baltic, an estate in land with 4000 peasants upon it, a palace in town and a pension of 12,000 rubles. All this however did not prevent him quitting the service of Russia for that of Prussia.

few things could have gone nearer to the heart of the empress than this defeat.

The battle of Schwenko-fund accelerated a peace. Gustavus III. by this time saw the imprudence of his conduct, and no longer indulged the expectation that the war which he had declared against the Russians could be attended with any great success, and make a useful diversion in behalf of the Turks. He was rather apprehensive lest the Russians might take advantage of the destruction of his navy, of the disordered state of his finances, and of the discontent of the Swedish nobles, to invade his dominions: accordingly he made no hesitation to accept the terms that were offered him on the part of the empress.

Galvez, the minister of Spain at the court of Russia, offered his mediation to Catharine, and zealously employed his good offices in obtaining favourable conditions, by promising that Gustavus would directly march against the French. This was all that the empress desired; and, feigning to pardon her enemy, in hope of seeing him entangle himself in a distant adventure, she blinded him the more to her views by affecting an uncommon generosity. She required nothing more than the re-establishment of the treaties of Neustadt and Abo, and the total oblivion of
the

the late hostilities. The treaty was accordingly signed at Varela without delay*.

During the war of Finland, Catharine had at once an opportunity for displaying her clemency and her severity. Some Swedish officers employed as teachers in the cadet-corps at Petersburg, presumed to carry on a correspondence with their countrymen, in which they spoke of the empress with great boldness, though probably with much truth. Their letters were intercepted and carried to her majesty, who read them through. The Swedes were immediately arrested, and examined by Stepan Ivanovitch Schischkoffsky †, head of the secret commission, and by a worthy military officer whom the empress joined with him in order to moderate his savage disposition. The crime was proved, and the guilty had certainly merited the punishment of death. Yet the empress was satisfied with sending them into her interior provinces, continuing to them the whole of their appoint-

* The 14th of August.—General Igelström signed for Russia, and general Armfeldt for Sweden.

† If it were the fashion to believe in the metempsychosis, it might be imagined that the soul of the caustic and barbarous St. Dominic had passed into the body of Stepan Ivanovitch Schischkoffsky.

ments, and at the peace she sent them into their own country.

At the same time Radischeff, a director of the customs at Petersburg, published the narrative of a journey from Petersburg to Mosco, in which he feigned to have had a dream, wherein Truth appeared to him, and bade him deliver such representations, in which the unbounded authority of Potemkin was energetically depicted, and where he had even dared to attack the empress. This was the first printed libel that ever appeared at Petersburg; and, what is extremely remarkable, considering the strict observation that is kept over the press, it was sold on the Exchange by hawkers for two days together at the price of 20 kopeeks, with the imprimatur of the public licencer upon it, before it attracted the notice of government. Inquiries being made about it, the officer of the police whose business it is to license publications said, that he looked at the manuscript, saw that it was the account of a journey to Mosco, stampt it with his imprimatur, and thought no more of it. Though Radischeff had printed the pamphlet in his own lodgings, with the types of the custom-house press*, yet he was presently discovered,

* All the public institutions almost have printing-rooms belonging to them.

and,

and, on being interrogated concerning it, he simply replied, that he conceived there was no harm in publishing a dream, and that if people saw their own resemblances in it, he was no more in fault than a man who should hold up a mirror for all the world to look in that pleased. At this the empress was so incensed that he was sent to Siberia. It was certainly a shocking piece of insolence, but such an one as Frederic II. would have only laughed at.

Count Alexander Vorontzoff and princess Dashkoff his sister, the known patrons of Radischeff, were suspected of having instigated him to this publication. The former was even exposed to the examination of the secret commission, and from that time both the one and the other lost much of their consequence at court.

Thus Catharine behaved to the Swedes with an apparent generosity, because she wanted to gain partisans in Sweden; while she could sometimes put on a terrible aspect to the nation already in submission to her power.

But the war of the Russians with Sweden has detained us from that which she was carrying on against the ottoman Porte. We shall now return to it. The grand signior Abdul Achmed IV. was dead *, and the son of sultan Mustapha, his

* In the Spring of 1789.

brother and predecessor, had ascended the throne under the name of Selim III. *

It was now supposed, and with great probability justly, that if the empress failed in the prosecution of her grand scheme, of driving the Turks entirely out of Europe, and placing her grandson Constantine upon the throne of the antient greek emperors, her next favourite object, and not much less dear to her, was to erect the noble provinces of Moldavia, Valachia, and Bessarabia into an independent sovereignty, for her great favourite, prince Potemkin; whose personal influence and vast power, already nearly supreme, had long spread jealousy and alarm, if not through the empire, at least through the court, and among the principal nobility. The great and constant opposition which she met with from the allies, was undoubtedly the cause which induced the empress at length to abandon this design; and in the place of an independent sovereignty in these provinces to sooth Potemkin's ambition for the present by appointing him hetman of the kosaks, an office of the greatest trust and power in the empire, which likewise carried in some sort the semblance of sovereignty; and which had only been filled

* Selim III. was at that time 28 years of age.

by count Razumoffsky since the days of the celebrated Mazeppa. But, in what regarded Otchakoff, the Krimea, the Euxine, and all other points of her claim, she persevered in maintaining the same inflexible obstinacy. This was so much resented by the allied powers, and the differences upon the subject rose to such a pitch, that Russia was on the point of being involved in a war with Great Britain and Prussia; which was indeed only prevented by the powerful opposition and clamour which was raised in England against the intentions of government.

If that event had taken place at a certain period, Sweden, which was already a fore thorn in the side of Russia, would have become not only an equal, but a superior enemy. Placed by his situation on the only vulnerable side of that country, and supported by english fleets and prussian armies, the heroic king would have been enabled to carry fire and sword into the very heart of the empire; and possibly to produce one of those extraordinary revolutions, for which that government has ever been so remarkable: an event for which many thought the people were at that time fully ripe. It is then easily seen of what vast importance it was to the court of Petersburg to draw off Sweden from an alliance,

alliance, which was capable of producing such dangerous consequences: at the same time, though comparatively a small consideration, yet a very favourite one, that it would enable that court to persevere in its native haughtiness with respect to the other allies.

The taking of Otchakoff and the successes which had preceded that capture were magnificently rewarded. Catharine sent to prince Potemkin a present of 100,000 rubles, with a marshal's truncheon, set with diamonds and entwined by a branch of laurel, the leaves of which were gold. Shortly after this she conferred on him the title of hetman of the kofaks, just become vacant by the death of the aged Cyril Razumoffsky. Her majesty gave prince Repnin a sword, the hilt whereof was closely set with brilliants, and to general Suvaroff a plume of diamonds*. The other generals and officers obtained also some mark of favour, and all the soldiers who had entered Otchakoff received a silver medal, with the recommendation to wear it at the button-hole.

* This present made to marshal Suvaroff must have appeared the more strange, as, in order to gain the affection of the soldiers, he affected great simplicity and coarseness of manners. He was seen sometimes to take off his shirt among the kofaks, bidding them to hold it to the fire, saying that it was the best way of killing the vermin.

Rewards doubtless adapted to rouse a great spirit of emulation in the russian armies! All their steps were marked by triumphs. Prince Potemkin took the isle of Beresfan*. Prince Repnin drove the Turks from the borders of the Solska. Suvaroff beat them completely at Foksham†: then, hearing that the austrian army commanded by the prince of Saxe-Coburg was pressed hard by that of the grand vizir, he put himself at the head of 8000 Russians, and ran to assist the Austrians. The latter, to the number of 30,000, were already flying before the Turks, who had attacked them with an army of 100,000 men. The intrepid Suvaroff came up and changed the whole fortune of arms.—“ My friends!” cried he to his soldiers, “ never look at the eyes of your enemies. Fix your view at their breasts: it is there that you must thrust your bayonets.”—And, at that instant falling on the Turks, they were routed with a horrible carnage, and he remained master of the field of battle. This victory, gained near the river Rimniks, procured Suvaroff the surname of Rimniksky and the double title of count of the holy roman empire and of the russian empire.

* In 1789.

† The 21st of July 1789.

Some time after this, the same general took possession of Tutukay * in Bulgaria. The ferocious Kamenskoï † reduced to ashes the magnificent town of Galatsha, situate on the Danube, and the foremost of all Moldavia after Yassi, to which it was superior in point of commerce. Aç-kerman, Khedsebey, Belgorod, Palenka, submitted to the arms of Potemkin. Bender surrendered at discretion.

Ismaïl still held out. Prince Potemkin had been besieging this place for seven months, and now began to grow impatient that he had not yet reduced it. Living in his camp like one of those ancient satraps, whom he alone in our days has equalled, perhaps surpassed, in luxury, he was surrounded by a crowd of courtiers and women, who employed every effort to amuse

* Suvaroff is as singular for the brevity of his style as for the rapidity of his conquests. On this occasion he wrote no more to the empress than four lines of rufs poetry, which signify, "Glory to God! Praises to Catharine! "Tutukay is taken! Suvaroff is in it!"

† General Kamenskoï was so cruel, that Potemkin would not leave him in the command of the army. He consigned every place he took to plunder, and then burnt it: but his rage was particularly directed against priests, whom he caused to be harnessed to the baggage-waggons of the army, instead of horses. The jews were also the object of his fury. He martyrizd them by stripping them naked in the depth of the winter, and pouring cold water on their heads.

him. One of these women*, pretending to read the decrees of fate in the arrangement of a pack of cards, predicted that he would take the town at the end of three weeks. Prince Potemkin answered, smiling, that he had a method of divination far more infallible. At that instant he sent his orders to Suvaroff to take Ismail within three days. Suvaroff made himself ready. The third day he drew up his soldiers, and said to them:—"My brothers, no quarter! Provisions are dear!" and immediately began the assault. The Russians were twice repulsed with great loss. But at last they scaled the ramparts, forced their way into the town, and put all that opposed them to the sword. Fifteen thousand Russians purchased with their lives the bloody laurels of Suvaroff. That general then wrote to the empress these words alone:—"The haughty Ismail is at your feet."

The famous Hassan, who, from the post of capudan-pasha, had been raised to that of grand vizir, was unable to bear up against so many disasters, and died of vexation in his camp. His successor was decapitated at Shumla; and pasha Youssouf succeeded him; but this change was not attended by a return of good fortune to the Turks.

* Madame de Witt.

Several french officers were at the taking of Ismail; among whom Roger Damas, Langeron, and the younger Fronfac, distinguished themselves in the attack of that place, and were not the more noticed for it by prince Potemkin. Some days afterwards, this latter, discoursing of the french revolution, and treating it as a crime for a people to use any efforts for regaining their liberty, said to Langeron: "Colonel*, your
" countrymen are a pack of madmen. I would
" require only my grooms to stand by me; and
" we should soon bring them to their senses." Langeron, who, though an emigrant, could not patiently hear his nation thus spoke of, answered boldly: "Prince, I do not think you
" would be able to do it with all your army." At these words the prince rose up in great fury, and threatened Langeron to send him to Siberia †. Langeron instantly went a way; and, crossing the Seret, which divides Moldavia from Valachia, he entered himself in the austrian camp.

* Langeron had been formerly colonel in the regiment of Armagnac.

† Potemkin was on some occasions extremely irascible, and would sometimes be so transported with passion as to beat even general-officers: he one day gave a box on the ear to a foreigner, who was a major in the russian service, for having praised, in some verses he had composed, the mistress of his secretary Popoff in the same stanza with that of the prince.

Catharine, elated on hearing of these successive victories, when sir Charles Whitworth appeared the next time at court, said to him, with an ironical smile, “ Sir, since the king your master
“ is determined to drive me out of Petersburg,
“ I hope he will permit me to retire to Con-
“ stantinople.”

Prince Potemkin, having made the necessary dispositions for permitting him with safety to leave the army, hastened his return to Petersburg, to enjoy his triumph in the approbation of his sovereign. The empress received him with transports of joy. Festivities and presents now resumed their alternate course. She gave him another palace contiguous to her own, which had formerly belonged to baron Wolff, and which had now been fitted up for his reception at the expence of 600,000 rubles, and a coat laced with diamonds, which cost 200,000. He himself displayed a pomp which would have appeared excessive in the most splendid court of Europe. The expence of his table alone, on ordinary days, was regularly about 800 rubles; it was furnished with the most exquisite dainties and the rarest fruits. In the depth of winter he has bespoke long beforehand all the cherries of a tree in a green-house, at a ruble the cherry. He possessed an immense quantity of jewels, some of which he had scarcely seen, and never cared about,

about, since the moment they were first brought him. He one day took a dislike to his diamonds, and they were all sold: some time afterwards the desire returned of having them; and he ordered them to be bought on all hands and at any price.

Without being so powerful as Biren or Mentchikoff, who wanted nothing but the title of emperor, prince Potemkin saw all Russia at his feet, especially the military, of whom he was the absolute lord; and his levée was frequently more thronged than that of the empress.

Prince Potemkin, in large companies, had a downcast fullen look: seated among twenty ladies, like a sultan in his seraglio; speaking to not one of them, except in monosyllables and at long intervals: he wanted nothing but the turkish pipe for being absolutely the figure we see in pictures of the grand signior. Though in Russia there are a great number of princes, and the major part of them superior by birth to prince Potemkin, yet he was always called *the prince* by way of excellence.

The prince, as has been already observed, had a very striking defect in one of his eyes: a report was one day sent to him by the hands of a one-eyed colonel; which might very naturally have happened without design; he, however, took

took it for a piece of ill-judged wit, and testified his displeasure in a very emphatical, and, it may be added, a very puerile manner.

He behaved with great haughtiness towards those who made their court to him. It is true, he knew his people, and conducted himself accordingly. He has sometimes in public taken a ruffian general by the collar; but he was extremely polite to all foreigners, even to those who served in his army as subalterns. He had major-generals to wait on his person, who performed exactly the office of valets-de-chambre: this, indeed, was no obstacle to their promotion: and it depended on them to judge whether or not they had reason to congratulate themselves on having obtained it at that price. A lady well known at Petersburg, whose husband had a place at court, said publicly, in 1791, that she should set out with the prince, who had given her an estate of 2000 rubles a year, to go and pass the summer with him at Yassy.

He was eager to procure the most costly things of every kind. He had ten or a dozen violins of exorbitant price; one among others of 6000 rubles value; he never played on a violin in his life; and they were all either spoiled by the dust, or gnawed by the rats; for after the moment he bought them, he never saw them

more. Somebody speaking before him of a library, prince Potemkin said he had one of greater value than the most learned man in Europe could shew ; and, opening a book-case, there appeared several shelves of books, which, on being taken down, were seen to be nothing more than boxes gilt and lettered at the backs, and filled with bank-assignats and rouleaux of imperials and ducats to an amazing amount.

It has already been observed, that the prince was harsh towards the officers : but he was condescending towards the soldiers, among whom he had entirely destroyed all discipline : accordingly, he was beloved by them, and detested by the former. It is pretended, that this conduct had been concerted between the empress and him, in order to put discord between the officer and the soldier, especially in the regiments of guards ; both of them being aware, that revolutions are effected in Russia by the soldiery, and consequently that such a spirit should be kept up ; that the officers might be sacrificed at the first signal.

The most extraordinary projects of future aggrandisement have been ascribed to him : as that of taking advantage of the influence he had over the troops for excluding from the throne the grand duke and his sons, on the death of the
empress,

emprefs, and of causing the eldest of the grand duchesses to be crowned: it is added, that his design was to marry her, or at any rate to have reigned in her name. The fondness he always shewed to hold up and heighten whatever the young princess said, to give it a consequence with the emprefs, might have given birth to this (to say the least of it) curious idea. Others pretend, that his intention was to become hospodar of Moldavia; and we should be much disposed to adopt this opinion, without, however, rejecting the others. Nobody doubted that he had formed some plans of this nature. Potemkin had gained the good-will of the nobility of the country; he caressed them all, even down to the *odnodvortsi*; and every thing led to believe that these nobles, flattered by the officiousness and obliging manners of a man who, in general, was not lavish of his civilities, would have given him their voice. And it can as little be doubted that the emprefs would have supported his pretensions, because, on his death, she would have gained Moldavia, as she had already obtained the Krimea.

During this stay of four or five months, in 1791, at Petersburg, he expended upwards of 1,200,000 rubles. But the entertainment he now gave at his *Tavritscheskoi* palace (since his death

death called the Pantheon) exceeded any thing of the sort that we read of in the tales of our youth. Crowned with laurels, and wearied with conquests, he hastened to the residence of his sovereign, to enjoy his triumph in the sun-shine of majesty, and for a moment to forget, in the circle of pleasures that awaited him, his bloody conflicts and the thousands of slain. A dark presentiment seemed hovering in his mind, that this would be the last moment he had to pass in that magnificent theatre of his greatness; and his aim now was to enjoy that moment. He laid the plan of an entertainment which should give him the opportunity to present a tribute of gratitude at the feet of the exalted authoress of his fortune in his own house, in the presence of the whole assembled court. This, like all his other plans, was extraordinary and great. A whole month was consumed in preparations: artists of all kinds were employed; whole shops and warehouses were emptied to supply the necessaries of the occasion; several hundred persons were daily assembled in making previous rehearsals for the final execution; and each of these days was of itself a grand spectacle. At length the moment arrived, which had kept the whole public of the residence on the utmost stretch of expectation by the great preparations that were making for it.

Notice

Notice had been given, that the empress and the imperial family would honour this day by their presence: the court, the foreign ministers, the nobility, and a great part of the people of condition in the city were invited. The company began to assemble in masquerade dresses at six in the evening. When the empress got into her carriage, on a signal being given, the treat for the populace was opened in the public place before the palace. High piles of clothes of all the various articles, lofty pyramids of eatables, and a competent supply of liquors, were here surrendered to the general scramble.

On her majesty's entering the vestibule* of the Tauridan palace, the loud music suddenly struck up from the lofty gallery, resounding through the grand saloon and the spacious halls. The orchestra consisted of 600 performers; and instruments and voices produced their alternate effects.—In a few minutes afterwards, the empress advanced to the grand saloon, attended by the brilliant concourse, and took her seat upon a gentle elevation, decorated with transparent representations; the company divided among the colonnades and into the boxes; and now

* The description of this palace, without which the account of the entertainment would be incomplete, is before given in this volume, p. 225.

began the second scene of this uncommon entertainment. Four-and-twenty couple of the most beautiful youths of both sexes, of noble families, among whom were also the grand dukes Alexander and Constantine, opened the dances with a quadrille. All were dressed in white, and only distinguishable by the colours of their girdles and scarfs. The value of their dresses was estimated at ten millions of rubles. The music to which they danced was accompanied with singing; and the famous Le Picque concluded the scene with a solo.

The company now proceeded to another hall, hung with tapestry of the richest and most costly kind. Here stood an artificial elephant, decorated with emeralds and rubies. The Persian who conducted him struck upon a bell; and this was the signal for another change.

A curtain flew up as if by magic, and opened to view a magnificently decorated theatre, where two ballets and a dramatical piece afforded entertainment to the spectators with their extraordinary excellence. The most complete and charming music, interrupted by choirs of singers, numerous sets of fine dancers, a prodigious display of pomp, and the sight of an exceeding great diversity of national dresses in their most pleasing costume, now delighted every sense at once.

once. When the play was over, the company divided into the several rooms of the palace. Whichever way the spectator turned his eye, the magnificent illumination struck him with amazement. The walls and the columns all seemed to glow with various-coloured fire: large mirrors, here and there judiciously fixed to the sides of the apartments, or made to form pyramids and grottos, multiplied the effect of this singular exhibition, and even made the whole inclosure from top to bottom, seem to be composed of sparkling stones.

A table, suitable to the magnificence of the festivity, now waited for the company. Six hundred persons sat down to it; and the rest were entertained at sideboards. No other table furniture was seen upon the cloth, but gold and silver. Instead of the usual candlesticks, the table was lighted by various-coloured vases, in which lamps were inserted. An astonishing number of servants and domestic officers, in superb dresses, were employed in waiting on the guests; and in every place any thing was to be had at the very first nod. Nothing that the most studied epicurism was able to procure could be asked for in vain.

The empress on this day, certainly the first time for many years, made an exception to her
general

general rule, by staying till midnight, in order not to disturb the pleasure of the host and his company. On her entering the vestibule again, the choir of voices melodiously chanted a hymn to Catharine's praise. Her majesty, surpris'd and affected, was turning round to the prince, when, overpowered with his emotions, he fell on his knee, and, seizing her hand, bedewed it with tears. Some gloomy forebodings seem'd to shake his whole frame; and his countenance was expressive of the sentiment, that this was the last time he should ever, on that spot, stammer out his gratitude to his magnanimous patroness.

Latterly, his spirits being wearied with the eternal round of dissipation and pleasure in which he had so long been engaged, and having nothing to hope for, or in any way to give agitation to his mind, the prince often experienced a languor and depression that made time a burthen to him. Being now in Petersburg, towards the beginning of the long winter-evenings, he would sit alone, order the table to be spread with a black velvet kept for the purpose; then, having his diamonds brought, he would continue for hours amusing himself, like a child, in placing them one after another, in the forms of circles, crosses, and fanciful figures, con-

VOL. III. B B sidering

sidering each before he placed it, and then admiring the situation of it or removing it to another. On one of these evenings the thought occurred to him to weigh his diamonds: they were found to amount to several pounds: the most remarkable were what composed an epaulette of brilliants to the value of eight hundred and fifty thousand rubles; another of coloured stones of three hundred thousand; perfect rubies, weighing from 35 to 36 carats, of inestimable value; the picture of the empress pendant to yellow and black diamonds, in imitation of the ribbon of the order of St. George, &c. He frequently amused himself by pouring his diamonds out of one hand into the other, as children play with little shells or dried peas. He would sometimes pass a couple of hours in biting his nails as he walked up and down his apartment, though there were a score of persons present. He has been justly accused of employing himself in frivolous matters; and the truth has even been exaggerated; but it is certain that he had grand and extensive views, and that his death was a real loss to the empress.

Prince Potemkin was in the secret of all the plans adopted by the empress, who regretted him the more, as he held the grand duke in awe. She lost him at a time when she reposed no confidence

fidence in any one, and was too far advanced in life to think of training up another man to business, which demands the practice of a number of years. Potemkin directed all matters relative to the army; it is not to be inferred from thence, that all went on well, but all went on, and her majesty required nothing more, There was often a want of provisions, of forage, of every thing in his camp*. The hospitals might be considered as non-existent; but all this passed at the distance of 1500 or 2000 versts from the residence. The empress could not hear the complaints of all her subjects, and found it far easier to rely entirely on him, than to suppress abuses, perhaps difficult of reform, from the number of people that profited by them.

The prince had a thorough knowledge of his country and his countrymen: he would therefore, as was said before, put on a very different behaviour towards a young english or

* His house at Petersburg exhibited the same disorder, and seemed to be under the same sort of management. It was no uncommon thing to pass through a suite of apartments without finding a single servant to take one's name: sometimes not a bit of bread or a drop of water was to be had in the house; but there was always plenty of petit-pâtés and excellent champagne.

french officer, from what he would use to a russian general; the former being seated beside him, while the other was kept standing, and did not venture over the sill of the door: knowing that the Russians, though ever so discontented at this or similar treatment, never express their discontent against a superior. It was from his own genius alone that he had seized the character of other nations; and it certainly shews a niceness of tact exceedingly rare, as he had never been out of Russia. But the greatest encomium that can be passed on the talents of prince Potemkin, is by saying, that, having ceased to be favourite, instead of falling, if not into disgrace, at least into neglect and oblivion, he was able to maintain himself for so many years, and even to his death, in the possession of a power entirely absolute; a power which was never balanced by that of any of the favourites his successors: he kept it complete and entire in a country so subject to sudden revolutions, and (what is worthy of particular remark) with a sovereign who cannot be accused of any defect of understanding and judgment, and of not reigning by herself. This, in the opinion of many, would alone be sufficient to evince, that prince Potemkin was a man of no ordinary stamp; and even that he was very far from it. He is justly commendable

commendable for having always patronised his friends, and for never having ruined any one, though assuredly he had both the means and the opportunity in his power.

Some time in the year 1787, he took it into his head to have Plutarch read to him, to which he listened with great attention. When they were come to the life of Agesilaus, and the account of his conquests, he interrupted his reader; and, after remaining thoughtful for some moments, he asked him: "Think you, that I
" could go, at some future period, to Con-
" stantinople?" To which the reader replied:
" If the sovereign pleases, there is no impossi-
" bility to prevent your going."—"That is
" enough," returned the prince; "and if any
" one should come to-day, and tell me that I
" could not go thither, I would shoot myself
" through the head."

It is certain that he found the means of detaching France from Turkey, and of bringing her to concur with Russia, which certainly shews no small degree of political dexterity, especially as he had to do with so political a people as the French. The news of the french revolution quite afflicted him. He was several times afterwards surpris'd in talking to himself on that
B B 3 subject,

subject, in broken sentences without connection, and with great gesticulation.

But we must now return to our history. After a stay of about five months at Petersburg, prince Potemkin quitted the residence, to return to the army. Satiated with pomp and grandeur, with triumphs, and with pleasures, he was restless and uneasy every where; and his frequent sighs betrayed the gloom that overspread his mind*. He was satisfied neither with the flatteries of the courtiers, nor the bounties of his sovereign, nor with himself; and his irritation seemed to increase at the presence of the new favourite,

This favourite was Plato Zuboff. Objects more important have hitherto detained us from speaking of him. It is necessary now to state briefly the causes of his elevation, and the disgrace of his predecessor.

* It is well known that prince Potemkin, on quitting Petersburg, in 1791, had a secret presentiment that he should never return: he said it over and over again. However, there was nothing marvellous in the matter. His manner of life, regular in no one respect, evidently tended to shorten his days: he was no more than 52 years of age; and his natural constitution seemed to warrant him a long course of life.

Momonoff was well enough liked by the empress; but he made her no adequate returns. He lived with her in the manner of a slave, the weight of whose chains were not the less felt for being of gold, and not as a lover pleased with pleasing. His heart, however, was not insensible. Catharine, in the number of her maids of honour, had the daughter of prince Scherbatoff, young, handsome, and sprightly, and with a disposition to gallantry. Momonoff was soon smitten by her charms, and had made himself agreeable to her. But his passion had not as yet passed the bounds of respect; when one day he happened to hear Potemkin extol the charms of princess Scherbatoff. Momonoff was thunderstruck, He knew the unlimited power of Potemkin: he knew that it was sufficient for him to form a desire for having it gratified: he therefore ran and threw himself on his knees to princess Scherbatoff, and imparted to her the cause of his uneasiness. For his comfort and encouragement she promised to grant him what he was afraid of being deprived of by his rival; and shortly after he had additional reasons for dismissing his anxiety: Potemkin set out for the army.

This intimacy subsisted a long time, and was known to all the court. Catharine alone perceived nothing of it. At length, however, by the jealousy of some of the courtiers, her eyes were opened; she was told that Momonoff had not surrendered to her the whole of his heart, of which she soon after had evident proofs. However offended at this discovery, she thought it best to connive at it, at least for the present. This was during the summer of 1789. The court was at Tzarfko-felo; and the daughter of count Bruce, one of the richest heiresses of the empire, had just been presented.

Catharine, laying hold of this opportunity, said to Momonoff, that she intended he should marry the young countess * Bruce. Momonoff implored her not to insist upon it. The empress desired to know the reason of his reluctance. At this he was embarrassed: she insisted; and he fell at her feet, confessing that he had plighted his faith to princess Scherbatoff. The empress wanted no farther explanation: the two lovers were married the next day, and set off for Mosco.

* In Russia and in all the North, the young ladies bear the same title with their parents.

Momonoff was bound by every tie of gratitude to Catharine for her bounties, and the extreme condescension she had always shewn him. But it was currently reported that he had the imprudence to mention to his wife the particulars of his interviews with the empress, and that she divulged them with a levity injurious to the sovereign. It was added that that princess repaid the indiscretion by an act of great severity. When Momonoff and his lady were gone to rest, the master of the police at Mosco entered their apartment; and, after having shewn them an order from her majesty, he left them in the hands of six women, and retired to an adjoining chamber. Then the six women, or rather the six men dressed as women, seized the babbling lady, and having stripped her entirely of her night-clothes, flogged her with rods in the presence of Momonoff, whom they forced to kneel down during the ceremony. When the chastisement was over, the police-master re-entered the room and said: "This is the way the empress punishes a first indiscretion. For the second, people are sent to Siberia."

The very day of the marriage of Momonoff, the post of favourite was conferred on Plato Zuboff, an officer in the horse-guards. Prince Potemkin heard with much concern that the choice of

Catharine had fallen on Zuboff. He made it the subject of a letter to her majesty, employing all sorts of arguments to induce her to change her lover. But from the first period of his elevation Zuboff had rendered himself so agreeable that he was in no dread of a rival. The empress wrote to Potemkin, that so long as she had no just reasons to complain of Zuboff, she should not resolve upon dismissing him. Notwithstanding this, Potemkin continued his importunities for some time.—“ If you see the empress,” said he to one of the couriers who carried his dispatches to court, “ observe to her that I have teeth
“ which give me great pain, and that I shall not
“ be easy till I have got rid of them.” It was a clumsy play upon words: the name Zuboff, in rufs, signifies teeth.

The death of the emperor Joseph II. * had left Catharine to contend with the Ottomans, reduced to her own forces alone. Leopold II. yielding to the solicitations of Prussia, and still more to the exigencies of his people, who were sinking under the pressure of an unjust and unfortunate war, was in haste to break off from Russia and to conclude a separate peace with the Porte.

* Joseph II. died the 20th of February 1790.

It was no longer Frederic II. that reigned in Prussia. Five years had elapsed since he had terminated his long and brilliant course*. Endowed with a resolute character and a flexible mind, he had improved them both by study and reflection. The lessons he had imbibed from history rendered him at once a profound politician and an able general; his intercourse with the philosophers and fine writers of every age and nation, had qualified him for taking a place among distinguished authors. While he was only prince royal, he seemed to aspire at the glory of the Antonines or a Marcus Aurelius: but no sooner was he seated on the throne than he took for his models an Alexander and a Philip. Returning victorious from a war which had threatened his ruin, he extended the limits of his dominions, and from the secondary power which fell to him by inheritance, he raised himself into one of the most authoritative potentates of Europe. To the titles of politician and conqueror which he had already acquired, he now added that of legislator; and, by the code which bears his name, he merited in many respects the gratitude of his subjects. Disdainful of luxury from inclination, and fearful of it from œconomy,

* Frederic II. died the 17th of August 1786.

he founded his pride on the number of his soldiers. Laborious, vigilant, indefatigable, he was employed to the last moment of his life in the administration of his kingdom: but at the same time he shewed himself more jealous of strengthening and securing his power and of the prosperity of Prussia, than of the happiness of the Prussians. Did he live happily himself? It may be answered, no; since he was neither husband*, nor lover, nor father, and often suffered himself to be ruled by two tormenting passions, avarice and ambition. He was emulous of the surname of Great: he obtained it of the age in which he lived, and there is no doubt but it will be confirmed by posterity.

But though Frederic II. was no more, the same spirit still directed the cabinet of Berlin. Some time before Leopold made peace with the Turks, Frederic William had signed a treaty with them. Thus Catharine at once lost a defender, and was exposed to the probability of having soon a new enemy to contend with. That enemy however did not draw the sword against her, at which she was not the less incensed. He took advantage of the discontents

* It is well known, that, though he was married, he never cohabited with his wife.

in Poland for gaining a considerable influence in that country, and leagued himself to it by a new treaty. Under pretence of defending the Poles he caused his troops to enter their territory; and, what perhaps occasioned still more heart-burning at the court of Russia, he took possession of the cities of Dantzick and Thorn.

The empress now began to see that her victories were ruinous, and that remote conquests might bring on the loss of the provinces which she possessed in Poland. In a word, she perceived the necessity of bringing about a peace; but she had too much pride to sue for it, and rather than that, she chose to continue fighting.

Her armies obtained still farther successes. Kutusoff beat the combined troops of the Turks and Tartars: prince Repnin, at the head of 25,000 men, entirely routed 70,000 Ottomans whom he met and engaged not far from Makzin: Goudovitch, brother of him who had formerly been the favourite of Peter III. made himself master of the fortresses of Sudyuk-kaly and of Anapa, on the frontiers of the Krimea and the Kuban, where he took 14,000 prisoners, among whom was the Sheik-Mansour, the pretended prophet of whom mention has been already made.

Great Britain, who, in order to revenge herself for the alliance concluded between France and Russia, had excited the Turks to declare war against the latter power, and had vainly been prodigal of her assistance in arms, ammunition, and counsel; Great Britain resolved to take advantage of the moment when the court of Petersburg was detaching itself from the French, to engage it in a connection with her.

After having apprised of her design the cabinets of Berlin and of the Hague, who had acted in concert with her from the beginning of the war, she eagerly proposed her mediation to the empress, on condition that in making peace, that princess should consent to give up her conquests, and to take for the basis of the new arrangements the treaty of Kainardgi*.

The court of London therefore sent to Petersburg Mr. Fawkener, secretary to the privy-council, giving him in charge two propositions, whereof the most favourable to Russia was not to be produced unless the other should not be accepted. Fawkener was not wanting in abilities as a negotiator: but was by no means a match for Catharine. Whether that princess had been secretly advertised by her emissaries, that the

* For the principal articles of which, see the Appendix to this volume, No. xxi.

british agent had the power to make her a double proposal, or whether it was only matter of surmise, she resolved to avail herself of it. Determined on concluding a peace with the Turks, whatever it should cost her, in order that her armies might fall back into Poland, she received Mr. Fawkener with extreme affability. She admitted him to her table at Tzarisko-selo, placed him over-against her, discoursed with him all dinner-time, and after rising from table talked with him again, artfully by turns giving him reason to apprehend the failure of his negotiation, and inspiring him with the hopes of its success; she at length so completely entangled him, that he had not the courage to propose any other than the most advantageous conditions.

Catharine, being thus made acquainted with the dispositions of England, caused a memorial to be delivered to the danish minister, to prevail upon him to negotiate the preliminaries of peace with the cabinets of Berlin, of London, and of the Hague.

Count Bernstorff was in all respects worthy of being trusted with the mediation of so important a cause, and eagerly informed the three allied courts of the intention of Catharine; in consequence of which an accommodation between those powers and Russia was presently agreed on.

In pursuance of this accommodation, the three allied courts agreed to propose to the Porte the terms offered by the empress, and declared, that if the Turks would not accept of these conditions, they would abandon their cause, and leave them to prosecute alone the war against Russia.

A congress was assembled at Shistove; where the negotiators found at first some difficulty in coming to an agreement. Hence they removed to Galatch, and the preliminaries of peace were at length signed, the 9th of January 1791, by prince Repnin and the grand vizir. The definitive treaty, concluded at Yassy, soon after followed*.

It has been calculated that in this war Austria lost 130,000 soldiers, and expended three hundred millions of florins. — Russia lost 200,000 men, and expended two hundred millions of rubles. — The Turks lost 330,000 men, and expended two hundred and fifty millions of piastres.

Sweden had expended seventy millions of rix-dollars, and lost nine ships of the line, four frigates, and several smaller vessels of war.

After signing the treaty, Bezborodko declared that the empress gave up her claim to the

* See the Appendix to this volume, No. xxi.

twelve millions of piaftres which the Porte had juft ftipulated to pay her as an indemnity for the expences of the war. The ottoman plenipotentiaries juftly testified their admiration of an act of generofity fo truly imperial.

Prince Potemkin had not the good fortune to conclude the peace between Ruffia and the Porte. He had repaired to the congress of Yaffy: but, being foon after attacked with an epidemical fever which was then rife at that place, he was unable to attend much to the negotiations that were carrying on. As foon as the empress had intelligence that he was fick, ſhe ſent off to him two of the moſt experienced phyſicians of Petersburgh*. He diſdained their advice, and would follow no regimen. He carried even his intemperance to an uncommon height, his ordinary breakfast was the greater part of a ſmoke-dried gooſe from Hamburgh, ſlices of hung-beef or ham, drinking with it a prodigious quantity of wine and Dantzick-liqueurs, and afterwards dined with equal voracity. He never controlled his appetites in any kind of gratification. He frequently had his favourite ſterlet-ſoup, at ſeaſons when that fiſh is ſo enormously dear, that this ſoup alone, which might

* The doctors Tinmann and Maſſot,

be considered only as the overture to his dinner, stood him in 300 rubles. Having mentioned his sterlet-soup, it is impossible to refrain from relating an anecdote on that subject here. Being at Yassy, the prince had promised some of the women that went about with him every where, and formed his court, a soup of this kind, or perhaps, in one of those whims which were so common with him, he had a mind to it himself; but as the capital maker of it was at Petersburg, he dispatched a major to travel post, with orders to have a large tureen of it made: which he did accordingly, and brought it with him, well luted. Now let the reader judge of the expence this fancy put him to: the cook, as we may imagine, made a greater quantity of it than was wanted for the prince, and ate the remainder with his friends*; nay, we may be very sure that he ate it better than the prince, to whom it must have come somewhat less fresh, after having travelled near 2000 versts. This anecdote may likewise serve as a specimen of the business in which majors were sometimes employed by him, and consequently of the consideration in which they must have been held. He has frequently sent his officers from the Krimea

* It was by one of those friends that the story got abroad.

or from Krementschuk, to Petersburg and even to Riga, for oysters or china-oranges, on their first arrival at those ports.

With this sort of diet it is no wonder that he perceived his distemper to be daily gaining ground, but he thought to get well by removing from Yassy. Accordingly he resolved to set out for Nicolayeff, a town which he had built at the confluence of the Ingoul with the Bohg. Scarcely had he gone three leagues of his journey when he found himself much worse. He alighted from his carriage in the midst of the highway, threw himself on the grass, and died* under a tree,

* Prince Potemkin died the 15th of October 1791, at the age of 52. From Yassy his remains were transported to Kerfon, where they were inhumed, and the empress allotted a hundred thousand rubles for the erection of a mausoleum over them.—Having often had occasion to speak of the dignities and the titles of this extraordinary personage, we insert an abridgment of them here:—Knight of the principal orders of Prussia, of Sweden, of Poland, and of all the orders of Russia; field-marshal, commander in chief of all the armies of Russia; chief general of the cavalry; grand admiral of the fleets of the Euxine, of the sea of Azoff, and of the Caspian; senator, and president of the college of war; governor-general of Ekatarinoslauf and of Taurida; adjutant-general and actual chamberlain to the empress; inspector-general of the armies; colonel of the preobajenski guards; chief of the corps of horse guards; colonel of the

c c 2

regiment

a tree, in the arms of the countess Branicka, his favourite niece.

At first a report was spread, as usual on the death of men of extraordinary character, that the prince had been poisoned. His body, on being brought to Yassy, was therefore opened, but not the smallest indication was discoverable that might justify such a suspicion.

As to what farther might be said of prince Potemkin, we shall add nothing of ourselves; but be content with inserting here the picture drawn of him by one * who lived a long time in

regiment of cuirassiers of his name, of the dragoons of Petersburg, and the grenadiers of Ekatarinoslauf; chief of all the manufactories of arms and the founderies of cannon; grand hetman of the kosaks, &c.

* M. L. P. Ségur, formerly ambassador at Petersburg, not less distinguished for his literary than his political talents. Le comte de Ségur wrote under the empress's picture, just after her return from the Krim, the following lines :

Reconnois vers le nord l'aimant qui nous attire
 Cet heureux conquérant, profond législateur,
 Femme aimable, grand homme, & que l'envie admire,
 Qui, parcourt ses états, y verse le bonheur.
 Maître en l'art de regner, savante en l'art d'écrire,
 Repandant la lumière, écartant les erreurs;
 Si le sort n'avoit pu lui donner un empire,
 Elle auroit eu toujours un trône dans nos cœurs.

habits

habits of intimacy with him, and was so obliging as to delineate it at our sollicitation.

“ Prince Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin was one of the most extraordinary men of his times; but in order to have played so conspicuous a part, he must have been in Russia, and have lived in the reign of Catharine II. In any other country, in any other times, with any other sovereign, he would have been misplaced; and it was a singular stroke of chance that created this man for the period that tallied with him, and brought together and combined all the circumstances with which he could tally.

“ In his person were collected the most opposite defects and advantages of every kind. He was avaricious and ostentatious, despotic and popular, inflexible and beneficent, haughty and obliging, politic and confiding, licentious and superstitious, bold and timid, ambitious and indiscreet. Lavish of his bounties to his relations, his mistresses, and his favourites, yet frequently paying neither his household nor his creditors. His consequence always depended on a woman, and he was always unfaithful to her. Nothing could equal the activity of his mind, nor the indolence of his body. No dangers could appal his courage; no difficulties force him to abandon his projects. But

the success of an enterprise always brought on disgust.

“ He wearied the empire by the number of his posts and the extent of his power. He was himself fatigued with the burden of his existence ; envious of all that he did not do, and sick of all that he did. Rest was not grateful to him, nor occupation pleasing. Every thing with him was desultory ; business, pleasure, temper, carriage. In every company he had an embarrassed air, and his presence was a restraint on every company. He was morose to all that stood in awe of him, and caressed all such as accosted him with familiarity.

“ Ever promising, seldom keeping his word, and never forgetting any thing. None had read less than he ; few people were better informed. He had talked with the skilful in all professions, in all the sciences, in every art. None better knew how to draw forth and appropriate to himself the knowledge of others. In conversation he would have astonished a scholar, an artist, an artizan, and a divine. His information was not deep, but it was very extensive. He never dived into a subject, but he spoke well on all subjects.

“ The

“ The inequality of his temper was productive of an inconceivable oddity in his desires, in his conduct, and in his manner of life. One while he formed the project of becoming duke of Courland; at another he thought of bestowing on himself the crown of Poland. He frequently gave intimations of an intention to make himself a bishop or even a simple monk. He built a superb palace, and wanted to sell it before it was finished. One day he would dream of nothing but war; and only officers, Tartars, and Kofaks were admitted to him: the next day he was busied only with politics; he would partition the ottoman empire, and put in agitation all the cabinets of Europe. At other times, with nothing in his head but the court, dressed in a magnificent suit, covered with ribbons presented him by every potentate, displaying diamonds of extraordinary magnitude and brilliance, he was giving superb entertainments without any cause.

“ He was sometimes known for a month, and in the face of all the town, to pass whole evenings at the apartments of a young female, seeming to have alike forgot all business and all decorum. Sometimes also, for several weeks successively, shut up in his room with his nieces and several men of his intimates, he would lounge on a sofa, without speaking, playing at chess, or at

cards, with his legs bare, his shirt collar unbuttoned, in a morning gown, with a thoughtful front, his eyebrows knit, and presenting to the view of strangers who came to see him, the figure of a rough and squalid Kosak.

“ All these singularities often put the empress out of humour, but rendered him more interesting to her. In his youth he had pleased her by the ardour of his passion, by his valour, and by his masculine beauty. Being arrived at maturity, he charmed her still by flattering her pride, by calming her apprehensions, by confirming her power, by caressing her fancies of Oriental Empire, the expulsion of the barbarians, and the restoration of the grecian republics.

“ At eighteen, an under-officer in the horse-guards, he persuaded, on the day of the revolution, his corps to take arms, and presented to Catharine his cockade as an ornament for her sword. Soon after, become the rival of Orloff, he performed, for his sovereign, whatever the most romantic passion could inspire. He put out his eye to free it from a blemish which diminished his beauty. Banished by his rival, he ran to meet death in battle, and returned with glory. A successful lover, he quickly shook off the hypocritical farce, whose catastrophe held out to him the prospect of an obscure disaster.

He

He himself gave favourites to his mistress, and became her confidant, her friend, her general, and her minister.

“ Panin was president of the council, and was a stickler for the alliance of Prussia. Potemkin persuaded his mistress, that the friendship of the emperor would be of more use to her in realising her plans against the Turks. He connected her with Joseph II. and thereby furnished himself with the means of conquering the Crimea and the country of the Nogay Tartars, which depended upon it. Restoring to these regions their sonorous and antient names, creating a maritime force at Kerfon and Sevastopol, he persuaded Catharine to come and admire herself this new scene of his glory. Nothing was spared for rendering this journey renowned to the latest posterity. Thither were conveyed, from all parts of the empire, money, provisions, and horses. The highways were illuminated. The Borysthenes was covered with magnificent galleys. A hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were newly equipped. The Kosaks were brought together: the Tartars were disciplined. Desarts were peopled for the occasion; and palaces were raised in the trackless wild. The nakedness of the plains of the Crimea was disguised by villages built on purpose,

pose, and enlivened by fireworks. Chains of mountains were illuminated. Fine roads were opened by the army. Howling wildernesses were transformed into english gardens. The king of Poland came to pay homage to her who had crowned him, and who afterwards struck him from the throne. The emperor Joseph II. came himself to attend the triumphal progress of the empress Catharine; and the result of this brilliant journey was another war, which the English and the Prussians impolitically instigated the Turks to undertake, and which was only a fresh instrument to the ambition of Potemkin, by affording him an occasion to conquer Otchakoff, which remained to Russia, and to obtain the grand ribbon of St. George, the only decoration that was wanting to his vanity. But these latter triumphs were the term of his life. He died in Moldavia, almost by a sudden stroke; and his death, lamented by his nieces and by a small number of friends, concerned only his rivals, who were eager to divide his spoils, and was very soon followed by a total oblivion.

“ Like the rapid passage of those shining meteors which astonish us by their lustre, but are empty as air, Potemkin began every thing, completed nothing, disordered the finances, disorganized the

the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with other deserts. The fame of the empress was increased by his conquests. The admiration they excited was for her; and the hatred they raised for her minister. Posterity, more equitable, will perhaps divide between them both the glory of the successes and the severity of the reproaches. It will not bestow on Potemkin the title of a great man; but it will mention him as an extraordinary person; and, to draw his picture with accuracy, he might be represented as a real emblem, as the living image of the ruffian empire.

“ For, in fact, he was colossal like Russia. In his mind, as in that country, were cultivated districts and desert plains. It also partook of the asiatic, of the european, of the tartarian, and the kosak; the rudeness of the eleventh century, and the corruption of the eighteenth; the surface of the arts, and the ignorance of the cloisters; an outside of civilization and many traces of barbarism. In a word, if we might hazard so bold a metaphor, even his two eyes, the one open and the other closed, reminded us of the Euxine always open, and the northern ocean, so long shut up with ice.

“ This portrait may appear gigantic: but those who knew Potemkin will bear witness to its truth.

truth. That man had great defects : but without them, perhaps, he would neither have got the mastery of his sovereign, nor that of his country. He was made by chance precisely such as he ought to be for preserving so long his power over so extraordinary a woman.”

C H A P. XIV.

State of the court of Petersburg at the death of prince Potemkin.—Insurrection of Kosciusko.—Last partition of Poland.—Assassination of Gustavus III.—Death of Leopold II.—French Emigrants in Russia.—Of Plato Zuboff and his brothers.—Treaty concluded with Great Britain.—Conspiracy of Armfeldt.—Journey of Gustavus Adolphus to St. Petersburg.—Conquests in Persia.—Death of Catharine II.—Statement of the presents that were received by her favourites.—Forces, expences, and revenues of Russia.—1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796.

1792. **T**HE empress, when death had ravished Lanskoï from her, shut herself up in her apartment, and, giving way to her grief, was so indifferent to the world, that she was disposed to let herself die by inanition. On hearing of the death

death of Potemkin, she likewise shut herself up ; but it was only for employing herself in the administration of the empire. She was busy for fifteen hours together, and divided among her ministers the direction of the affairs which had belonged to Potemkin.

Count Bezborodko was sent to the congress at Yassy, and concluded the peace, as related in the foregoing chapter ; and at his return, being at the head of the college of foreign affairs, he at first possessed a very extensive influence.

The favourite Plato Zuboff, who till now had been an utter stranger to business, was desirous of bearing a part in the ministry, and of taking on himself the direction. On this subject he asked advice of the intriguing Markoff, who soon became his flatterer, and readily undertook to be his guide in the career of politics. Markoff was recompensed for it by the entire confidence of the favourite and that of the sovereign. They formed their conciliabulum, in which they treated of the most important affairs, and from which they excluded Bezborodko ; who, without being precisely disgraced, lost considerably of his influence*.

* Till Zuboff, the favourites had never been publicly employed in state affairs ; and it is the general opinion that it would have been more advantageous for those affairs, if they had been made to wait for his successor.

It was in one of these conciliabula, composed of Zuboff, Markoff, the minister at war Nicolai Soltikoff, and some others, that the annihilation of Poland, long since proposed by Catharine, was resolved on. That princess wished for it as an offering to her pride and her vengeance. Her favourites and her greedy ministers had been promoting it with great assiduity, in the hopes of obtaining a share in the rich spoils of the unhappy Poles.

The empress could never forgive that nation for either the act of the diet of 1788*, or the alliance of Prussia accepted in contempt of her own, or, above all, the constitution of 1791†. Big with these ideas of revenge, she gave orders to Bulgakoff, her minister at Warsaw, solemnly to declare war against Poland.

The diet being assembled, received this declaration with a majestic calmness, which was rapidly succeeded by the generous enthusiasm excited by the ardour of self-defence. The sentiments of the diet were diffused over all the nation. The king himself was possessed by them, or rather pretended to be so; and the Poles had the weakness to believe, that, having abandoned his former fervility to Russia, and

* Which abrogated the constitution dictated by violence in 1775.

† Decreed at Warsaw the 3d of May.

his customary indolence, he was becoming the defender of liberty. An army was collected in haste, and the command of it given to prince Joseph Poniatoffsky, whose inexperience and frivolous pursuits were but ill-suited to the management of so weighty a charge.

The Poles could have opposed the designs of Catharine with an army of 50,000 men: but they never yet could be brought to unite their forces; and their different corps were soon after pressed between an army of 80,000 Russians, who fell back from Bessarabia upon the territory which extends along the Bohg, another of 10,000 collected in the environs of Kieff, and a third of 30,000, which had penetrated into Lithuania.

We shall not here attempt to draw the picture of the various battles that drenched the plains of Poland with blood, and which, notwithstanding some advantages obtained by the Poles, consumed the greater part of their troops. It was then that Thaddeus Kosciusko *, who as yet was nothing more than one of the lieutenants of young Joseph Poniatoffsky, displayed talents that justly obtained him the confidence of the nation, the

* We have been told by a polish gentleman, that this name should be written Koschiefsky.

hatred of the Russians, and the esteem of Europe.

During all this time, Catharine, not trusting alone to the power of her own arms, had been negotiating with unremitting assiduity. She proposed the definitive partition of Poland to Frederic William, who was undoubtedly no less desirous of it than herself. She secretly won over to her views the two brothers Kaskakoffsky, the hetman Branicky, Rejevusky, and particularly Felix Potocky *, who perhaps, while he was flattering himself with the hopes of mounting the throne of Poland, became only the slave of Russia. In a word, she insisted that Stanislaus Augustus should make a public declaration, that it was necessary to yield to the superiority of the Russian arms.

That monarch had the deplorable courage to submit himself to this indignity : but he was not on that account treated by the empress with greater indulgence.

1793. The confederation of the partizans of Russia assembled at Grodno, and had the humiliation to see the Russian general proudly seating himself under the canopy of the throne

* He put himself at the head of the confederation of Targoviska in favour of the Russians.

which

which he was about to overturn. The russian minister, at the same time, published * a manifesto, in which he declared that his sovereign would incorporate with her domains all the territory of Poland which her arms had conquered.

The king of Prussia, in concert with Catharine, had already marched an army into Poland.

The Russians, dispersed about the provinces of that kingdom, committed depredations and ravages of which history furnishes but few examples. Warsaw became likewise the theatre of their excesses. The russian general Igelstrom, who governed all in that city, connived at the disorders of his soldiers, and made the wretched inhabitants feel the whole weight of his arrogance and barbarity. The defenders of Poland had been obliged to disperse †. Their property was confiscated; their families reduced to servitude. Goaded by so many calamities, they once more took the resolution to free their country from the oppression of the Russians. Some of them

* The 9th of April.—This minister was called Sievers.

† Some of them were even arrested; and Bonneau, the french secretary of legation, was carried off, and conducted to Siberia.

assembled, and sent an invitation to Kosciusko to come and put himself at their head.

That general had retired to Leipzig, with Hugh Kolontay, Zajonchek, and Ignatius Potocky, a man of great knowledge and sagacity, a sincere friend to his country, and in all respects the opposite of his cousin Felix. These four Poles hesitated not a moment in giving their approbation to the resolution adopted by their honest countrymen: but they were sensible that, in order to succeed, they must begin by giving liberty to the peasants, who till then had been treated in Poland like beasts of burthen.

Kosciusko and Zajonchek repaired, with all expedition, to the frontiers of Poland. The latter proceeded to Warsaw, where he had conferences with the chiefs of the conspirators. A banker, named Kapustas, a bold and artful man, made himself responsible for the inhabitants of the capital. He saw likewise several officers, who declared their detestation of the russian yoke. All, in short, was ripe for an insurrection, when the russian commanders, to whom Kosciusko's presence on the frontiers had given umbrage, forced him to postpone it for a time.

To deceive the distrust of the Russians, Kosciusko went into Italy, and Zajonchek repaired to Dresden, whither Ignatius Potocky and Kolontay had retired, but all at once Zajonchek appeared again at Warsaw. The king himself impeached him to the Russian general Igelstrom, who had a conference with him, and ordered him to quit the Polish territory. No alternative now remained for him but to proceed immediately to action, or to abandon the enterprise altogether. Zajonchek resolved on the former.

1794. Kosciusko was recalled from Italy, and arrived at Cracow, where the Poles received him as their deliverer. In spite of the orders of the Russians, colonel Madalinsky pertinaciously refused to license his regiment. Some other officers had joined him. Kosciusko was proclaimed general of this little army*; and the act of insurrection was almost immediately published †.

Three hundred peasants, armed with scythes, came and ranged themselves under the standard of Kosciusko. That general soon found himself faced by 7000 Russians, who were put to flight after a vigorous resistance.

* They had 3000 infantry and 1200 horse;

† The 24th of March.

On hearing at Warsaw of the success of Kosciusko, the russian general Igelstrom caused all those to be arrested whom he suspected to have any concern in the insurrection: but these measures served only the more to irritate the conspirators. The rebellion broke out*. Two thousand Russians were put to the sword. Their general, being besieged in his house, requested permission to capitulate; and, profiting by the delay that was granted him, he escaped to the prussian camp, which lay at a little distance from Warsaw.

Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, followed the example of Warsaw: but the triumph of the insurgents was there less terrible. Colonel Jazinsky, who was at their head, conducted himself with so much skill, that he took all the Russians prisoners, without shedding a drop of blood. The inhabitants of the cantons of Chelm and of Lublin declared themselves also in a state of insurrection, and were imitated by three polish regiments, who were employed in the service of the Russians.

Some of the principal partizans of Russia, the hetman Kaskokoffsky, the bishop his brother

* The 18th of April.

Zabiello, Ozaroffsky, and Ankvitch, were sentenced to be hanged, the first at Wilna, and the others at Warſaw.

Kosciusko exerted himself to the utmost to augment his army. He got recruits among the peasants; and, to inspire them with more emulation, he wore their dress, ate with them, and distributed encouragements among them; but those men, too long degraded in Poland, were not yet deserving of the liberty that was offered them. They distrusted the intentions of the nobles, who, on their side, for the most part lamented the loss of their absurd prerogatives.

Stanislaus Augustus and his partizans augmented still further the ill-will of the nobles, by representing to them the intentions of Kosciusko as disastrous to them, and by caballing continually in favour of Russia.

In the mean time the empress, not satisfied with augmenting the number of her troops in Poland, had sent her best generals thither.

After several battles, in one of which Frederic William, who had advanced to support the Russians, fought at the head of his troops, against Kosciusko, who was striving to prevent the junction of the Russian generals, Suvaroff and Fersen, he was attacked by the latter at Macie-

jovitch*. His talents, his valour, his desperation, were unable to prevent the Poles from yielding to numbers. Almost the whole of his army were either cut to pieces or obliged to lay down their arms. Himself, being covered with wounds, fell senseless on the field of battle, and was taken prisoner.

All who were able to escape from the conquerors went and shut themselves up in the suburb of Prague †, whither they were pursued by general Suvaroff. The siege of Prague continued not long. On the morrow of his arrival ‡, the dauntless Suvaroff gave the assault; and, having made himself master of the suburb, put to the sword, not only the soldiers, but all the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age. Twenty thousand innocent persons fell victims to the fury of the russian general. Covered with the blood of these unfortunate people, the barbarian entered Warsaw in triumph. Some bands of insurgents, who were dispersed in the provinces, made all possible haste to surrender. The courts of Petersburg and Berlin divided at their pleasure the remainder of un-

* The 4th of October.

† It is a suburb of Warsaw, or rather a small town situated on one side of that capital.

‡ The 2d of November.

happy Poland ; and the cruel courtiers of the empress shared amongst them the possessions of a great number of the proscribed. Stanislaus Augustus was sent to Grodno, where he was condemned to live obscurely on a pension that was granted him by the empress ; while Repnin, appointed governor of the usurped provinces, ostentatiously displayed the pomp of a sovereign.

Zajonchek and Kolontay had escaped to the austrian territory, where the rights of hospitality were violated in their persons, and they were detained in captivity. Kosciusko, Ignatius Potocky, Kapustas, and some others, were transported to Petersburg, and shut up in dungeons. Among these unfortunate men was the young poet Niemchevitch, distinguished for his valour and his talents, the friend of Kosciusko, wounded and made prisoner with him. The blood he had lost for his country was not the only injury with which Catharine reproached Niemchevitch. He had composed verses against her *, in all the boldness and energy of satire. Her majesty had him at first confined in

* There appeared at Warsaw, not only pieces in verse and prose, but caricature prints, in which the empress was very much insulted.

the citadel of Petersburg, and afterwards sent him to Schluffelburg, where he was treated with great severity.

The account of the bloody revolution effected by the brave Kosciuszko has obliged us to defer the recital of several events : we shall here bring them under review.

Impatient to see Gustavus III. set out upon his chivaleresque and perilous enterprize, Catharine gave orders to count Stackelberg, her minister at Stockholm, to promise * that monarch 12,000 russian foldiers, and an annual subsidy of 300,000 rubles, to assist him in restoring to the king of France his entire authority. Certainly it was not the intention of the emprefs to keep this promise, which she always found means to elude. She wanted only to accelerate the moment of the confederation of kings, and to excite her rivals to mutual destruction.

But Gustavus had not time to go and consummate the ruin of his country on the frontiers of France. The nobles of Sweden were for the most part always discontented with the revolution of 1772, of which they gave a proof in refusing to fight at Frederiksham. By pardoning their defection, Gustavus only emboldened them, and served the Russians who were exciting

* In the month of October 1791.

them perpetually against him. Three young men* at this time resolved to put him to death, and drew lots for the infamous honour of making the first attack on his person. A masquerade, at which Gustavus was to be present, was in favour of their horrid purpose. Here the three conspirators met. Ankarstrœm seized the moment when a group of masks surrounded Gustavus, and fired a pistol † into the small of his back. The swedish monarch expired within a few days after ‡. His son, Gustavus Adolphus, a young prince, aged 14 years, succeeded to the crown; and the regency was given to the duke of Sudermania.

A short time previous to this, the emperor Leopold II. died at Vienna §, in a manner less shocking, but almost as sudden, leaving the imperial diadem, the archduchy of Austria, and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, to his son Francis II.

* The count von Hørn, Ribbing, and Ankarstrœm.

† Ankarstrœm was armed with a dentelated poignard, and a pair of pistols charged with several pieces of balls, bullets, and little nails. One shot of the pistol completed the dreadful act.

‡ The 29th of March 1791. He had been assassinated in the night of the 15th of the same month.

§ The 1st of March 1791.

The death of two chiefs of the league of kings against France was a distressing circumstance to the french emigrants, who fled in great numbers to Pétersburg, to apply for assistance in troops, which the empress failed not to promise, but was too wise to grant.

Her majesty, however, took a great interest in the revolution that had taken place in France; apprehensive lest the principles upon which it was effected might find their way into Russia, and there occasion some combustion subversive of the throne. To all the French who signified that they were attached to their old form of government, she gave a welcome reception; while she severely proscribed the rest. The ambassador of France quitted Petersburg: but as Catharine, while she censured the opinions of that minister, could not refrain from doing justice to his virtues, to his talents, and the amenity of his manners, she said to him, on his taking leave of her: "I am an aristocrat; for I must
"carry on my business." A little while after she recalled the ambassador whom she had at Paris. She refused access to her court to the chargé des affaires* of France, and prohibited her ministers from conferring with him. Her

* Genet.

animadversion against the French extended even to colonel l'Harpe, who was employed in the education of the two young princes Alexander and Constantine, and who, as a Swiss and a philosopher, bore in his heart the love of liberty. That estimable and amiable man had often been subject to attacks from the hatred of the emigrants; but his prudence, and the well-founded respect that was shewn him by the grand duke, supported him against their intrigues*.

Catharine obliged all the French that were in her dominions to take an oath of allegiance to the pretender to the crown of France, and to swear an immortal hatred to the french republic. Those who refused were allowed only an interval of six weeks to settle their affairs, and were afterwards rigorously forced to quit the territory of Russia, where the greater part left behind

* The principal emigrants at that time in Petersburg were, count Esterhazy, Bombelles, Saint-Priest, Choiseul-Gouffier, M. Calonne, the count d'Artois, Roger Damas, d'Escars, the swiss colonel de Roll, the bishop of Arras, and Senac de Meilhan. It is a curious fact, that when the son of count Esterhazy appeared at court, the empress caused the patriotic songs of the French to be sung to the boy; and thus the hermitage sometimes resounded with the *air ça ira* and the *carmagnole*.

them

them debts, which their creditors have probably long since regarded as desperate*.

The court of Petersburg was at this time divided into two parties; the one having at its head the old count Ostermann, the Vorontzoffs, and Bezborodko, who endeavoured to shelter themselves under the name of the grand duke, but whom that prince had always the prudence not to avow, and of whose intrigues he either was, or at least feigned to be ignorant. The other party was that of Zuboff, of Markoff, and of Nicolai Ivanovitch Soltikoff, devoted to the favourite †.

This favourite was besides supported by his father, his three brothers, and his sister, all amply provided for by the bounties of the sovereign. It is necessary here to give some account of that family.

The father of the favourite Zuboff had been vice-governor of a province, and in that quality entrusted with the administration of the finances, the magazines, and the manufactories dependent

* For the principal passages of the ukase published on this occasion, the reader is referred to the Appendix to the present volume, No. xiii.

† Count Nicolai Ivanovitch Soltikoff is now president of the college of war.

on it. These establishments were burnt, not without suspicion of its having been done for the same purposes as many other fires have happened in Russia, namely, for saving the managers the trouble of balancing their accounts. However that be, this conflagration was the means of procuring the vice-governor an annual income of 60,000 rubles. After the elevation of his son, Zuboff obtained the important place of procureur-general of the senate; in which office he was guilty of so much malversation, that even his son was so ashamed of him, that he resolved to remove him, and procured him the appointment of senator in one of the departments of Mosco, where he died, leaving behind him an immense fortune.

Nicolai Zuboff, eldest son of this extortioner, was a man much esteemed. He served in Poland, where he distinguished himself by his bravery, and married the daughter of field-marshal Suvaroff.

Valerian Zuboff, brigadier and major of the guards, was also an officer in the army in Poland, where he had a leg carried away by a cannon-ball. He, for some time, shared the favour of the sovereign with his brother Plato, and afterwards had the command of the army that marched against the Persians.

Alexander

Alexander Zuboff, chamberlain to the empress, a man without talents, but ambitious, was son-in-law of the rich prince Vafemskoi, who had united in his person the three lucrative posts of procureur-general of the senate of Petersburg, minister of finance, and minister of the interior.

Lastly, Plato Zuboff, the lover of Catharine, decorated with the title of prince, and grand master of the artillery, enjoyed all the authority formerly possessed by Orloff, Lanskoï, and Potemkin. Ministers, generals, ambassadors, were seen resorting to the toilette of this favourite*, to pay humbly their court to him, sure that these acts of condescending complaisance were the most effectual means of obtaining the approbation of the empress.

The sister of prince Zuboff was married to the chamberlain Jerebzoff. This lady, handsome and very gallant, employed a part of her

* One example may suffice to shew the reverence in which the favourite is held by the Russians. Zuboff kept a little monkey, of that species called the Sapajou, full of tricks and very troublesome, who was offensive to every body, and whom every body caressed, in order to please his master. One day, this animal jumped on the head of a general officer, highly dressed and powdered; and, after having well touzled his hair, voided his excrement upon it, without so far ruffling the spirit of the general as to make him venture to complain of the affront.

revenues in acts of beneficence, and often failed in an assignation with a lover, to go and relieve the distressed. She abhorred the court, was an enemy to all etiquette, and avoided great companies. The british minister attached himself to her, and, through her influence joined to that of the favourite, succeeded in pacifying the empress, whom the late turkish war had irritated against the court of London.

The intimate confidant of Zuboff was one of his relations, a volatile but sensible young man, to whom he had given a place of chamberlain, and whose advice he often followed.

Zuboff had besides great confidence in a Raguzan, named Altesti. Placed at first in the counting-house of a free merchant of Constantinople, Altesti got acquainted with the ruffian minister Bulgakoff, who properly appreciating the bold and pliant temper of this young Italian, attached him to his legation, and brought him to Warsaw. The agreeable manners of Altesti attracted the notice of some polish ladies of great consideration, who procured for him the office of envoy to Petersburg, where he caballed with equal address and ingratitude against his patron, and at last succeeded so far as to get him recalled. At the same time he found means to interest Zuboff in his behalf, who took him as his secretary,

tary *, and admitted him into the mysteries of his little conclave.

Among the persons of whom we are speaking, were several who had considerable influence in the cabinet of Petersburg, but not so much as to direct its business at their pleasure. The empress kept over them a vigilant eye; and notwithstanding her advanced age, she employed herself some hours every day with her ministers, and decided of herself in all important affairs.

About this time the empress concluded a new treaty of commerce with Great Britain †; that which had expired in 1786 not having been renewed. Her majesty at the same time published two edicts, prohibiting the importation of french merchandize into her dominions. This was a double triumph for the English; as the new treaty of commerce extended their privileges, and they reasonably hoped to be able to substitute the stuffs of India and their own manufacture, for those of Lyons, and the wines of Madeira and Oporto for the wines of France.

* Zuboff had, for the department of war, another secretary, named Graboffsky, who had been in the secretariate of prince Potemkin under Popoff; and in that of foreign affairs, the Lorrainer Aubert.

† It was signed the 25th of March 1793.

They obtained still more. Catharine promised shortly to join their fleet with a ruffian fquadron; and orders were even fent to accelerate the armaments at Cronftadt. Stackelberg preffed the court of Stockholm not to keep the neutrality with France; and Krudener, animated with the fame fpirit, tormented with his follicitations the court of Copenhagen. But the Swedes and the Danes, who only confidered the advantages of their commerce, remained inflexible:

The grand fignior fent to Peterfburg an ambaffador*, offering magnificent prefents to the emperess and her minifters†; and her majesty at the fame time fent off to Constantinople general Kutuzoff, with the title of ambaffador extraordinary. Kutuzoff employed both prayers and menaces to determine the Porte to expel all the French from the ottoman territory; but in vain. The divan, exasperated at the defection of the Englifh, who had abandoned them in the laft war, and being convinced of their true interefts by the french minifter Defcorches, preferved the refpect due to a nation whom they regarded as their moft antient and faithful ally.

* Rafchid Mehemet effendi.

† Among thefe prefents was a complete tent ornamented with pearls, and eftimated to be worth 30,000 rubles.

In the mean time, the ambassador of Russia at Stockholm, and the Swedish party attached to that power, were perpetually caballing to deprive the duke of Sudermania of the regency, and to give the young king a council to administer the government under the protection of the empress. A conspiracy was even formed, which was detected at the very moment when it was ready to break out; but for giving a just idea of it, it will be necessary to revert to a former period.

In 1782, Gustavus III. made a testament, by which he provided, that, in case of his decease, his son Gustavus Adolphus, conformably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, should not assume the reins of government till arrived at the age of one and twenty. When the war broke out between him and Russia, he made a second, by which the majority of Gustavus Adolphus was fixed at 18, on account of the unexpected progress which that young prince had made in his studies. By these testaments the regency was given to the duke of Sudermania, together with all the prerogatives of royalty, except that of creating nobles and conferring knight-hood.

When the physicians had declared to Gustavus III. that his death was inevitable from the
wound

wound he had received of the traitor Ankarstrœm, the monarch made a third will, in which, still leaving the regency to the duke of Sudermania, he obliged him to take into his council baron von Armfeldt and baron von Taube. As soon as the king was dead, this codicil was presented to the duke, who read it, and then threw it into the fire.

No mention was therefore made of any will, except the two former, which, on their being presented to the tribunal of the court, bore all the marks of authenticity, and in pursuance of which the duke of Sudermania was declared regent. That prince immediately recalled the baron von Reuterholm, who, on the breaking up of the diet of 1789, had retired into Italy; and, without any other title, Reuterholm became the principal counsellor, or rather the prime minister of the regent.

Almost all the friends of Gustavus III. were devoted to Russia, and had dispersed. Armfeldt passed into Italy, because, contrary to his inclination, he had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Naples. But, though at a distance from Stockholm, that minister was not the less active in endeavouring to deprive the duke of Sudermania of the

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regency,

regency, and even of his life. He kept up a regular correspondence with the court of Peterfburg, by means of the Ragusan Altesti, secretary to Zuboff, and drew up the plan of a conspiracy, in which were comprehended the friends whom he had left in Sweden. He now thought himself on the point of succeeding. But all his steps had been observed by spies, who followed him every where: his papers were taken from him, sent into Sweden, and laid before the tribunal of the court, who immediately arrested his accomplices, and brought them to judgment.

1795. The greater part of the papers relative to this trial were printed, and proved incontrovertibly to the swedish nation, that the conspirators were acting in concert with Russia, and relied on the assistance of that power.

These circumstances were not adapted to the restoration of harmony between the two courts. They rather widened the breach from day to day; and the notes which the russian ministers soon after presented to the court of Stockholm were conceived in menacing terms; to which the swedish ministry always replied with firmness and decency.

The regent had resolved to bring about a match between the young king of Sweden and a princess

of

of the house of Mecklenburg. The marriage was even agreed on, and the princess of Mecklenburg declared future queen of Sweden. At this the empress testified great displeasure; pretending that Gustavus III. had promised her the hand of his son for one of the young grand duchesses; and she looked upon the failure in the execution of that promise as a personal affront to her. Accordingly, when count Schverin was commissioned to go and announce at Petersburg the marriage of the young king, Catharine, who had been previously apprized of the object of his mission, dispatched a courier to meet him on the borders of Finland, to forbid him to enter Russia*.

Soon after this, the empress made choice of the baron von Budberg to be her majesty's chargé d'affaires at Stockholm; who, by an affected contempt for the court of Sweden, gave that cabinet room to suspect that this agent had been particularly selected for that purpose on account of his inexperienced age and his excessive pride: for, if it had been recommended to him to shew a considerable degree of stateliness and

* The regent contented himself with causing to be published, on this occasion, the declaration which the reader may see in the Appendix to this volume, No. xiv.

insolence, he nevertheless certainly exceeded his orders*.

1796. The misunderstanding between Sweden and Russia seemed now to be arrived at its height, when a french emigrant, named Christin, made his appearance at Stockholm †. He had come from England to Gothenburg, and gave out that he was charged with a mission from the count d'Artois to the empress of Russia. But this was only the better to conceal the real object of his journey, as it was afterwards well known that he had secret orders to incline the regent to an accommodation with the empress. His negotiation was attended with success; and soon afterwards general Budberg, uncle of the chargé d'affaires, arrived in Sweden, with the title of ambassador from the empress.

* In a company where the greater part of the ladies of the court were present, and where the men were all uncovered, he was so unpolite as to keep his hat on his head. It was previous to his presentation at court. Accordingly, the day on which he was presented, the regent spoke not a word to him; but, having his horsewhip in his hand, kept striking it repeatedly on his boot, as if his fingers itched to strike elsewhere.

† In the month of January, Christin wore a swiss uniform, and gave out that he was an officer in the service of that nation.

General

General Budberg informed the regent of the intentions of his sovereign. She requested that that prince and baron von Reuterholm would dispose the young king to repudiate the princess of Mecklenburg, in order to espouse one of the grand-daughters of Catharine; and that they would moreover engage him not to exact of his consort a conformity to the law by which the queens of Sweden are bound to adopt the religion of the country: lastly, she was desirous that the regent and Reuterholm should accompany the young king to Petersburg.

Catharine spoke: she was obeyed. The regent, with his royal ward *, his minister, and a great train of courtiers, repaired to Petersburg †. The pride of the empress was satisfied: she now displayed nothing more than her magnificence.

The young king seemed greatly affected at the benevolence that was shewn him by the empress; but he was still more so at the charms of the grand duchess Alexandra. The sight of her made him easily forget the princess of Meck-

* The young king Gustavus Adolphus took the title of count von Haga, and the regent that of count von Vasa.

† They arrived there the 24th of August.

lenburg : propofals of marriage were made on the spot, and the day fixed for the ceremony of the espoufals, which was to be followed by a grand entertainment. When the contract was prefented to the king for his fignature, he obferved, to the great aftonifhment of the imperial family, that the fundamental laws of Sweden obliged him to require, that the princefs fhould previously change her religion ; and that, without this condition, he could not put his hand to the contract.

Catharine at firft had recourfe to follicitations and flatteries to perfuade the young monarch to fign the deed. But, perceiving that they were ineffectual towards bringing him to alter his refolution, ſhe coldly rofe up, and retired. She was followed by the grand duke, the grand duchefs, and their children. Nothing more was heard of the entertainment : and on the morrow Guftavus Adolphus and his retinue quitted Petersburg.

Catharine had conquered, either by her arms or by her intrigues, almoft one half of Poland, the Krimea, the Kuban, and a part of the frontiers of Turkey. But ſhe had no need of armaments and battles for ufurping another rich and well-peopled country. Her intrigues were fufficient.

ficient. This country was Courland and Semigallia, where still reigned the feeble son * of the famous Biren.

It was long since the emissaries of Russia had been successful in their attempts to gain over several of the principal barons of Courland, and particularly the counsellor Hoven, an eloquent, complying, and ambitious man. The courish nobles † were often attracted to Petersburg; where the flattering reception of the empress, distinctions, honours, posts, and pleasures, rendered their abode in the imperial residence far preferable to continuing in Mittau, and raised in them the desire of being under the sway of the sovereign of a vast empire, rather than to live in obedience to a duke, the obscurity of whose origin they could not forget, and whom they regarded as their inferior.

For inducing the people to partake in this sentiment of the nobles, Catharine artfully raised a spirit of dissension in their minds, and threw out reasons of alarm. She began by instigating the inhabitants of Livonia to insist upon the fulfilment of an ancient convention, by which

* Duke Peter.

† The principal of these nobles are the families of Manteufel, Bahr, Klopmann, Korff, Grothaus, Sals, Igelstrom, &c.

the Courlanders were obliged to bring all their merchandizes to Riga: certainly a very strange and hard condition, by which a nation, that had on its coasts excellent harbours happily situated, should be obliged to go, at a great expence, to embark the products of its soil in a foreign city. But what cannot force effect? and what will not ambition dare? The quarrel between the Livonians and the Courlanders was not yet terminated, when the empress sent engineers into Courland, to mark out a canal, to facilitate the transport of the merchandizes of that country into Livonia. The Courlanders seeing this, and fearing lest they should be soon forced to make use of this canal, thought it better for them to be protected than oppressed by the empress, and to be her subjects rather than her neighbours.

Catharine, being informed of these dispositions, called the duke of Courland to her, under the pretext of having occasion to confer with him on matters of importance. But no sooner was that prince at the foot of the throne of the autocratrix of the north, than the states of Courland held an assembly. The nobility proposed to withdraw the country from the supremacy of Poland, and to put it under that of Russia. The principal members of the grand council

made a faint opposition to this alteration, by observing, that before they proceeded to a resolution, it would be expedient to wait the return of the duke. The oberbürgraff Hoven rose up, and spoke a long time in favour of Russia. Some counsellors expressed themselves of his opinion, and others reproached him with treason. The dispute grew warm on both sides; challenges were reciprocally given, and swords were about to be drawn, when the ruffian general Pahlen appeared in the assembly: His presence restored tranquillity. No one presumed to raise his voice against Russia; and the proposal of the nobles was adopted.

The next day * the act was drawn up, by which Courland, Semigallia, and the circle of Pilten, made a formal surrender of themselves to the empress of Russia; and it was carried to Petersburg, where the duke of Courland learnt, from the mouth of his own subjects, that they themselves had deprived him of his dominions †.

* The 18th of March 1795. This singular act may be seen in the Appendix to this volume, No. xv.

† It should seem that the duke was aware of this intended spoliation, as he had bought up several estates in Prussia, the duchy of Sagan in Silesia, the domains of Rothenburg, and Frederiksfeldt in Brandenburg. He was already possessed, in Silesia, of the counties of Vartenberg, of Balin, and of Goschutz.

The empress immediately sent a governor thither.

However, some discontent remained in Courland: discontent brought on proscription; and the possessions of the proscribed were given to the courtiers of Catharine. The favourite Plato Zuboff and his brother Valerian obtained a great part of these rich and shameful spoils.

The acquisition of Courland was of great value to Russia. That country produces much corn and timber, in both of which a great commerce is carried on; and it has several ports advantageously situated in the Baltic. As a country not so particularly known to the rest of Europe as many of its neighbouring states, an account of it here would be highly interesting, but our limits will not permit. We shall only observe, that Liebau is a great augmentation to the immense wealth of Russia; and that Vindau will doubtless become one day the station of her fleets. That port, which is never obstructed by ice, would be easily made able to contain 100 ships of the line, which would at any time keep Denmark and Sweden in awe.

Though the peaceful sovereign of so many usurped dominions, Catharine was perpetually taking fresh measures to annex them inseparably to her estates. Prince Repnin and general Toutoulmin

Toutoulmin exacted in her name a new oath of allegiance, the one in Lithuania, the other in Poland*; and the miserable inhabitants of those countries, who dared to refuse to submit to that cruel formality, were instantly despoiled of the heritage of their fathers and driven from their natal soil.

The empress, who had so long given unavailing promises of assistance to the concert of kings against France, yielded to the solicitations of the favourite Zuboff, to which he had been constantly stimulated by his sister, the british minister, and Esterhazy. She determined † to join the english navy with a squadron of twelve ships of the line and eight frigates, the command whereof was given to admiral Hanikoff ‡. But, never making treaties without a view to the benefit of her country, it was stipulated on her part that the ships should be provisioned at the expence of her ally, and sent home in

* The form of the oath to be taken individually by the Lithuanians and the Poles, is inserted in the Appendix to this volume, No. xvi.

† The 22d of July 1795.

‡ Hanikoff is a very deserving officer, speaks english remarkably well, and was to have accompanied commodore James Trevenen on the intended voyage of discovery, which was laid aside on the breaking out of the swedish war.

thorough repair, by which means her raw mariners were disciplined, and her crazy vessels, mostly of fir timber, and which would hardly bear the sea, were completely refitted.

Catharine had married * her grandson Alexander with the princess Louisa of Baden-Durlach †; and was now desirous of giving a spouse to prince Constantine. She invited to her court the three daughters of the prince of Saxe-Coburg; and, after having some time hesitated in her choice, she determined in favour of the youngest, who, on becoming grand duchess, took the name of Anna Feodorovna ‡.

But these quiet usurpations, these treaties and alliances, were not sufficient to give full occupation to the mind of Catharine. Inured to conquest, she turned her arms against Persia; and, under pretence of defending Lolf-Ali-khan, an offspring of the race of the sophis, she wanted to take revenge on Aga-Mahmed and to gain possession of the persian provinces which border on the Caspian. Her minister at Constantinople therefore had orders to press the Porte to second

* The 21st of May 1793.

† On embracing the greek religion, the princess Louisa of Baden-Durlach took the name of Elizabeth Alexievna.

‡ The 14th of February 1796.

her designs. But, although strongly supported by the reis-effendi Raschid-Mehemet, the divan remained immovable.

Valerian Zuboff, at the head of a numerous army, penetrated into the province of Daghestan, and advanced to lay siege to Derbent. His first attack was directed against a high tower which defended the place; and, after having made himself master of it, and put the whole garrison to the sword, he was preparing to make an assault upon the town. The Persians, intimidated by the former successes and the impetuosity of the Russians, cried out for quarter; and the commandant, a venerable old man, of the amazing age of 120 years, and the same who, at the commencement of the present century, had surrendered Derbent to Peter I, came now to deliver the keys to Valerian Zuboff.

Aga-Mahmed was advancing with succours to the relief of Derbent, when he heard that the place was already in the hands of the Russians. Valerian Zuboff came forth from the place to offer him battle, in which victory declared for the Persians, who forced their enemies to return into Derbent. Catharine, being informed of this defeat, immediately gave orders for a body of troops which she had in the Kuban to go and reinforce the army of Valerian Zuboff,

not

not doubting that her general would very soon give a total defeat to Aga-Mahmed.

She also flattered herself with the hopes of obtaining a greater triumph. The new treaty which she had just concluded with Great Britain and with Austria, secured to her the assistance of those two powers against Turkey: in a word, she now reckoned on the full accomplishment of her darling project, of driving the Ottomans out of Europe and of reigning in Constantinople.

In that case the vast empire of Catharine would have for its frontiers, the thracian Bosphorus to the south, the gulf of Bothnia to the north, the Vistula to the west, and the sea of Japan to the east.

But death deceived her hopes. On the morning of the 9th of November, she was in good spirits, and took her coffee as usual. Some time after this she retired to her closet; where, after remaining a full half hour, the women who waited on her, not seeing her return, began to be alarmed; and, on entering the outer room in which it was, they found her stretched on the parquet with her feet against the door, and speechless. Upon this, a messenger was dispatched to Dr. John Rogerson, her majesty's chief physician, who, judging it to be a fit of apoplexy, ordered her twice to be let blood,

on which the empress, at first appeared to be somewhat relieved; but she was unable to utter a single word, and at ten o'clock in the evening of the following day, she expired*.

The grand duke was at his country palace of Gatshina, to which place an officer was sent off to apprise him of the danger of his mother. He repaired to Petersburg, and at the instant when she ceased to breathe, was proclaimed emperor by the name of Paul I.

We shall not attempt to trace in new colours the character of Catharine II. The history we have now been writing sufficiently displays it. To the little that has been said before, we shall only subjoin a few words on her person.

That princess had been handsome in her youth, and she preserved a gracefulness and majesty to the last period of her life. She was of a moderate stature, but well proportioned; and, as she carried her head very high, she appeared rather tall. She had an open front, an aquiline

* Catharine, through life, had been seldom out of order; and her even and cheerful frame of mind perhaps contributed to the preservation of her health. She suffered a little, latterly, by swellings in the legs, and was sometimes subject to a trifling colic. She lost all consciousness from the moment of her last attack.—Her good genius preserved her from the pains of a lingering illness; and she died fortunately as she had always lived.

nose, an agreeable mouth, and her chin, though long, was not mis-shapen. Her hair was auburn, her eyebrows black and rather thick; and her blue eyes * had a gentleness which was often affected, but oftener still a mixture of pride. Her physiognomy was not deficient in expression; but that expression never discovered what was passing in the soul of Catharine, or rather it served her the better to disguise it.

The empress was usually dressed in the russian manner. She wore a green gown †, somewhat short, forming in front a kind of vest, and with close sleeves reaching to the wrist. Her hair, slightly powdered, flowed upon her shoulders, topped with a small cap covered with diamonds. In the latter years of her life she put on a great deal of rouge; for she was still desirous to prevent the impressions of time from being visible on her face; and she always observed the strictest temperance ‡.

* Several persons who lived at the court of that princess affirm, that Catharine II. had very blue eyes, and not brown, as is said by M. Rulhieres.

† Green is the favourite colour with the Russians. Several of their uniforms are green.

‡ She made but a light breakfast, ate moderately at dinner, and never had any supper. When she read in foreign prints, that she had a dropfy and a scirrhus complaint, and that she could not live long, she affected to laugh at it; but near observers assert, that she was secretly hurt at the time.

We promised to give a statement of the presents received by the favourites of Catharine. The following has been given us by persons well informed :

Rubles.

The five brothers ORLOFF received 45,000 peasants ; and in lands, palaces, jewels, plate, and money	— — —	17,000,000
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VISSENSKY, officer of the guards, about two months in favour	— —	300,000
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VASSILTSCHIKOFF, simple lieutenant of the guards, received, in the 22 months that he was in favour :

An estate with 7000 peasants upon it, esti- mated at	— — —	600,000
In money	— — —	100,000
In jewels	— — —	60,000
In plate	— — —	50,000
A palace furnished	— — —	100,000
A pension of 20,000 rubles per annum, nearly		200,000

Total 1,100,000

The order of St. Alexander Nefsky.

Prince POTESKIN received, in the two first years, about nine millions.

He afterwards accumulated immense riches. He had great estates in Poland, and in all the provinces of Russia. One of his book-cases was full of gold, diamonds, and notes of the banks of London, Amsterdam, and Venice. His fortune was estimated at — 50,000,000

	Rubles.
ZAVODOFFSKY received, in 18 months, lands in Poland with 2000 peafants, in the Ukraine with 6000, and in Ruffia with 1800.	
These estates were estimated at	1,000,000
He received in money	150,000
In plate	50,000
In jewels	80,000
In a pension on the cabinet of 10,000 rubles a year	100,000
Total	<u>1,380,000</u>

The ribbon of the white eagle of Poland.

ZORITCH received, in one year, the ribbon
of the order of the fword, of Sweden, and
that of the white eagle of Poland.

An estate in Poland, of	500,000
One in Livonia, of 50 haaks	100,000
A commandery in Poland, produced 12,000 rubles yearly, valued at	120,000
In money	500,000
In jewels	200,000
Total	<u>1,420,000</u>

KORZAKOFF received, in 16 months, the ribbon of the white eagle of Poland, the palace of Vassiltschikoff re-purchased for him	100,000
An estate with 4000 peafants	400,000
In money and jewels	150,000
The liquidation of his debts	100,000
To fit him out for travelling	100,000
Gratification while on his travels	70,000
Total	<u>920,000</u>

	Rubles.
LANSKOI received, in estates or money	3,000,000
In diamonds — — —	80,000
To pay his debts — — —	80,000
A palace valued at — — —	100,000
Total	<u>3,260,000</u>

Moreover, his sister and his cousin were admitted into the number of maids of honour to the empress, and received many presents not brought into the account.

YERMOLOFF received, in 16 months, the ribbon of the white eagle of Poland.

An estate valued at — — —	100,000
Another with 3000 peasants — — —	300,000
In money — — —	150,000
Total	<u>550,000</u>

MOMONOFF received, in 26 months, in estates	600,000
In money — — —	200,000
In jewels — — —	80,000
Total	<u>880,000</u>

PLATO ZUBOFF was decorated with the title of prince, and with several ribbons, and appointed grand master of the artillery. He received large estates in Russia, in Poland, and in Courland. His fortune, exclusive of moveables and jewels, amounts to about 100,000 per annum, and consequently valued at — — —

His moveables and his jewels — — —	2,500,000
Total	<u>2,700,000</u>

	Rubles.
VALERIAN ZUBOFF received great sums in money, estates in Poland and in Courland, and a pension of 12,000 rubles, payable in gold. The whole may be estimated at	800,000
To these gifts must be added the expenditure of the favourite, estimated at 1,250,000 rubles per annum, which, during the 34 years of the reign of Catharine II. amounts to	8,500,000
Sum total	88,820,000

We have so often had occasion to speak of the wars and the conquests of Catharine II. that we should not be easily excused for omitting an account of the forces of her empire, and all the means in her possession, independent on her policy and uncommon talents, for establishing and enlarging her power. Here follows then a succinct state of the

ARMY,

In 1794 the ruffian army was composed of eight divisions, each of 50,000 men; and these divisions had their particular generals. 1. The division of FINLAND, commanded by the prince of Anhalt, kinsman to the empress, 2. The division of LIVONIA, commanded by field-marshal Ivan Soltikoff. 3. The division of
Mosco,

Mosco, commanded by general Prozoroffsky. 4. The division of WHITE RUSSIA, under the orders of general Mikelson, conqueror of the rebel Pugatshoff. 5. The division of the UKRAINE, commanded by field-marshal Suvaroff Rimniksky. 6. The division of CAUCASUS, under orders of general Goudovitch, who took from the Turks the fortresses of Anapa and of Sudyuk-kaly. 7. The division of UFA, commanded by general Reck, having under him general Chardon, a native of Avignon. 8. The division of SIBERIA, commanded by general Strandmann.

These eight divisions were stated to form a regular army of 400,000 men.

The artillery, of which the favourite Plato Zuboff was grand master, reckoned about 30,000

Three regiments of foot-guards, and a regiment of horse-guards — — 10,000

The Kofaks of the Don, the Tartars of Taurida, the Kalmuks, and several other hordes, furnished, in irregular troops, nearly — — — 120,000

Total of the army 550,000

This army was completed by the recruits which the proprietors of estates were obliged to furnish, sometimes by raising one man out of every 500 of their peasants, sometimes out of 300, sometimes out of 100*.

* In the war before last against the Turks, it once happened, that one man out of 35 was taken, to recruit the army of marshal Romantsoff.

This method of recruiting, though convenient to the empress, was ruinous to the empire, and was attended with horrible abuses. The officers employed in levying recruits, after stripping naked all the men presented to them, cut the hair from behind of those they rejected, and the hair over the forehead of such as they accepted. They were obliged to select only sound men, exempt from all bodily blemish; but by means of a slight gratification, they were induced to take such as the masters wanted to get rid of, and who often were not even able to bear the fatigues of the journey. Besides, the masters were obliged to give a certain sum of money to these recruits; the relations almost always added something to this sum; and all this was trusted to the officer, whose interest it was that the recruits should not join the army, that he might keep what belonged to them. Accordingly, he fed them so badly, and fatigued them so much, that sometimes not more than a third reached the place of their destination. It was very well authenticated, that of 60,000 men raised in a district, to recruit the army of prince Potemkin, only 1800 were able to join that army.

NAVY.

The fleet of the BALTIC was established by Peter I. at St. Petersburg, at Cronstadt, and at Reval.

In 1793, this fleet was composed of 34 ships of the line *, and 12 frigates.

In 1794, admiral Pavlishen brought from Archangel to Cronstadt †, six ships of the line and four frigates: in all, 40 ships of the line and 16 frigates.

Besides these there were several bomb-ketches, gun-boats, cutters, and other small vessels.

The galley-fleet of the Baltic consisted of near 400 gallies, which for the most part mounted guns.

The fleet of the EUXINE, established by Peter I. was but of little consequence, till the time when prince Potemkin took possession of the Krimea.

* There were in number 49; but we speak here only of such as were fit to keep the sea.

† The ships built in the ports of the Baltic are of oak, and those which come from Archangel of larch timber.

In 1793, there were at Sevastopol and Adjibey*, under the orders of admiral Utschakoff, eight ships of the line, of from 66 to 74 guns, and twelve frigates from 36 to 40 guns †.

At Nicolayeff and at Adjider ‡, 200 chebeks, gun-boats, and other vessels with oars.

The squadron of the CASPIAN was established by tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, the father of Peter I.

In 1793 it was composed of three small frigates, one bomb-ketch, and five corvettes.

EXPENCES.

	Rubles.
The support of the army costs somewhat less than — — —	6,000,000
The support of the navy about	1,500,000
All the other ordinary expences amount to — — —	3,500,000
Total	<u>11,000,000</u>

* Adjibey is a harbour newly constructed for large ships, between Otchakoff and the Dniefter.

† Almost all the cannons were of brass.

‡ Adjider is at the mouth of the Liman and of the Dniefter.

REVENUES.

REVENUES.

Rubles.

The revenues of Russia, proceeding from the capitation, the tributes, the produce of the mines, the duties on merchandize, monopolies, &c. amount to about	32,500,000
From Taurida and Caucasus	3,000,000
From Poland, about	— 7,000,000
From Courland, about	— 2,000,000
	<hr/>
Total of the revenues	45,000,000
	<hr/>

Accordingly, a surplus of revenue remained of 34,000,000 of rubles, which was employed to the maintenance of the tribunals, the various public institutions, in pensions, in entertainments, in presents, and extraordinaries of all kinds. It was not sufficient for the administration of Catharine II. since she frequently raised loans in Holland, Genoa, Venice, and other countries.

TITLE OF THE EMPRESS.

By the grace of God, Catharine II. *, empress and autocratrix of all the Russias, of Mosco,

* The sovereigns of Russia never put their name before that of the Almighty Monarch of the Universe.

Kiff,

Kieff, Vladimir, Novgorod, tzarina of Kasan, tzarina of Astrakhan, tzarina of Siberia, tzarina of the Tauridan Cherfonnese, lady of Pskove, and grand duchefs of Smolensk, princess of Esthonia, Livonia, Karelia *, Tver, Yugoria †, Permia, Viatka, Bulgaria, and other countries: lady and grand duchefs of Novgorod of the low country ‡, of Tschernigoff, Riasan, Polotsk, Rostoff, Yaroslavl, Bielosero, Udoria §, Obdoria ||, Kondia ¶, Vitepsk, Mstislavl, sove-
reign

* By Karelia is meant the present government of Vyburg, generally called Finland.

† This is a part of the government of Archangel, namely, the district of Pustozero, about the mouth of the Petschora. Yugoria is an obsolete name, of which some few appear in the imperial title, which have been retained from very remote periods: commonly they denote but small tracts of country.

‡ Meaning Nishney-Novgorod: *nishney* in rufs signifies low.

§ Likewise an obsolete name, which formerly denoted the region about the river Mefen, especially towards its mouth.

|| By this obsolete name, originating from the river Obe, is meant the region adjacent to Beresoff, in the government of Tobolsk. Tzar Vassilli Ivanovitch was the first who put Obdoria into his title.

¶ In the ukaufes published on the accession to the government, beginning with the imperial title, *e. g.* of the year 1762, and in other public acts which contain it, we find

Condinia;

reign of the whole northern region, and lady of the country of Iveria *; of the kartalinian and grufinian tzars †, and of the kabardinian country, of the Tſcherkaſſians, and of the mountain-princes, and of others hereditary lady and fovereign.

In the *letter of grace*, granted by the empress to all the nobility, ſhe adds the following illuſtration: “ It is known to all nations, that this
 “ title of our ſole ſovereignty is not that of an
 “ imaginary empire not in ſubjection to us; nor
 “ does it contain foreign principalities, provinces,

Condia; and ſo ſays Buſching. But in the two letters of grace before mentioned, of the year 1785, it is expreſſly written Kondia, and therefore that name is retained above: moreover, as it denotes the region circumjacent to the river Konda, where it falls into the Irtiſh, it may properly be ſo called. It is found in the imperial title ever ſince the reign of Vaſſilli Ivanovitch.

* Perſons of extenſive information, of whom we inquired, were unable to point out the ſituation of this place: perhaps we ſhould look for it in the diſtrict of Val dai, where the famous old Iverian monaſtery is ſtill ſtanding.

† That is, the georgian tzars. We have ſeen, in the foregoing hiſtory, that the tzar of Kartalinia, in the year 1783, ſubmitted himſelf, his ſucceſſors, and all his dominions, ſolemnly and publicly, to the ruſſian ſovereignty; but theſe countries long before appeared in the imperial title, as the former tzars of them had put themſelves under the ruſſian protection.

“ towns,

“ towns, and countries, but expreffes our wide-
 “ extended and numerous poffeffions by the
 “ fhorteft denominations*.”

It may further be remarked, that in the earlier ukauſes and manifeftos, it always ran: “ By the grace of God, we Catharine II. &c.” but in the two *letters of grace* it is: “ By God’s affiſting grace, we Catharine II. &c.”—Majeſty is expreffed in ruſs by *velitſcheſtvo*, which indeed ſignifies *ſovereignty*, but originally imports *greatneſs*, as derived from *veliki* great.

* Many countries and provinces, ſubject to the ruſſian ſovereignty, indeed do not appear by name in the imperial title: for example, the country of the Kirguiſes, and the Tſchuktſchis lately brought into ſubjection to it, without mentioning the iſlands in the eaſtern ocean, which never belonged to Siberia.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

T H I R D V O L U M E .

No. I.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.

*The MEMORIAL presented to their HIGH MIGHTINESSES by
Prince GALLITZIN, the Russian Minister, on the part of the
EMPERESS 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

tion

tion the limits of a free trade, and what is called contraband. That, if the definition of the former is founded upon the clearest notions of natural right, the latter is literally taken from the treaty of commerce between Russia and Great Britain, by which her imperial majesty means incontestably 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
advan-

advantage for humanity in general. The underwritten begs of you to give him a speedy answer.

DMITRI PRINCE GALLITZIN.

Hague, April 3, 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.

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 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.

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 conditions 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 merchandizes are reckoned contraband in time 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 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.

Verfailles, April 25, 1780.

ANSWER from the KING of SPAIN, to the DECLARATION of
the EMPRESS 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 alledged; he has, till now, only addressed himself to the powers at war, to obtain a redress of his grievances; and he has never

wanted moderation 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 empress 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

Great Britain, in the year 1670, and the 26th and 27th 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 proceedings, 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

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, communicated 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 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. From 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, 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

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, 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. II.

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

merce 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 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

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 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 aggrieve 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

gerent powers: in such case the ambassador or enoy 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 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 BERNSTORFF.
 O. THOFT.
 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 command in chief will be regulated according to what is commonly practised between the crowned heads and the republic.

No. III.

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 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. IV.

MEMORIAL of PRINCE GALTITZIN and MONS. DE MARROFF, *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 mons. 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

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.
MARKOFF.

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 monf. de Markoff, 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.

No. V.

MANIFESTO published by order of the EMPRESS of RUSSIA, upon the Occasion of her Troops entering the Peninsula of the KRIMEA, the KUBAN, and the Island of TAMAN; which Countries are hereby declared to be annexed to her Imperial Majesty's Dominions.

BY the Grace of God, we Catharine the Second, empress and sole monarch of all the Ruffias, &c. &c. &c.

Our last war against the Ottoman empire having been attended with the most signal successes, we had certainly acquired the right of re-uniting to the territories of our empire the Krimea, of which we were in possession: we, however, hesitated not to sacrifice that, with many other conquests, to our ardent desire of re-establishing the public tranquillity, and of confirming the good understanding and friendship between our empire and the Ottoman Porte. This motive induced us to stipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, whom we had reduced by our arms; hoping to remove for ever, by this means, every cause of dissension, and even of coolness, between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, exposed too often to these inconveniences by the form of government which then subsisted among the Tartars.

Great as were our sacrifices and efforts for realising those hopes, they were soon, to our great regret, considerably diminished. The restlessness natural to the Tartars, fomented by insinuations, the source of which is not unknown to us, caused them easily to fall into a snare laid by foreign hands, which had sowed amongst them the seeds of disturbance and confusion to such a degree, as to induce them to labour for the weakening, and even the total ruin of an edifice which our beneficent cares had erected for the happiness of that nation,

nation, by procuring them liberty and independence, under the authority of a chief elected by themselves. Hardly was their khan established according to this new form of government, before he saw himself deprived of all authority, and even obliged to desert his country, to give place to an usurper, who would again subject the Tartars to the yoke of a dominion, from which our beneficence had released them. The greater part of them, as blind as they were ignorant, had submitted to that usurper; the rest, thinking themselves too weak to resist, would infallibly have yielded to his yoke; and thus we should have lost the fruits of our victories, and the principal recompence for the sacrifices which we willingly made at the last peace, if we had not instantly taken under our immediate protection such of the well-disposed Tartars, who, prizing the blessings of their new political existence, lamented their being forced to submit to the usurper who had expelled their lawful khan. By thus effectually protecting them, we furnished them with the power and the means of choosing a new khan, in the room of Sahib-Gheray, and of establishing an administration analogous to this state of affairs. It was to attain this end that our military forces were put in motion; that a considerable body of our troops were ordered, notwithstanding the severity of the season, to enter the Krimæa, where they were subsisted at our expence, and obliged to exert the power of our army for the support of the good cause, in order to recall such of the Tartars as were estranged from it by their revolt. The public is not ignorant that a rupture between Russia and the Ottoman Porte had very near ensued upon this occasion; but, thanks to the Divine assistance, we disposed matters in such a manner, that the Ottoman Porte again acknowledged the independence of the Tartars, and the validity of the election of Schaghin-Gheray, their lawful sovereign. Notwithstanding all the inconveniences above-mentioned, as long as we were sustained and animated by the hope of re-establishing the repose necessary to the advantage
and

and preservation of good neighbourhood with the Ottoman empire, we regarded the Krimea according to the tenour and letter of the treaties, as a free and independent country, confining ourself solely to appeasing the troubles which prevailed amongst them; from our love of peace we found in this conduct a sufficient recompence for the great expences incurred by it; but we were soon undeceived in this respect by the fresh revolt occasioned in the Krimea last year, the encouragement of which always flowed from the same source. We have been obliged in consequence to have recourse again to considerable armaments, and to cause troops to enter into the Krimea and the Kuban, whose presence is become indispensable for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the adjacent countries. The sad experience of every day demonstrates more clearly, that if the sovereignty of the Ottoman Porte in the Krimea was a perpetual source of discord between our two empires, the independence of the Tartars exposes us to subjects of contention no less numerous and important, since the long servitude to which that people have been accustomed, has rendered the greater part of the individuals incapable of valuing the advantages of the new situation procured for them by that independence of which we sought to give them the enjoyment; and which, laying us under the necessity of being always armed, occasions not only great expences, but also exposes our troops to inevitable and continual fatigues.

The efforts they made to extinguish the flame of discord, in succouring the well-intentioned of that nation, exposed them to the violences of the seditious and ill-intentioned, whom we were willing to leave unpunished, in order to avoid even the shadow of an act of sovereignty, so long as we could cherish the least hope of at length restoring good order, and preventing by this means the essential interests of our empire from being injured.

But to our great regret all these measures, dictated solely by our love of humanity, tended only to bring upon us
losses

losses and damages, which we have the more sensibly at heart, as they affected our subjects. The loss in men is not to be appreciated; we will not attempt to estimate it; that in money, according to the most moderate calculations, amounts to upwards of twelve millions of rubles. To these particulars is to be added another of the utmost importance, both in its object and with regard to its consequences: we have just been informed, that the Porte has begun to lay claim to the exercise of sovereignty in the Tartar dominions, by sending one of their officers, at the head of a detachment of troops, to the island of Taman, who has even proceeded to cause the officer to be publicly beheaded, who was sent to him by the khan Schaghin-Gheray, with a commission only to enquire of him what were the motives for his arrival in that island; and what evidently proves the nature of the mission of this commandant of the troops is, that he made no difficulty in declaring openly to the inhabitants of Taman, that he looked upon them as subjects of the Porte. This decisive, though unexpected step, convincing us of the inutility of the sacrifices we had made upon the last peace, annuls in consequence the engagements we had contracted, with the sole intention of firmly establishing the freedom and independence of the Tartars, and sufficiently authorizes us to enter again into the enjoyment of those rights which we had lawfully acquired by conquest; the more so, as it is the only means remaining for us to secure hereafter a solid and permanent peace between the two empires. Animated therefore with a sincere desire of confirming and maintaining the last peace concluded with the Porte, by preventing the continual disputes which the affairs of the Crimea produced, our duty to ourself, and the preservation of the security of our empire, equally demand our taking the firm resolution to put an end, once for all, to the troubles in the Crimea; and for this purpose we re-unite to our empire the peninsula of Crimea, the island of Taman, and all the Kuban, as a just

indemnification for the losses sustained, and the expences we have been obliged to incur in maintaining the peace and welfare of these territories.

In declaring to the inhabitants of those countries by the present manifesto, that such is our imperial pleasure, we promise them, for us and our successors in the imperial throne of Russia, that they shall be treated upon an equality with our ancient subjects; and that, in taking them under our high protection, we will defend against all people their persons, their estates, their temples, and the religion they profess; that they shall enjoy the most absolute liberty of conscience, without the least restriction, in the public exercise of their worship and their ceremonies; and that not only the nation in general, but also each individual in particular, shall participate in all the advantages enjoyed by our ancient subjects. But we also expect, from the gratitude of our new subjects, that touched with these favours, they will be sensible of the value of this fortunate revolution, which removes them from a convulsed state of disturbances and dissensions to one of entire security and perfect tranquillity under the protection of the laws; and that, striving to imitate the submission, zeal, and fidelity of those who have long had the happiness of living under our government, they will render themselves worthy of our imperial favour, beneficence, and protection. Given at our imperial residence of St. Petersburg, the 8th of April, in the year of Grace 1783, and in the 21st year of our reign.

(Signed with her imperial majesty's own hand)

CATHARINE. (L. S.)

No. VI.

LETTER *from the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS *to his*
PRUSSIAN MAJESTY.

MY advantageous sentiments respecting the house of Prussia, sentiments of which I have given efficacious proofs, permit me to hope for the same on their part. I expect it the more, as I have ever been convinced of their reciprocal affection. The war which is preparing between the emperor of the Romans and the Hollanders excites the immediate attention of the cabinet of Berlin, of which the Dutch endeavour by all sorts of intrigues to secure the accession. Your wisdom acknowledges that the pretensions of the emperor are equally just and moderate. Nature herself hath granted to the Austrian Low Countries the use and advantage of the river in dispute; Austria alone, by virtue of the law of nature and nations, is entitled to an exclusive right to the use of the river in question. So that the equity and disinterestedness of Joseph II. can only impart this right to other people, it belonging exclusively to his states. The sentiments of Austria merit esteem and attention, but the avidity of the Dutch, and the judgment which they permit themselves to assume on account of the treaty of Munster over the house of Austria, are notorious and blameable in every respect.

Nothing can be alleged with foundation in favour of Holland, therefore she merits not the assistance of any foreign power. The consequences which these republicans are drawing upon themselves by their obstinacy, must be submitted to the moderation of the emperor alone. I am firmly resolved to assist his pretensions with all my land and sea forces, with as much efficacy as if the welfare of my own empire was in agitation. I hope that this declaration of my sentiments will meet with the success which our reciprocal friendship deserves, and which hath never been interrupted.

CATHARINE.

No. VII.

MANIFESTO of the SUBLIME PORTE against RUSSIA, dated the 11th of ZILEADE, the Year 1201 (the 24th of August 1787).

THE peace concluded between the Sublime Porte and the court of Russia in 1187 (1774), was chiefly made for the repose and tranquillity of their respective subjects, yet the court of Russia has not ceased to raise and maintain pretensions capable of disturbing the good harmony which that peace ought to procure: it has even proceeded so far as to seize on the Krimea, a proceeding directly opposite to the conditions agreed on to serve as the foundation of the treaty of Kainardgi. It was stipulated in the instrument then given on both sides, that there should be no farther discussion between the two empires, and that they should enjoy a perfect peace. It was specified in the capitulations that they should avoid for the future all intrigue whatever, and all plots secret or public; yet the court of Russia has raised up prince Heraclius, who was furnished with a diploma of investiture as vassal of the Sublime Porte. Russian troops have been placed in Tifflis: they have declared themselves supreme over the said prince, and from that moment the disorder in Georgia and our adjoining frontiers has been general. When we alleged that this proceeding was a formal infraction of the treaties, it was maintained to the contrary. It was expressly agreed on, that the Otchakovians should have the free and unlimited extraction of the salt works, which always belonged to the inhabitants of that frontier; yet they have always met with a number of impediments, and experienced every sort of ill treatment from the Russians; and when they reclaimed the execution of the conventions, the court of Russia has constantly refused it. The consul of that court has seduced the waywode of Moldavia, who has the rank of a prince; he favoured

voured his flight, and when the Sublime Porte reclaimed him, the Russian envoy replied, his court would not deliver him up; a refusal directly opposite to the treaties. The Russian court has shewn as bad designs by giving what turn it pleased to many similar things. It has corrupted the subjects of the Sublime Porte, by establishing consuls in Vallachia, Moldavia, in isles and places where the presence of those officers was useless, and even prejudicial to the true believers. It has invited to its estates the subjects of the Sublime Porte, and employed them in its marine and other services. It has especially entered into the interior disposition of our administration, by soliciting either the recall or punishment of governors, judges, vassals, and of all the officers not in their interest, and even of the pasha of Georgia and the princes of Vallachia and Moldavia. Every one knows how generously the Porte behaved to the Russian merchants:—they carried on their trade in the Ottoman states with safety and liberty, and might go wherever they pleased; for which reason we expected the same indulgences for the subjects of the Sublime Porte. Such were our conventions when the Russian court wanted to monopolize all the commerce, and exacted a duty far greater from the subjects of the Sublime Porte than from other powers. When the subjects of the Sublime Porte wanted to recover their debts in the Russian states, they met a thousand obstacles; not being able to go where they wanted, they were obliged to return without their due; many even have disappeared without our knowing what became of them. When the merchant vessels of the Sublime Porte wanted, either through stress of weather or want of water, or any other urgent necessity, to go on board a Russian ship, the Russians kept them off with their guns. They have likewise sometimes fired on our vessels from Soghoudgiak. The court of Russia wanted to understand the article relating to prince Heraclius, amongst other articles of a great deal less importance, and gave notice in a ministerial manner, by its envoy to the Sublime Porte, to furnish a common instrument for all

all these objects; if not, it had ordered general Potemkin to march to our frontiers with 60 or 70,000 men to exact the execution of all the articles, and that the empress was to come thither herself. This notice was an open and formal declaration of war. The order given to general Potemkin to repair to our frontiers, at the head of so many troops, is analogous to the proceedings of the court of Russia, with regard to the usurpation of the Krimea. If the Russians remain masters of it, the Porte cannot hope to remain in security for the future, and they will always have some bad designs to fear. These considerations engaged the Porte to shew to the russian envoy the desire they had for the Krimea to be established on its ancient footing, and to make a new treaty to cement friendship between the two empires. The envoy answered, he could not make these propositions to his court, and that if he were to do it, he foresaw no good could result from it. He rejected or eluded the articles which contained our complaints, and formally answered, that his court would not renounce the Krimea. That for all these reasons, and others, either secret or public, which it is impossible to enumerate, the Sublime Porte is obliged to declare war, in consequence of which she has published this manifesto to the respectable court of France, to inform it of the resolution she has taken to go to war with Russia. The Sublime Porte submits the motives herein contained to the equity of her friends.

MANIFESTO of the COURT of RUSSIA against the SUBLIME PORTE, dated PETERSBURG, Sept. 13th, 1787.

THE court having received the news of the imprisonment of M. Bulgakoff, minister at Constantinople, and the declaration of war made by the Porte, can no longer avoid a rupture, and in consequence has published a manifesto, the tenor of which is as follows:

The troubles which have incessantly agitated the public repose and tranquillity established between the russian empire

pire

pire and the Porte, by the peace of Kainardgi, are too recent to require recapitulation. Suffice it to say, that since the conclusion of that peace, unto the present moment, the Porte has shewn, in all her conduct, the most manifest want of faith, and a disposition to render the essential stipulations then made illusive.

Though the court of Russia is furnished with a multitude of proofs of this truth, which she reserves for a more particular detail to be published hereafter, she will at present cite the facts, the most recent, which have brought on the unexpected developement so contrary to the pacific system which she followed most willingly on all occasions. She flattered herself to have fixed an immovable basis for peace by the declaratory convention of Analy Cavack, concluded in 1779, by the commerce, and in particular by the transaction respecting the peninsula of the Krimea, the end of which was, as then demonstrated, not to extend the frontiers of the empire, but rather to terminate the disorders and depredations continually made by the people of the peninsula, by subjecting them to a police which would make them respect the laws, and keep up harmony and good intelligence with the frontiers of both states. Such were the sincere intention and views of the court of Russia, which she was at great pains and trouble to accomplish.

After having reconciled differences of so delicate and important a nature, every thing seemed to promise a durable peace; but affairs were hardly thus happily compromised and adjusted, on the faith of treaties and engagements the most solemn and sacred, when the next turkish ministry, which succeeded to that under which all these negotiations had passed, shewed dispositions diametrically contrary to their spirit and tenor. Ill founded pretensions soon arose respecting the exportation of salt, which had been granted by treaty to the inhabitants of Otchakoff. Russian consuls were denied entrance into some places of their nomination; and as if it had been proved that objects of this nature could not suffice to effect the rupture in view, protection was
publicly

publicly permitted to the invasions of the Lefgis and Tartars of Kuban ; the former of which hostilely attacked the states of tzar Heraclius, the acknowledged vassal of the empress ; and the latter penetrated into the frontiers of Russia, where they robbed, pillaged, and carried off whatever was not defended by the troops stationed in those parts.

The empress, constant to her plan of moderation which her humanity and love of peace had made her adopt, upon receiving the above advices, contented herself with calling upon the Turkish ministry to respect the treaties, and demanding in consequence satisfaction for such breaches of faith and peace : but all her remonstrances were fruitless, and answered with arrogance and disrespect. In the mean time, her principles remained unaltered. Being mistress of her choice of means, she still preferred once more the way of negotiations, and laid open to the emperor, her ally, the state of her affairs, and accepted the good offer of the king of France to mediate between herself and the Porte ; she made her pretensions known to them both, and these monarchs declared the justice and equity of them. In short, to neglect nothing that might preserve so valuable a blessing as the peace of her people, she took occasion, when in the neighbourhood of the Turkish states, during the memorable journey which she had but lately finished, to call her minister at the Porte, and examine him touching the differences which had arisen, and the means most efficacious for an accommodation of them all. In this view, and in full confidence of the respect which the Turks would shew on their part for mutual and solemn engagements then subsisting, she sent back her minister to Constantinople. Upon his return he was immediately summoned to a conference, at which, instead of the points being resumed which were in agitation before his departure, and acquiescing in the demands of Russia, a new turn to affairs was given, and pretensions started ; the first of which was contrary to stipulations made by treaty, and the others derogatory to the dig-

nity of the empress, or rather hurtful to the interests of the empire.

After the Turkish ministry had thus broken through the limits expressly stipulated, they thought they might then at once take off the mask, and have discovered the design which, in all probability, was long harboured, since they declared to the Russian minister, that the Porte considered itself bound only by the treaty of Kainardgi; and as the acts which followed it were but the effect of complaisance, she did not think herself obliged to adhere to them longer than suited her convenience. A term was fixed for receiving a categorical answer from the Russian minister to the demands and pretensions communicated to him. The minister protested against the injustice, the indecency, and impossibility, in so short a time, of complying with such a requisition; he was not heard, not even on the subject of the complaints stated before this time, and for which he had demanded satisfaction. All that he could obtain was the promise of another conference, which also took place, but at which the same demands and pretensions were repeated, without adding any thing more except a vague promise of the satisfaction he had demanded.

When the news of these two conferences came to the empress, she did not abandon herself to the discontent and resentment which were justifiable; she thought she might remain spectators of the attempt which a want of delicacy and circumspection, sufficiently common on the part of the Turkish ministry, had made them hazard; mean while the sequel has proved that it was a plan long formed, and going to be put immediately in execution. In these sentiments her imperial majesty was willing to crown all the former proofs given of her moderation and distance in thought from the consequences which such a critical situation of affairs presaged, by some condescendance on her part to
certain

certain of the pretensions of the Porte, and for this purpose orders were dispatched to prince Potemkin, when suddenly she learned that the Porte, without waiting for the expiration of the term fixed by herself, had summoned M. de Bulgakoff to a conference on the 6th (16th), and after proposing to him to sign an act by which the treaty of commerce and the transaction concerning the peninsula of the Krimea were to be annulled, upon his refusal peace was declared to be broken, and himself sent to the castle of Seven Towers, where, in contempt of the rights of nations, he remains a prisoner at this moment.

Such a proceeding presents every reflection that can arise on the subject. The Porte has thought fit to unite perfidy with the most insulting attack. She omits nothing to make manifest the strong desire that has been long felt to break a peace, which was granted in a manner the most generous and noble. Provoked by a conduct so offensive, the empress sees herself obliged unwillingly to take up arms, as the only means remaining of maintaining her rights, which she has acquired with so much loss of blood, and revenging her wounded dignity. Entirely innocent of all the evils attendant on the war now ready to be kindled, she has a right to depend upon divine protection and the succours of her friends, as also upon the devout prayers of all christians, for her triumph in a cause of justice and self-defence.

No. VIII.

NOTE *delivered the 18th of June, by the RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR at STOCKHOLM, to the SWEDISH MINISTRY.*

IN consequence of the various objects on which the under-written envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the imperial court of Russia has lately conferred with his excellency count Oxenstiern, he has now the honour to present to him a succinct recapitulation of the same in the present note.

Whatever may have been the surprize of the empress my soveraign, when she was informed of the armaments carried on in Sweden, her imperial majesty, not seeing any just motives which could occasion them, resolved to be silent as long as those motions should be confined to the interior parts of the kingdom. But being apprised of the motives alleged by the senator count Oxenstiern to the minister of Denmark, and which he, in consequence of the intimacy subsisting between the two courts, communicated to the under-written, her imperial majesty has resolved to break silence, and given orders to the under-written to enter into the following explanations with his Swedish majesty's ministers.

During the twenty-six years of her reign, the empress has never ceased to give constant testimonies to the king, and to the whole Swedish nation, of her wish to cultivate the most perfect harmony and good neighbourhood, such as at the last peace was established between the two states; if, therefore, in the midst of the repose which her empire enjoyed from its other neighbours, her imperial majesty has never conceived the least idea of disturbing or altering, in any shape, the order of things, it would be arguing against every degree of probability to attribute it to her now, when she
finds

finds herself engaged in a war which has been unjustly excited against her by a powerful enemy, and to which she cannot give too much attention. Provoked in this manner to display all the means which she holds from Providence, to repel the attack of her enemy, she has not failed to make an amicable communication of it to all the christian powers, and particularly she observing this conduct when she resolved to arm a fleet to send into the Archipelago; which intention the under-written did, by her orders, communicate to the Swedish ministers. All these dispositions and preparations being therefore visibly and singly directed to the circumstance in which Russia found herself, were in no wise of a nature to alarm any neighbour, that did not nourish some secret intention to multiply her embarrassments, and take advantage of them. But, admitting for a moment that the court of Russia had intimated such designs, that of Sweden, however contrary they are to the faith of the treaties which bind them, sound reasoning, as well as the interest of the former, would have confined all her measures to prevent their effects, and not to provoke them; and, in fact, such as prudence dictated, and were adopted, after the rumours which were spread on all sides of the armaments carrying on in Sweden, are reduced to a trifling reinforcement of the russian troops in Finland, and the destination of the usual squadron that annually cruises in the Baltic to exercise the seamen; a custom to which Sweden has never given any attention, or occasioned any umbrage.—Nevertheless, her armaments were daily advancing and increasing, without the court of Stockholm thinking proper to give any formal notice of it to the court of Petersburg; and they at last they were prepared. The senator, count von Oxenstiern, in the name of the king, did not fail to declare to the minister of a court closely allied to Vienna, and consequently, it may be presumed, not bound to conceal it from us, that those preparations were directed against Russia, on a supposition that Sweden was threatened to be attacked by her.

In this situation, the empress, on her side, has as readily ordered the under-written to declare to his Swedish majesty's ministry, and to all those who have any share in the administration, that her imperial majesty could not give them a more solid proof of her pacific dispositions towards them, and of the interest she takes in the preservation of their tranquillity, than by assuring them, on her imperial word, that all the opposite intentions which some might impute to her, are void of all foundation; but if assurances so formal and so positive, joined to arguments so plain and convincing, are not sufficient to restore calmness and tranquillity, her imperial majesty is resolved to await the event with that confidence and security which the purity and innocency of her intention afford her, as well as the powerful means which the Almighty has put into her hands, and which she has never employed but for the glory of her empire and the happiness of her subjects.

Stockholm, June 18, 1788.

(Signed) COUNT ANDRE RAZUMOFFSKY.

*ANSWER of the COURT of STOCKHOLM to the foregoing
RESCRIPT.*

HIS majesty could not avoid being surpris'd when he saw, in the note delivered on the 18th of June, by Mr. le comte de Razumoffsky, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the court of Russia, the manner in which it was attempted to distinguish between the king and the nation; and the assurances given by the empress of her disposition in their favour, and of the interest which she takes in the preservation of their tranquillity.

Although in this language the king recognizes principles often divulged by the court of Russia in other countries, his majesty cannot reconcile such friendly sentiments on the part of the empress, with an insinuation that tends directly to draw a distinction between him and his people; and,
firmly

firmly resolved never to admit such a principle, he cannot believe that a declaration of that nature was ordered to be made to him by the court of Ruffia. The king is rather willing to impute it to their minister only, residing at his court; but, surpris'd as well as hurt at the language it contains, which is at once irregular and hostile to the tranquillity of his kingdom, he cannot after this moment acknowledge the comte de Razumoffsky as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at his court, reserving himself, until his arrival in Finland, to answer the empress of Ruffia on the other articles of the declaration, by his minister at Petersburg. Meanwhile his majesty finds himself obliged to require the departure of the comte de Razumoffsky, by announcing to that minister that he can no longer treat with him, as having in his written memorial offended both the principles of the Swedish government and failed in the respect that is due to the person of the king.

The attention wherewith the king has honoured this minister ever since he knew him, strongly marks the regret felt by his majesty in commanding his departure; and nothing less than the powerful reasons, of his dignity being personally offended, and the peace of his dominions rendered liable to be disturbed by those principles it has not scrupled to avow, could have influenced his majesty to desire the removal of a person who has such claims upon his regard, that, in signifying his intentions to the comte de Razumoffsky, (whom he no longer acknowledges a public minister,) his majesty allows him a week to make the necessary preparations. The king has also given orders for ships, and every other accommodation that can render his passage to St. Petersburg convenient, that being the only mark of attention which the present circumstances leave it in his power to shew to the comte de Razumoffsky.

COPY of a CIRCULAR NOTE delivered by the COURT of SWEDEN to all the foreign MINISTERS, dated STOCKHOLM, June 23, 1788.

WHILE the king, anxious to preserve a good understanding with all his neighbours, neglected nothing in the cultivation of the same with the court of Russia; he has been astonished to observe the little effect which his sentiments have produced on the minister of that power; whose language, for some months past, in his public conduct, still appears to bear the marks of that system of dissension which his predecessors transmitted to him, and which they have perpetually laboured to extend. The king was always willing to deceive himself on this point, and wished he could doubt the existence of the efforts made by the Russian envoy, to induce the Swedish nation to return to those errors which led it astray during the time of anarchy, and to disseminate anew, in the heart of the state, that ancient spirit of discord, which Heaven and his majesty's paternal care have happily extinguished; till at length count Razumoffsky, by his note of the 18th of June, has extinguished all those doubts the king was still desirous of preserving on this subject. Amidst the declarations of the empress's friendship for the king, with which the note is filled, this minister has not hesitated to appeal to others besides the king. He addressed himself to all the members of administration, as well as to the nation itself, to assure them of the sentiments of his sovereign, and how much she has their tranquillity at heart. This Sweden, however, derives solely from its proper union; and the king could not but see, with the greatest surprise, a declaration expressed in such terms, discerning therein but too much of the policy and language used by that minister's predecessors; who, not content with sowing divisions among his majesty's subjects, wanted to set up other authorities in opposition to the legitimate power, and to
undermine

undermine the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by calling in aid of their assertions witnesses which the form of government cannot recognize. It was in vain that his majesty fought to reconcile the assurances of the friendship of the empress of Russia on one side, with the appeal to the subjects of Sweden on the other. Every minister being charged to declare the sentiments of his master, ought not, nor can announce to them any other than the sovereign by whom his credentials have been accepted. All other authority is unknown to him, and every other witness superfluous. Such is the law, such is the constant practice in all the courts of Europe, and this rule has never ceased to be observed, unless when by captious insinuations the only aim has been (as heretofore in Sweden) to embroil matters, to confound every thing, and again to set up those barriers which form the distinction between the nation and their sovereign. Thus hurt, in a way most nearly affecting his dignity, and no longer hearing from count Razumoffsky the language of a minister, hitherto charged to convey the friendly sentiments of the empress; but, at the same time, unable to conceive, that expressions so contrary to the fundamental laws of Sweden, and which, by dividing the king and the state, would render every subject culpable, were prescribed to him, the king chuses rather to attribute them to the private sentiments of the Russian minister, of which he has given sufficient indication, than to the orders of his court. In the mean time, after what has passed, after declarations as contrary to the happiness of the kingdom as to the laws and respect due to the king, his majesty can no longer consider count Razumoffsky in the quality of a minister, and finds himself obliged to require his departure from Sweden, confiding to his ambassador at the court of Russia the answer to the other points which have been just communicated.

Nothing less than so direct an attack on the dignity of the king, on the part of count Razumoffsky, could induce his

his majesty to insist on the departure of one, whom he has honoured with particular regard. But seeing himself reduced to such necessity with regret, his majesty, in consequence of his former good-will, has endeavoured to soften the disagreeable nature of this event, by the care he takes in regard to count Razumoffsky's departure, and by the attention that will be paid to the time, and to his accommodation in his voyage to St. Petersburg.

His majesty wishing that the diplomatic body should be acquainted with the foregoing occurrences, the senator count Oxenstiern has the honour of communicating the same.

(Signed) OXENSTIERN.

*DECLARATION of the EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS, against
the KING of SWEDEN, June 30, 1788.*

IT was towards the end of the last winter that the armaments by sea and land began to shew themselves in Sweden.—Whispers were purposely circulated in the kingdom, as if Russia meditated an attack. In proportion as these preparations advanced, and as it was believed they had made an impression on some national spirits, the cabinet of Stockholm began to extend rumours of the same kind, even to foreign courts. The empress has the satisfaction to learn that these insinuations have every where failed of their aim. In truth, the courts of Europe are too enlightened to believe that Russia, after having for so long a time maintained a pacific system in regard to Sweden, had chosen to depart from it in the moment when she was engaged in a war so serious as that in which the Ottoman Porte had involved her.

In the mean time, the empress, attentive to every thing which passed in a place so adjacent to her territories, judged it necessary, on the information and advice which she received, not to neglect to take measures of precaution. But, anxious to avoid every thing which might give umbrage or excite alarm, she contented herself with ordering to Finland
a flight

a slight reinforcement of troops, and with establishing in this province magazines proportioned to their number, and indispensably necessary to their subsistence. In fine, reposing on the innocence and rectitude of her intentions, on the religious observance of the perpetual treaty subsisting between the empire of Russia and the kingdom of Sweden; and above all, not knowing of any one subject of discussion, open or concealed, between the two courts—the amicable correspondence, on the contrary, continuing as usual between them—she had undoubtedly every right to think, that, great as might be the ambition, the uneasiness, and the envy of the imperial powers, the true motives that could impel the Swedish monarch to make war on her must be repressed by the respect to good faith, which ought to actuate the hearts of sovereigns even more than of other men; by the impossibility of giving any colour of equity to the scope which he wished to give to his passions; and, in fine, by the obstacle, equally strong, that of the solemn compact he had made with his people, not to undertake any war without assembling, consulting, and obtaining the consent of his subjects.

Nothing could prove more effectually the satisfaction which should have been placed in her imperial majesty's various assurances, than the resolution which she took of detaching from the fleet destined for the Archipelago a squadron of only three ships, which she sent to sea in the beginning of this month, notwithstanding the positive advices she had of all the Swedish fleet being cruising in the Baltic. These ships, three days after their departure from the port of Cronstadt, fell in, off the isle of Dago, with the Swedish fleet, which detached a frigate, the captain of which came aboard of the ship of the vice-admiral Vanderseer, who commanded this little squadron. The captain of the frigate announced to the vice-admiral the presence of the duke of Sudermania, the king's brother, the commander of the Swedish fleet, and required the salute. The vice-admiral replied,

replied, that by the 17th article of the treaty of Abo, no salute could take place between the Russian and Swedish fleets; but that respecting, in the person of the duke of Sudermania the cousin-german of the empress, and the brother of the king of Sweden, he had no difficulty in rendering to these distinctions all the honours that were due. He then ordered a salute with thirteen guns, and sent an officer on board the duke's ship to pay his compliments, and to announce to him at the same time, that it was to his person only that the honours were addressed. The answer of the duke of Sudermania was, that although he was not ignorant of the tenor of the convention made between the courts of Sweden and Russia, in regard to the salute, he would not accept of that which was to be rendered, unless it was given to the Swedish flag, as he had received the most precise orders from the king his brother to make that flag respected in every place, and on every occasion.

The empress had hardly time to make her complaints on the injustice and irregularity of this proceeding to the court of Stockholm, when she was informed of that other, still less expected, of the dismissal of her minister from the Swedish court and territories. The pretended reasons of this measure are exposed in the declaration of the king made to the ministers of foreign courts. These reasons are not calculated to impose on the most unenlightened, and they therefore require no answer; but one cannot help observing, that it is the first example of the kind by which a sovereign assured his subjects of the pacific and benevolent sentiments he entertained towards them.

In the mean time the empress, resolved to continue to the last in the principles of moderation she had professed, confined her resentment of this proceeding to the retaliation which she was naturally authorised to use in regard to the minister of the king of Sweden. She signified to him to quit her court in the same space of time which had been fixed for her minister at Stockholm. The only difference

in the proceeding was, that all false and insidious imputation was carefully avoided.—This difference has been established and demonstrated indeed by the good faith which has accompanied the cause of the empress, and the breach of faith which has marked the whole conduct of the king of Sweden.

Notwithstanding these scenes, which threatened an almost inevitable war, the empress was pleased to cherish hopes that the amicable explanations which the Swedish monarch had himself promised the foreign powers, might yet tend to preserve the good harmony and neighbourhood, which no one reason of state on either side had a tendency to interrupt. But this hope is totally vanished. She learns that on the 21st or 22d of this month the troops of the king of Sweden having fallen hastily on the frontiers of Russia, have carried off the money deposited in several custom-houses, have penetrated to the environs of Nieslat, and have even opened the siege of its castle.

It is by a series of violent proceedings (of which every one infringes on the rights the most generally received among civilized nations) that the king of Sweden, without having complained of one grievance against Russia, has at length pushed to the uttermost the moderation of the empress, and has obliged her to have recourse to the only remedy which is left her, of repelling force by force. It is with regret that she issues her orders to the commanders of her forces by land and sea. In making known this resolution, as well as the motives that have provoked her to it, to the friendly powers, she protests to them, that the king of Sweden is alone responsible to God, to the world, and to his own people, for all the calamities to which his ambition and injustice may give rise.

EXHORTATION *of the KING of SWEDEN to his SUBJECTS.*

WE Gustavus, by the grace of God king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, to all our faithful subjects health! commending them to the care of the Almighty, with our favour and particular good-will.

Seeing ourselves again attacked by enemies on another side of our kingdom, and obliged to arm, in order to defend our states and the independence of our dear country, no less than your lives, your property, your liberties, and your welfare, we doubt not that our dear subjects will with the arms assume the courage of their ancestors, with firmness and unanimity to repulse the enterprises of our enemies—more especially as ourself shall set them the example, like our illustrious predecessors, to defend, to the very last man, the independence of a kingdom, that boasts so remote an antiquity. Nevertheless, we must not conceal from you, my subjects, all the means which the enemy wishes to employ, in order to subjugate a people, whose valour they have often experienced to their detriment.

As they cannot hope to effect our common ruin solely by open force, they are striving to excite discord, as well between yourselves, as between you and us, fomenting jealousies by secret intrigues, and provoking quarrels, in the full persuasion that a Swedish king, united with the Swedish nation, could not easily be brought under their yoke. We exhort you, then, in the name of the Almighty God, as the true and only defender of kings and states, that you will not listen to treacherous insinuations, but that you will constantly persevere in the fidelity which we have a right to expect from you, and which, during sixteen years of our reign, we have no less experienced than deserved. We have also to give you the happy information, that the principal powers in Europe now in alliance with each other, which interest themselves in the independence of the Swedish nation, are at this present moment endeavouring to
accomplish

accomplish our wishes in the restoration of peace; which we hope, with the help of the Almighty, will, by our joint efforts, soon be established. We trust, that so soon as that salutary end shall be attained, we shall have the satisfaction to meet our subjects, united in the strictest bonds of concord, in a general diet of the states, where we may offer up our thanksgivings to the Supreme Being, for his protection vouchsafed to us, and to our kingdom. In the mean while, we recommend you to his all-powerful hand; and we remain in the utmost affection towards you all, of whatsoever rank, with all our royal favour and good-will.

(Signed) GUSTAVUS.

Done at Carlstadt, Sept. 26, 1788.

(and lower)

HERM. VON LAASTBONE.

DECLARATION, *and* COUNTER-DECLARATION, *between*
DENMARK *and* SWEDEN.

DECLARATION.

HIS Danish majesty has ordered the under-signed to declare, that although he complies with the treaty between the courts of Petersburg and Copenhagen, in furnishing the former with the number of ships and troops stipulated by several treaties, and particularly that of 1781; he yet considers himself in perfect amity and peace with his Swedish majesty: which friendship shall not be interrupted, although the Swedish arms should prove victorious, either in repulsing, defeating, or taking prisoners the Danish troops now in the Swedish territories, acting as Russian auxiliaries under Russian flags. Nor does he conceive that his Swedish majesty has the least ground to complain, so long as the Danish ships and troops now acting against Sweden do not exceed the number stipulated by treaty; and it is his earnest desire, that all friendly and commercial intercourse between the two nations, and the good understanding between the
courts

courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, remain inviolably as heretofore.

(Signed) Count De BERNSTORF.

Delivered to the baron de Sprengporten, his Swedish majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Copenhagen, Sept. 23, 1788.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

THE declaratory note delivered by the count Bernstorff to the under-signed, in which his Danish majesty conceives that his Swedish majesty cannot have any ground of complaint, as long as the Danish ships and troops merely act as auxiliaries to Russia, is a doctrine which his Swedish majesty cannot altogether reconcile with the law of nations and rights of sovereigns, and against which his majesty has ordered the under-signed to protest.

Nevertheless, to prevent an effusion of blood between the subjects of the two kingdoms, and particularly at the moment when a negotiation has begun to restore perfect peace and tranquillity in the north of Europe, which affords a pleasing prospect of a general pacification; his Swedish majesty, from motives of a love of peace, waves entering into a speculative discussion, whether or not there is a cause or ground of complaint, on his side, and rests perfectly satisfied with the assurances contained in his Danish majesty's declaration, that his Danish majesty has no hostile views against Sweden, and that the friendly and commercial intercourse between the subjects of both kingdoms, and the good understanding between the two courts, shall remain uninterrupted.

His Swedish majesty puts the strongest faith and utmost confidence in what Mr. Elliot, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, has represented to him on this important occasion.

His majesty, therefore, to prevent the horrors of war, and the calamities impending over the two nations; anxious to behold peace and union restored between them; embraces
with

with satisfaction his Danish majesty's declaration, and particularly as it will facilitate the negotiation for a general peace which is happily begun through the mediation of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Prussia, and the good success of which is the greatest object of his majesty's ambition, and which his majesty has fully declared to the aforesaid Mr. Elliot, provided the defeating of the Russian auxiliaries is not considered as hostilities against his Danish majesty, agreeable to the declaration delivered by count Bernstorff.

(Signed) Baron de SPRENGPORTEN.

Dated Stockholm, October 6, 1788, and delivered to the count Bernstorff at Copenhagen.

COPY of a DECLARATION delivered to the Confederated STATES of POLAND by the Prussian Minister at WARSAW, dated October 12, 1788, on the Subject of an intended Alliance between RUSSIA and POLAND.

IF the projected alliance between Russia and Poland has for its first object the conservation of the states of Poland, the king does not see the necessity or utility of it, because the safety of Poland is sufficiently guaranteed by the last treaties. It cannot be supposed that her majesty the empress of Russia, or her ally the emperor of Germany, would infringe theirs. It must then be supposed the king has such a design; and, in consequence, this alliance is directed against him.

Thus the king cannot but object and protest solemnly against the said alliance, as tending to break the good harmony established between Prussia and Poland by the most solemn treaties.

If, in the second place, this alliance is directed against the common enemy, and if under this qualification is included the Ottoman Porte; the king, out of friendship for the republic of Poland, cannot but represent, that the Porte having always religiously observed the peace of Carlowitz;

and that during the whole course of the present war they have carefully avoided the states of the republic, there will infallibly result the most dangerous consequences, as well for the states of the republic, as for those of his Prussian majesty which are next adjoining, if Poland contracts alliances which authorize the Porte to regard Poland as an enemy. Every loyal and enlightened citizen of Poland will see at once how difficult and impossible it will be to defend his country against an enemy so near, so formidable, and so restless.

The king cannot then be indifferent to the project of an alliance, which menaces not only the greatest danger towards the republic, but to his own states, and which will infallibly extend farther the flames of war, already too general.

The king finds nothing to object against the republic of Poland's augmenting its army, and putting its forces in a respectable state. But he leaves to the consideration of the good citizens of Poland, if, in each augmentation of the army of Poland, a power is not given to engage the republic in a war which is absolutely foreign to it, and consequently leading to grievous consequences. The king is flattered, that his majesty the king of Poland, and the states of the serene republic assembled in the present diet, will take into mature deliberation all that his majesty now represents, in the way and through motives of the most sincere friendship, and for the true welfare and common interest of the two states, so closely united by the indissoluble ties of a perpetual alliance.

His majesty also hopes, that her majesty the empress of Russia will not refuse her approbation to motives so just, and so conformable to the welfare of the Polish nation; and he expects also with confidence, from one part and the other, that they desist from the project of an alliance so little necessary, but always so dangerous for Poland. It is in this hope, that his majesty invites all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, to prevent, by their union and wise measures, the imminent danger with which
their

their country is menaced. And they may depend, that his majesty will grant them the necessary assistance, and the most powerful succours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and security of Poland.

Given at Warsaw, the 12th of October 1788.

LOUIS DE BUCKHOLZ.

ANSWER of the DIET at WARSAW to the KING of PRUSSIA'S DECLARATION.

THE under-signed, by the express orders of the king and the confederate states of the diet, has the honour to transmit to M. de Buckholz the following answer :

The reading of the said declaration of his Prussian majesty, in a full council, on the 13th, has impressed the states assembled with a lively sense of the generous manner in which the king has acted as a friend and neighbour, in assuring to Poland the safety of its possessions.

The project of an alliance between Russia and Poland, not having been proposed either to the permanent council, or to the diet when free, and afterwards confederated, is not therefore an object of the act of union, which leads the business of the diet, conformably to the general will of the nation ; and the propositions coming from the throne respecting the augmentation of imposts, and the military of the republic, are not in the system of an offensive force, but solely for defending and preserving its possessions and its free government.

If in the already determined proceeding the states assembled receive a proposition and a project of an alliance, the republic, being held by the same nature of a diet, in so public a step will never veil its proceedings, but act conformably to the independence of its sovereignty, to the rules of prudence, to the sacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly sentiments of his majesty the king of Prussia.

The general will, ever right and ever public, forming the spirit of the deliberations of the present diet, the states assembled unanimously make it their wish to fix in the opinion of his prussian majesty an advantageous idea of their understandings, and their patriotisim.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS NALZEL MALACHOFFSKY.

Referendary of the crown, marshal of the diet, and of the confederation of the crown.

(Signed) CASIMIR PRINCE SAPIEHA,

General of artillery of Lithuania, marshal of the confederation of the grand duchy of Lithuania.

Warsaw, Oct. 20th, 1788.

No. IX.

ARTICLES of the QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE between RUSSIA, AUSTRIA, FRANCE, and SPAIN.

I. THAT in case any of the parties are attacked, by sea or land, the other three shall defend with money, forces, or shipping.

II. The treaties of 1748, 1753, 1756, the Bourbon Family Compact in 1761, and the Convention between Austria and Russia in 1787, shall be in full force.

III. Their most christian and catholic majesties oblige themselves to observe the strictest neutrality in the present war with the Turks. But in case the emperor should be attacked by any other power, the french king is to furnish him 30,000 men, or an equivalent in money, on demand. And in case the french king is attacked, the emperor is to furnish the like succours.

IV. The

IV. The king of Spain agrees, on his part, to the aforefaid third article, as the emperor alfo does toward the king of Spain.

V. If the empress of Ruffia should be attacked in the present war with the Turks, his most christian majesty engages to affist her with eight ships of the line and six frigates; and his catholic majesty is to furnish the like succours; the empress of Ruffia binding herself to furnish either or both powers with an equal assistance, in case any attack is made on them.

VI. The treaty of commerce between France and Ruffia, made in 1787, shall be in full force, and a similar treaty be signed by Ruffia and Spain.

VII. The treaty of 1761, between France and Spain, to be in full force.

VIII. Though this treaty is to be purely defensive, the parties agree, that if any of them are attacked, the other three shall not make peace, until the province which is invaded is restored back in the same state it was before attacked.

IX. Whenever any of the parties shall, by their ambassadors, demand stipulated succours, the said ambassadors shall be reciprocally admitted into the councils of war, and deliberate upon and settle whatever may be most advantageous to the four contracting parties; and the auxiliary succours are to be augmented as events may require.

X. The high contracting parties shall have liberty to invite such other powers to accede to the present treaty as they may think proper.

XI. Denmark, as an ally of Ruffia, shall be specially invited to accede thereto.

No. X.

TREATY of PEACE *concluded between the KING of SWEDEN
and the EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS.*

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity !

HIS majesty the king of Sweden, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, equally desirous of putting an end to the war which had unhappily broke out between them, and to re-establish the friendship, harmony, and good neighbourhood, which have long subsisted between their respective states and countries, have reciprocally communicated to each other their pacific intentions; and with a view to realize them, they have appointed and authorized, viz. his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Gustavus von Armfeldt, baron of Vorentatha, &c. and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the sieur Otho Henry von Igellstrom, lieutenant-general of her armies, &c. who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, and found them duly authorized, and in proper form, and having mutually exchanged them, have agreed on the following articles :

I. There shall be henceforward, between his majesty the king of Sweden and his estates, countries, and nations, on one part, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and her estates, countries, and nations, on the other, perpetual peace, good neighbourhood, and perfect tranquillity, both by sea and land; and consequently, the most speedy orders for the cessation of hostilities shall be given by each party. Whatever is past shall be forgotten: attention will only be paid to the re-establishment of that harmony and mutual good-will which has been interrupted by the present war.

II. The

II. The limits and frontiers shall, on each side, continue as they were before the rupture, or the beginning of the present war.

III. Therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken or occupied by the troops of either of the contracting parties, shall be evacuated as speedily as possible, or in 14 days after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

IV. All prisoners of war, or others who, not bearing arms, have been taken by either of the belligerent parties during the course of hostilities, shall be set at liberty by each party without ransom; and they shall be permitted to return home without any indemnification being required by either party for their maintenance; but they shall be obliged to pay the debts which they have contracted with individuals of each respective state.

V. And, in order to prevent the giving the least occasion for a misunderstanding at sea between the contracting parties, it is stipulated and agreed, that whenever one or more swedish men of war, whether small or great, shall pass by the forts of her imperial majesty, they shall be obliged to give a salute in the swedish manner; which shall be immediately answered by a salute in the russian mode. The same shall be observed by russian men of war, whether one or more; they shall be obliged to salute before the forts of his swedish majesty, and they shall be answered by a swedish salute.

In the mean time, the high contracting parties shall order, as speedily as possible, a particular convention to be made, in which the mode of saluting between swedish and russian ships shall be established, whether at sea, in port, or wherever they may chance to meet.

Till then, in order to prevent mistakes in the above case, ships of war belonging to either party shall not salute each other.

VI. Her imperial majesty of all the Ruffias has also agreed, that his swedish majesty shall be at liberty to buy

every year corn to the amount of 50,000 rubles in the ports of the gulph of Finland and of the Baltic sea, provided it be proved that it is for the use of his swedish majesty, or for the use of some of his subjects duly authorized by his majesty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, barren years shall not be included, nor such years in which, for some important reasons, her imperial majesty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever.

VII. As the eagerness of the high contracting parties for the speedy termination of those evils with which their respective subjects have been afflicted, in consequence of war, does not allow them time for the regulation of many points, and objects tending to establish firmly a good neighbourhood and perfect tranquillity of the frontiers, they agree, and mutually promise to pay attention to those points and objects, and to discuss and regulate them amicably by means of ambassadors or plenipotentiary ministers, whom they shall appoint immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty of peace.

VIII. The ratifications of the present treaty of peace shall be exchanged within the space of six days, or sooner if possible.

In testimony whereof, we have signed the present treaty of peace, and sealed it with our arms.

Done in the plain of Werle, near the river Kymene, between the advanced posts of each camp, the 11th of August 1790.

GUSTAVUS MAURE, BARON VON ARMFELDT,
OTHO, BARON VON ISELSTROM.

No. XI.

MANIFESTO of the EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS, relative to
the Partition of POLAND.

I MICHAEL Krechetnicoff, general in chief, senator, general-governor of Tula, Kaluga, and the countries newly annexed from the polish republic to the russian empire, commander of all the armies there, &c. hereby make known, by the supreme will and command of my most gracious sovereign her imperial majesty of all the Russias, to all the inhabitants in general of the countries now united for ever to the russian empire from the polish republic :

Her imperial majesty has hitherto taken, in the affairs of Poland, a part that has always been tending to the interest of both empires. It has not only been unsuccessful, but proved a fruitless burthen ; and her endeavours to maintain peace and freedom among her neighbours have been attended with innumerable losses.

Thirty years of experience has evinced it, in the numerous internal disputes which have distracted the polish republic. Her imperial majesty has viewed their sufferings, in the countries and cities bordering on her empire, with great compassion, considering them as descending from the same race, and professing the holy christian religion.

Even at this moment, some unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, have not been ashamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to request their assistance to involve their country also in bloody civil wars.

The true christian religion, and the well-being of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned countries, would suffer from the introduction of such detestable doctrines, which tend to annihilate all the bonds of society, to overthrow all safety, property, and prosperity. These enemies of peace,
following

following the detestable plan of the mob of rebels in France, propagate their doctrines throughout Poland to the utmost of their power, which would destroy for ever their own and their neighbours happiness.

From these considerations, her imperial majesty, my most gracious mistress, as well to indemnify herself for her many losses, as for the future safety of her empire and the polish dominions, and for the cutting off at once, for ever, all future disturbances and frequent changes of government, has been pleased now to take under her sway, and to unite for ever to her empire, the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants : namely, a line beginning at the village of Druy, on the left bank of the river Dwina, at the corner of the border of Semigallia ; thence extending to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the voivodship of Vilna to Stolptsfa, to Nefvij, and then to Pinsk ; and thence passing Kunish, between Viskero and Novegreble, near the frontier of Galicia ; thence to the river Dniester ; and, lastly, running along the river, till it enters the old border of Russia and Poland at Jergetick : in such manner, that all the cities and countries within this line of demarcation, the new border of Russia and Poland, shall henceforward, for ever, come under the sceptre of the russian empire, and the inhabitants, of all ranks whatever, be subjects thereof.

I being appointed by her imperial majesty governor-general of these countries, by her supreme order have to certify, in her sacred name, and in her own words, to all her imperial majesty's new subjects, and now my beloved countrymen, that her most gracious majesty is pleased, not only to confirm and ensure to all, the free and public exercise of their religion, and full security of property and possession, but to unite and to affiliate them under her government, for the fame and glory of the whole russian empire ; an example of which is to be seen in her faithful subjects, the inhabitants of White Russia, now living in full peace and plenty under her wise and gracious dominion. Further, that all and every

every one of them shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old subjects; and that from this day, every denomination of the inhabitants enters on the full participation of these benefits through the whole extent of the russian empire.

Her imperial majesty expects, from the gratitude of her new subjects, that they, being placed by her bounty on an equality with Russians, shall in return transfer the love of their former country to the new one, and live, in future, attached to so great and generous an empress.

I therefore now inform every person, from the highest to the lowest, that, within one month, they must take the oath of allegiance before the witnesses whom I shall appoint; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks, possessing real or immovable property, regardless of their own interest, should refuse to take the oath prescribed, three months are allowed for the sale of their immovables, and their free departure over the borders; after the expiration of which term, all their remaining property shall be confiscated to the crown.

The clergy, both high and low, as pastors of their flocks, are expected to set the example in taking the oath; and in the daily service in their churches they must pray for her imperial majesty, for her successor the great duke Paul Petrovitch, and for all the imperial family, according to the form which shall be given them.

In the above-mentioned solemn assurance concerning the free exercise of religion and undisturbed possession of property, it is understood that the jews living in these countries united to the russian empire, shall remain on the former footing, protected in their religion and property; for her majesty's humanity will not permit them alone to be excluded from the benefits of her kindness, under the protection of God; so long as they continue to live in peace, and pursue their trades like faithful subjects, law and justice shall be administered, in the name of her imperial majesty, in the proper places, with the utmost strictness and equity.

I have

I have further thought it needful to add, by order of her imperial majesty, that the troops shall, as in their own country, be under the strictest discipline. Their taking possession, therefore, of the various places, and changing the government, should not in the least alter the course of trade or living; for the increase of the happiness of the inhabitants in all parts is the intention of her imperial majesty.

This manifesto shall be read in all the churches on the 27th of this present month of March, registered in all the municipal books, and nailed up in proper places, for the general information; and that full credit may be given to it, I have, in consequence of the powers entrusted to me, signed it with my hand, and affixed to it the seal of my arms, at the head-quarters of the army under my command at Polonna.

(Signed) M. KRECHETNICOFF.

MANIFESTO of his PRUSSIAN MAJESTY *relative to the Partition of POLAND*, MARCH 25.

WE Frederic William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, &c. make known to the respective states, bishops, abbots, voivodes, castle-keepers, stahrofts, chamberlains, and country judges; the knighthood, vassals, and nobles, the magistrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the spiritual and secular inhabitants of the voivodeships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalisz, Siradia, the city and monastery of Chentochowa, the province of Wielun; the voivodeship of Lentzchitz, the province of Cujavia, the province of Doorzyn, the voivodeships of Rava and Plotzk, &c. in the circle of the boundaries, as likewise the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, hitherto in the possession of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all sorts of good, and give them the following most gracious notice:

It is universally known that the polish nation never ceased to afford to the neighbouring powers, and chiefly to the prussian state, frequent reasons of just discontent. Not satisfied (contrary to all rules of good neighbourhood) with injuring the prussian territory, by frequent invasions, with molesting and ill-using the subjects on this side the frontiers, and with almost continually refusing them justice and lawful satisfaction; this nation have, besides, always busied themselves with pernicious plans, which must needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. These are matters of fact which could not escape the eye of an attentive observer of the late occurrences in Poland: but what chiefly excited the serious consideration of the neighbouring powers is, the spirit of rebellion continually increasing in Poland, and the visible influence which was obtained by those abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties would have been dissolved, and the inhabitants of Poland exposed to all the tremendous consequences of anarchy, and plunged into miseries, the end of which could not be foreseen.

If in every country the adoption and spreading of such destructive principles is always attended with the loss of the tranquillity and happiness of its inhabitants, its destructive consequences are the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland; since this nation have always distinguished themselves by disturbances and party spirit, and are powerful enough of themselves to become dangerous to their neighbours by these disturbances.

It would certainly militate against the first rules of sound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preservation of tranquillity in our dominions, if, in such a state of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive spectators, and should wait for the period when the factions feel themselves strong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be exposed to several dangers, by the consequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

We have, therefore, in conjunction with her majesty the empress of Russia, and with the assent of his majesty the roman emperor, acknowledged, that the safety of our states did require to set to the republic of Poland such boundaries as are more compatible with her interior strength and situation, and may facilitate to her the means of procuring, without prejudice to her liberty, a well-ordered, solid, and active form of government; of maintaining herself in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same; and preventing, by these means, the disturbances which have so often shaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the safety of her neighbours.

In order to attain this end, and to preserve the republic of Poland from the dreadful consequences which must be the result of her internal divisions, and to rescue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the destructive doctrines which they are bent to follow; there is, according to our thorough persuasion, to which also her majesty the empress of all the Russias accedes, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our states, and for this purpose immediately to take possession of the same, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might arise from the continuance of the reciprocal disturbances.

Wherefore we have resolved, with the assent of her russian majesty, to take possession of the above-mentioned districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, in order to incorporate them into our dominions.

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unshaken resolution, and expect that the polish nation will soon assemble in the diet, and adopt the necessary measures to the end of settling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the salutary end of securing to the republic of Poland an undisturbed peace, and preserving her inhabitants from the terrible consequences of anarchy. At the same time, we exhort the states and inhabitants of the districts and towns which we have taken possession of, as already mentioned,

tioned, both in a gracious and serious manner, not to oppose our commanders and troops ordered for that purpose, but rather tractably to submit to our government, and acknowledge us, from this day forward, as their lawful king and sovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient subjects, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland.

We doubt not that all whom this may concern will attend to it with obedience; but in case, and contrary to all expectation, some one or other state and inhabitants of the said districts and towns should refuse to obey the contents of this, and not take the oath of allegiance, nor submit to our government, or even attempt to oppose our commanders and troops, such person or persons have unavoidably to expect, that the punishments usual in such cases shall be inflicted upon them without any distinction.

In witness whereof we have subscribed this patent with our own hand, and caused our royal seal to be set to it, to be published in due place, and to be publicly printed.

Done at Berlin the 25th of March 1793.

FREDERIC WILLIAM, (L. S.)

DECLARATION of the KING and REPUBLIC of POLAND, assembled in Diet at GRODNO, protesting against the forcible Partition of POLAND, Sept. 24.

SURROUNDED closely by foreign troops on the 2d of this month, threatened with further invasion of the territory of the republic by the prussian armies, to its uttermost ruin, and oppressed by innumerable violences, the states in diet assembled were forced to give leave to their deputation for signing the imposed treaty, with addition of a few clauses, and such only as the dictating power itself seemed in pity to approve of. But with grief and surprize we find, by the sad experience of this day, that the court of Berlin is not satisfied therewith. We see fresh acts of violence forcing a new project upon us; and, in order to sup-

port it, the same preponderant power, not contented with investing the place of our deliberations by an armed foreign force, with addressing to us notes full of menaces, seizes from among us, and carries off, our members; and, by an unexampled proceeding, keeps us, the king, bent under the weight of age and under such manifold calamities, and us, the states of the republic, confined and imprisoned in the senate.

Thus situated, we do declare, in the most solemn manner, that, unable to prevent, even with the risk of our lives, the effect of the oppressive force, we leave to our posterity, happier perhaps than ourselves, those means of saving our dear country, whereof we are bereft at present; and thus the project sent to us by the russian ambassador, though contrary to our laws, wishes, and opinions, forced by the above means to accept, we do accept.

Done at Grodno the 24th of September. Signed and engrossed in the public records, according to law.

No. XII.

The principal ARTICLES of the TREATY concluded at YASSY the 9th of JANUARY 1792, and signed by Prince REPNIK and the GRAND VIZIR.

I. THAT a sincere amity shall henceforth subsist between the two empires.

II. That the stipulations in the treaties that preceded the last rupture shall resume their entire force.

III. That the Dniester shall henceforth serve as the boundary of the two empires; and that all the territory situate on the left bank of that river shall be restored to the Porte.

IV. That

IV. That the antient rights and privileges of the principal towns of Moldavia and of Valachia shall be confirmed; that the inhabitants of those towns shall remain, during two whole years, exempt from all tribute; and that those who would sell their property, and retire elsewhere, shall be at liberty to do so without difficulty.

V. That the Porte shall henceforth guarantee the kingdoms of Grufinia or Georgia and the adjacent countries.

VI. That it shall strive to do the same in regard to Caucasus.

VII. That it shall undertake to put a stop to the piracies of the barbarian corsairs, and to indemnify the subjects of Russia for the losses they may sustain by the failure of execution of the three preceding articles.

VIII. That the ruffian, greek, moldavian, polish, &c. prisoners shall be set at liberty.

No. XIII.

Some PARTICULARS of the UKAUSE or EDICT published in regard to the FRENCH established in RUSSIA.

AFTER a preamble against the french revolution, the empress adds: 1. All the effects of the treaty of commerce concluded the 30th of December 1786, between us and the late king Louis XVI. are suspended, till such time as order shall be re-established, and there shall be a legitimate authority in France. 2. We prohibit, till that same time, the entrance of french ships, whether under their own or under foreign colours, into all our ports situate in the several seas; and we likewise forbid all our merchants and masters of ships

to cause their vessels to enter the ports of France. 3. We command the ci-devant consuls, agents, &c. to withdraw from our two residences; and that a term of three weeks shall be prescribed to them for settling their affairs, and being without the frontiers of Russia. 4. We in like manner command all our consuls, &c. and in general all Russians of both sexes, to quit, without delay, the kingdom of France. 5. We command that none tolerate, and that they remove from our empire all the French, of either sex, without exception. 6. We except the French who, being summoned before the government of the place where they are settled, shall testify a sincere desire to abjure the principles that are now in vogue in their country. It shall be clearly represented to them, that their abjuration shall be inserted in the Russian and foreign gazettes, together with the names of those who shall have sworn and subscribed it.

Form of the abjuration.—“ I, the underwritten, swear by
 “ Almighty God, and by his holy gospel, that, as I have
 “ never, wittingly or willingly, given my approbation to
 “ the impious and seditious principles that have been intro-
 “ duced into France, and that I confess the government
 “ which has just been established there to be unlawful and
 “ usurped, in violation of all laws. That I am
 “ convinced, in my conscience, of the excellence of that
 “ religion which has been transmitted to me by my an-
 “ cestors. I promise, and bind myself, in conse-
 “ quence, so long as I shall enjoy the secure protection
 “ which her imperial majesty of all the Russias has graciously
 “ vouchsafed to grant me, to live in the observance of the
 “ precepts of the religion in which I was born; to be sub-
 “ missive to the laws and to the government of her imperial
 “ majesty; to break off all correspondence in my native
 “ country with the French who acknowledge the monstrous
 “ form of government now existing in France.
 “ And in case I should ever be guilty of a violation of this
 “ oath,

“ oath, I submit myself to all the severity of the laws in
 “ this life, and, for that which is to come, to the tremen-
 “ dous judgment of God. And in confirmation of this
 “ oath, I kiss the holy gospel and the cross of my
 “ Saviour.”

No. XIV.

ABOLITION of *the* MESSAGES *relative to* FAMILY EVENT
between SWEDEN and RUSSIA.

THE king of Sweden thought it his duty, on occasion of the recent resolution of his marriage, to give a princess [the empress of Russia], who is his relation and his ally, the same mark of attention which he has already given to their prussian and danish majesties, to whom he is equally attached by the bands of amity and good neighbourhood. It is therefore with the utmost astonishment, that his majesty has seen that the empress of Russia in no respect corresponded with this attention. The king has, in consequence, resolved in future to receive none of those private missions which have relation to family events, and which have hitherto been customary between the two courts, but which the king has now abolished for ever.

No. XV.

ACT *by which* COURLAND, SEMIGALLIA, and the CIRCLE of PILTEN, *surrendered themselves to the* EMPRESS of RUSSIA.

I. WE submit ourselves for ourselves and our posterity, ourselves and the duchies of Courland and Semigallia, to her imperial majesty Catharine II. empress of all the Russias, gloriously reigning, and to her sovereign sceptre.

II. We know by experience the great inconvenience of the feudal system which attached us to the paramount sovereignty of Poland, and how greatly it opposed the general prosperity of the country. We imitate our ancestors of that part of Livonia beyond the Dvina, who, in 1561, renouncing the supremacy of the emperor and of the empire, consequently the feudal system of that time, and the mediate government of the teutonic order, submitted themselves immediately to Poland. We renounce for ourselves and our posterity the feudal system which has subsisted hitherto under the polish supremacy, and the mediate government resulting from it. We submit ourselves immediately to her imperial majesty of all the Russias and to her sceptre. We resign to her, with the more confidence and respect, the more particular decision of our lot, as her said majesty has hitherto shewn herself the generous protectress and guarantee of all our rights, of our laws, of our customs, of our immunities, of our privileges*, and of our possessions. She will certainly be disposed, according to her magnanimous and benevolent way of thinking, to ameliorate, in her maternal sollicitude, the future lot of a country which submits itself to her with the most respectful and the most unlimited confidence.

* Witness, when the russian troops re-instated Biren by open force.

III. A deputation of six persons shall go to Petersburg, to solicit her imperial majesty to deign to accept of our entire submission; and in that case, to take there to her imperial majesty the oath of fidelity and obedience.

No. XVI.

FORM of the INDIVIDUAL OATH exacted of the LITHUANIANS and the POLES.

“ I N. N. promise and swear to God Almighty, by his
 “ holy gospel, to be always ready to serve, faithfully and
 “ loyally, her imperial majesty the most serene empress,
 “ grand lady, Catharine Alexievna, autocratrix of all the
 “ Ruffias, and her well-beloved son, grand duke Paul
 “ Petrovitch, her lawful successor, to go for that purpose
 “ to yield up my life, and to shed the last drop of my
 “ blood; to pay due and perfect obedience to the commands
 “ already issued, or hereafter to issue, from the authorities
 “ appointed by her; to fulfil and maintain them all consci-
 “ entiously to the best of my power; to contribute, with
 “ all my strength, to the maintenance of the peace and quiet
 “ which her majesty has established in my country, and to
 “ have no communication or intelligence whatever with the
 “ disturbers of that quiet, either mediately or immediately,
 “ either publicly or privately, either by actions or by advice,
 “ and whatever be the particular occasion, circumstance, or
 “ cause that may lead to it.

“ In case, on the contrary, any thing should come to my
 “ knowledge prejudicial to the interests of her imperial
 “ majesty, or to the general welfare, I will not only strive
 “ to remove at the time, but I will oppose it with all the
 “ means that shall be in my power, to hinder it from coming
 “ to pass. I will so conduct myself in all my actions as it

“ behoves me, like a faithful citizen, to behave towards the
 “ authorities which her majesty has set over me, and as
 “ I must answer for it to God and to his terrible judgment.
 “ So may God help me, as well in my body as in my
 “ soul.

“ In confirmation of the profession made by this oath,
 “ I kiss the holy word and the cross of my Saviour.”

No. XVII.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

THE expression, vol. i. p. 110. “ was obliged at her death to leave the throne to the young Peter II.” requires a note.—Peter I. pushing despotism to its utmost extremity, had made a law, which authorized the sovereign to designate for his successor whom he would. This law was easily eluded in a country where the existing monarch considers what has been enacted by his predecessors as obligatory only when it is his interest to do so, where the constitution and the form of government have no securities. However, the law was made and adopted; and it was not for the legislator to be the first to infringe it. Peter died without designating his successor, without even knowing who should fill his throne. That monarch put his son to death, that his sceptre might not fall into hands which he thought not able to wield it; thus stifling the sentiments of paternal affection from attachment to the empire he had formed. Though apprehensive that his painful and glorious labours would not be continued, that prince, instead of naming his successor, and thereby declaring to his people him on whom he founded his hopes, died without foreseeing the troubles, the incalculable misfortunes, such a neglect might

might produce. What an error in a legislator! what inconsistency in the conduct of Peter! So true it is, that the greatest man is sometimes guilty of faults which an ordinary person would have avoided.

Vol. ii. p. 48. line 4.

Of such commanding import was she in Europe, that in our other foolish war, that with America, sir James Harris, after having in vain solicited her effectual interference to get us out of the scrape, 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; only *say* that you will help us." The very next manifesto that came out was that declaratory of the armed neutrality.

Vol. iii. p. 284.

All that can be collected from some private letters is, that the question so long in doubt, about the north-east passage, seems to be at length fairly negatived by the following curious fact, establishing the eternal icy barriers of Phips, Cook, and Billings, viz. Regularly every spring immense herds of rein-deer, thousands and ten thousands strong, come over to the open plains on the asiatic side, to avoid the insects of the close damp american woods, and as regularly go back every August, feeding on the moss of the intermediate islands in their passage.

Now, as that is the very time when the continued action of the summer's heat must have opened the sea, if ever it did thaw; an open passage is put out of all doubt; and indeed Billings gives it as his opinion, that the thickness of the ice, every where, (except just about the mouths of large rivers, whose warmer waters make a partial opening as far as they extend), is such, that a ten years continued summer would scarce reduce it to a fluid state.

Vol. iii. p. 364. line 16.

Odnodvortzi (literally, owners of one habitation only) are a particular set of ruffian peafants. They were originally nobles; but, being reduced to poverty by various circumstances, they were forced to till, with their own hands, what little ground they had remaining, for their maintenance. In procefs of time people of different denominations, fuch chiefly as filled inferior offices under government, came and fettled amongft them; and in the reign of Peter the great, when every nobleman was obliged to enlift in the military fervice, feveral of them, even thofe of confiderable property, chofe this condition of life; preferring rather to pay taxes to government along with thefe peafants, than to go into the fervice. Thefe peafants have their own landed property, which they can difpofe of only to thofe of their own condition. They pay all taxes impofed by government; they have free liberty to traffic; to exercife any trade, art, or handicraft; and to employ themfelves in any purfuit agreeable to their own difpofitions and the laws of the country: but they cannot change their condition, nor remove from one diftrict and fettle in another, without having firft obtained permiffion from the government.

Since the printing of our third volume, Stanislaus Augustus departed this life at St. Petersburg, whither he had been invited by the emperor Paul, and where he lived in a sort of regal state in the magnificent marble palace on the quay of the Neva. A letter from Petersburg, of the 20th of February 1798, acquaints us with the following circumstances attending his death: He had for several days complained of a head-ach; but in consequence of the use of medicine, on the 11th he found himself much better, and went to the window, to observe the degree of cold indicated by the thermometer, when he felt himself suddenly seized with a violent pain in the head, and great feebleness and illness.

His physician in waiting, privy counsellor Bockler, and his chaplain Yurevitch, hastened to his assistance. He was conveyed to bed; and recourse was had to bleeding and blisters; but in vain. He requested his chaplain to give him absolution, and wished to repeat with him the penitential psalms; but his speech soon

soon failed him. His majesty then received the general absolution and the sacrament of extreme unction.

About midnight he appeared somewhat better; but, as the morning approached, grew continually weaker, till about eight in the morning of the 12th of February, when he breathed his last.

* * * *To the enumeration of the imperial children,*
vol. iii. p. 59, add

9. Michaila Pavlovitch, born Jan. 8, 1798.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

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The writers of the Analytical Review for January last say: "The work before us will be found particularly interesting to those who wish to obtain an idea of the management of state affairs in this country, during the whole of the present reign."

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App. to Monthly Review, Vol. 22.

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“ Undoubtedly there is not among all the French emigrants a man more proper to undertake their defence, than he whom fortune had placed in such a situation; than he on whom Providence had imposed such duties, endowing him with such sentiments and faculties, and had forced and instructed from his infancy to pursue, to unmask, to combat, to disarm, and beat down fraud, injustice, and violence.

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