HISTORY OF RUSSIA,

From the Earliest Times to 1880.

BY

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THIS WORK HAS BEEN CROWNED BY THE FRENCH ACADEMY.

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INCLUDING

A HISTORY OF THE TURKO-RUSSIAN WAR OF 1877-78,

FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, BY THE EDITOR.

FULLY ILLUSTRATED.

THREE VOLUMES BOUND IN TWO.

VOL. I.

VOL. II. — PART I.

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PREFACE.

The field of Russian history has not hitherto seemed to offer great attraction for the student. This is partly due to the lack of interesting and reliable works upon the subject. It is now nearly a quarter of a century since any history of Russia pretending to completeness has appeared in the English language, and Kelly's Compilation in the Bohn Collection, published immediately after the Crimean War, is full of prejudice and error. The abundance of materials which throw new light on the development of the Empire, the labors of the faithful and conscientious modern Russian historians, have been almost entirely neglected. It has not been felt to be essential for the well-educated man to add to his other accomplishments a complete knowledge of Russian history, and a few items of general information have completely satisfied him. The name of Ivan the Terrible has seemed to him typical of the early Tsars, and by its very sound conjured up a phantom of something indefinitely cruel and barbaric. An acquaintance with Peter the Great, "the giant, the wonder-worker," he has perhaps made through the medium of Voltaire. But however brilliant Voltaire's style may be, it does not suffice to cover its superficial and untrustworthy character. And the study of modern European history has led to more or less familiarity with Napoleon's campaign against Moscow and the details of the Crimean War. But the prominence of the Eastern Question and the portentous growth in all directions of the vast

Empire of the Russias, threatening the Turk in his sunny home on the Bosphorus, the Englishman in his Indian domain, the Celestial in his flowery kingdom, have attracted universal attention, and a knowledge of general Russian history is almost indispensable if one would understand the complicated relations of Russia with Europe. The influence of the Tatar invasion, the growth of autocracy, the reforms effected by Peter the Great and his successors, the policy of emancipation and of the protection of Christians in Turkish dominions, must all be considered, not as isolated facts, but as legitimate consequences of more or less patent causes.

It has not been easy to find authentic material in anything but the Russian language for such study. Mr. Ralston has published some excellent lectures on early times, and M. Prosper Merimée wrote a thorough monograph on the Epoch of the False Dmitri; various sketches of Russian history can be found in travels and other works on Russia; the industrious seeker might be rewarded by studying the ponderous volumes of Levesque or Esneaux, or Bernhardi's "Geschichte Russlands"; but it is safe to say that there has hitherto existed no trustworthy, unprejudiced, and complete history of Russia in either English or French.

When the "Histoire de la Russie," by M. Alfred Rambaud, made its appearance, it was immediately welcomed by the press of both countries with the most flattering approval, and it was also crowned by the French Academy. The London Athenæum says of it: —

"We have the 'Histoire de la Russie,' by M. Alfred Rambaud, who, by his 'Russie Épique' and other publications, has already shown himself a competent scholar. In this book we have the results of the researches of all the latest Russian historiographers summarized; he has especially laid under contribution the voluminous labors of Solovief and Oustrialov, and the less ambitious productions of Kostomarov and Bestuzhev-Rioumin.

"The various theories on the origin of Rurik and his companions are clearly set forth, and a wise discretion is exercised in abridging the tedious story of the struggles between the early Russian principalities. Any one who has read the classical Slavonic histories on those times must remember how hopelessly dreary they seem. The chapters on the Republics of Novgorod, Pskov, and Viatka, and the Lithuanian Principality are very well done; without an examination of their relations to early Russian history it becomes unintelligible, and probably few Western students have realized how slender was the tie which bound the latter country to Poland. The culmination at Moscow of a centralized despotism is fully brought out, and the reign of Ivan the Terrible is necessarily made a very prominent feature in the book. At this point Russian history becomes especially interesting to Englishmen, owing to our commercial dealings with the tyrant, and monographs on the subject have been written by Kostomarov and Youri Tolstoi. The pages of Hakluyt teem with quaint stories of the adventures of our enterprising countrymen. As M. Rambaud is quite familiar with Russian literature, he occasionally stops in the course of his narrative to summarize its progress, and illustrates historical events by reference to contemporary *bylinas*.* . . . .

"A great deal of new light has been thrown upon the period of Catherine's reign; so wide and careful has been M. Rambaud's reading, that he has laid under contribution the valuable memoirs and other papers recently published in the Russian reviews and journals. . . . . The narrative is carried down to the latest period. . . . .

"A mass of useful information is condensed in this work; it is beyond question the best complete history of Russia which has appeared in the West. In the author's power of seizing upon salient traits of character, and selecting picturesque incidents, the book reminds us very much of Mr. Green's English History. We will venture to prophesy that it will become *the* work on the subject for readers in our part of Europe.

"It reflects great credit upon its author, and well deserves to be studied by all who care to instruct themselves in Russian history."

The Saturday Review declares that "M. Rambaud is never too enthusiastic to be fair," and goes on to say: "The value

* Historical Ballads.

of a work like this, which gives us in an unbroken chain events from the time of legend and almost of myth, when truth is hard to be reached, from the scanty amount of information, to the present day, when multiplicity of sources makes truth equally obscure, cannot be overrated."

Mr. Ralston, who is considered one of the most thorough Russian scholars in England, adds his testimony as follows: "We gladly recognize in the present volume a trustworthy history of Russia, and one based not merely on what foreigners have written about it, but compiled by a scholar who is competent to deal with the works which Russian historians have recently produced. M. Rambaud has long been known as a sound authority upon all subjects connected with the great Empire of which he has now written the history." And finally, we select from many other flattering notices the opinion of Turgenief, the great Russian novelist, that, "in spite of some minor faults, this is far superior to any other history accessible to Western Europe."

M. Rambaud, though a comparatively young man, having been born in eighteen hundred and forty-two, has proved himself worthy to treat the difficult subject of Russian history by his other historical works, by his frequent visits to Russia, and his knowledge of the Russian language and literature.

His development of the early and complicated periods of the appanaged princes could hardly be excelled; it is when he reaches modern times that excessive condensation sometimes injures the style of the book, and in the American edition the translation has been supplemented with frequent additions taken from the original works of Ustrialof and Solovief whenever perspicuity and interest could be thus served. Hermann and Von Bernhardi have also been found useful in expanding or explaining incomplete or doubtful passages.

The American edition also includes a continuation of the history through the last war with Turkey and the relations

with Afghanistan and the East. Lack of historical perspective makes it difficult satisfactorily to deal with events so near at hand, but it is hoped that accuracy and fairness will be found in the treatment of the events of the last few years. The best possible authorities have been studied, and as information has already been largely collected and classified, the danger of erroneous judgment and important omissions is greatly lessened.

Throughout the whole work the Russian words scattered freely in the original French have been translated, so far as was practicable, and the simplest possible mode of spelling both Polish and Russian names has been adopted, so as to facilitate the proper pronunciation. In many cases Russian plurals have been substituted for English plurals of Russian words, and in accordance with the best modern English usage the letters *ui* have taken the place of the meaningless *y* in such words as Kruilof. The terminations *vitch* and *vna* indicate the relation of son and daughter: *Peter Alexiévitch*, Peter son of Alexis; *Elisabeth Pétrovna*, Elisabeth daughter of Peter.

The Russian calendar has not adopted the Gregorian reform; for every date, therefore, it is necessary to indicate whether it is after the old or new style. For important dates, both styles are generally given. In the eighteenth century the Russian style is eleven days behind ours; in the nineteenth century it is twelve days. Thus the date of the death of Catherine the Second is given as the sixth or seventeenth of November, — a difference of eleven days, since the event happened in the eighteenth century. But we say the revolution of the fourteenth or twenty-sixth of December, eighteen hundred and twenty-five, as we are speaking of the nineteenth century.

The greatest pains have been taken to render the text free from errors, a complete index has been prepared, illustrations have been freely used, and it is hoped that it will prove to be in reality a Popular History of Russia.

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NOTE.

THE perfect simplicity of the metric system of weights and measures, and its immense superiority to all others, make its universal adoption a mere matter of time. It is already used by upwards of twenty-seven different nations, and in the majority the system is obligatory. It is legalized in the United States, and the action of Congress, of the various State legislatures, of national and State scientific and educational associations, is so rapidly spreading a knowledge of it that even in the opinion of its few opponents its adoption is inevitable. Consequently in the American edition of the History of Russia the metric system has been retained, and a simple table of equivalents is added.

TABLE OF THE METRIC SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The unit of length is the meter, a measure equivalent to one ten-millionth part of the distance from the pole to the equator.

1 meter = 10 decimeters = 100 centimeters = 1000 millimeters = 39.37 inches.
1000 meters = 1 kilometer = 3280 feet 10 inches, or three fifths of a mile.

The unit of capacity is the liter, which is the space included in a cubic decimeter.

1 liter = 10 deciliters = 100 centiliters = 1000 milliliters = 1.06 U. S. quarts.
10 liters = 1 dekaliter, 10 dekaliters = 1 hektoliter = about 3 bushels.

The unit of weight is the gram, which is the weight of one cubic centimeter of distilled water at the freezing point.

1 gram = 10 decigrams = 100 centigrams = 1000 milligrams = 15.4 grains.
1 kilogram or kilo = 1000 grams = a liter of water = 2.205 lbs. avoirdupois.
1 sq. meter = 10.75 sq. ft. 1 sq. kilometer = 0.39 sq. mile.

For ordinary purposes it may be remembered that the meter, liter, and half-kilo are one tenth larger than the yard, quart, and pound respectively, and that thirty centimeters make a foot and thirty grams a pound.

The Russian ruble = 100 kopeks = from $0.70 to $0.80.
The value of the ruble depends upon whether it is coin or paper.
The Russian verst = 1067 meters, or about two thirds of a mile.
The Russian pud = 16.26 kilos = 36.08 lbs.

NATHAN HASKELL DOLE.

BOSTON, May 1, 1879.

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VOL. II.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

PETER THE GREAT: EARLY YEARS.

1682-1709.

REGENCY OF SOPHIA (1682–1689). — PETER I. — EXPEDITIONS AGAINST AZOF (1695–1696). — FIRST JOURNEY TO THE WEST (1697). — REVOLT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE STRELTSUI. — CONTEST WITH THE COSSACKS: REVOLT OF THE DON (1706); MAZEPPA (1709).

REGENCY OF SOPHIA. — PETER I.

ALEXIS MIKHAÏLOVITCH had by his first wife, Maria Miloslavski, two sons, Feodor and Ivan, and six daughters; by his second wife, Natalia Naruishkin, two daughters and one son, who was afterwards the Tsar, Peter I. As he was twice married, and the kinsmen of each wife had, according to custom, surrounded the throne, there existed in the palace two factions, which were brought face to face by the death of Feodor. The Miloslavskis had on their side the claim of seniority, the number of royal children left by Maria, and, above all, the fact that Ivan was the elder of the two surviving sons; but, unluckily for them, Ivan was notoriously imbecile both in body and mind. On the side of the Naruishkins was the interest excited by Peter's precocious intelligence, and the fact that Natalia Naruishkin held the position of legal head of all the royal family, which, according to Russian law, the title of "Tsaritsa Dowager" gave her. Both

factions had for some time been occupied in taking their measures and recruiting their partisans. Who should succeed Feodor? Was it to be the son of the Miloslavski, or the son of the Naruishkin? The Miloslavskis were first defeated on legal grounds. Taking the incapacity of Ivan into consideration, the boyars and the Patriarch Ioakim proclaimed the young Peter, then nine years old, Tsar. The Naruishkins triumphed: Natalia became Tsaritsa-Regent, recalled from exile her foster-father, Matvéef, and surrounded herself by her brothers and uncles.

The only means of revenge which the Miloslavskis could take lay in revolt, but they were without a head; for it was impossible for Ivan to take the lead. The eldest of his six sisters was thirty-two years of age, the youngest nineteen; the most energetic of them was Sophia, who was twenty-five. These six princesses saw themselves condemned to the dreary destiny which awaited the younger children of the Tsar; they saw that they would be obliged to renounce all hopes of marriage, to have nothing in anticipation but old age, after a life spent in the seclusion of the terem, and, to crown all, to be subjected to the authority of a step-mother. All that they in the fulness of youth had in prospect was the cloister. They, however, were longing for a life of activity; and though imperial etiquette and Byzantine manners, prejudices, and traditions forbade them to appear in public, even Byzantine traditions offered them models to follow. Had not Pulcheria, daughter of the Emperor Arcadius, reigned at Constantinople in the name of her brother, the incapable Theodosius? Had she not contracted a nominal marriage with the brave Marcian, who was her sword against the barbarians? Here was the ideal that Sophia could propose to herself,—to be a maiden emperor. To emancipate herself from the rigorous laws of the terem, to force the "twenty-seven locks," as the song expresses it, to raise the veil that covered her face, to appear in public and meet the looks of men, needed energy, cunning, and patience

that could wait and be content to proceed by successive efforts. Sophia's first step was to appear at Feodor's funeral, though it was not the custom for any but the widow and the heir to be present. There her litter encountered that of Natalia Naruishkin, and her presence forced the Tsaritsa Mother to retreat. She surrounded herself with a court of educated men, who publicly praised her, encouraged and excited her to action. Simeon Polotski and Silvester Medviédef wrote verses in her honor, recalled to her the example of Pulcheria and Olga, compared her to the virgin Queen Elizabeth of England, and even to Semiramis; we might think we were listening to Voltaire addressing Catherine the Second. They played on her name Sophia, which means wisdom, and declared that she had been endowed with the quality as well as the title. Polotski dedicated to her the "Crown of Faith," and Medviédef his "Gifts of the Holy Spirit." The terem offered the strangest contrasts. There Molière's "Malade Imaginaire" was acted, and the audience was composed of the heterogeneous assembly of popes, monks, nuns, and old pensioners such as formed the courts of an ancient Tsaritsa. In this shifting crowd there were some useful instruments of intrigue. The old pensioners, while telling their rosaries, served as emissaries between the palace and the town, carried messages and presents to the turbulent streltsui, and arranged matters between the Tsarian ladies and the soldiers. Sinister rumors were skilfully disseminated through Moscow: Feodor, the eldest son of Alexis, had died, the victim of conspirators; the same lot was doubtless reserved for Ivan. What was to become of the poor princesses, in whose veins flowed the blood of kings? At last it was publicly announced that a brother of Natalia Naruishkin had seized on the crown and seated himself on the throne, and that Ivan had been strangled. Love and pity for the son of Alexis, and the indignation excited by the news of the usurpation, immediately caused the people of Moscow to revolt, and the ringleaders cleverly directed the movement. The tocsin

sounded from the four hundred churches of the "holy city"; the regiments of the streltsui took up arms, and twenty thousand of them, followed by an immense crowd, marched to the Kreml, dragging cannon behind them, with drums beating and matches lighted. Natalia Naruishkin had only to show herself on the Red Staircase, accompanied by her son Peter, and Ivan, who was reported to be dead. Their mere appearance sufficed to contradict all the calumnies. The streltsui hesitated, seeing they had been deceived. A clever harangue of Matvéef, who had formerly commanded them, and the exhortations of the Patriarch shook them further. The revolt was almost appeased: the Miloslavskis had missed their aim, for they had not yet succeeded in putting to death the people of whom they were jealous. Suddenly Prince Mikhail Dolgoruki, chief of the prikaz of the streltsui, began to inveigh against the rioters in the most violent language. This ill-timed harangue awoke their fury; they seized Dolgoruki, and flung him from the top of the Red Staircase upon their pikes. They stabbed Matvéef under the eyes of the Tsaritsa; then they sacked the palace, murdering all who fell into their hands. Peter Saltuikof, whom they mistook for Afanasi Naruishkin, Natalia's brother, was thrown from a window on to the points of their lances. When they discovered their error, they brought his body to his aged father, the boyar Peter Mikhaïlovitch, who said, "It is God's will," and gave them brandy to drink. Then after a long search they discovered Afanasi himself in the Church of the Resurrection, and they dragged him out and brutally murdered him. Prince Romodanovski also, the aged conqueror of Tchigirin, found no mercy at their hands; his stern discipline was remembered against him. The following day the revolt began anew; the German quarter was visited by a band of the streltsui in search of Daniel Gaden, a baptized Jew who had been physician to the late Tsar, and whom they charged with poisoning him. Not finding him at home, they wreaked their vengeance on his son, a

lad of twenty years, and also on another imperial physician, Daniel's friend. They finally found Daniel himself and put him to death. But they were not yet satisfied. The Tsaritsa's three younger brothers had luckily escaped from Moscow, disguised in peasant's clothing, but her father, Kirill, was forced by them to go into a monastery, where he took the name of Kiprian, and her eldest brother, Ivan, was torn from her arms, tortured, and cut to pieces. Historians show us Sophia interceding for the victims on her knees, but an understanding between the rebels and the Tsarévna certainly existed; the streltsui obeyed orders. The following days were consecrated to the purifying of the palace and the administration, and on the seventh day of the revolt they sent their commandant, the prince-boyar Khovanski, to declare that they would have two Tsars, — Ivan at the head and Peter as coadjutor; and if this were refused, they would again rebel. The boyars of the council deliberated on this proposal, and the greater number of them were opposed to it. In Russia the absolute power had never been shared, but the orators who spoke in Sophia's favor cited many examples both from sacred and profane history: Pharaoh and Joseph, Arcadius and Honorius, Basil the Second and Constantine the Eighth; but the best of all the arguments were the pikes of the streltsui.

Sophia had triumphed: in sixteen hundred and eighty-two she began to reign in the name of her two brothers, Ivan and Peter. She made a point of showing herself in public, at processions, solemn services, and dedications of churches. At the *Uspienski Sobor*, while her brothers occupied the place of the Tsar, she filled that of the Tsaritsa; she raised the curtains, however, and boldly allowed the Patriarch to come into her presence with the censer. When the raskolniki challenged the heads of the orthodox church to discussion, she wished to preside and hold the meeting in the open air, at the *Lobnoé Miésto* on the Red Place. There was, however, so much opposition,

that she was forced to call the assembly in the Palace of Facets, and sat behind the throne of her two brothers, present though not in sight. The double-seated throne used on those occasions is still preserved at Moscow; there is an opening in the back, hidden by a veil of silk, and behind this sat Sophia. This singular piece of furniture is the symbol of a government previously unknown to Russia, composed of two visible Tsars and one invisible sovereign.

The streltsui, however, felt their prejudices against female sovereignty awaken. They were offended at the contemptuous way in which the Tsarévna treated the ancient customs. Sophia had already become in their eyes a scandalous person. Another cause of misunderstanding was the support she gave to the State Church, as reformed by Nikon, while the streltsui and the greater part of the people held to the "old faith." She had arrested certain "old believers," who, at the discussion in the Palace of Facets, had challenged the patriarchs and orthodox prelates, and she had executed the ringleader Nikita, surnamed Pustosviat or Tartuffe, who had openly called the Patriarch, bishops, and priests, wolves and servants of Antichrist, and in the heat of discussion had actually laid violent hands on the Archbishop. Khovanski, chief of the streltsui, whether from sympathy with the "heresy," or whether he wished to please his subordinates, affected to share their discontent. The Court no longer felt itself safe at Moscow, and removed to Kolomenskoé. Here it was noised abroad that Khovanski was coming with the streltsui for the purpose of destroying the imperial family, massacring the boyars, re-distributing the land among the lower classes, and making himself Tsar. Contemporary records say that this rumor was invented by Miloslavski in order to ruin Khovanski. At all events Sophia, with the Tsaritsa and the two young princes, took refuge in the fortified Monastery of Troïtsa, and sent letters to all the cities summoning the boyars and men-at-arms to aid in repressing the revolt of the streltsui and Khovanski. From all

sides, from near and far, from Iaroslavl, Kolomna, Riazan, Kaluga, and other cities, came the nobles with their followers; their numbers are said to have amounted to a hundred thousand men eager to take vengeance on the hated streltsui. Khovanski and his son Andréi were deceived by flattering letters of invitation, and, accompanied by a body-guard, were on their way to join the imperial family, when they were arrested on the seventeenth of September, and brought to the village of Vozdvizhenskoé, where, without any form of trial, they were both put to death. Khovanski's younger son, Ivan, immediately incited the streltsui to rise and destroy the murderers of their beloved commander; but they, perceiving their weakness, and learning of the great army collected at Troïtsa, with the usual fickleness of a popular militia, suddenly passed from the extreme of insolence to the extreme of humility. Two or three thousand of them marched to Troïtsa, in the guise of suppliants, with cords round their necks, carrying axes and blocks for the death they expected. The Patriarch consented to intercede for them; they signed a paper acknowledging their error, and allowed themselves to be disarmed. Sophia then had thirty of the ringleaders executed, and pardoned the rest.

Sophia, having got rid of her accomplices, governed by aid of her two favorites, — Shaklovitui and Prince Vasili Galitsuin. Shaklovitui was the new commander of the streltsui, a man of great energy, who had risen from the position of a serf to be a clerk of the council, and who was completely devoted to Sophia's interests. Galitsuin has become the hero of an historic school which balances his genius with that of Peter the Great, in the same way as in France, Henry, Duke of Guise, has been exalted at the expense of Henry the Fourth. All the foreign representatives at the Court of Moscow spoke of him in terms of the highest admiration as a marvel of intelligence. He spoke Latin fluently; he did not expect his guests to drink undue quantities of brandy; in fact,

he was a gentleman in the western sense of the word. He was the special favorite, the intimate friend of Sophia, the director of her foreign policy, and her right hand in military affairs. Ian Sobieski, King of Poland, and the Emperor Leopold were anxious to organize a solemn league between Russia, Poland, Venice, and Austria, against the Turks and Tatars, and in May, sixteen hundred and eighty-four, the Barons Zirovski and Von Blomberg visited Moscow to prove to the Russian Court the necessity of uniting with the rest of Christendom against their common enemy. But Galitsuin and Sophia would not come to any agreement with the envoys until the Poles had formally renounced their claims upon Smolensk and Kief. Finally, in sixteen hundred and eighty-six the arrangements were completed, and an offensive and defensive alliance between the powers was signed in the audience chamber under papal auspices, and with the greatest solemnity. In sixteen hundred and eighty-seven Iakof Dolgoruki and Iakof Muishetski disembarked at Dunkirk, as envoys to the Court of Louis the Fourteenth. They were not received very favorably: the King of France was not at all inclined to make war against the Turks; he was, on the other hand, the ally of Mahomet the Fourth, who was about to besiege Vienna while Louis blockaded Luxemburg. Mahomet, in fact, besieged Vienna with an army of upwards of two hundred thousand men; but his incapacity prevented him from taking advantage of his position, and the whole plan of the campaign was thrown out by the intervention of Russia and Ian Sobieski in favor of Austria. The Russian ambassadors received orders to re-embark at Havre, without going further south.

The government of the Tsarévna still persisted in its warlike projects. In return for an active co-operation against the Ottomans, Poland had consented to ratify the conditions of the Treaty of Andrusovo, and to sign a perpetual peace in sixteen hundred and eighty-six. A hundred thousand Muscovites, under the command of Prince Galitsuin, and fifty thousand

Little Russian Cossacks, under the orders of the hetman Samoïlovitch, marched against the Crimea in sixteen hundred and eighty-seven. The army suffered greatly in the southern steppes, as the Tatars had fired the grassy plains. Galitsuin was forced to return without having encountered the Turks at all. Great numbers of the horses died of starvation, and the army, fearfully reduced in numbers, finally reached the place from which it started. Starvation and disease had been arrayed on the side of their enemies. In order to direct public attention from Galitsuin, who was a skilful politician, but no general, the blame of the unsuccessful campaign was laid upon Samoïlovitch, who was accused of having set the steppes on fire, and of being in treasonable league with the Turks. Without any examination he was deprived of his command, and having been arrested in Galitsuin's tent, whither he had gone without suspicion, he was sent with his son to Moscow, and from there to Siberia, where he died. Mazeppa, who owed to Samoïlovitch his appointment as Secretary-at-war, and whose denunciations had chiefly contributed to his downfall, was appointed his successor. The army was reanimated by praise and rewards. Sophia sent chains and medals of more or less value to all the officers and even the soldiers, and the streltsui received each a gold kopek as a mark of honor. Galitsuin himself was presented with a heavy gold chain, and enjoyed even greater confidence than before. In the spring of sixteen hundred and eighty-nine the Muscovite and Ukrainian armies, commanded by Galitsuin and Mazeppa, again set out for the Crimea. The second expedition was hardly more fortunate than the first; they got as far as Perekop, and were then obliged to retreat without even having taken the fortress. This double defeat did not hinder Sophia from preparing for her favorite a triumphal entry into Moscow. In vain Peter forbade her to leave the palace; she braved his displeasure and headed the procession, accompanied by the clergy and the images and followed by the army of the Crimea, admitted the generals to

kiss her hand, and distributed glasses of brandy among the officers. Peter left Moscow in anger, and retired to the village of Preobrazhenskoé, where he refused to admit Galitsuin into his presence. The foreign policy of the Tsarévna was marked by another display of weakness. By the Treaty of Nertchinsk she restored to the Chinese Empire the fertile regions of the Amur, which had been conquered by a handful of Cossacks, and razed the fortress of Albazin, where these adventurers had braved all the forces of the East. On all sides Russia seemed to retreat before the barbarians.

Meantime Peter was growing. His precocious faculties, his quick intelligence, and his strong will awakened alike the hopes of his partisans and the fears of his enemies. As a child he loved nothing so much as drums, swords, and muskets. He learned history by means of colored prints brought from Germany. Zotof, his master, a man of low condition, who had neither intellectual nor moral qualities calculated to win respect, and whom he afterwards made "the archpope of fools," taught him to read. Among the heroes held up to him as examples, we are not surprised to find Ivan the Terrible, whose character and position offer so much analogy to his own. "When the Tsarévitch was tired of reading," says M. Zabiélin, "Zotof took the book from his hand, and, to amuse him, would himself read the great deeds of his father, Alexis Mikhaïlovitch, and those of the Tsar Ivan Vasiliévitch, — their campaigns, their distant expeditions, their battles and sieges; how they endured fatigues and privations better than any common soldier; what benefits they had conferred on the empire, and how they extended the frontiers of Russia." Peter also learned Latin, German, and Dutch. He read much and widely, and learned a great deal, though without method. Like Ivan the Terrible, he was a self-taught man. He afterwards complained of not having been instructed according to rule. This was perhaps a good thing. His education, like that of Ivan the Fourth, was neglected, but at least he was not

subjected to the enervating influence of the terem, — he was not cast in that dull mould which produced so many idiots in the royal family. He "roamed at large, and wandered in the streets with his comrades." The streets of Moscow at that period were, according to M. Zabiélin, the worst school of profligacy and debauchery that can be imagined; but they were, on the whole, no worse for Peter than the palace. He met there something besides mere jesters; he encountered new elements which had as yet no place in the terem, but contained the germ of the regeneration of Russia. He came across Russians who, though they may have been unscrupulous, were also unprejudiced, and who could aid him in his bold reform of the ancient society. He there became acquainted with Swiss, English, and German adventurers, — with Lefort, with Gordon, and with Timmermann, who initiated him into European civilization. His Court was composed of Lvof Naruishkin; of Boris Galitsuin, Vasili's younger cousin, who was his special director, and had undertaken never to flatter him; of Andréi Matvéef, who had a marked taste for everything European; and of Dolgoruki, at whose house he first saw an instrument for taking observations from the stars called an astrolabe. He played at soldiers with his young friends and his grooms, and formed them into the "battalion of playmates," who manœuvred after the European fashion, and became the kernel of the future regular army. He learned the elements of geometry and fortification, and constructed small citadels, which he took or defended with his young warriors in those fierce battles which sometimes counted their wounded or dead, and in which the Tsar of Russia was not always spared. Walking one day with Franz Timmermann in the villa of Ismailof, he found, among other curiosities which had belonged to his uncle, a foreign boat, and he became greatly interested in it. Timmermann told him that it was an English model, and when used with a sail would go both with and against the wind. Peter inquired where he could find a man

who could teach him how to manage it. Timmermann suggested Brandt the Dutchman, who built the young Tsar a boat on the Iauza, and taught him the use of it. He who formerly, owing to a fright when a child, had such a horror of the water that he could not make up his mind to cross a bridge, became a determined sailor: he guided his boat first on the Iauza, then on the pond of Ismailof, and finally on the lake of Pereiaslavl. Already Peter dreamed of the sea, in spite of the terrors of his mother, Natalia, who was filled with the prejudices of her early training, and saw in his love for war and ship-building and innovation only mischief and even ruin.

"The child is amusing himself," the courtiers of Sophia affected to observe; but these amusements disquieted her. Each day added to the years of Peter seemed to bring her nearer to the cloister. In vain she proudly called herself "autocrat"; she saw her step-mother, her rival, lifting up her head. Galitsuin confined himself to regretting that they had not known better how to profit by the revolution of sixteen hundred and eighty-two; but Shaklovitui, who knew he must fall with his mistress, said aloud, "It would be wiser to put the Tsaritsa to death than to be put to death by her." Sophia could save herself only by seizing the throne, — but who would help her to take it? The streltsui? But the result of their last rising had chilled them considerably. Sophia herself, while trying to bind this formidable force, had broken it, and the streltsui had not forgotten their chiefs beheaded at Troïtsa. Now what did Shaklovitui, Sophia's emissary, propose to them? He read them a letter from the regent accusing Peter of introducing German customs, of disturbing the religion of the country, and of threatening the most faithful servants of the crown with death. He advised them again to attack the palace; to put Lvof Naruishkin, Boris Galitsuin, and other partisans of Peter to death; to arrest his mother, and to expel the Patriarch. They trusted that Peter and Natalia would perish in the tumult. The streltsui remained indifferent, and

Sophia, affecting to think her life threatened, fled to the Diévitchi Monastery, and sent them letters of entreaty. "If thy days are in peril," tranquilly replied the streltsui, "there must be an inquiry." Shaklovitui could hardly collect four hundred of them at the Kreml.

The struggle began between Moscow and Preobrazhenskoć, the village with the prophetic name which means the Transfiguration or Regeneration. Two streltsui warned Peter of his sister's plots, and, for the second time, he sought an asylum at Troïtsa. It was then seen who was the true Tsar; all men hastened to range themselves around him: his mother, his armed squires, the "battalion of playmates," the foreign officers, and even the streltsui of the regiment of Sukharef. The Patriarch also took the side of the Tsar, and brought him moral support, as the foreign soldiers had brought him material force. The partisans of Sophia were cold and irresolute; the streltsui themselves demanded that her favorite, Shaklovitui, should be surrendered to the Tsar. She had to implore the mediation of the Patriarch. Shaklovitui was first put to the torture and made to confess his plot against the Tsar, and then decapitated. Medviédef was at first only condemned to the knout, and banishment for heresy, but he acknowledged that he had intended to take the place of the Patriarch and to marry Sophia; he was dishonored by being imprisoned with two sorcerers condemned to be burned alive in a cage, and was afterwards beheaded. Vasili Galitsuin was charged with having allowed Sophia to take the title of Autocrat, and with having occasioned great losses in men and money in his Crimean campaign. It was with great difficulty that his cousin succeeded in getting the death-penalty commuted. He was deprived of his property, and exiled with his son Alexis to Pustozersk. It was a cruel misfortune that Peter was thus deprived of the services of this truly great and talented Russian. According to De la Neuville, "he caused a magnificent college to be constructed of stone; he brought from Greece a

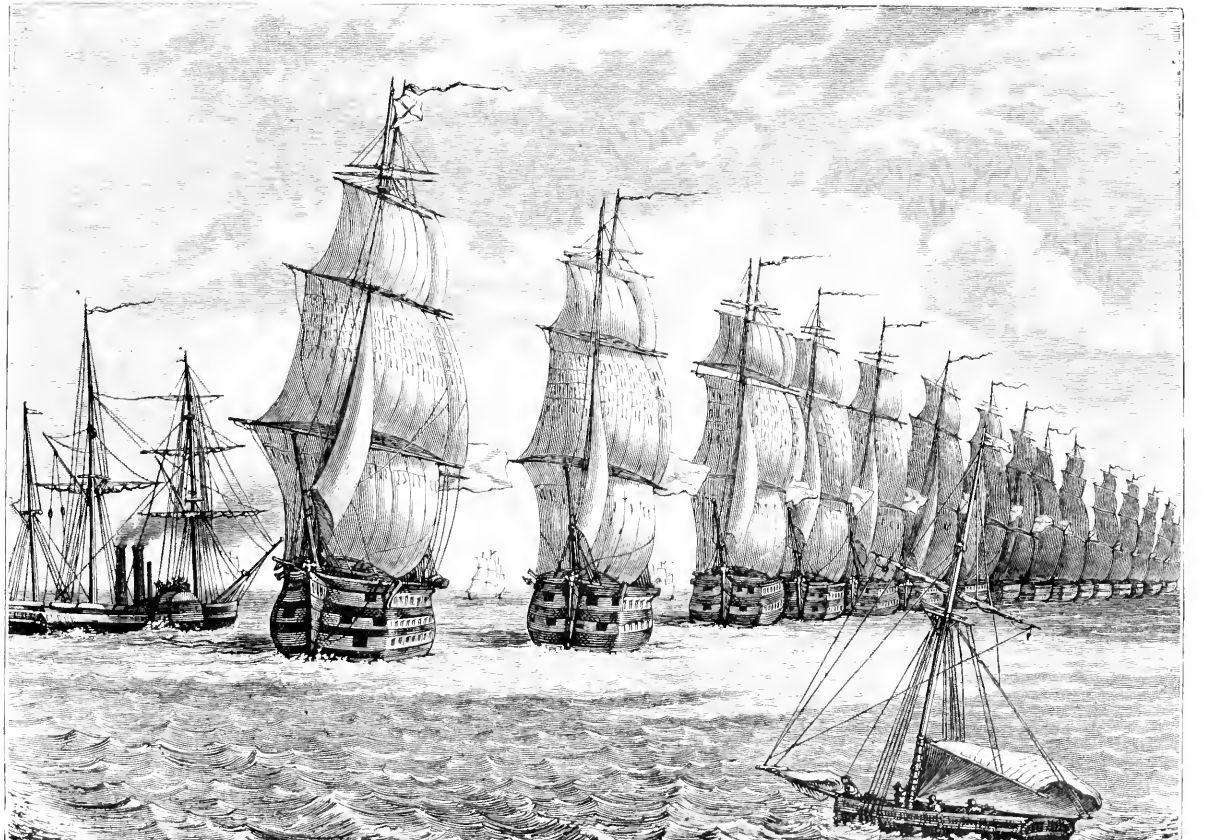
score of learned men and a multitude of valuable books; he encouraged the nobles to educate their children, and he allowed them to send them to the Latin colleges of Poland. He advised them in other instances to engage Polish tutors; he gave foreigners permission freely to come and go, which had never before been the custom in this empire. He desired also that the nobility of the country should have the advantage of travel, and should learn to wage war in distant lands. In short, he wished to people the waste places, to enrich the destitute, of savages to make men, of cowards to make heroes, and to transform cottages into marble palaces." But his treason was too deep to allow him to be pardoned, and Peter lost the greatest man that Russia had as yet produced. The young Tsar treated Sophia at first with some forbearance, but she attempted to escape into Poland, and henceforth remained in the Diévitchi Monastery, subjected to a hard captivity. Though Ivan continued, after sixteen hundred and eighty-nine, to reign conjointly with his brother, yet Peter, who was then only seventeen, governed alone, surrounded by his mother, the Naruishkins, the Dolgorukis, and Boris Galitsuin.

Sophia had freed herself from the seclusion of the terem, as Peter had emancipated himself from the seclusion of the palace to roam the streets and navigate rivers. Both had behaved scandalously, according to the ideas of the time, — the one haranguing soldiers, presiding over councils, walking with her veil raised; the other using the axe like a carpenter, plying his oars like a Cossack of the Don, brawling with foreign adventurers, and fighting with his grooms in mimic battles. But to the one her emancipation was only a means of obtaining power; to the other the emancipation of Russia, like his own emancipation, was the end. He wished the nation to shake off the old trammels from which he had freed himself. Sophia remained a Byzantine, Peter aspired to be a European. In the conflict between the Tsarévna and the Tsar, progress was not on the side of the Diévitchi Monastery.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST AZOF.—FIRST JOURNEY TO THE WEST.

In August, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, Peter, accompanied by Lefort, Zotof, and a suite of more than a hundred persons, made a journey to Arkhangel. There, deaf to the advice and prayers of his mother, who, under the influence of the Patriarch Ioakim, tried in vain to bring him to reason, he gazed on that sea which no Tsar had ever looked on. He ate with the merchants and the officers of foreign navies; he breathed the air which had come from the West. He established a dock-yard in which the first regularly constructed Russian merchant-ship was built. This same ship was also the first to display the Russian flag in foreign ports. Peter even dared the angry waves of this unknown ocean in a voyage which lasted five days, and the following year, after the death of his mother, Natalia, when he returned to Arkhangel, in making an excursion to the Slovetski Monastery, he almost perished in a storm. Fully expecting to meet his end, he took the last sacrament, but persistently kept his place at the helm. Nothing could have saved him, had not the skipper, Antip Panof, pushed him away with the words, "I understand this better than thou," and brought the vessel in safety to the island, where Peter, in gratitude, erected a wooden cross with an inscription in Dutch. He also embraced the brave skipper, gave him a pension, and presented him with his suit of clothes, which was thoroughly soaked with the salt water. This experience did not prevent the "skipper Peter Alexiévitch" from again putting to sea, and bringing the Dutch vessels back to the Holy Cape. Unhappily, the White Sea, by which, since the time of Ivan the Fourth, the English had entered Russia, is ice-bound in winter. In order to open permanent communications with the West, with civilized countries, it was necessary for Peter to establish himself on the Baltic or the Black Sea. But the first belonged to the Swedes and the

second to the Turks, while the Caspian was in the hands of the Persians. Who was first to be attacked? The treaties concluded with Poland and Austria, as well as policy and religion, urged the Tsar against the Turks, and Constantinople has always been the point of attraction for orthodox Russia. Peter shared the sentiments of his people, and had the enthusiasm of a crusader against the infidel. Notwithstanding his ardent wish to travel in the West, he took the resolution not to visit foreign lands till he could appear as a victor. Twice had Galitsuin failed in his expeditions against the Crimea; Peter determined to attack the barbarians by the Don, and besiege Azof, which had once been conquered by the Cossacks for his grandfather, the Tsar Mikhail. It was the key of the sea which bears the same name; from its walls the Turks made their plundering expeditions, and if the Russians could get it into their power, it would afford them a foothold for further operations. The army, amounting to a hundred thousand men, was divided into several sections, which were commanded by three generals, Golovin, Gordon, and Lefort, who were to act with the "bombardier of the Preobrazhenski regiment, Peter Alexiévitch." This regiment, as well as three others, had sprung from the "amusements" of Preobrazhenskoé,—the Semenovski, the Botusitski, and Lefort's regiment; the latter now amounted to upwards of twelve thousand picked men, mostly foreigners. According to Voltaire, a fourth of this regiment were Frenchmen, who were driven into exile by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They were the heart of the expedition. But it failed because the Tsar had no fleet with which to invest Azof by sea, because the new army and its chiefs wanted experience, and because Jansen, known as Iakushka, or Jakob, the German engineer, who had been bastinadoed by General Schein, spiked his cannon and passed over to the enemy. After two assaults the siege was raised in sixteen hundred and ninety-five. This check appeared the more grave because the Tsar himself was



SAILING VESSELS OF THE BALTIC FLEET

with the army, because the first attempt to turn from the "amusements" of Preobrazhenskoé to serious warfare had failed, and because this failure would furnish an argument against innovations, against the Germans and the heretics, against the new tactics. It might even compromise, in the eyes of the people, the work of regeneration.

Although Peter had followed the example of Galitsuin, and entered Moscow as a conqueror, he felt that he needed revenge. He engaged good officers from foreign countries. The Emperor Leopold sent among others the artillery commander, Casimir de Garga, the chief engineer, Ernest Friedrich Baron von Borgsdorf, and Laurentius Urban with six miners, and their under-officers. The Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich the Third, afterwards Friedrich the First of Prussia, sent engineers and artillerymen. Artillerymen arrived also from Holland, engineers from Prussia, and Admiral Lima came from Venice. By means of these officers the knowledge of western modes of warfare was first introduced into Russia. Peter appointed the boyar Alexis Schein to be generalissimo of all the forces, and hastened the creation of his fleet with feverish impatience. The forests lying near Voronezh furnished oak, beech, birch, fir, and pine for his ships. He built of green wood twenty-two galleys, a hundred rafts, and seventeen hundred boats. All the small ports of the Don were metamorphosed into dock-yards; twenty-six thousand workmen were assembled there from all parts of the empire. It was like the camp of Boulogne, when Napoleon, contemplating the invasion of Great Britain, in eighteen hundred and four, was building his numberless transports. No misfortune — neither the desertion of the laborers, the burnings of the dock-yards, nor even his own illness — could lessen his activity. Peter was able to write that, "following the advice which God gave to our father Adam, in the sweat of his face he ate his bread." At last the "marine caravan," the Russian armada, descended the Don. From the slopes of Azof he wrote to his sister Natalia:

"Little sister, in obedience to thy counsels, I do not go to meet the shells and balls; it is they who come against me. Give thy orders to them that they come not." Azof was blockaded by sea and land: along the front of the city a barrier of earth was to be raised as high as the walls; ten or twelve thousand men were detailed to labor day and night upon this, and they worked with such activity that in five weeks the trench was filled, and the earth fell over the wall upon the besieged. In the middle of July the Cossacks captured two redoubts belonging to the enemy. The Tatars also attacked the Russian camp, but failed. An attempt to reinforce the garrison also proved fruitless. Preparations were being made for a general assault, when the place capitulated. The joy in Russia was great, and the jealousy that the streltsui felt at the success of foreign tactics gave place to their enthusiasm as Christians for this conquest of Islamism, which recalled the victories of Kazan and Astrakhan. The effect produced on Europe was considerable. At Warsaw the people shouted, "Long live the Tsar!" The army entered Moscow in sixteen hundred and seventy-six under triumphal arches, on which were represented Hercules trampling a pasha and two Turks under foot, and Mars throwing to the earth a murza and two Tatars. Admiral Lefort and Schein the generalissimo took part in the procession, seated on magnificent sledges; while Peter, who was determined to set an example to the nation and rise through all the grades of the service, now having been promoted to the rank of captain, followed on foot. Jansen, as a punishment for his desertion and the harm which he had caused the Russians, was taken to Moscow, where his head was put upon a stake.

Peter wished to profit by this great success to found the naval power of Russia. By the decision of the council three thousand families were established at Azof, besides four hundred Kalmuiki, or Kalmucks, and a garrison of Moscow streltsui. The city was fortified with strong bastions and a great

fortress called Petropolis was built upon the other side of the Don. The Cossacks were quartered on the eastern side of the city in the islands of the Don which had been their customary habitation. The prelates and the monasteries were taxed for the construction of one vessel to every eight thousand serfs. The Patriarch Adrian and several of the wealthier princes were obliged to build twenty large frigates of fifty guns. The Tsar himself furnished nine ships of the line, carrying each sixty cannon. According to their wealth all the orders of nobility were called upon to bear a portion of the expense. The merchants also furnished seven bomb-vessels, with fourteen or eighteen cannon, and four fire-ships with eight cannon. It was proposed to unite the Don and the Volga by means of a canal. A new appeal was made to the artisans and sailors of Europe. Fifty young nobles of the Court were sent to Venice, England, and the Netherlands, to learn seamanship and ship-building. But it was necessary that the Tsar himself should be able to judge of the science of his subjects; he must counteract Russian indolence and prejudice by the force of a great example; and Peter, after having begun his career in the navy at the rank of "skipper," and in the army at that of bombardier, was to become a carpenter of Saandam. He allowed himself, as a reward for his success at Azof, the long-desired journey to the West.

But before he was able to carry out his plan he was to experience a little of the stubbornness of his people and to discover their dislike of the reforms which he was trying to effect. Discontent was on the increase among all classes, — among the streltsui because foreigners were preferred to them and because they were subjected to a discipline to which they were unused; among the nobles and gentry because the Tsar sent their children into the lands of foreigners and heretics and obliged them to learn the ignoble arts of ship-building and gunnery; and among the boyars and clergy because the cost of building and equipping a fleet of sixty-four ships of war

within three years was thrown upon them. The burden of the new régime became heavier and heavier, and without exception all were complaining at the forced change in the accustomed current of their lives. Taking advantage of this universal disgust, a conspiracy was formed to overthrow the Tsar and restore the old order of things. The leading spirit of the conspiracy was Sophia, who thought that the death of Ivan, which occurred in January, would give a favorable opportunity for her to escape from the seclusion of her cloister and return to the glory of her former position.

On the second day of February, sixteen hundred and ninety-seven, as the Tsar was in company with a large number of ladies and gentlemen at the house of Lefort, and was about to sit down to supper, word was brought that some one wished to speak privately with him. Peter excused himself, and quickly took his departure in a sledge. He soon reached the house of Alexéi Sokovnin, who had assembled Alexéi Pushkin, Ivan Tsnikler, the commander of the streltsui, and a large number of other conspirators. Peter sat down to supper with them as though he were entirely ignorant of their design of setting fire to the house where he had been and of murdering him during the confusion. He waited quietly until the officer of the guard appeared with sufficient soldiery to arrest the entire company, who were immediately loaded with chains and taken to the village of Preobrazhenskoé. Peter, who, owing to the guard being an hour late through a misunderstanding, had narrowly escaped death at the hands of the drunken conspirators, immediately returned to his party, where he was so jovial and good-humored that no one suspected what had taken place until he himself related the affair. The prisoners, upon being subjected to torture, revealed the details of the plot and implicated many others. They had intended to throw the blame of the Tsar's assassination upon the foreigners, and use that as an excuse for killing them all, men, women, and children. Many of the conspirators had been concerned in the plot of

Shaklovitui and Miloslavski. Peter was urged to deal mildly with them; but judging that an example was needed, the ringleaders were first dismembered and then beheaded, and the limbs and heads were exposed in prominent parts of the city. The body of Miloslavski, who had died twelve years before, was exhumed and treated in the same way. The other conspirators were banished, but the Princess Sophia still remained in close confinement.

After this conspiracy was crushed, in March, sixteen hundred and ninety-seven, Admiral Lefort and Generals Golovin and Voznitsuin prepared to depart for the countries of the West, under the title of "the great ambassadors of the Tsar." Their suite was composed of two hundred and seventy persons, — young nobles, soldiers, interpreters, merchants, jesters, and buffoons. In the embassy was a young man who went by the name of Peter Mikhaïlof. This incognito would render the position of the Tsar easier, whether in his own personal studies or in delicate negotiations. At Riga Peter found the quarters devoted to the embassy entirely insufficient and disgraceful; moreover, the guards in that part of the city were doubled. The governor, Graf Dahlberg, avoided paying his respects to the ambassadors, excusing himself by a plea of sickness. But what most roused the indignation of the Tsar was that he himself, in taking an observation of the city and its fortifications, was rudely treated, and prevented from accomplishing his purpose. The insult was not at that time resented, but the recollection of it was laid up for future use. After spending a fortnight in Riga the Tsar went to Mitava, and finally reached Königsberg. The embassy entered the city with all possible display. First, outriders on superb steeds; then three companies of guards mounted on gray, black, and brown horses, accompanied by trumpeters, drummers, halberdiers with gilded weapons, guardsmen with silver battle-axes; and finally the ambassadors themselves in the full glory of their national costume. Some of the soldiers were dressed in

German uniform; but among them marched a small company of six Kalmucks, with all the accoutrements of Asiatic warriors. The ambassadors brought gifts of costly furs and gold and silver cloths. At Königsberg the Prussian Colonel Sternfeld delivered to M. Peter Mikhaïlof "a formal brevet of master of gunnery." They were entertained at the house of Dankelman the Minister, where the Tsar caused no little astonishment by his wild actions. Once, at dinner, he flew into such a passion with Lefort that he drew his sword upon him, and was prevented from doing serious harm only by the coolness of Lefort and another gentleman present. One time he was passing a lady on the street, when suddenly he shouted out to her, "Stop!" He then pulled out her enamelled watch, and after examining it carefully put it back. Another time he snatched the new and stylish wig from the head of the chief master of ceremonies, Besser, and after looking at it a moment threw it on the floor with utter scorn.

The great ambassadors and their travelling companion were cordially received by the Courts of Kurland, Hanover, and Brandenburg. In the Castle of Koppenbrügge, near Hanover, he was the guest of Sophia, the widow of the Elector. Both she and her daughter, Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, afterwards Queen of Prussia, have left us some curious notes about the Tsar, who was then twenty-seven years of age. He astonished them by the vivacity of his mind, and the promptitude and point of his answers, not less than by the grossness of his manners, his bad habits at table, his wild timidity (as though he were conscious of his lack of good manners), his grimaces, and a frightful twitching which at times convulsed his whole face. Peter had a beautiful brown skin, with great piercing eyes, but his features already bore traces of toil and debauchery. The Electress wrote in a letter dated August eleven: "Considering all the advantages which nature has given him, it would be well if his manners were a little less boorish." And again she says: "He is a prince endowed with very good and

at the same time very bad qualities; in fact, he has all the peculiarities of his countrymen. If he had enjoyed a better education, he would be an accomplished man, for he has many good points, and an infinity of natural wit." The suite of the Tsar were not less eccentric than their master; the Muscovites danced with the Court ladies, and took the stiffening of their corsets for their bones. "The bones of these German women are devilish hard!" said the Tsar.

Leaving the great embassy on the road, Peter went down the Rhine to Utrecht, from which town he hastened to Amsterdam and departed the evening of his arrival for Saandam (or Saardam). There he took a lodging at the house of Gerrit Kist, a blacksmith, and an old fellow-workman of Peter's. He procured himself a complete outfit of clothes like those worn by the Dutch ship-carpenters, and began to wield the axe. He bargained for a boat, bought it, and drank the traditional pint of beer with its owner. He visited cutleries, rope-walks, and other manufactories, and everywhere tried his hand at the work; in a paper manufactory he made some excellent paper. However, in spite of the tradition, he remained only eight days at Saandam. On the third day after his arrival he was recognized. A sea-captain wrote from Russia that the Tsar was to visit Saandam, and described his personal appearance. The people began to trouble him, and so he sailed for Amsterdam in his own yacht. His life in that city was no less astonishing. He neither took any rest himself, nor allowed others to do so; he exhausted all his ciceroni by his insatiable curiosity. He inspected the most celebrated anatomical collections, and frequently watched the surgical operations in the Saint Peter Hospital; he visited the whaling fleet which was about to set sail from Amsterdam, in order to become familiar with all the details of the fishery; he made himself acquainted also with the different forms of religious observances; he studied into all kinds of manufactures, engaged artists, workmen, officers, engineers, and surgeons, and bought mod-

els of ships and collections of naval laws and treaties. He entered familiarly the houses of private individuals, gained the confidence of the Dutch by his good-nature, penetrated into the recesses of the shops and stalls, and stood in the market-place lost in admiration of a wandering dentist. He summoned him to his lodgings, and, learning the use of the instruments with great aptness, he practised his new art upon his followers. Meanwhile the news came that the ambassadors of the Tsar of Russia were on their way to The Hague. Every preparation was made to receive them with great honor, for it was whispered that the Tsar himself was one of their number. The master of ceremonies, Van Dintir, went to Cleves with a throng of courtiers and musicians, in order to receive the Russians at the very borders of the land. Amid the thunder of cannon they came into Nymwegen. At Amsterdam they were received by the Burgomeister, and a splendidly uniformed regiment of young men from the best families of the city. The ambassadors rode in state; in the first coach were Lefort and Menshikof; the Tsar took his place among the other nobles in one of the last carriages. The nobles were dressed in long coats, with caps of costly fur, which, as well as their weapons, glittered with pearls and jewels. The city of Amsterdam was filled with gay festivity. Theatrical performances and dances were arranged for the amusement of the distinguished visitors, and fireworks upon the river Amstel painted in colors of fire the deeds of the Russian Tsar.

But, amidst all these distractions, he never lost sight of his aim. "We labor," he wrote to the Patriarch Adrian, "in order thoroughly to master the art of the sea; so that, having once learned it, we may return to Russia and conquer the enemies of Christ, and free by His grace the Christians who are oppressed. This is what I shall never cease to desire as long as I live." He dwelt in Amsterdam like a common workman; he scorned the service of lackeys; when he felt the pangs of hunger he would kindle a fire under his kettle and cook his

own dinner. When he was dressed for work he answered only to the name of Carpenter Peter of Saandam or Master Peter; and a person who addressed him as Your Majesty, or Mynheer, would receive the cold shoulder. After the embassy had stayed two months at Amsterdam they took their departure for The Hague, where they were received with magnificence. On the journey Peter stopped to examine everything which was unfamiliar to him. Grist-mills, ferry-boats, and machines for irrigation received his most careful attention. When they arrived at the city, though a comfortable apartment was provided for the Tsar, he preferred to wander around until midnight, when finally he found a Russian servant asleep on a bear-skin at the hotel of his embassy. He woke him with a kick, and usurped his place on the floor, where he soon fell sound asleep. At the audience he dressed like a nobleman, in a blue coat trimmed with gold; he wore a great light wig and a hat with white feathers. At The Hague he had several familiar conversations with the stadtholder, King William the Third, and he made the acquaintance of many of the distinguished Dutch statesmen. From The Hague Peter went to Leyden, and studied into microscopy with the celebrated naturalist, Leeuwenhoek. He was especially delighted with the circulation of blood in the veins of a fish. From Leyden he returned to Amsterdam, and helped build a galiot, which was presented to him in the name of the city, and the next year it made its first trip to Arkhangel, laden with the Tsar's own purchases. But he was vexed at making so little progress in ship-building, for in Holland every one had to learn by personal experience. A naval captain told him that in England instruction was based on principles, and these he could learn in four months; so Peter, with Menshikof and fifteen other Russians, crossed the sea in a fleet of three ships of war and a yacht, commanded by Admiral Mitchell, which were placed at his disposal by William the Third. He spent three months in London and the neighboring towns. He took great pleas-

ure in visiting the churches and the various sects, such as the Quakers, and he found much to study in the collections of the Tower. In April Admiral Carmarthen gave a mock naval battle at Spithead in his honor, which was carried out with magnificent detail. After taking into his service goldsmiths and gold-beaters, architects and bombardiers, astronomers and mathematicians, and buying models of all kinds, he returned to Holland. On his departure William presented him with a beautiful frigate of twenty-four guns, which had been fitted up for his own use. On the way, his ship being attacked by a violent tempest, he reassured those who trembled for his safety by the remark, "Did you ever hear of a Tsar of Russia who was drowned in the North Sea?" Though much occupied with his technical studies, he had not neglected policy. He had conversed with William the Third, but he did not visit France in this tour, for "Louis the Fourteenth," says Saint Simon, "had procured the postponement of his visit"; the fact being that his alliance with the Emperor and his wars with the Turks were looked on with disfavor at Versailles. More than six hundred skilled workmen and artists had meanwhile been engaged for him in Holland, and this number was still more increased by many who had escaped from France and were anxious to enter his service. In June the Russian ambassadors left Holland, which no doubt felt relieved at parting with so many expensive guests. Passing through Cleves and Leipsic, and delaying until June in Dresden, where he carefully studied the art galleries, Peter finally reached Vienna, where he studied the military art, and dissuaded Leopold, who was weary of the fifteen years' war, from making peace with the Sultan. Contemporaneous judgments regarding great men are always interesting and instructive. Bishop Burnet, in his "History of His Own Time," gives the following account of the Tsar's visit to England: "He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed and very brutal in his passion; he raises his natural heat by drinking

much brandy, which he rectifies himself with great application; he is subject to convulsive motions all over his body, and his head seems to be affected with these; he wants not capacity, and has a larger measure of knowledge than might be expected from his education, which was very indifferent. A want of judgment with an instability of temper appear in him too often and too evidently; he is mechanically turned, and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship-carpenter than a great prince: this was his chief study and exercise while he stayed here; he wrought much with his own hands, and made all about him work at the models of ships. He told me he designed a great fleet at Azuph, and with it to attack the Turkish Empire; but he did not seem capable of conducting so great a design, though his conduct in his wars since this has discovered a greater genius in him than appeared at that time. He was disposed to understand our doctrine, but he did not seem desirous to mend matters in Muscovy; he was indeed resolved to encourage learning, and to polish his people by sending some of them to travel in other countries, and to draw strangers to come and live among them. He seemed apprehensive still of his sister's intrigues. There was a mixture both of passion and severity in his temper. He is resolute, but understands little of war and seemed not at all inquisitive that way. After I had seen him often, and had conversed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the providence of God, that had raised up such a furious man to so absolute an authority over so great a part of the world. David, considering the great things God had made for the use of man, broke out into the meditation, What is man, that thou art so mindful of him? But here there is an occasion for reversing these words, since man seems a very contemptible thing in the sight of God, while such a person as the Tsar has such multitudes put, as it were, under his feet, exposed to his resistless jealousy and savage temper." Peter was preparing to go to Venice, when vexatious intelligence reached him from Moscow.

REVOLT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE STRELTSUI.

As has been remarked, Peter's initiatory reforms, his first attempts against the national prejudices and customs, had raised him up a host of enemies. Old Russia did not allow itself quietly to be set aside by the bold innovator. There was in the interior a sullen and resolute resistance, which sometimes gave birth to bloody scenes. The revolt of the streltsui, the insurrection of Astrakhan, the rebellion of the Cossacks, and later the trial of his son and first wife, are only episodes of the great struggle. Already the priests were teaching that Antichrist was born. It had been prophesied that Antichrist should be born of an adulteress, and Peter was the son of the second wife of Alexis; therefore his mother, Natalia, was the "false virgin," the adulterous woman of the prophecies. The increasingly heavy taxes that weighed on the people were another sign that the time had come. Others, disgusted by the taste shown by the Tsar for German clothes and foreign languages and adventurers, affirmed that he was not the son of Alexis, but of Lefort the Genevan, or that his father was a German surgeon. They were scandalized to see the Tsar condescend to expose himself to blows in his military "amusements." The lower orders were indignant at the abolition of the long beards and national costume, and the raskolniki were scandalized at the authorization of "the sacrilegious smell of tobacco." The journey to the West completed the general dissatisfaction. Had any one ever before seen a Tsar of Moscow quit Holy Russia to wander in the kingdoms of foreigners? Who knew what adventures might befall him among the Turks and the Germans? for the Russian people hardly knew how to distinguish between them, and they were wholly ignorant of France and England. Under an unknown sky, at the extremity of the world, on the shores of the "ocean sea," what dangers might he not encounter? Then a singular legend was invented about the travels of the Tsar. It was said that he

went to Stockholm disguised as a merchant, and that the queen had recognized him, and had tried in vain to capture him. According to another version, she had plunged him in a dungeon, and delivered him over to his enemies, who wished to put him into a cask lined with nails, and throw him into the sea. He had only been saved by one of the streltsui, who had taken his place. Some asserted that Peter was still kept there; and in seventeen hundred and five the streltsui and raskolniki of Astrakhan still gave out that it was a false Tsar who had come back to Moscow, — the true Tsar was a prisoner at Stekoln, attached to a post.

In the midst of this universal disturbance, caused by the absence of Peter, there were certain symptoms peculiarly disquieting. The Muscovite army grew more and more hostile to the new order of things. The streltsui, who had been sent to form the garrison of Azof, pined for their wives, their children, and the trades they had left in Moscow. When, in the absence of the Tsar, four regiments of them were sent from Azof to the frontiers of Poland, they again began to murmur. "What a fate is ours! It is the boyars who do all the mischief; for three years they have kept us from our homes." Two hundred deserted and returned to Moscow; but the council, fearing their presence in the already troubled capital, expelled them by force. They brought back to their regiments a letter from Sophia. "You suffer," she wrote; "later it will become worse. March on Moscow. What is it you wait for? There is no news of the Tsar." It was repeated through the army that the Tsar had died in foreign lands, and that the boyars wished to put his son Alexis to death. It was necessary to march on Moscow and exterminate the nobles. The military sedition was complicated by the religious fanaticism of the raskolniki and the demagogic passions of the popular army. Eight thousand, in spite of the efforts of their general, Prince Romodanovski, to restrain them, revolted, deposed their officers, and marched against Moscow. Generals Schein and Gordon, with

their regular troops, hastened after them, came up with them near the New Jerusalem convent on the banks of the Istra, and tried to persuade them to return to their duty. The streltsui replied by a petition setting forth all their grievances: "Many of them had died during the expedition to Azof, suggested by Lefort, a German, a heretic; they had endured fatiguing marches over burning plains, their only food being bad meat; their strength had been exhausted by severe tasks, and they had been banished to distant garrisons. Moscow was now a prey to all sorts of horrors. Foreigners had introduced the custom of shaving the beard and smoking tobacco, to the entire destruction of the holy faith. It was said that these Germans meant to seize the town. On this rumor, the streltsui had arrived, and also because Romodanovski wished to disperse and put them to the sword without any one knowing why." A few cannon-shots were sufficient to scatter the rebels, who were mainly foot-soldiers. With the aid of the cavalry four thousand six hundred were arrested; torture, the gibbet, and the dungeon awaited the captives.

When Peter hastened home from Vienna, he decided that his generals and his council had been too lenient. He had old grievances against the streltsui; they had been the army of Sophia, in opposition to the army of the Tsar; he remembered the invasion of the Kreml, the massacre of his mother's family, her terrors in Troïtsa, and the conspiracies which all but prevented his journey to the West. At the very time that he was travelling in Europe for the benefit of his people, these incorrigible mutineers had forced him to renounce his dearest projects, and had stopped him on the road to Venice. He resolved to take advantage of the opportunity by completely crushing his enemies, and by making the partisans of Old Russia feel the weight of a terror that would recall the days of Ivan the Fourth. The long beards had been the standard of revolt, — they should fall. On the twenty-sixth of August, the first day after his return, the nobles presented themselves before

him at Preobrazhenskoé, and fell upon their faces in accordance with the ancient customs. Peter raised them courteously to their feet, but he ordered all the gentlemen of his Court to shave themselves, and himself applied the razor to his great lords. The same day the Red Place was covered with gibbets. The Secret Chamber of Inquiry had meanwhile been holding its sessions, and hundreds of the streltsui had undergone the most terrible tortures rather than confess their guilt and reveal the names of their accomplices. The Patriarch Adrian tried in vain to appease the Tsar's anger by presenting to him the wonder-working image of the Mother of God. "Why hast thou brought out the holy ikon?" exclaimed the Tsar. "Retire, and restore it to its place. Know that I venerate God and His Mother as much as thyself, but know also that it is my duty to protect the people and punish the rebels."

On the first of October there arrived at the Red Place the first instalment of two hundred and thirty prisoners: they came in carts, with lighted torches in their hands, nearly all already broken by torture, and followed by their wives and children, who ran behind uttering mournful lamentations. Their sentence was read, and they were slain, the Tsar ordering several officers, whom he suspected of cherishing sympathy with the revolt, to help the executioner. Seven days were employed in this way; a thousand victims were executed. Some were broken on the wheel, and others died by various modes of torture. John George Korb, the Austrian agent, who as an eye-witness has left us an authentic account of the executions, heard that "five rebel heads had been sent into the dust by blows from an axe wielded by the noblest hand in Russia." The terrible carpenter of Saandam worked and obliged his boyars to work at this horrible employment. It is said that on the last day Peter himself put to death eighty-four of the streltsui. The removal of the corpses was forbidden: for five months the Muscovites had before their eyes

the spectacle of the dead bodies hanging from the battlements of the Kreml and the other ramparts; and for five months three streltsui suspended to the bars of Sophia's prison presented her the petition by which they had entreated her to reign. Two of her confidants were buried alive; she herself, with Evdokia Lapukhin, Peter's wife, whom he repudiated for her obstinate attachment to the ancient customs, had their heads shaved and were confined in monasteries. After the revolt of the inhabitants of Astrakhan, who put their voïevod to death at the beginning of the next century, the old militia was completely abolished, and the way left clear for the formation of new troops. The streltsui formed an independent body or armed corporation, who were conscious of their power, and it was almost an impossibility to restrain them without using the severest measures, — in fact, without repressing the whole body of them. In August, seventeen hundred, Peter wrote the Patriarch of Jerusalem: "For the third time within nineteen years have the streltsui broken out in revolt, and they have caused us more harm than good. Since our return we have reduced them to obedience by death and other punishments. The remainder, whose number amounts to perhaps twenty thousand, we have been constrained to retain in our service as a protection against future outbreaks."

CONTEST WITH THE COSSACKS: REVOLT OF THE DON; MAZEPPA.

The streltsui did not form the only military force of ancient Russia whose existence and privileges had become incompatible with the organization of the modern State. The Voïská, or troops of Cossacks, — those republican and undisciplined warriors who had been formerly the rampart of Russia, and were its outposts against the barbarians, — had to undergo a transformation. The empire had numerous grievances against them: the Cossacks of the Ukraina or the Border and those of the Don had given birth to the first and the second of the

false Dmitris, and from the army of the Don had sprung the terrible Stenko Razin.

In seventeen hundred and six the Cossacks of the Don revolted against the Tsarian government, because they were forbidden to give an asylum to the peasants who fled from their masters, or to those who took refuge from taxation in the camp. The ataman Bulavin, and his lieutenants, Nekrasof, Frolof, and Dranui, summoned them to arms. They murdered Prince Iuri Dolgoruki, defeated the Russians on the Liskovata, took Tcherkask, threatened Azof, all the while protesting their fidelity to the Tsar, and accusing the voïevodui of having acted "without orders." They soon, however, suffered defeat at the hands of Vasili Dolgoruki, brother of the man whom they had killed. Bulavin was stabbed by his own soldiers, and Nekrasof fled with two thousand men to the Kuban. The rebel camp was laid waste, and Dolgoruki was able to write: "The chief mutineers and declared traitors have been hung; of the others, one out of every ten; and all these dead malefactors have been laid on rafts and abandoned to the river, so as to strike terror into the hearts of the Dontsui, and to cause them to repent."

Since the removal of Samoïlovitch, in sixteen hundred and eighty-seven, Ivan Mazeppa had been the hetman of the Little Russian Cossacks of the Ukraina. He was a Polish gentleman of Biélaïa Tcherkov, in Volhynia. In his youth he was a page of Ian Kasimir, King of Poland, and received a thorough military training. After several years of service he went with the Polish marshal to fight the Cossacks who had revolted. Then he showed such ability that the king sent him as ambassador to the Khan of the Tatars. On his return to Poland that adventure befell him which the poem of Lord Byron and the pictures of Horace Vernet have rendered famous. After he was taken prisoner by the Zaporoshtsui, and had been loosed from the back of the unbroken horse which had carried him into the solitudes of the Ukraina, he entered the

Cossack army, and gained the good will of the hetman Ivan Samoïlovitch, who made him his secretary and confidant. He also had charge of the revenues, and thereby gained great wealth and repute. By betraying all chiefs and parties in turn, he had risen through the successive grades of military service to the highest. He owed the office of hetman to Galitsuin and Sophia, but on the banishment of Galitsuin, who had been a powerful friend to him, he found it for his interests to embrace the cause of Peter. His elevation gained him many enemies, but the Tsar, who admired his intelligence and believed in his fidelity, delivered up to him his accusers. He executed the monk Salomon, who pretended to reveal Mazeppa's intrigues with the King of Poland and Sophia; Mikhaïlof in sixteen hundred and ninety, and the secretary Suzlof in sixteen hundred and ninety-six, were likewise put to death.

All this time the Ukraina was being steadily undermined by factions. In the Cossack army there always existed a Russian party, a party who desired Polish government, and a party who wished to become vassals of the Turks. In sixteen hundred and ninety-three Petrek, one of the Turkish chiefs, invaded the Ukraina with forty thousand Tatars, but was forced to retreat. Besides this, the views of the army and those of the sedentary populations of the Ukraina were always at variance. The hetman dreamed of becoming independent, the officers disliked being responsible to any one, and the soldiers wished to live at the expense of the country, without either working or paying taxes, after the manner of the ancient nobles; but the farmers who had created the agricultural prosperity of the country, the citizens who could not work in security, in fact, all the peaceful laboring population, determined to get rid of the turbulent military oligarchy, and hailed the Tsar of Moscow as a liberator.

Mazeppa represented the military element of the Ukraina, and knew that he was hated by the more peaceful classes. The Tsar overwhelmed him with proofs of confidence: he

decorated him with the cross of Saint Andrew, and tried to make him a prince of the Roman Empire; but Mazeppa, expecting to obtain more considerable titles, prerogatives, and advantages from Charles, King of Sweden, deferred paying the expenses of the diploma, and in consequence failed to obtain the dignity. Mazeppa feared the strengthening of the Russian State. He remembered how one day in an orgie the Tsar had seized him by the beard and violently shaken him. The taxes imposed on the vassal State of Little Russia became daily heavier, and in the war with Charles the Twelfth they increased still more. Everything was to be feared from Peter's imperious humor and autocratic pretensions. The invasion by the Swedes, which was now imminent, would necessarily precipitate the crisis; and either Little Russia would gain its independence by the help of the foreigners, or their defeat on its soil would give a mortal blow to its prosperity and its hopes for the future. Feeling that the hour was drawing near when he must obey the White Tsar, Mazeppa allowed himself to be drawn into communications with Stanislas Leshtchinski, the King of Poland, who in June, seventeen hundred and four, had been set up by the Swedish party, and elected by aid of the troops of Charles the Twelfth. The witty Princess Dolskaïa gave him an alphabet in cipher. Up to that time Mazeppa had delivered to the Tsar all letters tampering with his fidelity, and, in return, the Tzar surrendered to him all his accusers. When he received the communication of the princess he smiled, and said, "Wicked woman, she wants to draw me away from the Tsar." He did not give up the letter, but burned it. When the hand of Menshikof's sister was refused to one of his cousins, when Menshikof himself began to give direct orders to the commanders of the Ukrainian regiments, when the Swedish war and the march of the Muscovite troops limited his power and augmented the burdens of his territory, when the Tsar sent pressing injunctions for the equipment of the army in European style, when he felt around him the

spirit of rebellion against Moscow, he wrote to Leshtchinski, saying that he did not think the Polish army sufficiently strong, but assuring him of his good will. His confidant, Orlik, was in the secret of all his intrigues. Some of his subordinates who had penetrated his designs made another attempt to denounce him to the Tsar: among these were Paleï, celebrated in the songs of the Ukraina; Kotchubey, whose daughter Mazeppa had seduced; and Colonel Iskra. The information was very exact, and revealed his secret conferences with the emissaries of the King and of Princess Dolskaïa. It failed, like former denunciations, through the blind confidence of Peter. When the denunciation was repeated, the Tsar began to suspect, not that Mazeppa was playing the traitor, but that Kotchubey and his friends were trying to overthrow the hetman and raise the Ukraina in revolt. Kotchubey and Iskra were invited to Vitepsk, where they renewed the accusation in writing. Mazeppa was charged by Kotchubey with the intention of deserting from the service of the Tsar. Iskra, on the other hand, declared that Mazeppa was planning to have the Tsar assassinated, and that he had gathered his information from Kotchubey. Kotchubey denied that he had ever spoken with Iskra on the subject. They were both tortured, forced to confess themselves false witnesses, delivered up to the hetman, and beheaded. Paleï was sent to Siberia. Mazeppa was conscious that such extraordinary good fortune could not last, and the malcontents urged him to think of their common safety. At this moment Charles the Twelfth arrived in the neighborhood of Little Russia. "The devil has brought him," cried Mazeppa; and he tried, by his skill in playing a double game with the two powers, to save the independence of his little State, without delivering himself over completely either to Charles the Twelfth or Peter the Great. When the latter invited him to join the army, he pretended that he was ill, and even received extreme unction.

But Menshikof and Charles were approaching, — a choice must be made. Mazeppa left his bed, assembled his colonels and a considerable force of Cossacks, harangued them on what they had suffered and were likely to suffer from the hard yoke of the Russians, and invited them to follow his example and join the Swedes, who with their aid would soon force the Tsar to accede to whatever condition he might see fit to impose. The Cossacks, however, declined to become traitors, and Mazeppa, with only four or five thousand, crossed the Desna to effect a junction with the Swedish army. Three days afterwards all but forty or fifty returned to their allegiance. Then Peter the Great made a proclamation denouncing the treason of Mazeppa, his alliance with the heretics, his plot to restore the Ukraina to Poland, and to fill the monasteries and temples of God with Uniates. He was cursed in all the churches of Russia. Baturin, his capital, was taken by Menshikof, with an army of twenty thousand men, who expected to find great riches; but, being disappointed, they sacked it and murdered all the inhabitants, men, women and children, and finally set fire to it. His accomplices, whom he had abandoned, died on the wheel and the gibbet; he himself fled, after the battle of Poltava, to the Turkish territory, and perished miserably at Bender. A new hetman, Skoropadski, was elected in his stead; the mass of the people and the Cossack army pronounced loudly for the Tsar, and the Swedes had to cope with the rising of the entire population of the Ukraina. In spite of this, the independence of Little Russia was past. The privileges of the Cossacks were over, and twelve hundred of them were sent to work at the Canal of Ladoga. A Muscovite official was joined to Skoropadski to govern "in concert with the advice of the hetman." Muscovite subjects were allowed to hold lands in the Ukraina by the same title as the Little Russians; Menshikof and Shafirof were given large domains there by Skoropadski, whose daughter married another Muscovite, Tolstoï, created commandant of the regiment

of Niézhin. In seventeen hundred and twenty-two Little Russia, whose affairs up to that time had been conducted by the department of Foreign Affairs, was governed by a special office founded at Moscow under the name of "Little Russian Affairs." This was clear proof that the Ukraina had ceased to be an independent State. When Skoropadski died, Peter neglected to nominate a successor, declaring that "the treasons of the preceding hetmans did not allow a decision to be made lightly in this grave matter of election, and that he needed time to find a man of assured fidelity."

From this time the institutions of the Ukraina were modified at the will of Peter the Great and his successors. The hetmanate was now abolished, now restored, till the last man who held the title, a courtier of Catherine the Second, abdicated in seventeen hundred and eighty-nine. The affairs of the Ukraina were sometimes directed by the office of Little Russia, sometimes by the office of Foreign Affairs, till the time when, under Catherine the Second, it became an integral part of the empire. As to the Zaporoshtsui, after their "sétcha" had been taken by Peter the Great, they emigrated to the Crimea, and were allowed by the Empress Anna to establish themselves on the Lower Dnieper. But they found the neighboring country already transformed; and as their existence seemed incompatible with the security of those who had become colonists, they were finally expelled in seventeen hundred and seventy-five.

From the year seventeen hundred and nine we may say that there no longer existed in the empire a single military force that could oppose its privileges to the will of the Tsar.

CHAPTER II.

PETER THE GREAT: STRUGGLE WITH CHARLES THE TWELFTH.

1700–1709.

BATTLE OF NARVA (1700): CONQUEST OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES. — CHARLES THE TWELFTH INVADES RUSSIA: BATTLE OF POLTAVA (1709).

BATTLE OF NARVA: CONQUEST OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES.

PETER THE FIRST had navigated the White Sea, and conquered a port on the Sea of Azof; but by the Baltic alone could he secure rapid and regular communication with the nations of the West. It was only by taking up a position on the Baltic that Russia could cease to be an Oriental State, and could form part of Europe. The Baltic at that time belonged to Sweden, which by its possessions, by Finland, Karelia, Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia, and Pomerania, occupied the whole extent of its coasts and made it a Swedish Mediterranean. Stockholm was situated in the centre of the monarchy of the Vasas, instead of lying, as it does at present, on its maritime frontier. For the Tsar to "open a window" into the West, it was necessary in some point to break the chain of Swedish possessions. The opportunity seemed favorable. The struggle in Sweden between the aristocracy and the crown was still in progress; the last King, Charles the Eleventh, in sixteen hundred and eighty, had made his authority absolute, and had ordered the nobles to restore to the throne all the crown lands which had been alienated since sixteen hundred and nine.

This edict of resumption, which was warranted by the peasants, citizens, and clergy, who had nothing to lose, and which was scarcely mitigated by a promise of indemnity, ruined the aristocracy. In Livonia especially, the German nobility, who were descendants of the old Order, protested strongly many times, but all their protests were either entirely neglected or were refused with expressions of open displeasure. In sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, moreover, they were commanded to restore all the lands which had ever belonged to the crown, whether they had been purchased or presented. In the following year the King ordered them to send deputies in behalf of a revision of their privileges. Accordingly they sent Gustav Budberg and John Rheinhold Patkul, who complained that if the resumption should take effect, the nobles would be deprived of all their possessions. These complaints, however, were not listened to, and the deputies left Stockholm to lay before the diet of sixteen hundred and ninety-two the result of their endeavors. Thereupon they sent a new deputation to the King, Charles the Eleventh, with Patkul at its head. He was a proud, energetic, vindictive, and intelligent man, whose free speech displeased the King; and as his colleagues supported him in all his acts, he and they were arrested, carried before a court-martial, and condemned to death on the charge of using treasonable language. Patkul, whose private property did not suffer from the resumption, but whose strong sense of the rights of the nobility had made him espouse the cause of his country, being now an outlaw, in danger of death, his riches confiscated, his conscience free from the sense of disloyalty, managed to escape, and burning with rage he sought on all sides enemies of Charles the Eleventh and his young son Charles the Twelfth. He continually was devising ways and means to free Livonia from the yoke of Sweden. For some time he remained at the Court of Brandenburg, but at the fall of the minister, Dankelmann, he succeeded in gaining the good will of Baron Flemming, the favorite of the new

King of Poland, Augustus of Saxony. Augustus, as well as the Tsar of Russia, found in him the instrument which they needed for their common plans. He proposed to the King of Poland a scheme by which Sweden was to be attacked simultaneously by all its neighbors. Poland was to take Livonia and Esthonia, Russia was to conquer Ingria and Karelia, Denmark was to invade Holstein, which belonged to a brother-in-law of Charles the Twelfth. Peter accepted the overtures of the King of Poland: he desired nothing better than to carry out the designs of Ivan the Terrible and of his father Alexis. The youth of the new King of Sweden, and his reputed incapacity, led Peter to expect speedy success. Peter the First acceded to the coalition by virtue of the Treaty of Preobrazhenskoé. In the manifesto by which he declared war, he took pains to recall his grievances, puerile though they were, against the governor of Riga.

When Peter appeared under the walls of Narva, in October, seventeen hundred, Patkul at first rejoiced, but speedily became uneasy; he had not intended that Narva should be attacked by the Russians, but advised Augustus not to raise the question. The coalition was almost immediately assailed by two unexpected blows. Frederic the Fourth, the new King of Denmark, whom Charles threatened in Copenhagen, had been forced to sign the Treaty of Traventhal, and at the approach of the Swedes the King of Poland had been forced to raise the siege of Riga. Without waiting to pursue the Poles, Charles, hearing that Peter was besieging Narva, turned against the Russians. After a severe four days' march he reached an outpost four miles from the city, which was held by General Sheremetief with six thousand cavalry. In his impatience to capture this, though it was already dusk, Charles fired a few shots, which had the effect of so frightening Sheremetief, that he fled with all his troops and reported that twenty thousand Swedes had captured the outpost and were on the way to the Russian camp.

A desire to please the victors has caused the numerical disproportion between the two armies to be exaggerated. Voltaire himself was forced to rectify, in his "History of Peter the Great," the numbers that he had given in the "History of Charles the Twelfth." The latter had hardly eight thousand four hundred and thirty men; the Russians amounted to sixty-three thousand five hundred men, of whom only forty thousand took part in the action. The army was composed of regular troops, beside streltsui, Cossacks, men-at-arms, and soldiers hastily levied. In the absence of the Tsar, who with Golovin and Menshikof had quitted the camp on the previous evening to hasten the arrival of the reinforcements which Repnin and Mazeppa were to bring, it was placed under the command of an old general of the Emperor of Germany, the Herzog von Croi, whom the troops suspected from the fact that he was a foreigner, and who had no support from the other generals. While they were besieging Narva they had at their backs the Narova, or river of Narva, and occupied a fortified line of seven versts, or nearly seven thousand five hundred meters, the whole extent of which it was impossible to defend. In some places there was only a single line of soldiers, placed about two meters apart from one another. In front, near the centre, they had erected a great battery; before the entrenchments, on the road to Revel, were outposts to the number of four thousand men.

On the thirtieth, or, according to the old style, the nineteenth of November, seventeen hundred, the battle began by a cannonade that lasted till two in the afternoon. At that time the Swedes, though thoroughly exhausted by their long march, reached the foot of the entrenchments under cover of a snow-storm, which prevented the Russians from seeing twenty paces in front. In an instant the Swedes crossed the fosse and the parapet, and the Russian camp was seized with panic. "The Germans have betrayed us," cried the soldiers, and began to massacre not only the German offi-

cers, but the women who were in the camp. The Herzog von Croï and his staff saw no refuge from their own soldiers except in surrendering themselves to the mercy of the Swedish commander, Graf-Stenbock. Almost before the Swedes had struck a blow, Sheremetief, with the cavalry, abandoned the field, deserted the infantry, and hurried to the river Narova, which he succeeded in swimming just below the falls of Ioala, where the water was deep and rapid, and more than a thousand men were lost in the passage. The right wing attempted to cross the bridge which led to the island of Kamperholm, where the Tsar's headquarters were situated; but the mass of struggling soldiers broke down the bridge, and the others, seeing before them the raging stream filled with the bodies of their companions, and behind them the pitiless Swedes, betook themselves to some barracks not far from the bank, and fortified themselves as best they could, by means of the artillery and baggage wagons. Here the Preobrazhenski and Semenovski regiments, which were the favorites of Peter the Great, and had been organized after the European fashion, defended themselves with the energy of despair. Charles, hearing the tumult of battle in this direction, sent the infantry of his victorious right wing to march against this redoubt, and hastened in person to superintend the attack. But, in spite of this gallant defence, the Russian army was cut in two by the capture of the great central battery. Night came on, and increased the disorder. The wing, commanded by Dolgoruki, Golovin, Buturlin, and Alexander, Tsarévitch of Imeritia, entered into negotiations with the King; the generals signed a capitulation which insured them a free retreat with arms, standards, and baggage, but they had to abandon all their artillery except six pieces of cannon. The Preobrazhenski and Semenovski guards left their fortress of wagons, and retired in good order, and to hasten their retreat the Swedes themselves built them a bridge over the Narova. The left wing, which had caused more trouble to the King, was obliged

to sign a more rigorous capitulation: it was allowed to retire, but had to lay down its arms. Charles the Twelfth then allowed the Russian army to cross the river, neither from generosity nor disdain, as has sometimes been said, but from prudence. Wrede, the Swedish general, writes: "If the Russian general, Weide, who had six thousand men under arms, had had the courage to attack us, we should have been lost; we were completely exhausted, having had neither rest nor food for many days, and our soldiers were so intoxicated with the wine that they found in the Russian camp, that it would have been impossible to restore order." The King of Sweden, by slightly straining the terms of capitulation, retained as prisoners Croï and the officers who had taken refuge in his camp. Among the more distinguished of the Russian generals who were taken were Prince Dolgoruki, Artemon Golovin, Trubretskoi, Governor of Novgorod, Buturlin, and Alexander Gordon. Many remained for twenty years in Sweden. Besides the prisoners, the Russians had lost six thousand men, the Swedes nearly a third of that number.

There are salutary defeats and fatal victories. Charles was overwhelmed by flatteries from the whole of Europe. Medals were struck in his honor, with the inscriptions, "Superant operata fidem," or again, "Tres uno contudit ictu." The young King could not entirely shake off the intoxication of his success. "He dreams of nothing but war," writes his general, Stenbock; "he no longer listens to advice; he behaves as one who thinks that God directly inspires him for what he has to do." He despised enemies who were so easily conquered, and, counting the Russian army for nothing, made great preparations for the downfall of the harmless King of Poland. During five years he did nothing but plot for his dethronement; meddling in the intrigues of the Polish diets, and trying to crush the partisans of Augustus, as if the elevation and support of Stanislas Leshtchinski had been really of vital importance to Sweden in the same way as the posses-

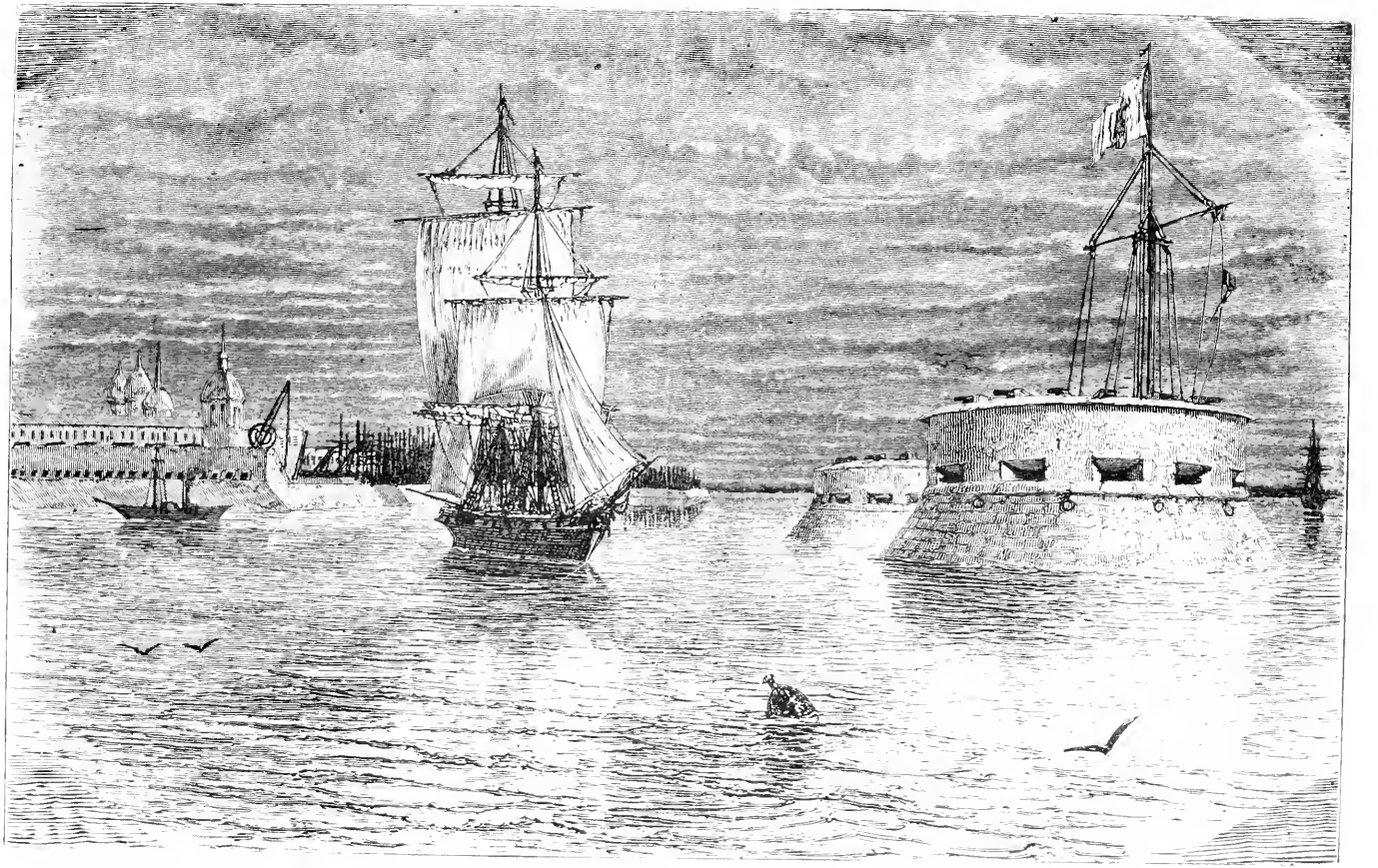
sion of its maritime provinces. Peter understood how much it was for his advantage that his rival should be thus occupied; he aided Augustus of Saxony with troops and money, in order to keep his own hands free in the regions of the Baltic. It was enough for him to know that the impetuous King of Sweden was for some time entangled among the marshes and intrigues of Poland.

Peter took courage after Narva. Nothing was really lost, since the greater part of his army remained intact; he had only to turn to profit this harsh lesson in the military art. He increased the fortifications of Pskof, Novgorod, and the frontier towns; every one was set to work. By terrible examples he frightened robbers of treasure and dishonest officials. Melting down the church and convent bells of Moscow, he cast several hundred cannon; he created ten new regiments, each consisting of a thousand dragoons. He sent two hundred and fifty children to the military schools.

In December, seventeen hundred and one, the year after the defeat at Narva, Sheremetief attacked the Swedish general Slipenbach, near the village of Errestfer, in Livonia. The Russians were the more numerous, but it was an advance to conquer the Swedes, even at odds of three to one. Out of seven thousand men Slipenbach lost three thousand five hundred, and only three hundred and fifty prisoners were taken, — a fact which proves the fierceness of the fighting. This "eldest of Russian victories" was celebrated at Moscow by a triumphal procession, in which the arms, guns, and banners of the vanquished were displayed. Sheremetief was created field-marshal, and was decorated with the order of Saint Andrew; and Peter wrote, "Glory be to God! we have reached so far that we can conquer the Swedes fighting two to one, but soon we shall be able to beat also with even numbers." During the winter of seventeen hundred and two the Tsar spent much time and money upon his vessels on Lake Peipus, and in the latter part of May the new Russian fleet encoun-

tered a small number of Swedish ships at the mouth of the Embach. The Russians completely surrounded the little Swedish flotilla, but a brave resistance was offered, and only after a hard fight were the Swedes conquered. In July Captain Hökeflykt was making a voyage of inspection in a yacht, when he was surrounded by two hundred Russian galleys. He defended himself for an hour, hoping in vain for aid; and then, seeing no hope, he blew his vessel up, destroying at the same time twenty Russian galleys which lay near him. The same year Sheremetief again defeated Slipenbach at Hümmelsdorff, in a four hours' battle, took from him all his artillery, and killed six thousand out of his eight thousand men. According to the Swedes, they had but six thousand men and the Russians fifty thousand; but the Russians claim to have had but twenty thousand men.

The ultimate aim of Peter was the possession of the Neva, which had belonged to the early Russian princes, and where Saint Alexander Nevski had won his glorious surname by victories over Swedish enemies. He still held his position as captain of the bombadier company of the Preobrazhenski regiment. Menshikof acted as lieutenant in the same company, and was appointed commander of this important fortress. Hastening down from Arkhangel, where he had been expecting an attack from the Swedish fleet, he assisted in the capture of Noteburg, the ancient Oréshek, or Little Nut, of the Novgorodians, which was situated on a small island and commanded the Neva where it leaves Lake Ladoga. He called it Schlüsselburg, or the fortress of the key, because the post would make him master of the river. Near the mouth of the Neva the Swedes held the small fort of Nienschantz; he captured and destroyed it, and in a neighboring island he founded the citadel around which his future capital was to cluster; the islet of Cronslot became Cronstadt, which was to close against the Scandinavians the entrance on the side of the sea. The Neva was his. The



KRONSTADT

same year, seventeen hundred and three, he seized two Swedish vessels in its waters, — "an unheard-of success," as he expressed it in a letter to Moscow. Then Koporié, Iam, and Dorpat, which had once been a vassal city of Novgorod, fell into his hands, and he revenged himself for his defeat at Narva by capturing that town in seventeen hundred and four, but he protected the citizens from his own soldiers, who were thirsting for blood. Nevertheless, three thousand men were occupied for three hours in piling the bodies of the dead and dying upon wagons, and in throwing them into the Narova. During this time Livonia and Esthonia, provinces inherited by Charles the Twelfth, were given up to frightful devastation, worse than that of the Palatinate by Louis the Fourteenth. The days of Ivan the Terrible seemed to have returned. The Russians signalized the reconquest of their ancient territory by atrocities. Volmar, Venden, and Vesen were pillaged; Sheremetief spared only Riga, Pernava, and Revel, or Kobyvan, as it was called by the Tchudi. On the third of September, seventeen hundred and two, the commander of Marienburg, situated on the confines of Livonia and Ingria, found himself obliged to surrender at discretion. But as the Russians were about to enter the town the powder-magazine was exploded, destroying many both of the victors and of the vanquished. Among the three hundred and fifty-six persons who were captured was the pastor Glück and his family. Catherine, a girl who had been left an orphan at an early age, was a servant in this family. Two days before she had been married to a Swedish soldier, whom she never saw again. She became Sheremetief's mistress, and afterwards held the same position in the house of Menshikof, where the Tsar saw her and was captivated by her beauty and intelligence. In the seventeenth year of her age she became his mistress, and three years later he married her privately. One would have to search long to find a more romantic story than that of the captive waiting-maid of Marienburg, soon to be Empress of all the Russias.

The Letto-Finnish country was made a desert; the Cossacks, Kalmuicki, Bashkirs, and Tatars did not know what to do with their prisoners. The Zaporoshtsui alone carried four thousand captives — men, women, and children — back to the Lower Dnieper. This year, also, the Tsar marched in a magnificent triumphal procession through Moscow, and, considering the successes which he won during the campaign, he had even greater cause for rejoicing than the year before, when he himself was decorated by Golovin with the ribbon of the order of Saint Andrew for personal bravery. But neither the capture of the fortresses, the burning of the towns, nor the extermination of the people could distract Charles the Twelfth from the attempt to ruin Augustus. In July, seventeen hundred and five, the Polish nobility had been obliged to proceed to the election of a new king, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Supreme Pontiff, the Cardinal Primate and the nobles elected Stanislas Leshtchinski, whom the Protestant King of Sweden caused to be acknowledged by the majority of the Poles. Three Swedish regiments met ten thousand Poles, Lithuanians, and Saxons, near Warsaw, and after a hard fight of six hours overcame them. Among the prisoners was the Saxon major-general, Paykul, a Livonian by birth, who had settled in Prussia when a boy. Nevertheless, he was sent to Stockholm as a traitor, in spite of the efforts of Patkul, his friend and countryman, who soon afterwards was to meet a worse fate.

In seventeen hundred and five the Tsar felt that it was necessary to keep an eye on the actions of the Swede in Poland, and not to allow his ally, Augustus, to be entirely crushed. It was enough to have taken from him his share of the booty, Esthonia and Livonia. The Russians crossed the Dwina, occupied Kurland and Vilna, and concentrated themselves in an entrenched camp at Grodno. Peter, like Ivan the Terrible, had to struggle not with his external enemies alone; the internal factions had not yet been subdued. At the

beginning of the year seventeen hundred and five he received information that the Bashkirs and several other Tatar tribes had seized arms and were spreading death and destruction far and wide, even to the gates of Kazan. This revolt had been caused by the violent acts of the Russian commissioner, who had taken their horses and insulted their religion. In order to pacify them the commissioner was put to death; but hardly had this revolt been quelled when, just as he was preparing to give battle to the Swedes, the people of Astrakhan, who had been falsely told that Russian marriages were forbidden for seven years, during which time only foreigners would be allowed to marry their daughters, hearing that Peter had been completely defeated at the battle of Gemauers, revolted, and murdered the governor of the town. Peter was obliged to send to the Lower Volga a portion of his troops under Sheremetief, one of his best generals. It was time that Sheremetief arrived, for already the streltsui of Astrakhan had appealed for help to the Cossacks. Fear of punishment only increased their stubbornness. The city gates were barred, the walls were mounted with cannon, and the suburbs were reduced to ashes. But after Sheremetief's troops had fired the first shots their opponents fled. The field-marshal led his three thousand men boldly against the ten thousand who were in revolt, and soon reduced them to obedience. The leaders of the insurrection on the thirteenth day of March surrendered the keys of the city, and the oath of obedience was exacted from all those who had been under arms. Ninety of the guiltiest were carried to Moscow and put to death; many others were sent to distant parts of the empire. This was accomplished by Sheremetief with a loss of only twenty killed and thirty-five wounded. Meanwhile the Russian army in Lithuania found itself for an instant in great straits: Schulenburg, the general of Augustus, who afterwards became famous at Corfu in the war with the Turks, thinking to save the King at Grodno, advanced boldly

toward Upper Poland, and meeting the Swedes under Rhensköld, was defeated at Fraustadt in seventeen hundred and six, and forced to fall back on Saxony. But by means of Peter's skilful generalship the Russian army, which was in the greatest danger of being captured, succeeded in retreating without opposition to Kief.

CHARLES THE TWELFTH INVADES RUSSIA: BATTLE OF POLTAVA.

In April, seventeen hundred and six, Charles the Twelfth crossed the Niemen and in slow stages marched to Volhynia, where he delayed many days with the double purpose of refreshing his men, who were suffering from bad winter-quarters, and of bringing Radzivil Tchartoruiski, Lubomirski, and other powerful partisans of Augustus to terms. To punish the opposition to Stanislas Leshtchniski and the entrance of Augustus into Warsaw, he crushed the Electoral States by his extortions and requisitions, and burned and plundered far and wide. Peter was awaiting him in the Ukraina, Augustus in Lithuania, but Charles, to whom the victory of Fraustadt had given free passage, turned suddenly into Saxony and united his forces with those of Rhensköld, leaving General Mardefeld with about six thousand Swedes and fifteen thousand Poles and Lithuanians. As soon as the Tsar learned that the King of Sweden had gone into Saxony, he sent Menshikof with ten thousand Russians and a party of Cossacks to the assistance of Augustus. Meanwhile Augustus had secretly been under negotiations with Charles, whereby he agreed to acknowledge Stanislas Leshtchinski as King of Poland and to break with the Tsar. But not daring to confess this treaty to the Russians, he was obliged to allow Menshikof to engage in battle at Kalish with Mardefeld, who knew nothing of the treaty and was completely defeated. Charles remained in Saxony, levying enormous taxes upon the inhabitants and living at the expense of the land. He traversed Silesia with-

out deigning to ask leave of the Emperor Joseph, despising the protestations of the diet of Ratisbon; he received the complaints of the Protestants of this province who were persecuted by Austria, and appeared before the malcontents of Hungary as the great redresser of wrongs. This happened at the most critical moment in the war of the Spanish Succession. France, defeated at Hochstadt, Ramillies, and Turin, was looking for help from victorious Sweden. England, Holland, Austria, Brandenburg, Hanover, all the powers concerned in the attack on the French frontiers, trembled lest the Swedish army should assail the coalition in the rear. Had not Sweden been the ally of France since the time of Gustavus Adolphus and of Oxenstiern? Had not the Swedes been the companions of the French in their days of glory? Did they not owe to France their great influence in Germany? Had they not to fear lest they might suffer from the defeat of France? Was not Charles the Twelfth at this moment receiving subsidies from the Grand Monarque? Was not his help entreated by the French envoys? The fate of the world seemed to lie in the hands of the young victor. If he turned to the West, if he revenged his own grievances and those of Protestantism against Austria, France was saved, and Sweden, for whom fearful misfortunes were in store on the plains of Russia, was saved also. There was a pause of anxious and solemn expectation, all the greater because the proud and silent monarch had allowed no hint of his projects to escape him. The situation appeared so grave that in April, seventeen hundred and seven, Marlborough resolved to seek him in his camp. Few words were exchanged between these two great generals, whose characters were so unlike, but the clever Englishman was able to guess Charles's hatred and jealousy of France; he saw that his eyes glittered at the mention of the Tsar; he noticed a map of Russia spread out on the table. Marlborough retired full of hope. Those who feared Charles agreed to whatever he proposed to them;

Augustus accepted the humiliating treaty which his plenipotentiaries had signed at Altranstädt, by which he abdicated the throne and delivered up Patkul, whom the Tsar had accredited to him as ambassador. The Emperor relinquished a hundred churches to the Protestants of Silesia, dismissed a chamberlain of whom the King had reason to complain, surrendered fifteen hundred Russian refugees, and recalled four hundred German officers who had taken service with the Tsar. The Elector of Brandenburg signed a perpetual peace. Charles the Twelfth might now break up his camp at Leipsic; he saw only one enemy, the Tsar of Russia.

Before, however, we enter upon the details of the latter part of the Northern war, it seems worth while to pay more particular attention to the extraordinary man whose misfortune it was to fall into the hands of the son of Charles the Eleventh. Envy at his success and jealousy of his position as ambassador of the Tsar caused Patkul to gain many enemies. Augustus, though he openly flattered him and appeared to be on terms of the greatest familiarity, was secretly angry with him, because he had complained that the Polish government was considered corrupt by all the courts of Europe. The wise advice which Patkul freely offered the King was worse than wasted. The Saxon government, full of anger and hatred of him, had long been seeking a pretext to get rid of so dangerous a person. His position as General-in-Chief of the Russian army sent to the King's aid made him personally responsible to Augustus. But he found himself without the means to support his troops, who complained bitterly of their winter-quarters. After pawning his jewels, and reducing himself to the greatest straits, in order to prevent his forces from starving, he found himself obliged to sign an agreement with Graf von Stratmann, minister plenipotentiary of the Court of Vienna, by which his seven thousand men entered the service of the Emperor. The loss of that number was of no serious consequence, but the manner in which the troops left

the service of the King was so derogatory to the honor of the latter, that it seemed likely to cause a rupture between him and the Tsar. In order to prevent the Russian troops from taking their departure, the Secret Council determined to arrest Patkul. Accordingly, on the nineteenth of December, seventeen hundred and five, Colonel Brown, with an escort of twenty men, proceeded to Patkul's lodgings. It was ten o'clock at night. The house was perfectly quiet. Colonel Brown, on being admitted, roughly woke the sleeping minister, and seizing him by the hand, said, "I arrest you in the name of the King." Patkul, astonished at such an unexpected summons, asked where he was to be taken, and was assured: "To the Secret Council." He was then carried in a Sedan-chair to the city gate, where, after waiting an hour, a coach appeared which brought him to the dungeon of Sonnenstein. He was anxious to know whether the King had knowledge of the indignity offered to the Tsar's minister, and then, thinking of his newly married bride, Anna Sophia von Einsiedel, he became very sad. He was put in the dungeon and treated with the greatest brutality; he was allowed no servant, no bed was furnished him, his private papers were taken from him, and he dared not eat the food set before him for fear that it was poisoned. The arrest and imprisonment of the Tsar's plenipotentiary was a direct violation of the law of nations, and created great surprise throughout Europe. Graf von Stratmann demanded of the council security for his personal safety. The Prince Galitsuin, though he was considered to be a man without resolution, expressed his indignation in the strongest terms. The Secret Council tried to exculpate themselves by bringing the severest accusations against Patkul. In order to pacify the Court of Vienna, it was even felt necessary to spread the rumor that the Tsar had himself ordered his arrest. The King approved the action of the Secret Council, and Peter refused to confirm the agreement with Stratmann, but insisted that Patkul should be handed over to him as the condition on

which Augustus should retain the reinforcements. Patkul, however, was still kept in prison, and in order to make him appear guilty, every possible form of slander was heaped upon him. He was charged with being the cause of the misunderstanding between the Saxon and Prussian Courts, and the loss of the battle of Fraustadt was attributed to him. In June the Tsar wrote that he saw no proof of his treason, and promised him his protection and favor. But three months later the Swedes were in Saxony, and on the twenty-eighth of March, seventeen hundred and seven, Patkul was delivered over to Charles. He was accused of high treason, and condemned to be broken on the wheel and beheaded. The Tsar wrote a letter to the different Powers complaining of this insult to his majesty; but Charles had the double satisfaction of wounding Peter and of revenging himself on his former vassal. He well knew that he had no enemy more dangerous than Patkul. His courage, his unbending will, his talents, his thorough knowledge of internal and external affairs, and his skill in statesmanship made him one of the most remarkable men of the century. It was he who saw with the greatest clearness the destiny of Russia, and his highest ambition was to be the leader of diplomacy in the growing State. That part he played with consummate ability as long as he remained in the service of the Tsar.

The adversary of Peter the Great was an admirable knight-errant rather than a sovereign. The absolute power of which he became possessed at an early age left without counterpoise his fiery temper and obstinate character, — his "iron head," as the Turks said at Bender. Voltaire observes that he carried all his virtues to such an excess that they became as dangerous as the opposite vices. His dominant virtue and vice was a passion for glory. Glory, and glory alone, was to him the end of war. He appears not to have understood that it was possible to acquire it by practising the arts of peace. Up to the moment when the news of the coalition of Poland, Den-

mark, and Russia revealed to him his military vocation, he seemed the most insignificant of all the European princes. His conduct appeared to be regulated, not by the political principles current in the eighteenth century, but by some strange and archaic point of honor. He knew Alexander the Great only as the romantic hero of Quintus Curtius, and this phantom he took for his ideal. He was nourished on the old Scandinavian sagas, and we may truly say that the soul and spirit of the old vikings revived in him: he had their wonderful deeds forever before his eyes, and the versified maxims of the Scalds forever present to his memory. Charles the Twelfth was a hero of the Edda set down by mistake in a matter-of-fact century. A Russian historian, M. Guerrier, calls him "the last of the Variagi"; he was the last of those Scandinavian adventurers who marched over the Russian plains from Novgorod to Kief, but to whom henceforth the road to the south remained forever shut. Pitiless to others as well as to himself, we find him undergoing useless dangers and fatigues seeking adventures like a sea-king who had only his head to risk; considering a war as a single combat between two champions, which could only end, if not with the death, at least with the dethronement, of the vanquished; fighting not to gain crowns, but to distribute them; giving largesses to his soldiers as if he had always the treasures of pillage, the "red gold of Fafnir's heath," at his disposal; despising all the luxuries of life, like the Northmen who boasted of never having slept beneath a roof; flying from women, "whose silken hairs," says the sagas, "are nets of perfidy"; regarding a backward movement as dishonor, and considering prudent advice an evidence of weakness; ready to face water, as in the marshes of Lithuania, or fire, as in the conflagration of Bender. He had his own guard of halberdiers, as the kings of heroic times had their drujina, as Alexander had his companions. His comrades also are heroes of sagas, and legend has embellished their exploits. The

story is current in Sweden that Hinstersfelt carried off the enemy's guns on his shoulders, and that, passing through a vaulted gateway, from which hung a ring, he put his little finger through it and pulled himself up by it, and with him the horse which he pressed between his knees. "When I have nine of my halberdiers with me," said Charles, "nothing can hinder me from going where I will." He was thus impelled to seek adventures in distant lands, and, like the warriors of old, to "win the world by the force of his arm." He sent officers even into Asia and Egypt to reconnoitre and to collect information.

Pushkin, in his poem "Poltava," puts into the mouth of the disappointed Mazeppa the following remark: "I have been mistaken about this Charles: no doubt he is a bold and audacious youth; two or three battles he can gain; he can fall suddenly on the enemy after supper, reply to a bomb with a burst of laughter; like a Russian sharpshooter, he can steal by night into the camp of the foe, overthrow the Cossack as he has done to-day, give blow for blow and wound for wound: but it is not for him to cope with the giant autocrat; he wishes to make Fortune manœuvre like a regiment at the sound of the drum. He is blind, obstinate, impatient, and thoughtless and presumptuous; he trusts in God knows what star. The new forces of his enemy he measures by his past success. The horn of his strength is broken. I am ashamed to have been seduced in my old age by a military vagabond. Like a timid girl, I was dazzled by his boldness and the rapid success of his victories." Herrmann says: "Of the four princes who took the leading parts in the Northern war, Peter alone proved himself to be the statesman who kept ever in sight a great and useful end. Augustus the Magnificent and the weak Frederick the Fourth were the slaves of the contemptible false god of idle show and brutal pleasure. The temperate, hard-headed hero, Charles the Twelfth, in his restless pursuit of a purposeless design, became a mere Don Quixote."

The two adversaries were to meet at last. In January, seventeen hundred and eight, Charles quitted Saxony with forty-three thousand men, enriched with the spoils of the country; he left ten thousand of them behind to support Stanislas on the throne, and marched towards the Niemen. Peter also started from Moscow to join his army at Grodno. There he learned that Charles had crossed the frozen Weichsel, or Vistula, which was guarded by Mühlenfeldt. But Mühlenfeldt deserted to the enemy, and the Tsar had scarcely time to leave the city, together with Menshikof, on the evening of the sixth of February, when the Swedes made their appearance. Charles led the way into Grodno with but six hundred men, and only the prodigies of valor which he performed prevented his being captured by the Russian rear-guard. The Tsar, in pursuance of a system which was again to be followed in eighteen hundred and twelve, fell back on Russia, laying waste Lithuania as he went. The Swedish name was still a universal terror. Besides the thirty-three thousand men who followed Charles, Lewenhaupt was to bring up eighteen thousand from Poland. No Russian force seemed fit to cope with this the most experienced army in Europe. The internal affairs of Russia were also causing Peter anxiety; it was at this decisive moment that the revolt of Bulavin, in the camp of the Don, occurred, and the first agitation among the Cossacks of the Dnieper. Before risking the safety of his empire, within which terrible disorders were still fermenting, before exposing his new creations to the horrors of an invasion, Peter tried to negotiate with his enemy; he offered to be content with a single port on the Baltic. "I will treat with the Tsar in Moscow," was Charles's answer. But Peter said, "My brother Charles is going to be Alexander, but in me he will not find Darius."

Three routes now lay open for Charles to invade Russia, — through Novgorod, through Smolensk, or through the Ukraina. He delayed thirteen weeks in the vicinity of Minsk, uncertain

which way to turn. Had he by a bold stroke captured the city of Pskof, which he might easily have done, neither the skill nor the wisdom nor the power of the Tsar could have prevented him from invading Russia. He could have brought Peter to submit to the most humiliating treaty.

From the Niemen, across the forest of Minsk, where the Swedes were obliged to cut a passage with their axes, Charles the Twelfth reached the Berezina, which he crossed at the head of a body of three thousand men. At Golovtchin, on the fifteenth of July, he came up with twenty thousand Russians, whose steadiness should have caused him to consider, for they yielded only at the seventh charge of the King. He reached the Dnieper at Mohilef, and followed its course up as far as Mstislaf. At Dobroë, south of Smolensk, on the twenty-ninth of August, he attacked a body of ten thousand Russians and six thousand Kalmuicki. This time he had a horse killed under him, two aides-de-camp killed at his side, and, finding himself alone with five men, slew twelve of the enemy with his own hand, and escaped only by a miracle. Russia was not going to allow itself to be conquered so easily. He was now three hundred miles from the Russian capital, on the road to Moscow, which Napoleon was afterwards to take. It was already the end of September; winter was coming on, and showed signs of being severe; provisions were scarce, and Charles was advised to retreat from Mstislaf to Mohilef, and there await Lewenhaupt, who would bring up between ten and twenty thousand men and plenty of food. Charles, however, allowed himself to be tempted by the offers of the aged Mazeppa, who promised him a reinforcement of thirty thousand Cossacks, and by the hopes of abundance in the fertile plains of the south. Besides, as he confessed to Gyllenkruk, who was horrified by this announcement, he had no plan. So he turned towards the Ukraina, followed by Sheremetief. Then the Tsar and his generals hung like wolves on the flank of Lewenhaupt, who found himself iso-

lated and without support on the plains of the Dnieper. On the ninth of October, at Liesna, by the Sozha, they fought a battle which raged for three days, and where, this time, the numbers were equal. The Swedish general saved only six thousand seven hundred men, and was forced to spike his cannon and burn a thousand wagon-loads of provisions, besides which six thousand were captured by the Russians. All the convoy, which was the sole hope of the royal army, was destroyed. Lewenhaupt, however, by a masterly piece of manœuvring brought to Charles the fragments that were left after the disaster. Peter, on the thirteenth of October, withdrew to Smolensk, which he entered amid the thunder of artillery, displaying his prisoners and the cannon and banners which had been taken. His joy was redoubled when a few days later he learned from his cousin, Admiral Apraxin, that the Swedish attempt upon Ingria had failed, as well as the meditated destruction of Saint Petersburg and Cronstadt.

By this time winter had come, — the terrible winter of seventeen hundred and nine. In the forced marches which the King of Sweden had the imprudence to impose on his army, the men, who lacked winter clothing, and the starving horses perished by thousands; the guns were thrown into the river for want of beasts to transport them. The very crows fell dead from the cold, and the doctors were employed in amputating frost-bitten fingers and toes. Charles continued his march, ascertained the distance which separated him from Asia, and consoled his half-naked soldiers with the assurance that he would conduct them so far that they could receive news of Sweden only three times a year. A soldier showed him the horrible mouldy bread on which the army was fed. Charles took it, tasted it, and observed quietly, "It is not good, but it may be eaten."

The arrival of spring did not put an end to the sufferings of the army. Prince Menshikof sacked Baturin, the capital of the fugitive hetman, and razed the fort of the Zaporoshtsui,

in May, seventeen hundred and nine. Charles reached the walls of Poltava, and halted there to wait for the Turks and the Poles of Leshtchinski, who were never to arrive. While awaiting them he determined to attack the town "for a diversion." It was in vain that the uselessness of the enterprise and the impossibility of success were represented to him. What was the good of wasting powder and the munitions of war, which had now become rare in the camp? "Yes," replied the Iron-head to Gyllenkruk, "we are obliged to do extraordinary things to gain honor and glory"; and to Piper, "An angel would have to descend from heaven with orders for me to go before I stirred from this place." When had his favorite heroes of the Eddas ever been seen to retreat? He made Gutman, his servant, recite the saga of Rolf Ericsen, who "vanquished the Russian sorcerer in the isle of Retusari, and conquered all Russia and Denmark, so that his name is honored and glorified throughout the North." Menshikof then came up, and showed that he had profited by the lessons of the Swedes by making a feint which enabled him to throw some troops into Poltava.

The Tsar arrived on the fourth (or, by modern reckoning, the fifteenth) of June, seventeen hundred and nine, with sixty thousand men, whom he protected by an intrenchment raised during a single night. Charles's army was now reduced to twenty-nine thousand men, who lacked everything, suffered as much from the extreme heat as they had formerly done from the extreme cold, and were exhausted by suffering and privations. He had only four field-pieces against the seventy-two guns of the Tsar. In one of his nightly sallies, when he was trying to harass the enemy's vanguard, Charles received a wound in his heel which necessitated a cruel operation, and on the day of the famous battle, twenty-seventh of June (or eighth of July), seventeen hundred and nine, he had to be carried in a litter. The generals on whom the responsibility of command fell could not agree; he himself thwarted the dispositions of Rhensköld, who was nominated general-in-chief.

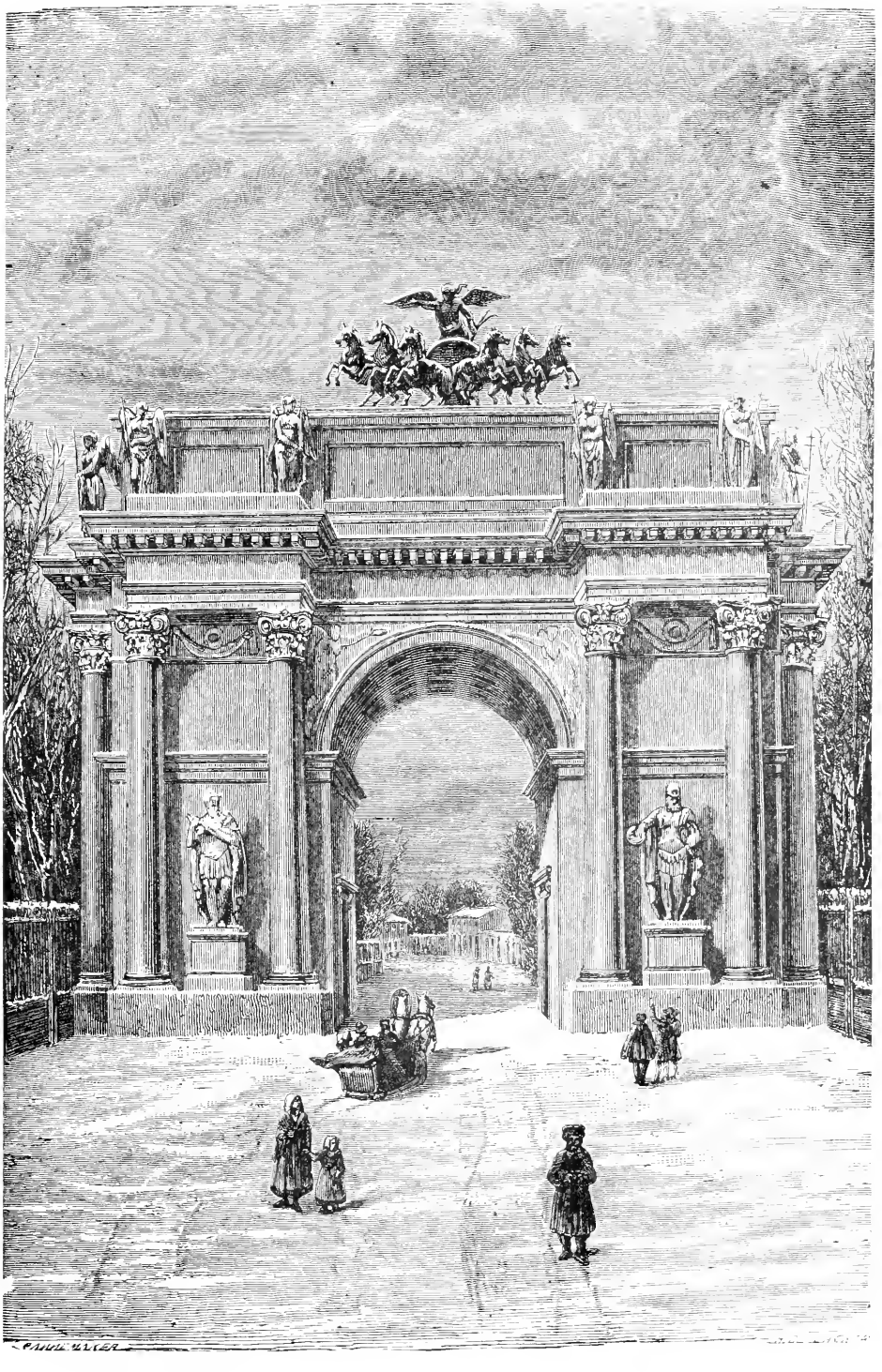
Peter had confided the centre to Sheremetief, the right to Renne, the left to Menshikof, and the artillery to Bruce. He then harangued his troops. "The moment is come," he said; "the fate of our country is to be decided. You must not think, 'It is for Peter we fight'; no, it is for the empire confided to Peter, it is for the country, it is for our orthodox faith, for the Church of God. As for Peter, know that he is ready to sacrifice his life for a prosperous and glorious future for Russia."

The Swedes took the offensive. "All those who have served in the Swedish army," says Voltaire, "know that it was impossible to resist their first shock." They saw in victory an end of their sufferings, and fought like the wild Berserkers of the legends. They charged with fury the cavalry placed at the right of the Russians, wounded Renne, who had to yield his command to Bauer, and took two redoubts. Peter, in trying to rally his cavalry, received a ball in his hat. Menshikof had three horses killed under him.

Unluckily for Charles, the corps of Kreutz, which ought to have made a détour and fallen on the enemy's flank, was lost, and never appeared. The superior artillery of the Russians arrested the charge of the Swedes. Menshikof marched boldly on their rear, and thus separated the body of the army from the camp under Poltava, which he finally reached. The Russian fire on the front of the Swedes was so violent that the horses harnessed to Charles's litter were killed; his halberdiers then took it in turns to carry him, but twenty-one out of the twenty-four were left where they fell. The Russian cavalry rallied, and the Russian infantry, which was now put in motion, broke the Swedish line. Attacked in front by Peter and in the rear by Menshikof, the Swedes were speedily thrown into disorder. They fled, and Charles was placed on horseback by his guards, and obliged to go with the stream. He hardly escaped being taken. Accompanied by Mazeppa and by the Pole Poniatovski, he arrived after two days' flight

at the banks of the celebrated Borysthenes, the Dnieper, down which in the tenth century so many Scandinavian fleets had sailed. He crossed the Dnieper in a little boat with Mazeppa, and continued his route to Otchakof. It was thus that "the last of the Variagi and the last of the free Cossacks entered the land of the Sultan as fugitives." The Swedes had lost about ten thousand men, — three thousand were taken on the field of battle; the bulk of the army, which had continued, under Lewenhaupt, its march to the Dnieper, had to pause on its banks. Menshikof, sent there hastily by the Tsar, obliged sixteen thousand more Swedes to lay down their arms. This was called the Capitulation of Perevolotchna. Of the magnificent army which at Leipsic had made all Europe tremble, not a battalion escaped.

The evening after the battle the Tsar received in his tent Rhensköld, Prince Maximilian Emanuel von Würtemberg, Stackelberg, Hamilton, Kruse, — those Swedish generals whose names had been cited among the first captains of the age. He treated these glorious prisoners courteously, and invited the minister, Graf Piper, and the generals to dinner. He praised Rhensköld's bravery, and even gave him his own sword as a mark of personal esteem. When a Russian officer spoke disrespectfully of Charles, the Tsar chided him with the words: "Am I too not a king? And who was to assure me that Charles's fate would not be mine?" Then he drank to the health of his master in the art of war. The Russian generals were rewarded with landed possessions and ribbons of the various orders; the lower officers, with gold and silver badges. Menshikof became second field-marshal, and Peter himself accepted the grades of lieutenant-general and vice-admiral; the Russian churches resounded with songs of triumph; the Tsar was exalted in eloquent sermons; and Kurbatof wrote to him: "Rejoice, because, obedient to the Word of God, thou hast exposed thy life for thy servants; rejoice, because thou hast forged thine army by thy courage,



TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF NARVA.

as men heat gold in a furnace; rejoice, because thou mayest hope for the realization of thy dearest wish, — the domination of the sea of the Variagi." Peter after Poltava, like Charles after Narva, tasted in his turn the sweets of glory. But the success of Poltava differed from the success of Narva. Narva had been only a victory; Poltava marks a new era in universal history. Sweden, which under Gustavus Adolphus, and again under Charles the Eleventh, had played in Europe the part of a great Power, which had even obtained an importance out of all proportion to its actual resources, was suddenly relegated to the third rank among States. The place it had left vacant in the North was taken by a nation which had at its disposal far larger resources, besides a greater power of expansion. The shores of the Baltic were to pass into its hands. Already Russia declared itself, not only a Power of the North, but a Power of Europe. Muscovy, which had been formerly held in check by little Sweden, by anarchic Poland, by decrepit Turkey, or even by the Khan of the Tatars, was destined to become formidable to France, to England, and to the house of Austria. With Russia, the Slav race, so long humiliated, made a triumphal entry into the stage of the world. Finally, Poltava was not only a victory, it was the proof of the regeneration of Russia; it justified the Tsar, his foreign auxiliaries, his regular army; it left his hands free to reform, gave to the empire a new capital, and promised to Europe a new civilized people. "Now," he wrote to Apraxin from the field of battle, "the fate of Phaethon has come upon our adversary, and the first stone for the foundation of Saint Petersburg is laid by the help of God."

CHAPTER III.

PETER THE GREAT: THE REFORMS.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE REFORMS: THE COLLABORATORS OF PETER THE GREAT. — SOCIAL REFORMS: THE TCHIN; EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN. — ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITARY, AND ECCLESIASITCAL REFORMS. — ECONOMIC REFORMS: MANUFACTURES. — PRACTICAL CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOLS FOUNDED BY PETER. — FOUNDATION OF SAINT PETERSBURG (1703).

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE REFORMS: THE COLLABORATORS OF PETER THE GREAT.

THE way for the reforms of Peter the Great had been made smooth by those of Alexis, and by all the movement of the seventeenth century. Under the Ivans, under Boris, under the early Romanofs, Russia had been little by little thrown open to strangers. It by no means followed, however, that the whole country was disposed to support Peter the Great in his innovations. Opposed to him were those who had refused to accept the reforms of Nikon, and many who, while accepting them, had no idea of going further. Those who belonged to the party of the dissenters, and certain members of the State Church, were his enemies. The Russian people were more averse to innovation than any in Europe; as their proverb says, "Novelty brings calamity"; the nobles also were hostile to everything that could contribute to autocratic centralization.

Peter the Great found, then, a steady resistance among the majority of the nation; to conquer it, where persuasion and his own example did not suffice he employed the energy of his semi-barbarous character, and the terrible resources of

absolute power. By main force he dragged the nation in the path of progress; at every page of his reforming edicts we find the knout and the penalty of death.

These innovations effected by the prince were not intended to prejudice his own authority; on the contrary, they had, we may say, for their sole end the transformation of a patriarchal into a modern despotism. The force of the government was to be increased without any essential change in its character. The Tsar remained as much an autocrat as Ivan the Terrible, but his authority was to be exercised by means of more perfect instruments, and by agents subjected to the discipline and rules of the West.

The mass of the people still remained serfs and attached to the soil; twenty millions of human beings were the property of the territorial oligarchy; but, in spite of this fact, the Russian nation was to be furnished with the means necessary to enter into regular communications with the free people of Europe. Russia was to give the idea of a state centralized and civilized like the France of Louis the Fourteenth, yet the patriarchal and Asiatic principle, which, confounding paternal and territorial authority with political rule, presided over the relations of the father with his children, of the Tsar with his subjects, of the proprietor with his slaves, of the superior with his inferiors, was still unimpaired. On the basis of a social organization, which seemed to date from the eleventh century, were to be constructed a system of diplomacy, a regular army, a complete order of administrative officers, together with schools and academies, and the trade and manufactures of a luxurious civilization.

A fourth characteristic of the reforms of Peter the Great was that, in order to make a thorough introduction of European civilization into Russia, he was obliged to borrow everything abroad, without always having the time to choose the institutions best suited to his purpose. What is meant by civilization was then, and is still, the civilization of the West;

therefore Peter surrounded himself with Dutchmen, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Swiss, and Germans. For the same reason he indiscriminately imported manufactures, trades, and artisans; he had Western books translated, and sprinkled his administrative terminology with words borrowed from Sweden or Germany. That he might introduce Western ideas, he made himself a Dutchman and a German, forbade his subjects to wear the long garments peculiar to Asia, and obliged them to adopt the European costume, including the short trousers, the cocked hat, and the buckled shoes.

There was nothing servile, however, in this imitation; it was the method of a man of genius, who wished to outstrip time and hasten reforms by a hundred years. He intended that the Russians should be the pupils and not the subjects of the Germans; and as under his German dress he remained a Russian patriot, he reserved the first posts in the army and state for the natives. To be sure, we may cite among his fellow-workers his admiral, the Genevese Lefort, who until his early death, in March, sixteen hundred and ninety-nine, by his genial manners and great fund of experience gathered in all parts of Europe, had the greatest influence upon him; the Scotch Gordon, whom he made general; Bruce, a Scotchman born in Westphalia, who organized the artillery, directed the diplomacy, and after the publication of the almanac, in seventeen hundred, by which the beginning of the year was changed from September to January, passed with the people for a sorcerer and a magician, who could alter the course of the sun; Ostermann, son of a pastor in the county of La Marck, a skilful negotiator, of whom Peter said that he never committed faults in diplomacy; and a native of the county of Oldenburg, Münnich, a good engineer, who constructed for Peter the canal of the Ladoga, and afterwards became field-marshal. But among the chosen companions of Peter the Great, in the nest of "Peter's eaglets," as Pushkin calls them, we find many Russians, and in the highest post among these

men Alexander Menshikof, a "new man," who rose from the position of a pastry-cook's boy to become prince, field-marshal, admiral, and conqueror, but whose probity did not stand as high as his talents. Another was Boris Sheremetief, a great noble, whose name and exploits are still preserved in the songs of the people, who travelled in the West before Peter, and came back to Russia in German clothes, a man as honest as he was brave, first in date of the Russian marshals. There were also Dmitri Mikhaïlovitch, head of the princely family of Galitsuin, who devoted himself to the reformer, though detesting "new men"; his brother, Mikhail Galitsuin, who when he became field-marshal continued to show to his elder brother an old-fashioned deference, and refused to sit at the same table with him; Iakof Dolgoruki, who could brave the wrath of Peter and force him to hear the truth; Golovin, high-admiral and diplomatist; Apraxin, admiral, conqueror on the Swedish seas; the diplomatist Golovkin, grand chancellor; Shafirof, vice-chancellor of the empire; Gregory and Vasili Dolgoruki; Andrei Matvéef; the Kurakins, ambassadors, father and son, to the courts of the West. Not to be forgotten are the intelligent and quick-tempered Iaguzhinski, afterwards procurator-general of the senate; Tolstoï, an accomplice of Sophia, pardoned on account of his high intelligence, who was an excellent negotiator and administrator of justice; Romodanovski, the cruel director of the State inquisition; Kurbatof, the financier of the new régime; besides three Little Russians who had been brilliant pupils of the Academy of Kief, — Saint Dmitri, metropolitan of Rostof, who wrote the lives of saints, and a treatise against heresy; Stephan Iavorski, metropolitan of Riazan, a man of great ability, full of zeal for Church and State; and his enemy, Feofan Prokopovitch, chief ecclesiastic of Novgorod, a distinguished preacher and writer, — to whom we must add the bishop Feofilakt Lopatinski. Such were the Russian men of the vrémia of Peter the Great.

SOCIAL REFORMS: THE "TCHIN"; EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

The most numerous class in Russia was the rural population, on which the reform made the State to press with a daily increasing weight, and which paid by its enforced labor for the cost of the change. It was subdivided into the peasants, who had sprung from the settlers in the south of Russia, with whom there had become mixed many of the impoverished lower nobility; into the farmers on the *métayer* system, who cultivated the land of the nobles and handed over to them half the products, but who had retained their personal liberty; into peasants of the crown, of the monasteries and of proprietors, who were attached to the soil. The edicts of Peter confounded all these classes, and subjected all the cultivators to a capitation tax and a fixed residence: this was equivalent to serfage. The reasons which had caused Godunof to legalize their attachment to the soil still subsisted in all their original force, and were likely to cause even more severe legislation. The tax on the fires was changed into a tax upon individuals, and the proprietors, by a considerable increase of their seignorial authority, were intrusted with the collection of it. A proprietor who concealed a single soul in order to avoid paying the tax was fined a ruble; and the crime of concealing the tenth part of the population of a village was punished by the galleys. Peter the Great merely promulgated an edict which had for an object the regulation of the sale of slaves. "If the sale cannot be abolished completely, slaves must be sold by families without separating husbands from wives, parents from children, and no longer like cattle, a thing unheard of in the whole world." This act, at least in its philanthropic clauses, never received any sanction. Anna Ivanovna later legalized this shameful abuse by collecting her dues on the sale of slaves.

The inhabitants of the towns were divided into three cate-

gories. To the first belonged bankers, manufacturers, rich traders, physicians, chemists, capitalists, merchants, jewellers, workers in metal, and artists; to the second, small traders and masters of crafts; to the third, the lowest class of journeymen and artisans. The first two of these divisions took the name of first and second guilds, chose their starosta or mayor and his assistant, and were invested with certain privileges.

Foreigners obtained the right of freely engaging in trade or commerce, of acquiring real property, of intermarrying with Russians, of entering the service of the State, of practising their respective modes of worship, and of leaving the empire at will, on condition of giving up the tenth of their goods.

The Russian nobility assumed the character of a nobility based on service. In the reign of Feodor Alexiévitch an important reform had already been effected. Until that time the nobles had preserved with scrupulous exactness the books which contained their pedigree, and the posts and offices which their ancestors had held. The consequence was that nobles were unwilling to accept any position in government employ subordinate to a person any of whose ancestors had ever stood in a position inferior to his own. Questions of precedence had become so complicated that Feodor, by the advice of Prince Vasili Galitsuin, determined to put an end to such quarrels. Accordingly he called in the service-rolls of all the noble families, with the pretended object of correcting certain errors that had been discovered in them. Then he made an assembly of the great men of the empire, and the Patriarch delivered an address, in which he attacked the custom of consulting prerogatives. The nobles seemed to assent, and Feodor immediately had the titles burnt. The Patriarch cursed those who should dare to rebel, and the assembly ratified the proceeding. Feodor had new books of nobility made out, which preserved the record of the ancestry and kinship of the families. But now, under Peter the Great, the two

ideas of nobility and service of the Tsar became correlative. By an ukas of seventeen hundred and twenty-two the department of Heraldry had the supervision of the nobility and the books of pedigree, which were divided into two classes, one for the old nobility, the other for those who had gained rank by service. Every noble was obliged to serve, and whoever, Russian or foreigner, entered the service of the State became a gentleman. Peter the Great was as inexorable as Louvois in exacting service from the aristocracy: every individual with a title was at the disposal of the government till his death. Thus was the distinction finally effaced between the two kinds of lands possessed by the nobles, — the fiefs, held from the crown, and the freeholds or allods; both were henceforward held only as fiefs of the Tsar, on condition of military service. Up to this time the civil, military, naval, and ecclesiastical hierarchies had no common standard. Peter established in each hierarchy corresponding grades, confounded hereditary nobility and the nobility of service, and distributed the officers of the State among the fourteen degrees of the Tchin, or Order of Rank. These extended, in the civil order, from the registrar of the college to the chancellor of the empire; in the military order, from the cornet or ensign to the field-marshal; in the fleet, from the midshipman to the high admiral; in the Court, from the tafeldecker to the grand chamberlain; in the Church, from the deacon to the metropolitan.

Peter, desirous of imitating the English precedent of primogeniture, borrowed a custom which was entirely at variance with the Russian laws, which insisted on equality in the division of property. He passed a decree in accordance with which the property passed to the heir together with the title. In virtue of this new law the land of a noble belonged exclusively to the eldest, or to the son nominated heir by his father. Peter saw in this practice, which was destined to survive him but a short time, the following advantages: the noble families could no longer ruin and impoverish themselves

by repeated partitions of the property; the peasants would be happier under the rule of one rich proprietor than under that of his needy co-heirs; the younger branches, no longer reckoning on the paternal estate, would be obliged to seek their livelihood in commerce or in the service of the State, for he felt that "idleness was the mother of all the vices." The younger members of the nobility were, besides, to be admitted into the service only under certain conditions of elementary or special instruction and technical preparation. Even marriage was forbidden to an uneducated gentleman. The destruction of the barrier of caste was finished by the foundation of the orders of Saint Andrew and Saint Catherine, the latter of which was instituted on Catherine's birthday, twenty-fifth of November (old style), seventeen hundred and fourteen, as a memorial of the battle with the Turks at the Pruth, and Catherine's bravery.

The seclusion of women was an Asiatic custom with which Peter waged fierce war. He was determined to abolish the terem locked "with twenty-seven bolts," the veil over the face, and litters with closed curtains. Six weeks before every marriage the betrothal was to take place, and from that moment the bridal pair might freely see each other, and might even break off the engagement if they were not satisfied on further acquaintance. Fathers and guardians had to take an oath that they would not marry young people against their will; and masters, that they would not force the consent of their slaves. Midwives were forbidden to put to death misshapen infants. Peter the Great took wives and daughters from their domestic cloisters, and brought them into the life of European salons. He instituted assemblies, free meetings which might take place in any house, to which all persons of respectability might go without invitation, where men and women appeared in European dress, where they partook together of light refreshments, danced Polish or German dances, and where French or Swedish prisoners served as

models in manners. The assemblies of Peter the Great were at first only a parody of those of Versailles. Bergholtz, a German who came in the train of the Duke of Holstein in seventeen hundred and twenty-one, complains that men allowed themselves to smoke in the presence of the ladies; that the ladies sat apart, embarrassed in their unwonted attire, silently watching each other; that the nobles were often carried away in a state of drunkenness by their drunken lackeys. Did not Peter himself institute as a punishment for any breach of good behavior the emptying of the "great eagle," a huge goblet filled with brandy? To amuse the new society and give life to his capital, he instituted masquerades, cavalcades of disguised lords and ladies, the feast of fools, the Great Conclave, presided over by the "Prince-pope," his former tutor, the aged Zotof, who was dressed in crimson velvet trimmed with ermine. At his feet sat a Bacchus riding on a cask, with a rummer in one hand and a drinking vessel in the other. He was surrounded by intoxicated Cardinals, among whom were to be found noblemen, princes, acting-governors, and sometimes the Tsar himself. The procession would pass along the street followed by a sledge harnessed to four huge hogs driven by a gentleman of rank. Then a court jester, dressed as Neptune, with crown, long white beard, and trident, would come sitting in a sort of mussel shell, accompanied by two sirens. Then a throng of sledges arranged with sails like boats, and commanded by the Admiral or the Tsar. Bergholtz describes the launching of a ship which took place in July, seventeen hundred and twenty-one. The Tsar, the Prince-pope and all his Cardinals, the senators, and a large number of the first men of the empire were present. No one was allowed to leave the ship until word was given. "Almost all were drunk, and yet they desired still more, until their powers were exhausted. The great Admiral was so full that he wept like a child, which is said to be a habit of his when he takes too much. The Prince, Menshikof, was so intoxicated that he

fell dead drunk," and was taken home by his servants. "The Prince of Moldavia was quarrelling with the oberpolitseimeister; here a couple were fighting, there another couple were drinking, and swearing everlasting brotherhood and fidelity." Peter forbade the use of servile diminutives and prostrations before the Tsar, and by blows with his cane he taught his nobility to feel themselves free men and Europeans.

ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITARY, AND ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS.

The ancient duma of the boyars was replaced in February, seventeen hundred and eleven, by the "directing senate," composed of eight members, which at first never acted save in the absence of the Prince. The number was afterwards increased, and it became permanently the great council of government, high committee of finance, and supreme court of justice. Peter commanded the senate to be obeyed like himself, but on all important questions the senate made its report to the Tsar. He appointed, in connection with this body, a procurator-general, charged with superintending the execution of the laws. Peter often reproached the new senators with conducting affairs "after the old fashion," with dragging out deliberations, and taking bribes. He had to make a new rule, in virtue of which senators were forbidden, under different penalties, to cry out, to beat each other, or to call each other thieves.

Peter suppressed the ancient Muscovite prikazui. By the advice of Leibnitz he created instead, after the German model, "colleges" of government similar to those by which the regent Orleans replaced the ministers of Louis the Fourteenth. There were ten of these colleges: those of foreign affairs, war, admiralty, treasury, revenue, justice, property of the nobles, manufactures, mines, and commerce. A collection of Swedish edicts was translated for their use. As they had few

capable men, foreigners were employed, in the proportion of one for each college, and often they were obliged to resort to interpreters to enable them to understand each other. Captive Swedish officers and dragoons might be seen administering the empire. Peter sent for Slavs from Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, as being quicker at learning the Russian language. He despatched forty young men to Königsberg to study the elements of administration and finance. This autocrat permitted his colleges to elect their presidents. In seventeen hundred and twenty-two, the office of president of the college of justice being vacant, he assembled at the palace the senators, generals, officers, and a hundred members of the nobility, and after having taken their oaths made them proceed to the election in his presence.

Before the time of Peter the Great the provincial governments were in hopeless confusion. The governors of provinces and the voïevodui had at one and the same time the direction of war, finance, justice, and superintendence of buildings. In December, seventeen hundred and eight, Peter divided the empire into eight governments, subdivided into thirty-nine provinces, which were afterwards increased to twelve governments and forty-three provinces; the former were administered by governors and vice-governors, the latter by voïevodui. These representatives of the sovereign were assisted by a council, or landrath, elected by the nobles. The towns were divided into classes according to the number of inhabitants, and received an autonomous and municipal government; the citizens elected burgomasters, and these a president or mayor. The larger cities had four burgomasters, assisted by eight councillors. These, with the mayor, formed the rathhaus, or corporation of the city. In special cases the citizens of the first and second guilds were summoned to the council. All the city governments of Russia were subject to a superior board or council, chosen from the municipal council of Saint Petersburg, of which one half was composed of

foreigners. This superior council watched over the prosperity of commerce and manufactures, sanctioned the sentences of death pronounced by the corporations of the province, decided disputes between the rathhaus and the citizens, confirmed the municipal elections, and sent in reports to the senate. The presiding officer was nominated by the Tsar. The towns had their own militia. The patriarchal and socialistic constitution of the rural communes was not touched.

Ignorance, inexperience, and corruption were the vices of the new administration. The functionaries had always present to their minds the advice of the ancient Tsars, — "Live upon thy office, and satisfy thyself." Peter attacked with fury this deeply rooted abuse, practised by the chief personages of the empire, headed by Menshikof. The exactions of the governor provoked a revolt at Astrakhan. Another governor of the same city was condemned by Peter to be torn by pigs. In seventeen hundred and eighteen Gagarin, Governor of Siberia, against whom many complaints had come, was brought from Tobolsk, and though he offered to give up a part of his spoils, was put to death, and his young son, Shafirof's son-in-law, was reduced to a common sailor and deprived of his property. Shafirof, the son of one of the translators in the department of foreign affairs, whom the Tsar had made a baron, was pardoned on the scaffold. Nesterof, after having made the denunciation of thieves a profession, was himself broken on the wheel as a thief. One day Peter made one of his nobles show him the accounts of his expenditure, and proved to him that he was robbing the State, and was himself robbed in turn by his steward. The Tsar beat him with his own hand, and said to him, "Now go and find your steward, and settle accounts with him." Menshikof himself was convicted of misuse of funds, and was condemned to lose his sword and put on probation. Admiral Apraxin was stripped of his possessions and titles, and kept in strict confinement. Afterwards the Tsar relented, and Menshikof paid a fine of five hundred

thousand and Apraxin three hundred thousand rubles, and both drank a health to the forgetfulness of the past at Peter's table.

The recruits were the chief sufferers from extortions. These unhappy men, who were torn from their native villages and chained like galley-slaves, were thrown into prison on arriving at their halting-place, were fed with mushrooms, upon which their captains made them graze in the forests, and, as a natural consequence, died by hundreds before reaching their regiments. Peter was obliged to invite his subjects to denounce the thieves by promising to give the accusers the rank and the fortune of the person found guilty.

The Ulozhenie, the code of Alexis Mikhaïlovitch, was no longer suitable to the Russia of Peter the Great. At the beginning of his reign, therefore, Peter had commanded his boyars to insert in the proper places the various supplementary clauses and decrees which had been enacted since the time of Alexis. The boyars worked several years without bringing the new edition to completion. In seventeen hundred and fourteen he intrusted to his Senate the work which had been begun by the boyars fourteen years before, and in seventeen hundred and eighteen a new edition was published, with the title of the Revised Ulozhenie. But Peter was not satisfied with this: he wished an entirely new code of laws, and determined to select the Swedish as a basis, modifying what was inapplicable in it to the Russians by means of ancient Muscovite laws or new legislation. This project, however, could not be realized. But, nevertheless, some of the most important enactments of Peter's reign were borrowed from the Swedish code, more especially those relating to the regulation of the army and navy. In criminal cases he still employed torture, though with mitigations. He punished various crimes by sending the guilty to labor in the public works or the galleys. Those condemned to such punishment had their nostrils slit. Witches were condemned to be burnt. Blasphemers

had their tongues torn out, and were tortured to death. The form of procedure he introduced had all the faults of an inquisition. Justice was administered in various districts, sometimes by tribunals properly so called, sometimes by the voïevodui, the commissioners, or by the magistrates of the towns. At Petersburg sat the supreme court, consisting of delegates from the senate.

The Petersburg police was controlled by the general politsei-meister, that of Moscow by the oberpolitsei-meister. In the large towns there was an inspector of police for every ten houses; all the citizens over twenty years of age had to enter the service of the watch. The governors, voïevodui, commissioners of the country, and all who held authority, were responsible for the public safety; for the Russia of that day needed strict superintendence. People were afraid to go at night without lanterns, although the streets were ordered to be furnished with lamps. Moscow, whose streets were common sewers, began to be paved with wood. Servants, under penalty of fines, stripes, or the knout, were enjoined to keep the house-front clean. Owing to the long duration of the war and the increase in the taxes, beggars multiplied; well-to-do citizens were not ashamed to ask for alms, or to send their children to beg in the streets; they were in future to be arrested and taken before the police. People who pretended to be in the public service and were furnished with false credentials, and imposed on the credulity of the peasants, were sought out and punished. Hospitals were established for the sick, workhouses for vagabonds, the insane were housed together, usurers, coiners, and forgers either suffered corporal punishment or were banished. Most difficult of all to deal with were the brigands. Brigandage was habitual in Russia, and was favored by the vast and vacant wilds, the deep forests, the passive temper of the peasants, who did not dare to arm for the defence of one of their members, and would allow him to be despoiled by a few bandits, and

tortured in presence of the whole village. The brigands formed themselves into great troops, armed and disciplined in the European manner, furnished with cavalry and artillery; they pillaged the crown taverns, burned the villages, invaded the dwellings of the nobles, and took the small towns by assault. Their recruits were Cossacks, fugitive peasants, soldiers who had deserted, and unfrocked priests; gentlemen, and even noble ladies, were seen riding at their head, thus augmenting their revenues by robbery. Battles had to be fought before security could be restored.

The open or sullen opposition with which his reforms were met caused Peter to create a State inquisition. This opposition came to light on all occasions. The ladies of honor, who wore the European costume when the Tsar was present, threw it off with contempt when he went away. Insulting placards were affixed to the walls. Even in the bosom of his own family the Tsar met with hostility. The Preobrazhenskaia Kantseliaria, or secret court of police, had originally been founded by Ivan the Terrible. Peter revived it, and gave it the jurisdiction of crimes against the majesty of the Tsar and murders committed in the capital. This bureau has left a terrible memory. To ruin his enemy a man had only to hint treason to one of the secret police, and immediately the accuser and accused were arrested and conducted to the "hall of the question," which the latter seldom left unconvicted.

The increased expenditure caused by the new army and navy, and the change in administration, obliged Peter to increase his revenues. The poll or capitation tax has already been mentioned. Ecclesiastics and their children, nobles, soldiers released from service, foreigners, the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces, Bashkirs, and Lapps were alone exempted from it. Even free peasants were liable. Every person who lived in a city paid one hundred and twenty kopeks, but the crown and church peasants paid only forty. If a peasant died, or became a recruit, in the time between one census and the

RUSSIAN VETERANS

following, his tax must be paid; but, on the other hand, no account was taken of those born in the same period. Kurbatof introduced the tax of the stamped paper. But in the midst of the terrible necessities of war Peter had recourse to other expedients. The coinage was several times debased. After the battle of Narva the value of the kopek was diminished. The ruble, in seventeen hundred and eighteen, was worth less than half as much as it had been in sixteen hundred and thirty-three. The officials were often deprived of part of their pay. The raskolniki were doubly taxed. Those who wore beards had to pay from thirty to one hundred rubles, according to their fortune. The peasants were taxed two dengi, or half-kopeks, for their beards when they entered the towns. Baths, mills, huts, and bees were taxed. All treasure-troves or new mines became the property of the crown.

One day Peter ordered all oak coffins at the makers' to be seized and sold for his profit. In seventeen hundred and eighteen the Tsar renounced all the monopolies which for a long time had been the possession of the crown, except those on tar, potash, caviare, and isinglass. Some of the more uncertain occupations, such as the whale-fisheries, were let out to companies on payment of a fixed impost. The crown leased to taverns the right of selling mead, beer, and brandy, and it also controlled the price of salt. The revenues of the State, in fifteen years alone, from seventeen hundred and ten to seventeen hundred and twenty-five, rose from three to ten million rubles.

After the dissolution of the streltsui the regular army was composed of infantry and dragoons, dressed in European uniforms, and raised to two hundred and ten thousand men. The peasantry were subjected to a system of conscription, which was long to be a source of despotism and tyranny. At this period was formed a whole popular literature of "lamentations of recruits." The irregular troops of the Cossacks and the tribes of the east furnished endless numbers of soldiers.

A maritime conscription was established along the banks of lakes, rivers, and the sea. The Tsar established also naval academies, especially for young Russians. Soon the Russian fleet numbered forty-eight ships of the line, eight hundred vessels of a lower class, and twenty-eight thousand sailors.

In seventeen hundred, upon the death of the Patriarch Adrian, who had little sympathy with the reforms, Peter conferred on Stephan Iavorski the title of "Superintendent of the Patriarchal Throne." Peter had resolved to abolish this institution, which was due to Godunof, and to give to the Church itself the collegiate organization with which he was at that time so fascinated. The preamble of the edict instituting the Holy Synod, which was compiled by Feofan Prokopovitch, is very curious: "The collegiate organization will not cause the country to fear the troubles and seditions that may arise when only one man finds himself at the head of the Church. The simple people are not quick to seize the distinction between the spiritual and imperial power; struck with the virtue and the splendor of the supreme pastor of the Church, they imagine that he is a second sovereign, equal and even superior in power to the autocrat. If a dispute takes place between the Patriarch and the Tsar, they are disposed to take the side of the former, believing that they thus embrace the cause of God." This mistrust of the spiritual power is again found in the Ukas, in which bishops are recommended to avoid pride and show, never to allow themselves to be supported under the arm in walking, unless they are ill, and to permit no prostrations before them. In the same manner as Peter had suppressed the hetmanate and established the College of Little Russia, he suppressed the patriarchate and founded the Holy Synod. He wished to be sole emperor in Moscow, as in the Ukraina.

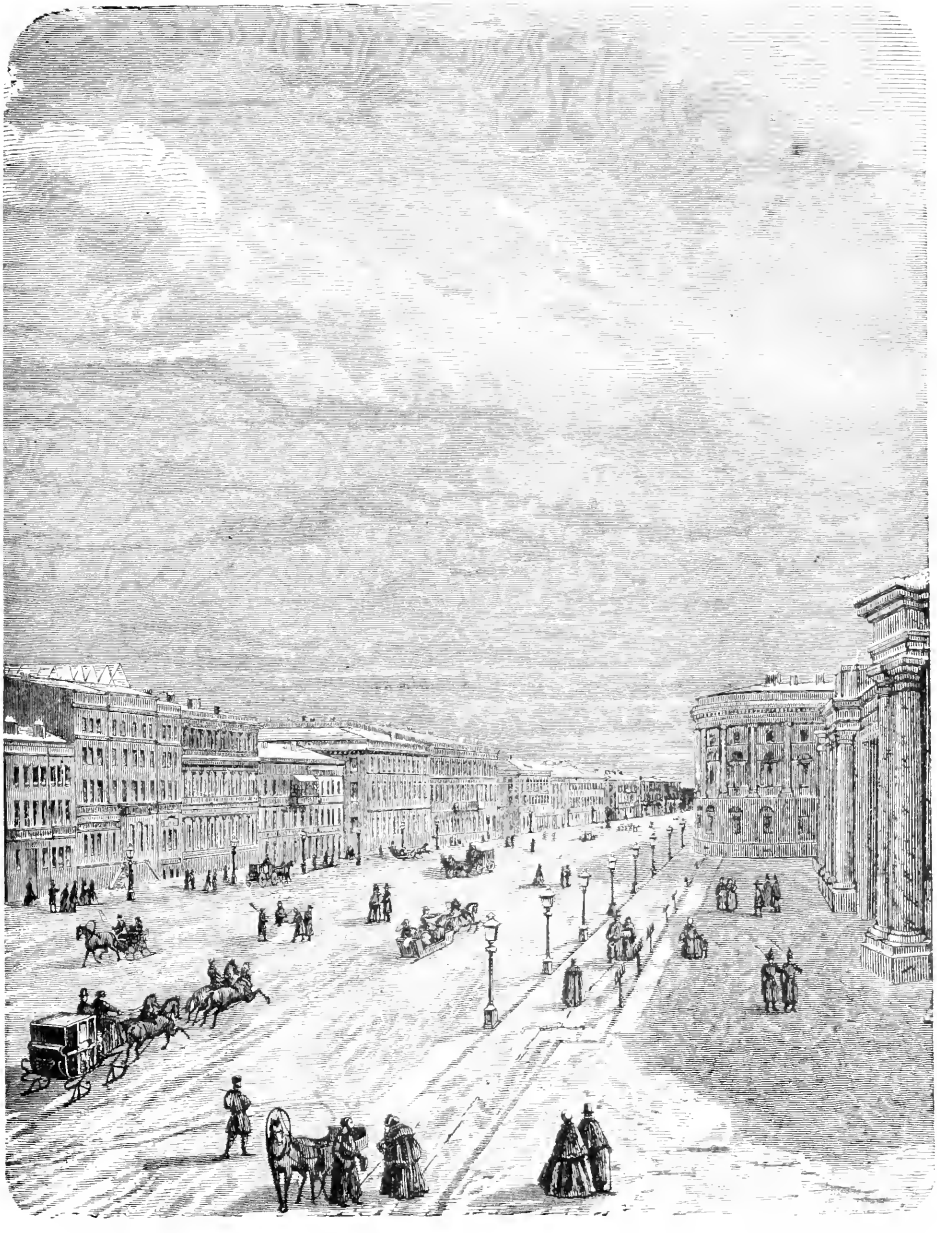
The Holy Synod was composed of a certain number of bishops, among whom a procurator-general, often a soldier, represented the Tsar. The Holy Synod was to be the instru-

ment of reform in the Church. Each bishop was ordered to keep a school in his diocese, which was to be supported by the revenues of the churches and cloisters; the sons of the popes who refused to be educated were to be taken as soldiers. The grave question of monasteries was reopened, but Peter did not yet dare to undertake the liquidation of their property. As Russia needed to be peopled, no Russian was allowed to become a monk till he was thirty. No servant of the State might enter a cloister without leave. As the monks showed themselves more and more hostile to reform, they were forbidden to shut themselves up to write, or to have ink or pens in their cells. They were, however, compelled to work at some trade. Hospitals and schools were given into their charge, and also broken-down soldiers, who found in the monastery an honorable asylum. The bishops, on the contrary, were encouraged by Peter to write. Stephan Iavorski published his book called "The Signs of the Coming of Antichrist," to refute Talitski, who had seen in the reforms of Peter the omens of the end of the world. As Voltaire relates, Talitski was put to death and Iavorski rewarded. "Peter, the Corner-Stone of the Faith," another of his works, was directed against Protestantism, but was not published until seventeen hundred and twenty-eight, after his death. Saint Dmitri of Rostof wrote his "Investigation of the Raskolnik Church of Bruinsk."

Assailed at once by the religions of the West and by the raskol sects, the orthodox Church was forced to defend itself. The dissenters were about this time divided into communities with priests and communities without priests. The most fanatical raskolniki fled into the deep forests, and there founded hermitages and even centres of population, which escaped for a long while the knowledge of government. Tracked and driven to extremity, certain enthusiasts burned themselves in a sort of auto-da-fé. Many of these shepherds of the desert, like Daniel Vikulof and the brothers Denisof, made themselves famous by polemical works. Peter wished

to relax the systems of preceding régimes, and protected all peaceable subjects who did not interfere with politics. Passing through the deserts of the Vuiga, he found there a colony of industrious raskolniki, ordered them to be left in peace, and begged them to pray for him. "God," he said, "has given the Tsar power over the nations, but Christ alone has power over the conscience of men." He contented himself with doubling the taxes, and imposing a peculiar dress on the raskolniki of Moscow. Being, however, a true believer, he regarded the faith of the raskol as an error, and did not wish it to spread. Penalties were enforced against its propagators, and precautions taken with regard to their listeners. The proper attendance every Sunday at church and at Easter Communion became a matter of obligation.

He followed the same policy with regard to Western religions, allowed foreigners to have their churches in Saint Petersburg, and himself attended the French church, where his chair is still preserved. The Nevski Prospekt, bordered with dissenting churches, was the "prospect of tolerance." He protected the Capuchins established at Astrakhan, and even tried to live on good terms with the Jesuits; but as they continued to work at their propaganda, they were banished in sixteen hundred and eighty-nine, then recalled, then again definitely expelled in seventeen hundred and ten. "He endured the Capuchins," says Voltaire, "as being monks of no consequence, but regarded the Jesuits as dangerous political enemies." The friend of the Dutch and the English persecuted the foreign Protestants who insulted the orthodox faith by word or deed. A Russian woman, Nastasia Zima, having spread the principles of Luther, was conducted, with her husband and six other neophytes, before the terrible secret chamber, and was cruelly tortured.



NEVSKI PROSPECT

ECONOMIC REFORMS: MANUFACTURES.

Peter the Great had toiled hard to establish himself on the Baltic, because he felt that the White Sea, frozen over for so many months in the year, was insufficient to secure to Russia uninterrupted communication with the West. When Saint Petersburg was founded, he wished to suppress Arkhangel for the benefit of the new port, and forbade the merchants to carry their merchandise down the Dwina. This project met with the most lively opposition. Apraxin assured him that such a measure would be the ruin of Russian commerce. The Dutch traders and the Hanse towns represented that the money they had spent in establishing themselves at Arkhangel would be lost, that it would be necessary to build vessels for the Baltic on an entirely different model, that they were obliged to pay for the privilege of passing through the Sound, and that in case of a war the smallest merchant-ship would there need a convoy. The Russians who were accustomed to go to Arkhangel showed great repugnance to the journey to Saint Petersburg, across a wide space without provender, and where they would find no inns such as had been established for centuries on the route to the White Sea. It was necessary to make a complete revolution in the habits of Russian commerce, in the distribution of the centres of industry and of the market towns. The conductors of the caravan, in despair at the length of the voyage, often deserted, abandoning the wagons or pillaging the merchandise. Peter the Great yielded, leaving time to justify his preference for the new city. He authorized trade both by way of Arkhangel and Saint Petersburg, contenting himself with raising by a fourth the tariff of customs of the former town. Above all, he resolved to connect the city of the Neva with the great river artery of Russia, the Volga. To this end he created the canal of the Ladoga, which has a length of sixty-three versts, laid plans to bring the White Sea into communica-

tion with the Gulf of Finland, and to unite the Black Sea with the Caspian by means of a canal between the Don and the Volga.

Peter negotiated treaties of commerce with many European States, stirred up the national agriculture, whose progress had been hindered by the slavery of the people, promulgated an edict which forced them to reap with scythes instead of the old hooks, encouraged the cultivation of the vine and the mulberry in the regions of the southeast, ordered tobacco to be planted, introduced new kinds of cattle into Kholmogorui and other central provinces, stimulated sheep-raising, which was necessary for his wool factories, sent for Silesian shepherds, and made Russians go to learn the trade in Silesia; moreover, he created the imperial stud. He took measures to preserve the forests, and caused his whole empire to be searched for coal-beds. To counteract the indolence of such nobles as might have mines upon their lands, he declared that, in the case of their remaining unworked, strangers should have leave to work them, paying only a small premium to the proprietor. He decreed stripes and the penalty of death against any one who should dare to interfere with the mining labors and researches. Under him began the fortunes of the Demidofs, the great mine-owners, as in the reign of Ivan the Fourth began the fortunes of the Strogonofs. Peter, passing one day through Tula, inquired if there was a workman skilful enough to manufacture a musket like a foreign one which he had with him. Demid was recommended as a good gunsmith, and presented himself before the Tsar, who said, "That man would make a fine grenadier for my guards." But the man begged him to spare the father of four children. Peter was so well satisfied with the musket which Demid made, that he ordered several more, and finally gave him iron-mines in the Ural Mountains for the manufacture of cannon. The Demidofs finally became immensely rich, and Pavel Demidof founded at Moscow the Hospital for Foundlings. Peter

established and encouraged his courtiers to establish, manufactures of chemical productions; of cloth, from the managers of which he purchased the materials which he wanted for the uniforms of the army; of sail-cloth, for which the navy would furnish a ready market. The French were specially skilled in making use of the Russian wool. The Russians owe them the first manufactories of tapestries; a Frenchman named Manvriou opened a stocking manufactory at Moscow. The Englishman Humphrey introduced an improvement in the fabrication of Russia leather; the Tsar required every town to send a certain number of shoemakers to take lessons in their art at Moscow, threatening them, if they continued to work in their old way, with confiscation and the galleys. The admiral Apraxin manufactured silk brocades. A muzhik invented a lacquer superior to anything in Europe except that of Venice. Considering the versatility of the national genius, economic progress would have immensely developed if the Tsar had been able to secure the Russian merchants against the cupidity of the great and the exactions of the officials, — a danger already noted by Fletcher in the sixteenth century. Nothwithstanding this drawback, more than two hundred mills were opened in this reign.

PRACTICAL CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOLS FOUNDED BY PETER.

Peter the Great took great pains with the education of his people. He felt that the surest way of obtaining those who would help him and would continue his work was gradually to initiate the nation into his new ideas, and little by little to reconcile them to reform. He especially insisted on the education of the sons of nobles and priests; and it was decreed that a noble who could not read, write, nor express himself in a foreign tongue, should lose this birthright. But it was to be many years before the masses of the people were to have

the means of instruction. A certain number of elementary schools to which all the children of officials, from the age of ten to fifteen, were obliged to be sent, were, however, founded in all the provinces, and the pupils of the mathematical schools of Saint Petersburg were sent there as masters. These schools of Peter's had all a practical character and were of immediate utility. Classical studies were neglected, and he did not trouble himself to create branch establishments to the Greco-Latin academy at Moscow. In his fierce struggle with the forces of the past he hastened to throw Russia open to his natural auxiliaries, the ideas and sciences of the West. The schools he multiplied were special schools, — a naval academy, a school of engineers, a school of book-keeping. The literature he encouraged was a literature of translation, by means of which a huge mass of European ideas could be introduced all at once. He also encouraged polemic writings, to plead the cause of reform before the tribunal of Russian and foreign opinion. It was for this reason that he had an enormous number of technical books translated, employing for the purpose the professors of the Greco-Latin academy, the brothers Likhudi, who had retired to Novgorod, and even the members of the synod. Some of the books were translated at Moscow, and some were caused to be translated abroad, many at first into Tchek, so that the Muscovites might more easily reproduce them in their own tongue. History, geography, jurisprudence, political economy, navigation, military sciences, agriculture, and philology were soon represented in Russia by numerous books, translated from Western languages. Peter himself gave his brigade of writers advice which shows his practical sense, and even his instinctive literary taste. He said to Zotof: "You must beware of translating word for word without knowing the complete meaning of the text. You must read with care, become penetrated with the sense of your author, must be able to think his thoughts in Russian, and only after that try to reproduce them." He also recommended

them to refrain from long dissertations and useless digressions, with which the Germans fill their books to make them appear thicker, and which only serve to waste time and to disgust the reader." On the other hand, he forbade the suppression of some passages in Puffendorf, where Russian barbarism is denounced. His subjects must learn to blush for their rudeness before they could cure themselves of it. He caused books to be printed in Holland, in which he attempted to teach the Europeans what Russia was, and to appreciate his reforms; while he published others in Russia to make his subjects acquainted with Europe. He had recourse to Saint Dmitri, Feofan, and Feofilakt, who by their polemical writings combated superstitions and sects hostile to the State. Other writers turned into ridicule on the stage, by means of operettas, all the enemies of reform, fanatical raskolniki, the deacon who wept because his son was torn from him and sent to school, the employés who fished in troubled waters, the partisans of the ancient customs, who regretted the "good old times," when German garments were unknown, and men wore long beards. Natalia, Peter's sister, associated herself in his work by composing Russian plays. The merchant Passoshkof wrote his book on "Poverty and Riches," a sort of domostroï, in which all the changes in manners since the time of the priest Silvester can be followed. Passoshkof dared to lift up his voice in favor of the oppressed peasant, to demand the establishment of a tribunal before which all Russian subjects should be equal, a regular organization of justice and administration, which should protect the people against those who rob in public, the brigands and thieves, and those who steal in secret, the employés and officials. He expected great things of Peter. "Unhappily," he says, "our great monarch is almost alone, with ten others, in pulling upwards, while millions of individuals pull downwards. How then can we hope for a good result?"

Peter needed means of rapid publication. But Russian

printing had made little progress since the sixteenth century; it had tried specially to imitate the ancient Slavonic manuscripts, and its method was extremely slow. Peter abandoned the Slavonic alphabet, no longer in use except for the Church books; he was the creator of the Russian alphabet properly so called, the civil alphabet, which is merely a modification of the Greek alphabet. He improved the machines and the types, imported Dutch printers, and made printing the instrument of a powerful and rapid propaganda. In his reign there were two printing-presses instead of one at Moscow, four at Saint Petersburg, and others at Tchernigof, Novgorod the Great, and Novgorod-Severski. He founded the Gazette of Saint Petersburg, the first public newspaper in Russia.

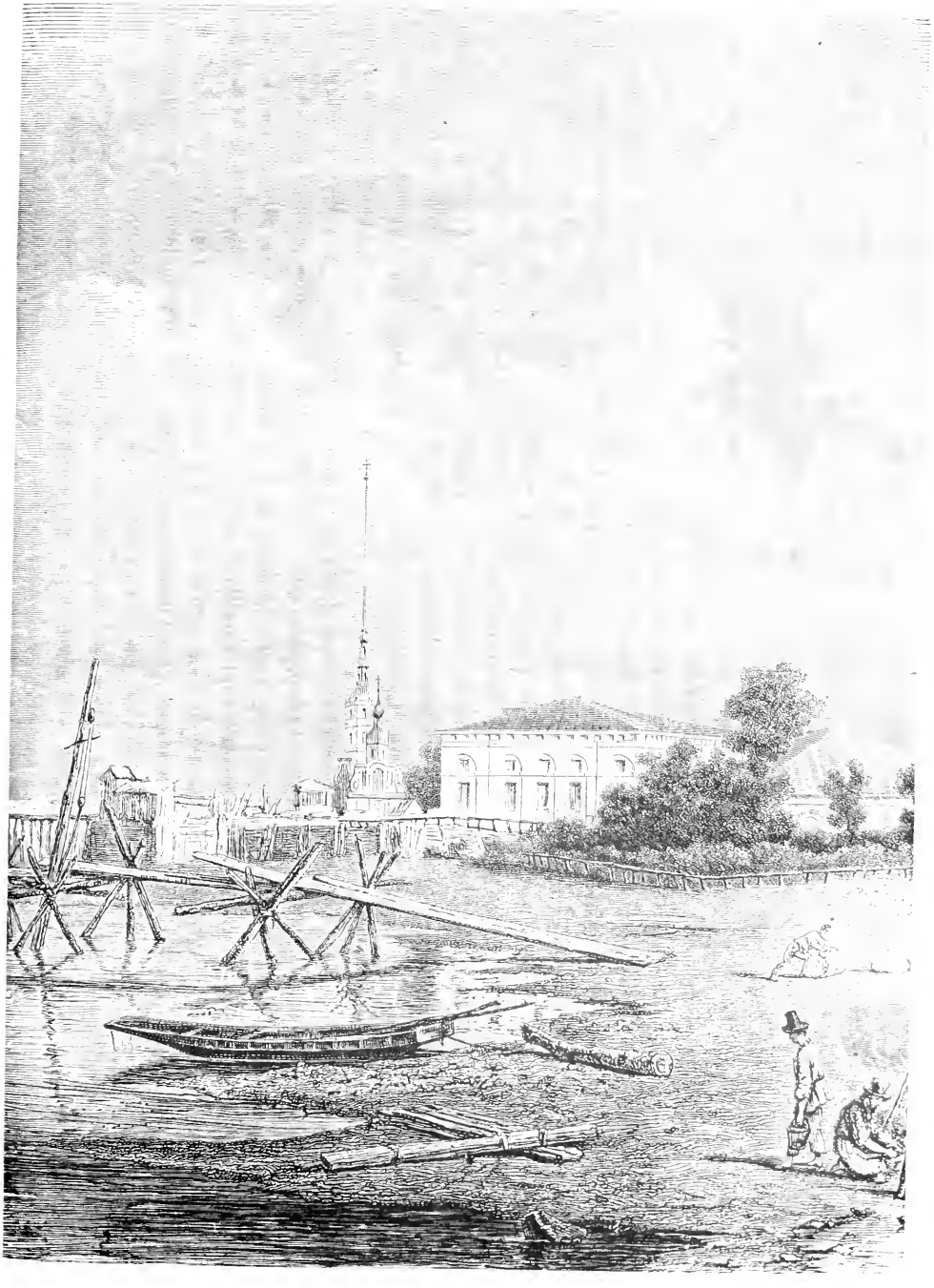
A prince who had studied medicine and surgery in the West, who sometimes practised on his courtiers, took out a tooth or lanced an abscess, could not neglect an art so necessary to his vast empire, where the mortality of infants was a bar to the increase of population. He intrusted to Doctor Bidloo the management of the hospitals and the instruction of fifty young men. In seventeen hundred and eighteen he put forth an edict enjoining the collection of valuable minerals, of extraordinary bones that might be found in the fields, of antique inscriptions on stone or metal, of any monstrosities of birth occurring among men or animals. "There are certain to be some of these births," says the ordinance, "but ignorant people make mysteries of them, believing that the birth of these monsters is due to some diabolic influence. This is impossible, for it is God and not the devil who is the creator of all things." Peter had a taste for geography; in seventeen hundred and nineteen he fitted out an expedition to Kamtchatka, to solve the question asked by Leibnitz: Is Asia united to America? In seventeen hundred and twenty he opened a school for the improvement of maps. The science of history also has deep obligations to him; in seventeen hundred and twenty-two he ordered a collection to be made in

the archives of the monasteries, of the chronicles and letters of the Tsars, and had copies taken of them. Polykarpof wrote a History of Russia from the sixteenth century, for which the Tsar gave him a reward of two hundred rubles. Finally, in seventeen hundred and twenty-four, Peter the Great, who was at the time corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, founded that of Saint Petersburg with a gift of two hundred thousand rubles, and assigned it a revenue of twenty-four thousand nine hundred and twelve rubles drawn from the revenues of the customs of Narva, Dorpat, and Pernava, desiring it, above all, to devote itself to translations, and to teach its pupils practical sciences and languages. The utilitarian character of Peter's creations is found even in his Academy. As it was not possible at that time to count on the Russians to form a learned body, the first academicians were necessarily foreigners. Germany furnished Wolff and Hermann; France, Daniel Bernouilli, the famous mathematician, philosopher, and physiologist, and Joseph De l'Isle, who was summoned to found the department of astronomy. Thus a country which as yet had neither secondary schools nor universities was given an academy.

FOUNDATION OF SAINT PETERSBURG.

Saint Petersburg was now fairly founded. Its situation, as Goethe remarks, "recalls that of Amsterdam or of Venice, the Italian Amsterdam." The wide and majestic Neva, which issues from the great lakes of the north, there divides into four arms, the great and little Neva, and the great and little Nevka. If we add to these its numerous affluents, the Fontanka, the Okhta, and the two Tchernaïas, we shall at present find fourteen water-courses, a lake, eight canals, and nineteen islands. It is distinctively the aquatic city, and is exposed to terrible inundations when the vast reservoirs of the Ladoga and Onega overflow, or when the west

winds force the waters of the Baltic back toward the Neva. No building is ever erected there without first strengthening the foundation by driving in many wooden piles. When Peter the Great first cast his eyes over the country, after the capture of Nienschantz, there were only dark forests, vast marshes, dreary wastes, where, according to the poet, "a Tchud fisherman, a sorrowful son of his step-mother Nature, might occasionally be seen alone on the marshy shore, casting his worn-out line into these nameless waters." The Finnish names then borne by the islands, on which palaces were afterwards to rise, are very significant; there were the Isle of Brushwood, the Isle of Birches, the Isle of Goats, the Isle of Hares, the Isle of Buffaloes, Isle Michael, a name for the bear, and the Wild Isle. In Enisary, or "the Isle of Hares," Peter built in seventeen hundred and three the new fortress of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. There he assembled regular soldiers, Cossacks, Tatars, Kalmuicki, Ingrian or Karelian natives, and peasants of the interior, in all more than forty thousand men. No tools were provided for their first labors; the muzhik dug the soil with sticks or his nails, and carried the earth in his caftan. He had to sleep in the open air among the marshes; he often lacked food, and the workmen died by thousands. Afterwards the service was made more regular. Peter installed himself in the celebrated little wooden house on the right bank, watching the building, sometimes piloting with his own hand the first Dutch ships which ventured into these waters, sometimes giving chase to Swedish vessels, which came to insult the infant capital. In November, seventeen hundred and three, he himself piloted the first merchant-ship into his new port. Peter granted the captain freedom from tolls for his cargo of wine and salt, and presented him with five hundred ducats, and each of the sailors with two hundred reichsthaler. The same favors were shown to the next ship, which was English. On the Isle of Buffaloes, afterwards called the Vasili-Ostrof, situated on the northern bank of the Neva,



PETER'S COTTAGE

numerous edifices rose; the southern bank, which became the real site of the town, seemed to be at that time neglected. It contained only the Admiralty, to which Anna Ivanovna added a spire; the cathedral of Saint Isaac, then built of wood, now of marble and bronze; the church of Saint Alexander Nevski, where Peter the Great deposited the remains of the first conqueror of the Swedes; the house of Apraxin, on the site of which Elisabeth built the Winter Palace, and the already splendid mansions of the Millionaïa. Through it the Nevski Prospekt, the most magnificent boulevard in Europe, was to run. The city was built and settled by dint of edicts. Finns, Esthonians, Tatars, Kalmuicki, Swedish prisoners, and merchants of Novgorod were transplanted thither; and in seventeen hundred and seven they were aided by thirty thousand day laborers from the country. To attract all the masons of the empire, it was forbidden on pain of exile and confiscation to construct stone houses anywhere but at Saint Petersburg. Every proprietor owning five hundred peasants was obliged to raise a stone house of two stories; those who were poor clubbed together to build one among themselves. Every boat that wanted to enter had to bring a certain number of unhewn stones, for stone was lacking in these wastes. Provender was also wanting, and to save it Peter proscribed the use of carriages, and encouraged navigation by the river and canals; every inhabitant was obliged to have his boat, and only by water could the Court be approached.

In seventeen hundred and six Peter wrote to Menshikof that all was going on wonderfully, and that "he seemed here in paradise." He decorated the church of the fortress with carvings in ivory, the work of his own hands, and hung it with flags conquered from the Swedes; he there in August, seventeen hundred and twenty-three, made a great festival in honor of the founding of his fleet, and consecrated, amid the thunders of artillery, the little boat which the English government had given Ivan the Fourth. It was named "the little grand-

father of many large grandchildren." Breaking through the tradition which insisted that the princes should be buried at Saint Michael at Moscow, he selected a place in the Peter-Paul Church for his own tomb and that of his successors. "Before the new capital," says Pushkin, "Moscow bowed her head, as an imperial widow bows before a young Tsaritsa."

Saint Petersburg had another enemy besides the Swedes, — the inundations. The soil was not yet raised by the incessant heaping up of materials; the granite quays did not yet confine the formidable river. In seventeen hundred and five nearly the whole town was flooded; in seventeen hundred and twenty-one all the streets were navigable, and Peter was nearly drowned in the Nevski Prospekt. The enemies of reform, exasperated by the desertion of Moscow, rejoiced over these disasters, and predicted that this German town, built by foreign hands and soiled by the presence of heretic temples, would disappear beneath the floods, that some day the place of this cursed city should be sought in vain. Even at the end of Peter's reign it was the general opinion that after his death the Court and the nobility would return to Moscow, and that the city and the fleet created by the Tsar would be abandoned. They were mistaken; the town that he had flung like a forlorn hope on the newly conquered soil remained the seat of the empire. Russia is almost the only State that has built its capital on its very frontiers. Saint Petersburg was not only to be the "window" open to the West, but it was to be also the centre of the Russian regeneration. More freely, more completely than at Moscow the Holy, where everything recalled the traditions and recollections of the past, Peter could enthrone at Saint Petersburg the sentiments of toleration for the Protestant and Catholic religions, and sympathy for foreigners, who were always detested at Moscow. He could more easily persuade the nobles to adopt German fashions, to speak Western languages, to cultivate sciences and useful arts,

to discard with the national caftan the old Russian prejudices. At Moscow, the City of the Tsars, foreigners were confined in the German Sloboda; at Saint Petersburg, the City of the Emperors, the Russian and the stranger were to meet and receive mutual impressions.

CHAPTER IV.

PETER THE GREAT: LAST YEARS.

1709–1725.

WAR WITH TURKEY: TREATY OF THE PRUTH (1711). — JOURNEY TO PARIS (1717). — PEACE OF NYSTAD (1721): CONQUESTS ON THE CASPIAN. — FAMILY AFFAIRS: EVDOKIA; TRIAL OF ALEXIS (1718); CATHERINE.

WAR WITH TURKEY: THE TREATY OF THE PRUTH.

CHARLES THE TWELFTH, who had allowed himself to be detained in Poland during the five years that followed Narva, proceeded after the battle of Poltava, in seventeen hundred and nine, to idle away five years more at Bender. Peter turned this new delay to advantage with as much energy as the former. Charles's Polish king, Leshtchinski, was obliged to retire into Pomerania, having been deserted by his most powerful friends, who had heard that Augustus was about to come with a Saxon army of fourteen thousand men, and that the Tsar himself was on his way to Poland. Augustus of Saxony re-entered Warsaw after making a reconciliation with Peter the Great. In the North Peter again attempted the capture of Vuiborg, the most important city of Karelia, situated on the Gulf of Finland. On the thirteenth of June the Swedish commander was forced to surrender, and the garrison, together with nearly all the inhabitants, was transplanted to Saint Petersburg. In September the whole province, including the important city of Kexholm, had submitted to the Tsar. On the fourth of July Riga capitulated after a long and costly

siege in which both armies suffered from the plague, which had broken out. After the loss of Riga the other cities of Livonia were unable to make a long resistance. Pernava surrendered on the fourteenth of August, and on the twenty-ninth of September Revel, the capital of Esthonia. Thus by the conquest of Livonia, Esthonia, and a part of Finland, Peter gained a stronger hold on the Baltic. Owing to the fact that Kurland was a State subject to Poland, he was unable to make a conquest of it; but he paved the way for its union with Russia by marrying the young Duke, Friedrich Wilhelm, nephew of the King of Prussia, to Anna Ivanovna, daughter of his brother Ivan. The Duke died a few days after the wedding. Nevertheless, his widow took up her residence in Mitava, where she lived until she ascended the throne of Russia.

The agents of Sweden, generals Poniatovski and Pototski, the friends of Stanislas and Charles, Désaleurs, ambassador of France, and the warlike Khan of the Tatars, were all urging the Divan to go to war. Akhmet the Third was anxious to recapture Azof. In August, seventeen hundred and ten, the grand vizier gave the command for the army and fleet to be put on a war basis. On the twenty-first of November war was declared, and the Russian ambassador, Tolstoi, was thrown in the Seven Towers. As soon as Peter learned that this rupture of the peace had taken place, and that Baltazhi-Mahomet was assembling an immense army in the plains of Adrianople, he ordered Prince Mikhail Galitsuin to go to the boundaries of Moldavia with ten regiments of dragoons in order to watch the movements of the Turks and Tatars. Sheremetief was commanded to report from Riga in Livonia, with twenty-two regiments of infantry, while Dmitri Galitsuin kept an eye on the Zaporoshtsui and Prince Romodonovski drew near Putivl with the forces at his command. On the eighth of March service was said in the Uspienski Sobor at Moscow, and public declaration of the war was made from the altar. The Tsar received this declaration of war almost with joy; the whole of

Russia trembled with gladness at the thought of treading in the steps of its ancient princes, of marching to Tsargrad, the "Sovereign City," of freeing the Christians of the East, of exterminating the old enemies of the Slav race, and of eclipsing the glory of Ivan the Terrible.

On the seventeenth of March Peter took his departure for Poland together with Catherine, whom he had secretly married in seventeen hundred and seven, and whom now he acknowledged as his wife. He had an interview with Augustus, who promised him aid against the Turks; but without waiting for the Polish contingent of thirty thousand men, he hastened to the scene of action, depending more upon the Princes of Moldavia and Valakhia than on the King. Konstantin Bessaraba, Count of Brankovan, had been for twenty-two years hospodar of Valakhia, and with the hope of securing the princedom to his family he promised Peter to furnish him provisions and men, and to stir up a revolt among the Christians in the Turkish dominions. Peter expected still more valuable aid from Moldavia, which was separated from Poland only by the Dniester. Dmitri Kantemir, whose father had been hospodar of Moldavia, just before the declaration of war had been appointed by the grand vizier to the same position, with a promise of freedom from paying tribute and the customary gift to the divan. But hardly had he reached the capital when the gift was demanded from him. He then resolved to unite with the Russians, whose star seemed to be in the ascendant. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of April he agreed to place Moldavia under Russian protection and join his army to Peter's, on the condition of being kept in his princely rights. As soon as Sheremetief, with his army of fifteen thousand men, had crossed the Dniester, Kantemir judged it a favorable time to throw off the mask. By a printed proclamation he announced his treaty with the Tsar, and threatened his boyars with death and confiscation if they did not attach themselves to the Tsar's army. But the fear

of the Turks had greater influence on his subjects than his threats and promises, and a majority of the nobles hastened to join the Turks, carrying with them the larger part of the provisions of the country. The Russian army, contrary to their usual custom, had neglected to bring supplies, and not more than a week's rations were at their command.

Peter drew near the Dniester and held a council of war. It was the opinion of the German generals that they should secure their position on the river, where they had easy access into Poland, and if possible capture Bender, where Charles the Twelfth was staying, which would furnish a stronghold and magazine for the army. They reminded Peter of the mistake made by Charles the Twelfth in seventeen hundred and nine, and showed him the danger of counting on the doubtful help of these barbarous and thinly peopled countries. But the brave General Rönne of Kurland, in whom Peter had the fullest confidence, thought that the only step worthy of the Tsar was to press on through the deserts of Moldavia. The Russian generals and ministers seconded Rönne, and Peter decided to follow the advice of the majority. On the twenty-seventh of June he crossed the river. After a seven days' march through a desert lacking water and trees and without a habitation, they reached the Pruth, where Kantemir joined them with his little army. Here they learned of Brankovan's defection. Peter was so incensed that he was prevented only by the greatest difficulty from killing the Valakhian messenger on the spot. Meanwhile the Turkish army was approaching, and had succeeded in throwing two bridges across the Danube. General Rönne, in attempting to attack these bridges, was cut off from the main division of the Russians. Peter's position became more and more hazardous. Provisions were scarce, as well as provender for the horses. The locusts had eaten the grass to the very roots. It was decided to beat a retreat, and the shortest way was chosen between the mountains and the river. But this was found to

be impassable, owing to a morass that occupied the width of the plain. The whole army came together again on the night of the nineteenth of July, and it was found that out of the thirty-eight thousand which had crossed the Dniester, only twenty-four thousand answered the muster-roll. The march was directed to a clump of woodland on a hill which would give the army a little protection. But the Tatar Khan managed to invest the hill before the Russians reached it. The next morning the Tatars attacked the Russian rear, which was guarded by the Preobrazhenski regiment. In steady conflict they marched until noon, when they were obliged to stop and recover from the effects of the intense heat and their weariness. Meanwhile the whole Turkish and Tatar army, amounting to over two hundred thousand, had assembled in the plain of Horste Guesti. The grand vizier, Baltazhi-Mahomet, was a poor soldier, but he had able assistants in the Swedish general, Sparre, and in Count Poniatovski. Charles had kept away from the Turkish camp through his dislike at holding a subordinate position. On the evening of the twentieth of July, just before sunset, the battle was renewed. The Russians thrice repulsed the ferocious attacks of the Janissaries, and more than seven thousand Turks perished. Night came on and offered little consolation to the weary Russians. Poniatovski advised the vizier to throw up an embankment and post upon it all the cannon. Five hundred would have sufficed to annihilate the Russians. Peter seemed irretrievably lost. Sick in his tent and alone, he gave himself up to the most melancholy forebodings. A moment was sufficient to overthrow the work of his life. To retreat was impossible. It was equally impossible to remain without provisions. A council of war was held in Shafirof's tent. Catherine was present. It was determined to tempt the well-known avarice of the grand vizier. Two hundred thousand rubles were collected, and Catherine added her jewels. Then she went to Peter's tent and told him the determination of the council.

He consented against his will, and the ambassadors, Shafirof at their head, proceeded to the Turkish camp. Baltazhi, attracted by the sight of the money and the glittering jewels, seemed inclined to yield. Peter wrote to Shafirof to accede to any terms, to make any sacrifice demanded by the Turks; to restore Azof, Livonia, even Esthonia and Karelia, but to hold fast upon Ingria, the loss of which would involve that of the new capital. He commanded the envoys rather to sacrifice even Pskof, and besought them to let him know that very day, so that they might try the "desperate way" if negotiations failed. He was determined under those circumstances to force a passage, and to fight to the last man. He had already written to the senate announcing his perilous condition, and commanding them, in case he met with disaster, to choose from their number the one most worthy to be his successor. But the vizier acceded to the treaty, and his demands were smaller than were anticipated: he contented himself with the restitution of Azof, the destruction of the fortresses of Taganrog, Kamennov, Saton, and others erected on the Turkish territory, and the promise that Charles the Twelfth should not be hindered in his return to Sweden, and that he should be left in peace when he returned to his own kingdom; he also demanded that Kantemir should be given into his hands. But this demand Peter managed not to satisfy. Such was the celebrated Treaty of the Pruth, or of Hush, as it was called from the little city near by. It caused universal joy in the Russian army, for few had expected such a result. The Count de Lion wrote: "If in the morning any one had told us that peace would come about in such a manner, everybody would have considered him a visionary, a lunatic, a scatterbrain, who had the audacity to encourage us with a hope in which there was certainly not the least reason to indulge. And I remember that after General Janus's flag of truce had departed with the marshal's letter, this general said to us, as we were returning to our places, that the man who had in-

duced his Tsarian majesty to undertake this business ought to be considered the most ridiculous, the most foolish person on earth; but that if the grand vizier accepted the offer made him, in the situation in which we were, he would give the grand vizier the precedence. God granted that the general of that infidel army was blinded by the glitter of two hundred thousand ducats, so that so large a number of excellent people in this army were saved when they were actually at the mercy of the Turks." Peter the Great never recovered from the sadness which the reverses in this war caused him,—to have come as deliverer of the Christian world and to be forced to capitulate; to surrender Azof, his first conquest; to annihilate his fleet on the Black Sea, which had cost him so many efforts! But he wrote to the senate that, although the loss of the cities which had cost so much labor and treasure was, indeed, grievous to him, yet he could see wherein advantage might be the ultimate result. He waited, and took his revenge on another side.

JOURNEY TO PARIS.—PEACE OF NYSTAD.—CONQUESTS ON THE CASPIAN.

In seventeen hundred and twelve and seventeen hundred and thirteen, while France was passing through a supreme crisis in the war of the Spanish Succession, the Russians, with their Danish and Saxon allies, were expelling the Swedes from Pomerania. In May, seventeen hundred and thirteen, a fleet of two hundred Russian ships, commanded by Apraxin, with Peter for vice-admiral, left the Neva, took Helsingfors and Abo, capital of Finland, the library of which was sent to Saint Petersburg, and disembarked troops who defeated the Swedes at Tammersfors. The following year the Russians again defeated the enemy's fleet at Hankül, and occupied the isles of Aland. Even Stockholm was threatened, the Russians not being more than fifteen miles from the Swedish capital. The

capture of Nyslott completed the conquest of Finland, and Charles the Twelfth, who hastened from Bender, could save neither Stralsund nor Vismar. After long hesitation the King of Prussia had joined his enemies, and the last Swedish fortresses in Pomerania had fallen. The Elector of Hanover, King of England, also turned against him, and took Verden, a possession of Charles on the Weser. With Sweden deprived of its provinces in the German Empire, the results of the Treaty of Westphalia were imperilled. The war in the North, formerly localized in the eastern Baltic, became a European war, and threatened the equilibrium of the Continent. Russian armies, for the first time, poured into Northern Germany. Peter, who had married one of his nieces to the Duke of Kurland, found a husband for the other, Ekaterina Ivanovna, in the Duke of Mecklenburg, and lent his support to help this prince to reduce his nobility to obedience. North Germany seemed ready to fall under the Muscovite yoke, as in the seventeenth century it had passed under the Swedish rule. The allies of the Tsar began to fear his ambition. The Mecklenburg nobles took their revenge by everywhere stirring up enemies against him. Bernsdorff induced George of Hanover to break off his alliance with the Tsar, and two other Mecklenburgers obtained the promise of the King of Denmark to close the gates of Vismar on Peter. Peter felt that he also must find support, and, as the question had now become European, must seek European allies. It was at this juncture that Baron Görtz undertook to reconcile him with Charles the Twelfth, whose courage was to be used to overthrow the King of England, and to replace the Stuart dynasty on the throne. Peter wished, moreover, to enter into relations with France. In seventeen hundred and eleven he had sent Gregory Volkof to Louis the Fourteenth, to ask his mediation, but the Grand Monarque thought himself too deeply involved with Sweden, though Charles had but scantily fulfilled his own obligations. After the death of Louis the Fourteenth the Duke of Orleans

became Regent. Peter decided to visit Versailles, and Prince Kurakin, his agent at the Court of France, assured him of the good-will of the Duke. The Tsar had, therefore, grounds to hope for the conclusion of a close alliance with a powerful kingdom, and perhaps to look forward to the marriage of his daughter Elisabeth with the young King Louis the Fifteenth. The circumstances under which Peter made his second journey to the West were all unlike those of his former tour. He was no longer the young prince, only half civilized, master of a nearly unknown State in Eastern Europe, but the conqueror of Poltava and of Hankül, the master of the Baltic and Northern Germany, the reformer of a numerous people, the founder of a new capital and a new empire, the head of a great European nation.

"This monarch," says Saint Simon, "astonished Paris by his extreme curiosity on all points of government, commerce, education, and police, — a curiosity which disdained nothing, but probed everything. All his conduct displayed the breadth of his views and the acuteness of his reasoning. His manner was at once the most majestic, the proudest, the most sustained, and at the same time the least embarrassing. He had the sort of familiarity that springs from boundless liberty, but he was not exempt from a trace of the old-world barbarism of his country, which made him abrupt and even uncourteous, and with nothing certain about his wishes but the fact that not one of them was to be contradicted. His habits at meals were rough; the revelry that followed was even more indecent. He seldom tried to hide in his establishment the freedom and the self-will of a king. His love of unrestrained sightseeing, his dislike of being made a spectacle, his habit of liberty for which he was accountable to none, made him prefer hired carriages, even fiacres. He would jump into the first carriage he met with, without caring to whom it belonged, and have himself driven about the town or beyond the walls. He was a very tall man, well made, though rather thin, his

face somewhat round, with a high forehead, beautiful eyebrows, a short nose, thick at the end; his lips were rather thick, his skin brown and ruddy. He had splendid eyes, large, black, piercing, and wide-awake; his expression was dignified and gracious when he liked, but often wild and stern; his eyes and his whole face were distorted by an occasional twitch that was very unpleasant. It lasted only a moment, and gave him a haggard and terrible look till he was himself again. His air expressed intellect, thoughtfulness, and greatness, and had a certain grace about it. He wore a linen collar, a round peruke, brown and unpowdered, which did not reach his shoulders; a brown, close-fitting coat, with gold buttons, a vest, breeches, stockings, and neither gloves nor cuffs; the star of his order on his coat, and the ribbon underneath it; his coat was often entirely unbuttoned, his hat lay on the table, and never on his head, even out of doors. In this simplicity, however shabby might be his carriage or scanty his retinue, his natural air of greatness could not be mistaken."

Peter visited both the Regent and the King, took Louis the Fifteenth in his arms, to the great consternation of the courtiers, and wrote to his wife Catherine, who this time did not accompany him: "The little king is scarcely taller than our dwarf Loaki; his face and figure are distinguished, and he is tolerably intelligent for his age." The Tsar despised all that was merely fashionable and unproductive luxury, and occupied himself entirely with government, commerce, science, and military affairs. He neglected to call on the princes of the blood, but entered the shops of coach-builders and goldsmiths. He tasted the soup of the Invalides, drank their health, struck them on the shoulder, and treated them as comrades. The Gobelins, the Observatory, the King's garden, the collection of plans in relief of fortified places, the works of the Pont Tournant, and the machine at Marly, for carrying water across the Seine to Versailles, captivated his attention. A gold medal was struck for him at the Mint with his own effigy and the

motto "Vires acquirit eundo." He was present at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences, which elected him a member, and he corrected with his own hand a map of his dominions which was shown to him. He embraced a bust of Richelieu at the Sorbonne, and went to see Madame de Maintenon as a relic of the great reign of Louis the Fourteenth. She was confined to her bed, but Peter pulled aside the curtains and stood gazing at her for some time. Neither said a word, and Madame de Maintenon was very indignant, but unable to have her revenge.

Things did not run quite as smoothly as he wished in the matter which had chiefly brought him to France. He was in search of an ally against George the First; but the English alliance was then the corner-stone of the French foreign policy. "The Tsar," says Saint Simon, "had an intense desire to unite himself with France. Nothing could have been better for our commerce, or for our position with regard to Germany, the North, and the whole of Europe. Peter held England in check by its fears for its commerce, and King George by his fears for his German territories. He made Holland treat him with respect, and kept the Emperor in great order. . . . . No one can deny that he made a grand figure both in Europe and Asia, and that France would have gained enormously by an alliance with him. . . . . We repented long ago of our fatal infatuation for England, and our silly contempt for Russia."

Notwithstanding the mad confidence of the Regent in the Abbé Dubois, the plenipotentiaries of Peter the Great concluded at Amsterdam, in seventeen hundred and seventeen, after the return of the Tsar to his dominions, a treaty of commerce with France. The two Powers, now joined by Prussia, declared that they specially united to guarantee the Treaty of Utrecht, and the eventual peace of the North; they laid down the basis of a defensive alliance, the ways and means of which were afterwards to be considered. Peter, later in the same year, found himself somewhat compromised in the plans of

Görtz and Cardinal Alberoni of Spain, which caused a coolness between them. A regular communication between the two countries was, however, inaugurated. First Kurakin and then Dolgoruki were nominated ambassadors at Paris, while Campredon represented France at Saint Petersburg. More than once negotiations were set on foot for Elisabeth's marriage, sometimes with Louis the Fifteenth, sometimes with the Duke of Bourbon, or some other French prince. France lent its good offices to Russia, in the matter of peace with Sweden.

Görtz was on the point of reconciling Peter with Charles, and a congress had already opened in May in the isles of Aland, between Bruce and Ostermann on the one hand and Görtz and Gyllenburg on the other, when the King of Sweden was killed in Norway, in December, seventeen hundred and eighteen. An aristocratic reaction broke out at Stockholm: Charles Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp, nephew of Charles the Twelfth, was excluded from the throne, and the crown was offered to the youngest sister of the late king, Ulrica-Eleonora, wife of Frederic of Hesse-Cassel, who was regarded as more pliable. An aristocratic constitution was established which deprived the crown of nearly all its prerogatives, and left Sweden a prey for fifty-three years to anarchy and insignificance. Authority passed into the hands of a diet composed of the deputies of the four orders, the nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants, but in which the nobles had a decided majority. Görtz was recalled to Stockholm and condemned to death, and his policy was abandoned. The Diet revived, on the contrary, the alliance with Hanover, and resolved to continue the war with Russia, with the probable support of the English fleet. Peter accepted the challenge, and waged with his enemies a war of extermination. In seventeen hundred and nineteen his army landed on the shores of Sweden itself, and burned two towns and a hundred and twenty-nine villages. Apraxin extended his ravages to within seven miles of Stockholm. The booty he collected was estimated at one million rubles, and twelve

times as much was destroyed. When they withdrew, a piece of forest forty miles long was set on fire, by the burning of which the copper and iron mines situated in it became useless for many years. In seventeen hundred and twenty the devastation recommenced, in the very presence of the English fleet, which did not dare to pursue the Russians into the recesses of the Swedish coast. In seventeen hundred and twenty-one the Diet decided to treat. Peter kept Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, part of Finland, and Karelia. Such was the Peace of Nystad, which avenged Ivan the Terrible and Alexis Mikhaïlovitch.

When the Tsar felt the weight of this twenty-two years' war lifted from his shoulders, he returned to Saint Petersburg to announce the happy news of peace to his people, and, mounted on a platform, he drank to the health of his subjects. A whole week was given up to fêtes and masquerades. Peter, in his joy, burned twelve thousand rubles' worth of powder, put on a fancy dress, danced on the table, and sang songs. The senate united with the Holy Synod in a great council, decreed to the Tsar the titles of "Great, of the Father of his Country, and of Emperor of all the Russias," and throughout the whole city thousands of voices cried, "Long live the Father of his Country, the Emperor, Peter the Great!" It was thus that the son of Alexis became, according to the expression of the popular songs, "the first emperor of the country." Feofan Prokopovitch preached one of his most beautiful sermons on this occasion.

Peter's great desire was to make Russia the centre of communication between Asia and Europe. He had conquered the shores of the Baltic, but it was necessary that he should find an equivalent for Azof and throw open at least one of the seas of the East. Persia, mistress of the Caspian, was then a prey to anarchy under a weak prince, who was attacked by rebels on all sides. Russian merchants had been robbed, and Peter took advantage of this pretext for war to seize Derbend, the key of Persia, and he himself commanded the ex-

pedition which descended the Volga, from Nijni to Astrakhan, in seventeen hundred and twenty-two. The operations still continued after his departure: the Russians took Baku, the principal city of Shirvan, interfered in the internal affairs of Persia, promised help to the Shah against his enemies, and occupied Daghestan, Ghilan, and Mazanderan, with Resht and Asterabad.

FAMILY AFFAIRS: EVDOKIA; TRIAL OF ALEXIS; CATHERINE.

The last years of Peter the Great were saddened by terrible domestic tragedies. He had been married, at the age of seventeen, to Evdokia Lapukhin, the daughter of a very conservative family. As she shared the views of her relations, Peter soon began to hate her. After the capture of Azof he signified that he did not wish on his return to find her at the palace, and she was obliged to retire to the Pokrovski Monastery at Susdal. Soon afterwards he obtained a divorce, in order to marry Catherine. Banished and divorced, Evdokia still retained power. In the eyes of the people, and of a large part of the clergy, she remained the Tsar's only lawful wife; she was the mother of the Tsar's only son, Alexis, over whose mind and character she had, during the Tsar's frequent absences, exercised the most fatal influence. After the dismissal of Evdokia, Peter paid more attention to the education of his heir, who was then eight years old, and gave him foreign masters. It was too late; Alexis was already a young man. Narrow-minded, indolent, lazy, feeble, and obstinate, the son of the reformer was only a Lapukhin. While Peter was exposing himself on battle-fields in Finland, Lithuania, and the Ukraina, Alexis was surrounded by monks, devotees, and visionaries, and reading his Bible and theological works over and over again. His Court was formed of those who disparaged and abused the reforms and the new laws. Against his own wishes, he was forced in October,

seventeen hundred and eleven, to marry Charlotte of Brunswick at Torgau, but consoled himself with the idea that he would one day have the heads of the authors of the marriage. He hated her because she was a foreigner and a heretic. When his confidant tried to make him fear that he would only alienate the nobles, "I spit upon them," he replied; "the people are on my side. When my father dies, I shall have only to say a word in the ear of the archbishops, who will tell their priests, who will whisper it to their parishioners, and I shall be made Tsar, even were it in spite of myself." During his travels in Germany he would learn nothing, he wounded his hand that he might not be obliged to draw, and alleged his feeble health as an excuse for living in idleness. Peter tried to bring him to reason. "Disquiet for the future destroys the joy caused by our present successes, for I see that you despise all that can make you worthy to reign after me. Your incapacity I call rebellion, for you cannot excuse yourself on the ground of feebleness of mind and weakness of health. We have struggled from our former obscurity only through the toils of war, which has taught other nations to know and respect us, and yet you will not even hear of military exercises. I, a man, am subject to death; to whom shall I leave what I have established and accomplished? If you do not alter your conduct, know that I shall deprive you of my succession. I have not spared, and I shall not spare, my own life for my country and my people; do you think that I shall spare yours? Better a worthy stranger than a good-for-nothing relation." Alexis still persisted that he had neither health nor memory, and would prefer to become a monk. Peter then gave him six months' time in which to decide whether he would obey him or go into a convent. His confidant, Kikin, advised him to dissemble, and to allow himself to be shut up in a convent. "You can come out of it," he said; "they do not nail the cowl to your head." During his father's travels in the West the Tsarévitch fled to Germany with his

mistress, the Finland serf Afrosinia. He went to the court of Vienna, which promised to provide him with a secret and secure asylum. It was in this manner that he was successively confined in the castle of Ehrenberg, in the Tyrol, and of Sant' Elmo, near Naples. His father's agents, who had instantly started in pursuit, finally succeeded in tracing him, and Tolstoï obtained an interview with Alexis, who was assured of pardon, and persuaded to return to Moscow. The Tsar immediately assembled the three orders at the Kreml, arraigned the prisoner before it, and obliged him to sign a formal renunciation of the crown. Alexis had also to denounce his accomplices, and in the course of the interrogation some terrible disclosures were made to Peter. His son was the centre of a permanent conspiracy against his reforms, and was the hope of all who after his death would seek to destroy his work. If Alexis had consented to enter the cloister, it was in the expectation of one day leaving it; in the same way his renunciation of the throne could not have been sincere: he did not belong to himself, he belonged to the enemies of his father, who would understand how to absolve him from his vows. Peter learned, among other things, that Alexis had solicited at Vienna the armed protection of the Emperor, that he had intrigued with Sweden, and that, on the occasion of a sedition in the Russian army of Mecklenburg, he entered into relations with the leaders, and only awaited a letter to hasten to the camp. He had longed for the death of his father, and his confessor, Varlaam, had said, "We all desire it." The threads of the plot between the palace of the Tsarévitch and the convent of the divorced Tsaritsa were soon grasped. Evdokia was treated, not as a nun, but as a Tsaritsa; she had her court of malcontents, wore a secular costume, was mentioned in the prayers like a sovereign. Dosifeï, Archbishop of Rostof, had predicted to her the approaching death of the Tsar, and to hasten it the Archimandrite Peter made hundreds of prostrations before the holy images. General Glebof, who

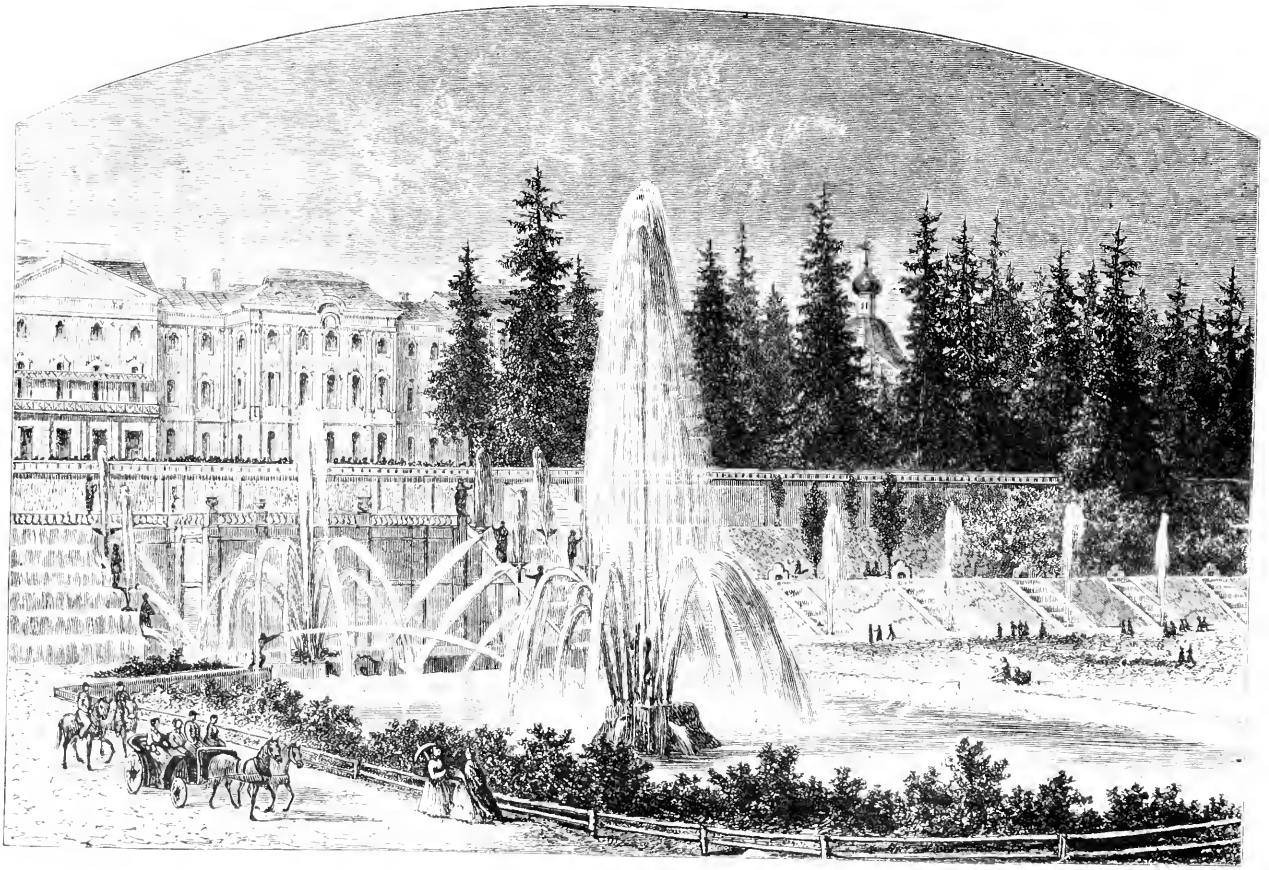
had established a correspondence in cipher with the Tsaritsa, avowed that he was her lover, and that he was to marry her after the death of the Tsar. Her relations, her brother Avraam Lapukhin among others, were concerned in these intrigues and hopes. Peter crushed with cruel penalties this nest of conspirators. Glebof was impaled, Dosifeï broken on the wheel, Lapukhin tortured and beheaded; thirty people were put to death or exiled; Evdokia was whipped and confined in New Ladoga. Peter's own sister Maria, who was also implicated, was imprisoned in Schlüsselburg. The affair of the Tsarévitch had changed its character after all these revelations; there could now be no question of clemency. Peter had no longer to deal with a lazy and disobedient son, but with a traitor who had become the chief of his enemies within and the ally of those without, and who had sought foreign aid. Peter had to choose between his son and his reforms, for Alexis had openly promised to abandon Saint Petersburg, the navy, the Swedish conquests, and to return to Moscow. There was no hope now of putting him in a condition where he would be harmless after the death of his father. Alexis knew they could not "nail the cowl on his head," and the seclusion of a convent had not prevented Evdokia from indulging in secular hopes. Henceforth Alexis found in his father only an inexorable judge. Twice he suffered the knout; and a tribunal composed of the highest officials of the State condemned him to death. The difficulty seemed to lie in the execution of the sentence; but two days after the sentence was passed it became known that he had ceased to live. Divers rumors as to the manner of his death were circulated in the Memoirs of the time: some say it was caused by a sudden apoplexy, or a disease of the bowels, arising from deep emotion; some that he was beheaded with an axe, struck down with a club, suffocated under cushions, strangled with his cravat; some that he was put to death by poison; others that his veins were opened. All that is certain is, that on the morning of the twenty-seventh of June, seventeen hun-

dred and eighteen the Tsar compelled his son to appear before a commission of nine of the greatest men of the State. About what then took place these nine men were forever silent; but it seems now to have been ascertained that in order to wring fresh confessions from the Tsarévitch the knout was again applied to him, and that he died from the consequences of the torture.

Peter had already another family. In seventeen hundred and two, at the sack of Marienburg, the Russians had made prisoner a young girl, about whose condition, origin, and nationality original authorities differ. It seems most probable that she was a Livonian, the natural daughter of a gentleman named Von Rosen, whose mother afterwards married a serf, Skavronski; that she was a privileged servant at the house of the pastor Glück, and that she had been betrothed to a Swedish dragoon. It was thus that in obscurity and dishonor her imperial destiny began. Though ignorant and completely illiterate, she fascinated the Tsar by the vivacity of her mind, the correctness of her judgment, and something free and adventurous about her which contrasted with the manners of the Russian terem, and marked out this Lutheran slave as the future Empress of Russia. Their marriage, secretly contracted, received a final consecration under the fire of the Ottoman batteries on the Pruth. In memory of the services then rendered by Catherine to the Tsar and to the country, Peter founded the Order "for love and fidelity," and solemnly married her in seventeen hundred and twelve. He did not, however, dare to take her with him in his journey to France. The contrast would have been too obvious at Versailles between the ladies of the proud French nobility and this foreign slave; between the cultivated wit of a Sévigné and a Deffand and this empress who could not sign her name; between the refinements of the French fine ladies and the awkward wench described by the Margravine of Baireuth.

"The Tsaritsa," says the German princess, "was small and

clumsily made, very much tanned, and without either grace or an air of distinction. You had only to see her to know that she was low-born. From her usual costume you would have taken her for a German comedian. Her dress had been bought at a second-hand shop; it was very old-fashioned, and covered with silver and dirt. She had a dozen orders, and as many portraits of saints or reliquaries, fastened down all her dress, in such a way that when she walked you would have thought by the jingling that a mule was passing." In seventeen hundred and twenty-one Peter promulgated the celebrated edict which recognized the right of the Russian sovereign to nominate his successor, thus derogating from the hereditary principle which seems the very essence of the monarchy. Peter invoked the precedent of Ivan the Great, and the "Absalom revolt" of Alexis. To justify this measure of the Tsar, Feofan Prokopovitch wrote his book, called *Pravda voli monarshei*, or "The Law of the Monarch's Will." By Catherine Peter had had two sons, Peter and Pavel, who died when children, and two daughters, — Anna, married to the Duke of Holstein, and Elisabeth, who became Tsaritsa. Besides these, Alexis had left a son by Charlotte of Brunswick, who was then named last in the public prayers, and afterwards became Peter the Second. In May, seventeen hundred and twenty-four, Peter the Great published a manifesto, recalling the services Catherine had rendered, and solemnly crowned her Empress. This was the culmination of her strange destiny. Soon it began to change; the Emperor thought that he had discovered proofs of her infidelity, and spoke of repudiating her. At all events, he had not as yet exercised the right of naming his successor, claimed two years before. His health was broken by his toils and his excesses, and he no longer took any care of himself. On the twenty-seventh of October, seventeen hundred and twenty-four, he flung himself into icy water up to his waist to save a boat in distress; he began to feel the first symptoms of illness, but he recovered, and in Jan-



CHÂTEAU OF PETERHOF

uary he again instituted the election of a Prince-pope. Buturlin, who had taken the place of Zotof in this office, had just died, and a new Conclave of Cardinals was assembled. Peter, as usual, drank to excess. In the "benediction of the waters" he caught a fresh cold, and died on the twenty-eighth of January, seventeen hundred and twenty-five, without being able either to speak or write his last wishes. He was then only fifty-three years of age.

He was, above all, a man of war, marked as such by his tall figure, his robust limbs, his nervous and sanguine temperament, and his arm as strong as a blacksmith's. His life was a struggle with the forces of the past, with the ignorant nobles, with the fanatical clergy, with the people who plumed themselves on their barbarism and national isolation, with the Cossack and Strelits, representatives of the old army, and with the raskol, the representative of the old superstition. This combat, which shook Russia and the world, he found repeated in his own family. It began with his sister Sophia, and continued with his wife Evdokia and his son Alexis. Entirely given up to his terrible task, Peter all his life disdained pomp, luxury, and every kind of display. The first Emperor of Russia, the founder of Saint Petersburg, forgot to build himself a palace; his favorite residence of Peterhof is like the villa of a well-to-do citizen of Saandam. His table was frugal, and what he sought in his orgies of beer or brandy was a stimulant or a distraction. The people have preserved his memory in their songs or popular traditions; they delight in repeating, "He worked harder than a burlak." This well-filled life was like a fever of perpetual activity, in which Peter, with Russia, panted and exhausted himself. Is it wonderful that he roughly hurled all obstacles out of his way? His movement was prompt and his hand heavy; the staff of Ivan the Fourth seems to have passed into his grasp. We have seen him strike with his cane the greatest lords, Prince Menshikof among the number. To his will he bent men, things, nature, and time; he realized

his end by despotic blows. For a long while yet Russian and foreign historians will either hesitate to pass a final judgment on him, or will advance contradictory opinions. The truth will probably be found not in the fulsome adulations of Voltaire, nor in the bitter criticism of Prince Augustin Galitsuin, but in a reasonable estimate which, while recognizing his faults, sees his virtues and the real greatness of his character.

CHAPTER V.

THE WIDOW AND GRANDSON OF PETER THE GREAT: CATHERINE THE FIRST AND PETER THE SECOND.

1725-1730.

THE WORK OF PETER THE GREAT CONTINUED BY CATHERINE. — MENSHIKOF AND THE DOLGORUKIS. — MAURICE DE SAXE IN KURLAND.

THE WORK OF PETER THE GREAT CONTINUED BY CATHERINE.

AT the death of Peter the Great the nation was divided into two parties: one supported his grandson, Peter Alexiévitch, then twelve years old, the other wished to proclaim Catherine the Livonian. The Galitsuins, the Dolgorukis, Repnin, and all Old Russia desired to place the crown on the head of Peter Alexiévitch; but those who owed their elevation to Peter the First, those who were involved in the trial of his son, — Prince Menshikof, Admiral Apraxin, Buturlin, Colonel of the Guard, the Chancellor Golovkin, Iaguzhinski, Procurator-General of the Senate, the German Ostermann, Tolstoï, who had induced Alexis to quit the Castle of Sant' Elmo, the Bishop Feofan, author of the *Pravda voli monarshéï*, and the members of the tribunal which had condemned the Tsarévitch, — all felt that their only hope of salvation lay in Catherine. They were the more capable and the more enlightened; they held the power actually in their hands, — directed the administration and commanded the army. Their adversaries felt that they must be content with a compromise. Dmitri Galitsuin proposed to proclaim Peter the Second, but only under

the guardianship of the Empress-widow. Tolstoï opposed this, on the ground that it was the most certain means of arming one party against the other, of giving birth to troubles, of offering hostile factions a pretext for raising the people against the regent. He proved that, in the absence of all testamentary disposition, Catherine had the best right to succeed Peter the First. She had been solemnly crowned, and had received the oaths of her subjects; she was initiated into all the State secrets, and had learned from her husband how to govern. The officers and regiments of Guards loudly declared in favor of the heroine of the Pruth. It was at last decided that she should reign alone, and absolute, by the same title as the dead Tsar. To be sure, it was a novelty in Russia, — a novelty even greater than the regency of Sophia. Catherine was not only a woman, but a foreigner, a captive, a second wife, hardly considered as a wife at all. There was more than one protest against a decision which excluded the grandson of Peter the Great from the throne, and many raskolniki suffered torture rather than take the oath of allegiance to a woman.

Menshikof, one of Catherine's early lovers, found himself all-powerful. He was able to stop the trial for maladministration which had been brought against him by the late Tsar, and obtained the gift of Baturin, Mazeppa's ancient capital, which was equivalent to the whole principality of the Ukraina. His despotic temper and his bad character made him hated by his companions. Discord broke out among the "eaglets" of Peter the Great. Iaguzhinski, angry because he did not enjoy as much authority as under Peter, and feeling that he had been insulted by Catherine, went to weep publicly over the tomb of the Tsar, and tried to open the coffin with his teeth and nails, crying out: "Come forth, O my master, from thy tomb, to avenge me, and behold how Russia is governed now that thou art dead!" Tolstoï was afterwards sent to Siberia. Catherine succeeded, however, in bridling the ambition of her favorite, and refused to sacrifice her other councillors to him.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

This régime was the continuation of that of Peter. It disappointed the pessimist predictions which announced the abandonment of Saint Petersburg and the fleet, and the return to Moscow. Most of the schemes which had been devised by the reforming Tsar were carried out. The Academy of Sciences was inaugurated in seventeen hundred and twenty-six; the publication of the *Gazette* was carefully watched over; the Order of Alexander Nevski, which Peter had originated after the Peace of Nystad, was founded; Behring, the Danish captain, was placed at the head of the scientific expedition to Kamtchatka; Shafirof, recalled from banishment, was ordered to write the History of Peter the Great; Anna Petrovna was solemnly married on the first of June, seventeen hundred and twenty-five, to the Duke of Holstein, to whom she had been betrothed by her father. On the other hand, the senate and and the Holy Synod lost their title of "directing," and affairs of State had to be conducted in the Secret High Council, which met under the presidency of the Empress, and was composed of Menshikof, of the Admiral Apraxin, of the Chancellor Golovkin, Tolstoï, Dmitri Galitsuin, and of the Vice-Chancellor Ostermann.

On her death-bed, Catherine nominated Peter Alexiévitch, her husband's grandson, as her successor, and, in default of Peter, her two daughters Anna of Holstein and Elisabeth. During the young Emperor's minority, the regency was to be exercised by the High Council, in which Anna and Elisabeth were to hold precedence. The Duke of Holstein, Menshikof, Apraxin, Golovkin, Ostermann, Dmitri Galitsuin, and Vasili Dolgoruki were the other members of this Council; but in reality it met only once, Menshikof taking upon himself the duties of regent.

The Empress died on the seventeenth of May, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, and on the following morning the nobility and clergy of the empire assembled in the great hall of the palace, to hear the reading of the will. Peter was de-

clared Emperor of all the Russias. Menshikof took measures to keep his high appointment under the new reign, and even to increase his power. Those whom he felt would limit his influence, he took pains to send on distant commissions or to banish. Iaguzhinski was sent to the Ukraina. Makarof was detailed to inspect the mines of Siberia. Apraxin was removed from the Court. Menshikof had obtained from Catherine the promise that she would consent to the young prince's betrothal to his own daughter, though she was the elder by two years. He assigned his own palace on the right bank of the river as the Emperor's residence, and surrounded him by men devoted to his own interests. He caused himself to be made Generalissimo, and signed his letters to his sovereign with the words, "Your father." He had the members of his own family inscribed in the almanac with those of the imperial house, and his daughter mentioned in the public prayers. He even planned to marry Peter's sister, Natalia Alexiévna, to his son at the same time that his daughter became the wife of the Emperor. Peter the Second soon began to be impatient of the government of the Generalissimo. Menshikof had given him as tutor the Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, but the young prince detested study, and preferred to hunt with his favorite, Ivan Dolgoruki. The clever Ostermann took care to make Menshikof responsible for the odium of his appointment as tutor, and to excuse himself as best he could to the prince. One day in September, seventeen hundred and twenty-one, the Emperor sent a present of nine thousand ducats to his sister Natalia. Menshikof had the insolence to take them from the princess, saying that "the Emperor was young, and did not yet know how to use money properly." This time Peter rebelled, and the prince appeased him with great difficulty. Another enemy of the Generalissimo, who managed playfully to undermine his popularity, was Elisabeth, the young aunt of Peter the Second, and the daughter of Peter the Great. She was then seventeen years old, bright, gay, and careless, with a pink-and-white

complexion and blue eyes; and she laughed the intolerable guardian out of power. An attack of illness which happened to Menshikof, by keeping him away from Court, led to his fall. Peter the Second became accustomed to the idea of getting rid of him. When the prince recovered and began as usual to oppose his wishes, Peter quitted Menshikof's palace, caused the furniture belonging to the Crown to be removed from it and placed in the imperial palace, treated his bride elect with marked coldness, and finally commanded the guards to take no orders but from their colonels. This was the prelude to an overwhelming public disgrace. In September, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, Menshikof was arrested, despoiled of all his dignities and decorations, and banished to his own lands.

The Dolgorukis profited by the revolution they had prepared, but immediately committed the same fault as Menshikof, and surrounded Peter with the same officious attentions. Like Menshikof, they banished all who offended them, even Ostermann, to whom the Emperor began to be attached; and the old Tsaritsa, Evdokia Lapukhin, who had been recalled from the prison in Ladoga. Using as a pretext some insulting placards recalling the services of Menshikof, they exiled him to Berezof in Siberia, where he died in seventeen hundred and twenty-nine. Unwarned by his example, they imposed on the prince a new bride, — Ekaterina Dolgoruki, the sister of his favorite Ivan. Their administration then assumed the character of a reaction against the reforms of Peter the Great. In January, seventeen hundred and twenty-eight, the young Emperor went to Moscow for his coronation. He was received with the warmest expression of affection by the people. But Ostermann and all the faithful servants, foreign or Russian, of the "Giant Tsar," saw with sorrow the return of the Court to Moscow, and its indifference to all European affairs. In order the better to keep their master to themselves, the Dolgorukis flattered his tastes for frivolity and dissipation,

and organized great hunting-parties which lasted for whole weeks. Peter would have wearied of them in the end as he did of Menshikof. He had already replied to his aunt Elisabeth, who complained that she was left without money, "It is not my fault; they never execute my orders, but I shall find means of breaking my fetters." The crisis happened, but not as had been expected. His marriage was to have taken place in January, seventeen hundred and thirty; but the young Emperor caught cold at the ceremony of the "benediction of the waters," and died suddenly of small-pox. He was fourteen years and about four months old.

The two reigns of Catherine and Peter the Second, which lasted in all only five years, were peaceful.

In seventeen hundred and twenty-six Russia had concluded a treaty of alliance with the Court of Vienna, and found itself involved, in seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, in the war of the quadruple alliance. Notwithstanding the efforts of Kurakin and of Campredon, the failure of the projected marriage of Louis the Fifteenth and Elisabeth had produced a coldness between France and Russia. The most curious episode in the foreign relations was the attempt of Maurice de Saxe, illegitimate son of King Augustus, to get possession of the Duchy of Kurland. The offer of his hand had been accepted by the Duchess Anna Ivanovna, now a widow; he had been elected at Mitava by the deputies of the nobility. Neglecting the protest of the Polish diet and the remonstrances of France and Russia, he raised troops with the money produced by the sale of the diamonds belonging to an abbess of Quedlimburg, and a French comedian, his mother Aurora von Königsmark, and his mistress Adrienne Lecouvreur, and began to put the duchy in a state of defence. He was disavowed by his father, and Cardinal Fleury did not dare to support him even indirectly. Menshikof, left more free since the death of Catherine the First, was himself a candidate for the duchy. He sent Lascy, at the head of eight thousand

men, to expel the Saxon adventurers; and the future victor of Fontenoy could collect only two hundred and forty-seven men in the isle of Usmaïs, and was obliged, in his retreat, to swim across an arm of the sea. His election was annulled, his father publicly called him a galopin, or scullion, and Kurland once more fell back under Russian influence.

A treaty with Prussia was signed under Peter the Second, in virtue of which the two Powers engaged at the death of Augustus to support the candidate whom they might choose for Poland. The Emperor Charles the Sixth and the "sergeant-king" sounded Russia about an eventual dismemberment of the republic of Poland. This is the first time that the question of partition was mooted.

In Asia, Iaguzhinski concluded on the Bura a treaty of commerce with the Celestial Empire, in the name of Peter the Second. Every three years Russian caravans might go to Pekin and trade without paying dues. Russia might keep four priests at Pekin, and six young men to learn Chinese. Kiakhta, on the Russian territory, and Maimaitchin, on the Chinese territory, were the authorized depôts.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TWO ANNAS: REIGN OF ANNA IVANOVNA, AND REGENCY OF ANNA LEOPOLDOVNA.

1730–1741.

ATTEMPT AT AN ARISTOCRATIC CONSTITUTION (1730): THE "BIRONOVSHTCHINA." — SUCCESSION OF THE POLISH CROWN (1733–1735) AND WAR WITH TURKEY (1735–1739). — IVAN THE SIXTH. — REGENCY OF BIREN AND ANNA. — REVOLUTION OF 1741.

ATTEMPT AT AN ARISTOCRATIC CONSTITUTION: THE "BIRONOVSHTCHINA."

THE untimely death of the last male heir of Peter the First had taken everybody by surprise. It was so sudden that no party had been formed to determine the succession. Peter had left two daughters, Elisabeth and Anna, Duchess of Holstein, who died in seventeen hundred and twenty-eight, and was represented by her son, afterwards Peter the Third. The Tsar's brother, Ivan Alexiévitch the Fifth, had also left two daughters, Anna Ivanovna, Duchess of Kurland, and Catherine Ivanovna, Duchess of Mecklenburg. The wishes of some even turned towards the late Emperor's grandmother, the Tsaritsa Lapukhin. Alexis Dolgoruki, father of Ivan, the friend of Peter the Second, had a yet bolder idea; he claimed the throne for his daughter Ekaterina, although she was not even Peter's wife, but only his betrothed, and he had the audacity to speak of a certain will of the sovereign, instituting her his heir. This proposal naturally found little favor in the Secret High Council, and was rejected with contempt, even by

a part of the house of Dolgoruki, whose chiefs did not relish the notion of being the subjects of their niece. It was decided to take another step. In the absence of the prudent Ostermann, who used the pretext of a feigned illness, and the fact that he was a foreigner, the Secret High Council, after the addition of the marshals Dolgoruki and Galitsuin, was entirely composed of the great Russian nobility. It found itself, as the principal organ of government, invested with the chief power, and master of the position. It resolved to profit by these circumstances to limit the supreme authority, to give to the Russian aristocracy a sort of constitutional charter, and to impose on the sovereign who might be elected a kind of pacta conventa, such as existed in the republic of Poland. Elisabeth and the Duchess of Holstein, being the nearest to the throne, would no doubt manifest the greatest reluctance to accept these conditions. Thus it was necessary to turn to another branch of the family of Romanof, to the line of Ivan, and offer the crown to a princess who, having little hope of gaining the throne, would be ready to accede to all the Council wished. The Council then resolved to open negotiations with Anna Ivanovna, and to propose to her the following terms: That the High Council should always be composed of eight members, to be consulted by the Tsaritsa in all affairs of government; that without the consent of the Council she should make neither peace nor war, impose no taxes, alienate no crown lands, nominate to no post nor any rank above that of colonel; that she should put to death no member of the nobility, nor confiscate the property of any noble, without a regular trial; that she was neither to marry nor to choose a successor without the consent of the Council. "And," adds the draught of the letter laid before her for signature, and containing the points indicated, "in case of my ceasing to fulfil my engagements, I shall forfeit the crown of Russia." This was the *si non non* of the Cortes of Aragon. If this constitution had been carried out, Russia would have become an oligarchic

republic instead of an autocratic empire, a sort of *pospolit*, where nothing would have remained of the work of the Ivans and Peter the Great. The High Council likewise proposed to fix the seat of government at Moscow.

This constitution, which assured to the Russian nobles the inviolability of their persons and property, the English "habeas corpus" and self-imposed taxation, raised, however, a general outcry. What! give Russia the same anarchic institutions that the three Northern powers were trying to maintain in Poland? All the prerogatives, all the rights, all the authority, were reserved to the members of the High Council. Instead of one Tsar they would have eight. And who were these eight? With the exception of Golovkin and Ostermann, they were all Galitsuins and Dolgorukis, — two Galitsuins and four Dolgorukis; the empire was to be the property of two families. While the monarchical instincts of the greater number, and the aristocratic jealousy of many others, were excited, the partisans of reform were troubled at finding in the supreme council only the members of the old nobility who were the upholders of the ancient order of things. The discontent broke forth in murmurs and turmoils; the High Council was obliged to take severe measures against meetings, — a singular inauguration of the reign of liberty, which showed how little sympathy the nation felt with the attempt of the nobles.

A few days later the High Council convoked the general assembly to listen to the letter in which Anna Ivanovna announced her acceptance of all the conditions. "There was no one present," says Archbishop Feofan, "who heard the letter who did not tremble in all his limbs. Even those who had hoped much from this reunion lowered their ears like poor asses: there was a 'whispering' and a general murmur, but none dared to speak or cry out." The five hundred people present silently affixed their signatures. However, on the twenty-first of February, seventeen hundred and thirty, the new Empress made her solemn entrance into Moscow. While Vasili Lu-

kitch Dolgoruki and his party constituted themselves the guards of the Empress, surrounded her jealously, and saw that no enemy of the constitution came near her, the malcontents, with Feofan at their head, were agitating the clergy and the people. They found means to pass some notes to the Empress, acquainting her with the situation, and imploring her to act energetically. Children or ladies-in-waiting served as go-betweens. On the eighth of March the members of the Council were deliberating, when they were suddenly summoned before the Empress. They were much astonished to find an assembly composed of eight hundred persons, belonging to the senate, the clergy, the nobility, and to the different administrations, who laid before Anna a petition that she would examine the complaints addressed to the High Council about the new constitution. At the lower end of the hall the officers of the guard cried out in excitement, "We do not want them to lay down the law to the Empress. Let her be an autocrat like her predecessors!" Others offered to lay at her feet the heads of her enemies. She calmed the tumult, and prorogued the sitting till the afternoon, when the deputies presented a formal request for the re-establishment of autocracy. The Empress was astonished, and exclaimed, "What! the conditions sent me at Mitava, were they not the will of the whole nation?" "No, no," they cried. "Then," she said, turning to Vasili Lukitch Dolgoruki, "you have deceived me."

Such was the check received by the first liberal constitution that had ever been tried in Russia. "The table was prepared," said Prince Dmitri Galitsuin, "but the guests were not worthy. I know that I shall pay for the failure of this enterprise; so be it. I shall suffer for my country, I have not long to live, and those who cause me to weep will one day weep themselves." The Galitsuins and Dolgorukis did indeed expiate this generous attempt, in which unhappily they had taken no thought of the time nor the country. Anna's ven-

geance was cunning, refined, and gradual. She began by banishing them to their estates; then, seeing that no one protested, she exiled them to Siberia. Finally, encouraged by the universal silence, she crowned her revenge. The marshals Dolgoruki and Galitsuin died in prison; Vasili Lukitch and two other Dolgorukis were beheaded; Ivan, the former favorite, was broken on the wheel to Novgorod. With these sufferings is associated the touching and tragic history of Natalia Sheremetief, betrothed wife of Ivan Dolgoruki, who, having accepted his hand in the days of his prosperity, persisted in sharing his misfortunes.

Anna Ivanovna was then thirty-five years of age. In her youth she had lived in the dreary court of Mitava, a bride sought for her duchy, the political plaything of the four Northern courts, despised by Menshikof, and receiving orders and reproaches from Moscow. The bitterness of her regrets and her disappointments was painted in her severe countenance, and reflected in her soured and coldly cruel character. A head taller than the gentlemen of her court, with a hard and masculine beauty, and the deep voice of a man, she was imposing, and even terrible. The aristocratic attempt of seventeen hundred and thirty made her mistrust the Russians, and she felt that a project less exclusive and more clever than that of the High Council would perhaps have had a chance with the Russian nation. By way of precaution, and from taste, she surrounded herself with Germans, Ernest Biren, or Biron, her lover, at the head of them, a Kurlander, who in the reign of Peter the Great had desired to enter the Russian service, but was refused because of his low birth. The nobility of the duchy had at first refused to admit him among them; but, gaining Anna's affection by his many amiable qualities and agreeable manners, she caused him to be elected Duke of Kurland. He now became Lord Chamberlain, and was created by the Emperor, Charles the Sixth, a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. She made Lewenwold manager of court affairs, Ostermann

chief of the foreign administration, Korff and Kayserling directors of the embassies; Lascy, Münnich, Bismark, and Gustaf Biren, Ernest's brother, general of the army. It was in Germany that she afterwards chose to seek for her successor, — Ivan the Sixth, the son of her niece Anna, and grandson of Catherine Ivanovna, Princess of Mecklenburg, who was married to the Duke of Brunswick-Bevern. The Russians henceforth held only secondary positions in the government. Biren, insolent and brutal, boasted in their presence of his being a foreigner, of his holding the title of Duke of Kurland. The Germans ruled in Russia, just as the Tatars had formerly done; and a new word, *Bironovshtchina*, expressive of the new régime, was coined on the model of the old *Tatarshtchina*. But if the Germans were triumphant, was it not the fault of the Russians themselves? The "eaglets" of Peter the Great had torn each other to pieces. Menshikof had ruined Tolstoï and Iaguzhinski, and was in his turn destroyed by the Dolgorukis, themselves victims, with the Galitsuins, of the national hate. Besides all this, the strangers who took their posts and filled the place they had left vacant were far more laborious and more exact than the natives. The Russians had still to pass through a hard school to acquire the qualities they lacked.

The new government was pitiless towards the Russians: Feofilakt Lopatinski was deposed and imprisoned in Vuiborg, for having edited Stephan Iavorski's book against the Protestants, "Peter, the Corner-Stone of the Faith." Thousands of executions and banishments decimated the upper classes, and a merciless collection of arrears of taxes, which Russian indolence had allowed to accumulate, desolated the country: the peasants beheld their last head of cattle, their last tool, seized by the government for payment. The new despotism methodically organized its means of oppression. To be sure, it suppressed the High Council, in order to restore the epithet of "directing" to the senate, but in reality it was the cabinet, presided over by the Empress, and composed of

Golovkin, Ostermann, and Prince Alexis Tcherkaski, that regulated all affairs. The old "Prikaz of Reformation" was re-established under the name of the "Secret Court of Police," and the cruel Ushakof placed at the head. As the Empress had confidence only in her guards, two new regiments, the Ismaïlovski, and the horse guards, were created. Foreign officers were everywhere, and the brothers of the German favorites distributed among themselves the ranks of colonel and lieutenant-colonel.

Reassured as to the solidity of her throne, Anna thought only how to make up for the time she had wasted in ennui and regret. A few passages from the Memoirs of Manstein Münnich's Adjutant will give an amusing picture of the life and manners of the Empress and her Court: "The Duke of Kurland was extraordinarily fond of pomp and display. For this reason Anna felt that she must make her Court the most brilliant in Europe. But she fell short in the accomplishment of her purpose. There was often a want of harmony between the most gorgeous apparel and an ill-combed wig; the most beautiful fabrics were ruined by an unskilful tailor; or, if no exception could be taken to the coat, the equipage was apt to be in bad condition. A superbly dressed man would arrive in a shabby coach drawn by villanous old nags. In mansions where everything glittered with gold and silver one would nevertheless find the reign of untidiness. The ladies showed no better taste than the men. Where there was one lady clad becomingly you could count on finding ten sorry toilets. The lack of arrangement was noticeable throughout the whole domestic economy, and there were only a few houses, at least in the earlier years, where everything was in complete harmony. In the mean time the example of a better style began to find imitators.

"The excess of display was a source of immoderate expense to the Court. A courtier who spent only two or three thousand rubles for his wardrobe could scarcely provide what was

indispensable. Very many ruined themselves in order to cut a figure at Court. A fashion merchant coming to Petersburg, who was obliged to get his goods on credit, could become a rich man in two or three years.

"The manner of life led by the Empress was very regular. She always arose about eight o'clock. At nine she began her work with her secretary and ministers. At noon she dined in her chamber with Biron's family. Only on great occasions did she keep open table. Then she was accustomed to sit under a canopy together with the two princesses, Elisabeth Petrovna and Anna of Mecklenburg. On such occasions the Lord Chamberlain waited upon her. Usually there was a very large table laid in the same hall for the nobles and the officials, the clergy and the representatives of foreign courts. In her last years she gave up the habit of dining in public, and the foreign ministers were entertained by Ostermann. In summer she walked much for exercise, in winter she played billiards. She ate little in the evening. She went to bed regularly between eleven o'clock and midnight.

"A large portion of the pleasant season the Court spent at the Peterhof, a mansion seven miles from Petersburg; the remainder of the summer Anna lived in the city at the summer palace, a somewhat ill-constructed house on the bank of the Neva. Play was carried very high at Court. Very many won fortunes by gambling, — very many more were ruined by it. Not infrequently twenty thousand rubles were lost at a single game of faro or quinze. The Empress herself did not win much in play, and when she played it was on purpose to lose. She then would keep the bank, and only those whom she summoned were permitted to punt; the winner was immediately paid, and as they played only with masks, she never took money from the loser. She was fond of the theatre and music, and she had everything that pertained thereto imported from Italy. Italian and German comedies gave her extraordinary satisfaction, because they generally ended in blows

with canes. In seventeen hundred and thirty-six the first opera was performed in Petersburg; but though it was well given, the Empress found it less to her taste than the comedy and the Italian intermezzo.

"The habit of much drinking, which had been characteristic of the Court in the time of Peter the First and his successors, Anna could not endure; she would not allow a drunken person in her sight. Prince Kurakin alone had permission to drink as much as he wished. But in order not to do away entirely with such a pretty custom, the twenty-ninth of January (old style), the Empress's coronation day, was devoted to Bacchus. On this day every courtier was expected to kneel before the Empress and drain a monstrous glass filled with Hungarian wine."

Manstein speaks also of the grossness of the buffoonery which pleased Anna. In former times every household of any consequence would have at least one fool, or jester. Peter the Great usually had a dozen. Anna of Mecklenburg, when she became regent, was the first to dispense with them at Court; but the Empress had six: Lakosta, a Portuguese Jew; Pedrillo, an Italian who had been a court violinist; Prince Galitsuin, who was thus punished for becoming a Roman Catholic; Volkonski, brother-in-law of Alexis Bestuzhef, the next Lord Chancellor; Apraxin; and Balakef. They were beaten if they refused to amuse the Court in any way desired. Anna forced Nastasia and Anisia, two Russian princesses, to gulp balls of pastry, and crouch in bark pails, and cackle like hens sitting on eggs. The wife of Prince Galitsuin having died, Anna obliged him to marry a girl of common birth, a Kalmuik named Buzhenina, after her favorite dish of pork, and she herself defrayed the cost of the ceremony. The governors of all the provinces sent to Saint Petersburg representatives of every nation belonging to the empire to take part in the festival. Toward the end of the cold winter of seventeen hundred and thirty-nine Anna had a palace built entirely of ice,

all the furniture, the chairs, the mirrors, and even the bridal couch being made of the same. Ice cannon and ice mortars guarded the doors, and were fired without bursting. Manstein gives a picture of the procession starting out from Voluinski's palace. The newly married couple were enclosed in a cage carried on the back of an elephant. Then the guests followed in sledges drawn by reindeers, dogs, oxen, and swine. The dinner was served in Biren's riding-school, and was followed by a ball, each nation dancing its peculiar dances to its own music. The bride and bridegroom were obliged to spend the night in their ice palace, guards being stationed to prevent their escape.

In the luxury with which Anna's Court dazzled Russia there was a mixture of antique barbarism and bad German taste which moved the mirth of Western travellers. "The favorite, Biren," relates Prince Dolgorukof, "loved bright colors, therefore black coats were forbidden at Court, and every one appeared in brilliant raiment; nothing was seen but light blue, pale green, yellow, and pink. Old men, like Prince Tcherkaski or the Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, came to the palace in delicate rose-color costumes. But this was of slight consequence. Russian taste would be formed in time, especially by the help of another school. The Germans were preparing the way for the French. From the point of view of dress and domestic economy, the Bironovshtchina marks an important revolution in Russia.

It is an important fact that the German masters of Russia were sufficiently enlightened to follow in the steps of Peter the Great and maintain his reforms. In the first months of their rule Ostermann had impressed upon the mind of the Empress the necessity of returning to Saint Petersburg. This was accomplished in the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and thirty-two, and immediately greater safety was found to have been secured. Lefort wrote from the capital in February: "No one dares here to utter a murmur against the will

of the Empress, and the evil-minded have been so effectually put out of the way, that now scarce a trace can be found of the Russian whose unfriendly designs are to be feared."

Anna abolished entail, which Peter the Great had unfortunately borrowed from Western nations, and which had produced such sad results in Russia. The fathers of families wrung the last drop of blood from their peasants in order to give a portion to the younger sons; if they bequeathed the land to the eldest, they gave the cattle to the other sons. On the other hand, the time devoted to the education and the military service of the young nobles was more clearly defined. From the age of seven to that of twenty the young noble was to study, and from twenty to forty-five he was to serve the State. Examinations were established to test the progress of the boys; from twelve to sixteen they had to appear before a board, and whoever after the second examination was found ignorant of the catechism, arithmetic, and geometry, was forced to become a sailor. These rigorous measures prove how indifferent the mass of the nobles then were to the advantages of education. It cannot be denied that the rule of the Germans, rough instructors though they were, had a salutary influence on Russian civilization. On the suggestion of Münnich, the "corps of cadets," for three hundred and sixty young nobles, was founded at Saint Petersburg. General education held a larger place in the programme of this school than purely military instruction. Boys were prepared for the civil service as well as for the army. Orthography, style, rhetoric, jurisprudence, ethics, heraldry, arithmetic, the art of fortification, artillery, geography, general history, and the history of Germany, though not of Russia, were all taught. The most industrious and the most distinguished pupils might, after they had finished the preliminary courses, follow those of the Academy of Sciences.

SUCCESSION OF THE POLISH CROWN AND WAR WITH TURKEY.

With regard to the East, the government of Anna Ivanovna resolved to abandon the Persian provinces conquered by Peter the Great, where the climate had proved fatal to the Russian armies.

In seventeen hundred and thirty-three, after the death of Augustus the Second, the question of the succession of the Polish Crown was reopened. Prussia, which desired to weaken Poland, did not wish to support either the French candidate, Leshtchinski, or the Saxon candidate, Augustus the Third. Austria, on the contrary, which would gladly have beheld Poland sufficiently strong to co-operate against the Turks, declared for Augustus. Russia, whose object it was to remain mistress in Poland and Kurland, cared little who was elected, provided it was neither a powerful prince nor a client of France. But Louis the Fifteenth thought himself bound in honor to maintain the cause of his father-in-law, Stanislas Leshtchinski, the former protégé of Charles the Twelfth. The Power whose interests in this affair most nearly corresponded with those of Russia was therefore the house of Austria. The Austro-Russian alliance, inaugurated in the reign of Catherine the First, was re-established under Anna Ivanovna. Prussia, whose project of partition had been set aside, remained neutral. The struggle between France and Russia began by a diplomatic rivalry. We find at Berlin La Chétardie pitted against Iaguzhinski; at Stockholm, Saint Sévérin against Mikhail Bestuzhef; at Copenhagen, Plélo against Alexis Bestuzhef; at Constantinople, Villeneuve against Nepluief; at Warsaw, Monti against Lewenwold. France hoped to support its candidate by Swedish and Turkish diversions, and to render the neutrality of Prussia more favorable; in Poland, the French worked as hard to persuade as Russia to intimidate.

Even at Saint Petersburg, the French ambassador, Magnan,

neglected nothing to gain over the Empress and her favorite to a more peaceful policy; but the struggle was inevitable. While a false Leshtchinski, the Chevalier de Thiange, was ostentatiously embarking at Brest, the real Stanislas, disguised as a commercial traveller, crossed Europe, and entered Warsaw at night. Sixty thousand nobles declared in his favor on the field of election, and there were only four thousand dissidents. He was therefore legitimate King of Poland, yet the Russian army was invading the territory of the republic. Then Stanislas called the pospolit to arms, and retired into the maritime fortress of Dantzig to await aid from France. After his departure the malcontents, under the protection of twenty thousand Russian bayonets, proclaimed Augustus the Third. Stanislas found himself besieged in Dantzig by Marshal Münnich, who, without waiting for the artillery, took the suburbs of Schotlandia by assault. The King of Prussia refused the Russian guns passage through his territory, and the French frigates were watching the sea; but notwithstanding the blockade, Münnich received his cannon, and by the capture of Sommerschantz cut off the communications of Dantzig with the fortress of Weichselmünde and the mouth of the Vistula; he then threw fifteen hundred bombs into the town. He failed, however, in a bloody midnight attack on the fort of Hagelsberg. The French troops came up, led by Count de Plélo and Lamothe de la Peyrouse, but they numbered only two thousand men. Plélo was killed, and the Count de Lamothe, who had taken refuge in Weichselmünde, was forced to capitulate. Dantzig opened its gates. But Stanislas had already fled, disguised as a peasant. Such was the first contest between the French and the Russians. Lady Rondeau gives an account of the presentation of the Count de Lamothe and his officers to the Tsaritsa; the soldiers were quartered in the camp of Koporié, in Ingria; and Anna did all she could to make them desert and to draw them into her service. Monti, the French ambassador at Warsaw, was taken

prisoner at Dantzig, and in spite of his diplomatic character was retained in captivity.

The war of the Polish Succession was ended in Poland; it now began on the Rhine and in Italy, and the cost of it was paid by the house of Austria, against which the French excited the electors of Cologne, Mayence, Bavaria, and the Palatinate; they took Kehl and Philippsburg, and deprived it of the Duchy of Parma and the Kingdom of Naples. In virtue of the treaty of alliance of seventeen hundred and twenty-six, the Emperor demanded help of the Tsaritsa. Lascy, at the head of twenty thousand men, crossed Silesia, Bohemia, and Franconia, displaying a Russian army for the first time before the eyes of Western Germany; and on the fifteenth of August, seventeen hundred and thirty-five, formed a junction with the Austrian troops between Heidelberg and Ladenberg, two miles from the French outposts. The Peace of Vienna, however, put an end to hostilities. The French had revenged themselves on Austria, which ceded Lorraine and part of Italy, but not on Russia, which had taken Dantzig under their very eyes. The French ambassador Villeneuve, his former countryman, the renegade Bonneval, who had become Pasha of Bosnia, and the Hungarian Ragotski, were raising heaven and earth to induce the Turks to declare war, although they had every reason to avoid a collision with the Russians. The long struggle with Persia, the disturbances in Constantinople, and the emptiness of the treasury, made the Porte hesitate long before it took the decisive step. But the result of the war with Poland was a war in the East, which narrowly escaped being complicated by a Swedish war.

In the East also Russia had Austria for an ally. Campaigns against the Turks, across the desert steppes of the South, offered the same difficulties as in seventeen hundred and eleven, as everything had to be carried with the army, even wood and water. In spite of all Münnich's efforts, the Russian cavalry was second-rate. The army, encumbered with

baggage, moved slowly over the interminable plains; it seemed lost amid the vastness of its accompanying train. A simple sergeant had as many as ten chariots, an officer thirty, the general, Gustaf Biren, three hundred beasts of burden. There were always ten thousand sick men in the army, which, in spite of the dispensation of the Holy Synod, was becoming exhausted by a rigorous observance of fasts and days of abstinence.

In May, seventeen hundred and thirty-six, Münnich forced the lines of Perekop, and pressing farther into the Crimea on the twenty-eighth of June pillaged Bakhtchi-Séraï, the capital of the khans, and laid waste the Western Crimea in such a way that the prosperity of the country has never recovered from it. But the lack of drinking-water and fodder for the horses obliged him to evacuate the peninsula, and on the twenty-eighth of August the walls of Perekop were blown up, and the army took its departure. Meanwhile Lascy had forced Azof to surrender, and went into winter-quarters in the Eastern Ukraina. The next year, while Lascy was devastating the eastern part of the peninsula, Münnich marched against the strong fortress of Otchakof. The accidental blowing up of the great powder-magazine with six thousand Turks reduced the garrison to submission, and the Russian army, which had been in a precarious situation, was saved. In seventeen hundred and thirty-nine Münnich gained a splendid victory at Stavutchani, captured Khotin, crossed the Pruth, with the boast that he had avenged the defeat of Peter the Great, and entered the capital of Moldavia. During this time the Austrians were constantly beaten. Besides, they feared the Russians as neighbors of their orthodox provinces of Transylvania and Illyria more than they did the Turks. They insisted on the conclusion of peace, and at Belgrade, or Bielgorod (the White City), in seventeen hundred and thirty-nine, they ceded to Turkey all Servia, with Orsova and Austrian Valakhia; the Russians obtained as a new boundary line only a tongue of land between the Bug and the Dnie-

per, and contented themselves with the demolition of Perekop, and surrendered all their conquests except Azof. This war had cost them more than a hundred thousand men. The King of France had succeeded in proving that he knew how to reach his enemies, even though separated from him by vast spaces. Anna Ivanovna found herself obliged to ask his mediation to prevent a war with Sweden, which was greatly irritated by the murder of Sinclair, the Swedish ambassador to Constantinople. Sinclair had a bitter hatred against Russia, and on his way through Poland had spoken with too great freedom of the Empress. Münnich, hearing of this, determined to destroy him, and in June, seventeen hundred and thirty-nine, he was waylaid and shot, and his papers were taken from him. Although Anna disclaimed all knowledge of the crime, there was a strong demand in Sweden for a declaration of war. At the instance of Ostermann, and by orders of Louis the Fifteenth, Saint Sévérin negotiated at Stockholm, and the danger was averted. The French also brought about a conclusion of peace with the Turks by means of Villeneuve. The Empress showed her gratitude to the latter by offering him fifteen thousand thalers. He, however, would accept only the cross of Saint Andrew. Kantemir, the Russian ambassador at Paris, still continued to warn his court that "Russia being the only Power which could counterbalance that of France, the latter would lose no opportunity of diminishing its strength."

IVAN THE SIXTH.—REGENCY OF BIREN AND ANNA.—REVOLUTION OF SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE.

But while danger from without seemed to be averted, affairs within the empire showed that the old Russian party was not yet brought to terms. In seventeen hundred and thirty-three the Governor of Smolensk, Prince Tcherkaski, a cousin of the cabinet-minister, was arrested for plotting to raise the young Duke of Holstein to the throne, and three years later the aged

Prince Dmitri Galitsuin who was considered one of the wisest men in Russia, was sentenced to death. Popular discontent against the Duke of Kurland grew more and more pronounced. His insolence toward the nobles, the avarice of his favorites, the enormous sums spent upon pleasures and magnificent buildings, the cost of the fleet and the losses in the army, all caused great uneasiness throughout the country. Taking advantage of the immense drain upon the available forces by the campaign of seventeen hundred and thirty-eight, the discontented party, with the Dolgorukis at their head, made overtures to Sweden and France. On the supposition that Münnich would be obliged to capitulate at Stavutchani, the Swedes were invited to land thirty thousand men in Russia, and raise the standard of revolt. The Empress was to be confined in a monastery, Biren removed, Anna of Mecklenburg and her husband, the Duke of Brunswick, were to be sent back to Germany, and after all the foreigners were exiled, Naruishkin and Elisabeth were to be raised to the throne. But Münnich's good fortune saved him, and the Court got wind of the conspiracy. The Dolgorukis were punished, as was described at the beginning of this chapter.

The minister who was most strenuous for the severity of the sentence against the conspirators was Artemi Voluinski, who was himself preparing for a still more extensive revolution. Voluinski belonged to the ancient family of the Naruishkins, and was related to the younger branch of the Romanof line. He had begun his career, during the reign of Peter the Great as a common soldier, and attracting Shafirof's attention, he rapidly rose. Peter appointed him Governor of Astrakhan while he was yet a very young man. Solovief says: "Voluinski was distinguished for his great intellect and intolerable disposition. Turbulent, ostentatious, proud, constantly making advances, insolent to his equals, ready for any act of crying injustice toward the poor, he drew upon himself the hatred of all. When he became governor, his distinguishing characteristics

were avarice, extortion, and his treatment of those subordinate, which was worthy of the barbarism of Middle Ages."

By means of many spies he found out those who were opposed to him. A merchant in Astrakhan spoke uncivilly of his wife. Volunski invited him to dinner, and then set his dogs upon him, and sent him out, stripped naked, into the snow. He plundered the convents of their jewels. He ruined the rich manufacturer, Turtsinof, and finally poisoned him. His exactions knew no bounds. Finally he gained the good-will of the Duke of Kurland, and in seventeen hundred and thirty-eight entered the cabinet of the ministry. He immediately began to plan the downfall of those who stood in his way. His greatest enemy was Ostermann, whom he tried to traduce by means of an anonymous letter. His hatred was directed not alone against the Germans. A young Russian who was secretary in the Academy of Sciences gained his ill-will. He had him bastinadoed so severely that he nearly died. The secretary was Trediakovski, who was the first to compose Russian poetry according to the rules of prosody.

Had it not been for Volunski's unpopularity, he might have succeeded in his designs. But his fall was partly brought about by the wit of Kurakin, who was a privileged character in Court. He was one day complimenting Anna on her reign, but said that there was one of Peter's plans which she had not yet accomplished. On being asked which it was, Kurakin replied that Peter had put the halter around Volunski's neck, but it was left for her to draw it tight. The reply was received with shouts of laughter, but two days afterward the minister was put under arrest. Unfortunately he had offended Biren, who said to Anna, "One of us must go." When his papers, which he had neglected to burn, were examined, besides the proofs of his unlimited peculations, there were found undoubted evidences of his conspiracy to put himself upon the throne. He designed to throw Anna into a convent if she refused his hand. The great conflagrations which

had broken out successively in Moscow, Petersburg, Vuiborg, and Iaroslaf were also laid to him. He was condemned to have his tongue cut out and to be put to death, and his children were sent to Siberia. The son was obliged to become a common soldier and serve without a term. His accomplices were also punished. Though he was so hated during his lifetime, Voluinski had the fame of a patriot and a martyr after his death, because of the universal dislike of Biren, who was rewarded with his confiscated estates.

The weight of the taxes, the rigor with which they were collected, and the frequent conscriptions maddened the peasants, whilst the disgrace of Feofilakt, of Tatishtchef, of Rumantsof and Makarof, who were old servants of Peter the Great, as well as the sacrifice of Voluinski, of Galitsuin and the Dolgorukis, seemed to threaten the whole nation. Soon the echoes of the general discontent reached the Secret Court of Police. The people attributed all their misfortunes to the reign of a woman, and repeated the proverb, "Cities governed by women do not endure; the walls built by women are never high." Others said the corn did not grow because a woman ruled. They began to regret the iron despotism of Peter the First, and a popular song exhorts him to leave his tomb and chastise "Biren, the cursed German." The raskolniki had predicted that in seventeen hundred and thirty-three the wrath of God would fall on men, and that Anna would be taken and judged at Moscow. She reigned, however, till seventeen hundred and forty, at which time her health began to give way. Biren's scheme was to obtain from Anna Ivanovna the investiture of the regency during the minority of the little Emperor Ivan of Brunswick. Alexis Bestuzhef, who owed his fortune to Biren, assured him of the support of Münnich and of the cabinet-minister Tcherkaski. The Germans of the Court said, with Mengden, "If the Duke of Kurland is not appointed regent, the rest of us Germans are lost." The Empress signed the nomination of Biren, and died the next day. Her last words to her favorite were, "Ne boïs" (fear nothing).

Biren, however, had his own reasons for feeling uncomfortable. The Russians were indignant at having a master imposed on them who was a foreigner and a heretic, without morality and without talent, and whose only claim was a criminal union which dishonored the memory of their Empress. If a foreign regent was necessary, why not have the father of the Emperor? The long minority of a child who was only three months old at the death of Anna alarmed every one, and the thoughts of many turned towards the daughter of Peter the Great, and her grandson Peter of Holstein. The reign of the Germans still continued; besides Biren, the empire had to obey Prince Anton of Brunswick-Bevern, and his wife Anna Leopoldovna of Mecklenburg, governed in their turn by Anna's lover, the Saxon Lynar, and the prince's mistress, Julia von Mengden, Anna's lady of honor. Happily, however, these foreign masters never thought of combining. The parents of the Emperor bore Biren's authority with impatience; and the latter, discontented with their conduct, spoke of sending for Peter of Holstein, giving him his daughter in marriage, and marrying his son to Elisabeth. The fate of Menshikof and the Dolgorukis was lost on him. His clumsy nonenity embarrassed Ostermann and Münnich; and the latter, in an interview with Anna Leopoldovna, promised her to get rid of the tyrant. His aide-de-camp, Manstein, has given us a graphic account of this coup d'état. On the night of the thirtieth of November, Biren, who suspected nothing, and who in the evening had dined in company with Münnich, was taken from his bed, and wounded in more than twenty places in his struggles to escape, the Duchess of Kurland was thrust almost naked from the palace, all his friends were arrested, and he was sent to Pelim, in Siberia, where he, with his wife and three children, lived on an allowance of sixteen rubles a day.

Münnich had given liberty and power to the parents of the Emperor; how could they reward him? Like Menshikof, he

wished to be Generalissimo, but Anton of Brunswick coveted the place. Münnich then contented himself with the title of First Minister; and Ostermann was recompensed by being nominated High Admiral. Anton, Anna, and Ostermann soon united against their liberator; and Münnich, filled with disgust, sent in his resignation. The Germans, when they attained the supreme power, conducted themselves exactly like the "eaglets" of Peter the Great: they mutually banished and exterminated each other. The father and mother of the Emperor, left in possession of the field, continued to dispute the authority, and to reproach each other with their mutual infidelities. Ostermann supported Anton against Anna. The incapacity of the regent was beyond belief. Not having the energy to dress herself, nor attend to the most important State papers, Anna Leopoldovna would lie for whole days on a couch, her head covered with a handkerchief, conversing with her intimate friends. The divisions and indifference of the government threw open the way to its numerous enemies; all they wanted was a chief who would attack the Brunswickers as they had successfully attacked Biren.

Elisabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, who had been narrowly watched under the hard rule of Anna Ivanovna and Biren, raised her head under this weak government. Twenty-eight years old, tall and very pretty, with great quickness of mind though extremely ignorant, lively and joyous, a bold rider and fearless on the water, with soldier-like manners, she had all the qualities necessary to a party leader. Her confidants were the brothers Alexander and Peter Shuvalof, Mikhail Vorontsof, Razumovski, Schwartz, and her private physician, Lestocq. Schwartz was an adventurer from Saxony, who had been a musician in her service, and afterwards went with a caravan to China. On his return he was promoted to a position in the geographical department of the Academy of Sciences, and had become a favorite of the princess. All

these men, who were able and unscrupulous, were urging her to action. The regent feared her, but did not have the energy to act on the advice of Ostermann, who besought her to put Elisabeth under arrest. It was known at the palace that after the downfall of Biren three regiments of guards had hastened to swear fealty to her, believing the next step would be the proclamation of Peter the Great's daughter; and that at Kronstadt the soldiers had said, "Will no one put himself at our head in favor of Elisabeth Petrovna?" She accepted the office of godmother to their children, visited the guards in their barracks, and invited them to her house. When she passed through the streets in her sledge, the common grenadiers climbed on the back of the carriage and whispered familiarly in her ear. The French ambassador, La Chétardie, had orders to favor any revolution in Russia that would destroy the influence of the Germans and break the alliance with Austria. He aided Elisabeth with advice and money, and hoped to obtain for her the support of a Swedish diversion. The Swedes had repented of their quiescence during the late wars with Poland and Turkey, and were disposed to take their own grievances and those of Elisabeth as a pretext for declaring war against the Regent. The Swedish ambassador, Nolken, stipulated only that at her accession the Tzarévna should promise to restore part of the conquests of Peter the Great. This she declined to do; but the Swedes, nevertheless, began hostilities, and issued a manifesto to the "glorious Russian nation," which they wished to deliver from German ministers, and from the "heavy oppression and cruel foreign tyranny," so as to enable it freely to elect "a legitimate and just government." This diversion precipitated the crisis. The Court was by this time too well accustomed to plots for the conspirators to delay; and, besides, the regiments upon whom Elisabeth counted had orders to proceed to the frontier. She had only the choice between the throne and the convent. In the night

of the sixth of December, seventeen hundred and forty-one, she went with Lestocq and Vorontsof to the quarters of the Preobrazhenski. "My children," she said to them, "you know whose daughter I am." "Mother, we are ready; we will kill *them* all." She forbade bloodshed, and added, "I swear to die for you; will you swear to die for me?" They all swore. Anna Leopoldovna, Prince Anton, the young Emperor in his cradle, Münnich, Ostermann, Lewenwold, and the Mengdens were arrested during the night. Elisabeth was proclaimed absolute Empress, and the nobles of the empire hastened to give in their adhesion to the new order of things. Ivan the Sixth was confined at Schlüsselburg; Anna, with her husband and children, at Kholmogory, where she died in seventeen hundred and forty-six. A tribunal was held, and the Dolgorukis were among the judges. Ostermann was condemned to be broken on the wheel, Münnich to be quartered, and the others to decapitation. The Empress, however, spared their lives. Ostermann was exiled to Berezof, where he died five years later, and Münnich to Pelim, where he lived in the house he had planned for Biren. Many of the exiles of the preceding reign were recalled, and the Birens were allowed to reside in Iaroslavl. One of the brothers of the Duke of Kurland returned to his estates in Livonia, where he died in seventeen hundred and forty-six. Gustaf Biren died the same year in Saint Petersburg. General von Bismark was appointed commander of the troops in the Ukraina in seventeen hundred and forty-seven.

CHAPTER VII.

ELISABETH PETROVNA.

1741-1762.

REACTION AGAINST THE GERMANS: WAR WITH SWEDEN (1741–1743).—AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION: WAR AGAINST FREDERIC THE SECOND (1756–1762).—REFORMS UNDER ELISABETH: FRENCH INFLUENCE.

REACTION AGAINST THE GERMANS: WAR WITH SWEDEN.

IN sixteen hundred and forty-two, at the time when Elisabeth was crowned at Moscow, she sent to Holstein for the son of her sister, Anna Petrovna, and of the Duke Karl Friedrich. The grandson of Peter the Great embraced orthodoxy, took the name of Peter Feodorovitch, was proclaimed heir to the throne, and in seventeen hundred and forty-four the Empress married him to the Princess Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, afterwards Catherine the Second. Thus the power which had been diverted to the Ivanian branch of the Romanof dynasty, to Anna of Kurland and her great-nephew of Brunswick, returned to the immediate family of Peter the Great in the person of Elisabeth as Empress, and of her nephew of Holstein as heir to the throne.

The revolution of seventeen hundred and forty-one meant much more than the substitution of the Petrovian for the Ivanian branch; it signified the triumph of the national over the German party, the reaction of the Russian element against the hard rule of the foreigners, and thus it was understood by the people. The orthodox clergy, persecuted by the heretics,

took its revenge in the sermons of Amvrosi Iushkévitch, Archbishop of Novgorod, against the "emissaries of the devil," and against "Beelzebub and his angels." The poet Lomonosof hails in Elisabeth the Astræa who had "brought back the golden age," the Moses who "had snatched Russia in one night from her Egyptian slavery," the Noah "who had saved her from the foreign deluge." Citizens and soldiers rose against the Germans; there were revolts at Saint Petersburg, and in the army of Finland, against the foreign officers, on whom the men wished to inflict the punishment of Ostermann and Münnich. At Court, Finch, the English ambassador, Botta, the Austrian ambassador, and Lynar, the Saxon ambassador, had compromised themselves under the preceding dynasty; therefore all the sympathies of the nation and the Tsaritsa were for Mardefeld, ambassador of Prussia, and especially for La Chétardie, whom they looked on as one of the authors of the revolution, and whose hands the officers of the guard came to kiss, addressing him as "their father." The Austro-Russian alliance, consolidated under Catherine the First and Anna Ivanovna, seemed broken.

This good understanding between the courts of France and Russia was imperilled by the affairs of Sweden. The cabinet of Versailles had only been able to persuade its Scandinavian ally into war, by hinting that the new Empress would cede back certain territory, but Elisabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, could not renounce the conquests of her father, which even Anna Leopoldovna, a foreign princess, had maintained at the cost of war. The Swedes, who pretended to have taken up arms in favor of Elisabeth, continued the war against their former protégée. This war had no result except to show the weakness of the Sweden of Charles the Twelfth when pitted against the new Russia. The Scandinavian armies proved themselves very unworthy of their former reputation. Elisabeth's generals, Lasey and Keith, subdued all the strongholds in Finland. At Helsingfors seventeen thousand Swedes

laid down their arms before a hardly more numerous Russian force. The Swedes then offered the crown to Elisabeth's nephew Peter, but it was refused. Elisabeth had other plans for him. By the treaty of Abo, in August, seventeen hundred and forty-three, the Empress acquired South Finland as far as the river Kiümen, and caused Adolph Friedrich, Bishop of Lübeck, administrator of the duchy of Holstein, and one of her allies, to be elected Prince Royal of Sweden, in place of the Prince Royal of Denmark, in whose favor the Swedish peasantry had risen.

AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION: WAR AGAINST FREDERIC THE SECOND.

The war of the Austrian Succession had broken out in Europe. For whom would Russia declare, — for Maria Theresa, or for France and its allies? Bestuzhef-Riumin, who had been disgraced by Biren, but had returned under the protection of Lestocq, and was now Vice-Chancellor of the empire, was on the side of Austria. Vorontsof, associated with him as Vice-Chancellor, trimmed between both parties; La Chétardie and Mardefeld, ambassadors of Louis the Fifteenth and Frederic the Second, in order to draw Elisabeth into the Franco-Prussian Alliance and overthrow Bestuzhef, were intriguing with the Court physician, Lestocq, and the Princess of Zerbst, mother of Sophia of Anhalt, who in July, seventeen hundred and forty-four, became the Tsesarevna, or Grand Duchess Catherine. Lestocq, on his side, left no stone unturned to discover some political plot in which he might involve his rivals, the Bestuzhefs. At last his opportunity arrived. A lieutenant by the name of Berger, on service at Saint Petersburg, was detailed to Soliamsk, in Permia, to guard Count Lewenwold, who was there in banishment. When Madame Lapukhin learned of Berger's intended departure, she sent by him an assurance of her undying affection for the Count, and bade him hope for better things. Berger informed Lestocq of the message, which had

been delivered by Madame Lapukhin's son, formerly one of Anna's chamberlains. Madame Lapukhin and her son were arrested on the night of the fourth of August, seventeen hundred and forty-three. The Empress, who was always on the watch for conspiracies, summoned a commission composed of the terrible Utchakof, General Trubetskoï, Lestocq, and Demidof, all unfriendly to Bestuzhef. Though nothing worse than certain hasty speeches could be proved against those who were implicated, the Council felt that they had gone too far to retreat in safety. The confidential relationship which Madame Bestuzhef, the Vice-Chancellor's sister-in-law, and Madame Lapukhin held with the Austrian ambassador, Marquis Botta d'Adorno, was taken as a pretext for an investigation. Botta had left Saint Petersburg eight months before, and was now accredited to Berlin. It was claimed that Botta had expressed his opinion that there would soon be a change in Russia, and he was also charged with trying to induce the King of Prussia to bring the unfortunate Brunswick family again to the throne. Bestuzhef's private papers were searched, but nothing whatsoever was found to implicate him. The persons arrested, however, in order to shield themselves, accused Botta of spending money to further the plot, and they declared that the only reason for which he had left Russia was to win Frederic to support Anna. At last a grand council was assembled, under a pledge of secrecy, to judge those who had been arrested. One senator thought that a simple death-penalty was sufficient, since the accused had not as yet proceeded to take extreme measures. But the Prince of Homburg sprang to his feet, and claimed that the guilty must be dealt with to the full extent of the law. In this he was seconded by Trubetskoï and Lestocq. The Empress, however, pardoned all but seven, who suffered the punishment of the knout and exile. In addition, Madame Lapukhin, her husband and son, together with Madame Bestuzhef, were horribly mutilated.

Frederic, in order to show complaisance to the Empress, forbade Botta the Court, and advised her to send the young

Ivan far into the interior, where he would never be heard from again. This was actually done the following year, when the prisoner was taken to the vicinity of Arkhangel. Although the Queen of Hungary was firmly convinced of the innocence of her ambassador, yet as she felt that it was of the greatest importance to preserve the favor of Elisabeth, she confined Botta in one of her castles; but the following year, when Bestuzhef had triumphed over Lestocq, he was set at liberty and thoroughly indemnified for the punishment he had endured. The efforts of Lestocq to ruin Bestuzhef had failed; but, on the other hand, the Chancellor neglected no means to destroy his enemies. He had his black cabinet, where he looked over the despatches of the foreign ambassadors; he found himself able to place under the sovereign's eyes extracts from the cipher letters of La Chétardie, proving that Lestocq was a pensioner of France, and that La Chétardie had spoken insultingly of Elisabeth in his political correspondence. As soon as Elisabeth read the very free criticism which La Chétardie had passed upon her abilities, her modes of conducting business, and her amours, the extraordinary friendliness which she had before shown him was changed to corresponding hatred. She also showed her displeasure with the Princess of Zerbst. She declared that she would never again take a drop of Lestocq's medicine. On the seventeenth of June, seventeen hundred and forty-four, the French ambassador received orders to quit the capital within twenty-four hours, and Russia within eight days, and the Grand Duchess's mother was sent back to Germany. As a reward for his great services, Bestuzhef was raised to the Chancellorship with great ceremonies, on the fifteenth of July. Later, in seventeen hundred and forty-nine, Lestocq was summoned before a commission, put to the torture, and banished to Uglitch, and afterwards to Ustiug Viliki, near Arkhangel, where his wife accompanied him. There he remained until seventeen hundred and sixty-two. Bestuzhef triumphed; it seemed as if Russia were going to interfere on behalf of Maria

Theresa. But time passed on. Russia, satisfied with the sort of intimidation that it exercised over all the European courts, did not care to go into action. Bestuzhef and the Vice-Chancellor Vorontsof played with the various courts, the one holding out hopes to Austria, the other allowing himself to be cajoled by D'Allion, La Chétardie's successor.

France, abandoned by its allies, had transported the war into the Low Countries, where Maurice de Saxe, the former Duke of Kurland, gained a series of victories. In seventeen hundred and forty-six an Austro-Russian treaty of alliance was concluded; England promised subsidies to Elisabeth, but it was not till seventeen hundred and forty-eight that thirty thousand Russians, under Repnin, crossed Germany and took up a position on the Rhine. They served only to hasten the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was signed in seventeen hundred and forty-eight, and returned to Russia without having fired a shot or risked the prestige of the empire.

D'Allion had been recalled in seventeen hundred and forty-seven, and had no successor at Saint Petersburg. However, the same Bestuzhef who had caused La Chétardie to be expelled, and concluded the Austrian alliance, had proclaimed, as far back as seventeen hundred and forty-four, that Prussia was more dangerous than France, "because of its near neighborhood and its late accession of strength." Elisabeth hated Frederic. "The King of Prussia," she said to Lord Hyndford, "is certainly a bad prince, who has no fear of God before his eyes; he turns holy things into ridicule, he never goes to church, he is the Nadir-Shah of Prussia." He had no religion, he had not been consecrated, he did not spare epigrams about the Empress. The "overweening neighbor" had shown off his importance at Aix-la-Chapelle, and had opposed the admission of a Russian plenipotentiary to the congress. Other things led to a sort of diplomatic rupture. Finally, on the seventeenth of May, seventeen hundred and fifty-six, the Chancellor read to the Empress a statement of foreign affairs. He reminded her that

FREDERIC THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA.

the new growth of the Prussian power was unfavorable to Russia, and pointed out how Frederic the Second, who had raised his army from eighty thousand to two hundred thousand soldiers, who had deprived Austria of Silesia, who from the "large revenues" of the latter province and the "millions levied on Saxony" had constituted a great war-fund for himself, who coveted Hanover and Kurland, and hoped for the dismemberment of Poland, had consequently become "the most dangerous of neighbors." He concluded by proving the necessity of reducing the forces of the King of Prussia, and of supporting the States menaced by him. This patriotic anxiety, this wholesome mistrust which Bestuzhef felt, might well have seemed worthy to become the traditional policy of Russia.

At this moment it was still believed at Saint Petersburg that in this war, as in the last, Prussia would be the ally of France, against Austria and England. The reversal of French policy had not been expected. Bestuzhef was in too great haste to conclude a treaty of subsidies with England. Vorontsof warned the Empress to beware lest the Russian troops should be employed in favor of that very Prussia whom she wished to fight. The event justified his prediction, confounded the plans and the provisions of Bestuzhef, and brought about his fall. When Prussia became the ally of England, and Austria of France, Russia found itself indirectly also allied to the latter power. Diplomatic relations between the courts were renewed. It was then that the secret missions of Valcroissant, of the Scotch Douglas, and the mysterious Chevalier d'Eon took place; that L'Hôpital became the French ambassador in Russia; and that a private correspondence was exchanged between Louis the Fifteenth and the Empress Elisabeth.

Frederic was alarmed on hearing the decision Russia had made; he feared nothing so much as the invasion of its "undisciplined hordes." It was to secure the friendship of "these

barbarians" that he had arranged in seventeen hundred and forty-four the marriage of Peter Feodorovitch with Sophia of Anhalt. His invasion of Saxony put the Russian army in motion. In seventeen hundred and fifty-seven, the year of Rosbach, eighty-three thousand Muscovites, under the Generalissimo Apraxin, crossed the frontier of Prussia, occupied the province of Eastern Prussia, slowly advanced in the direction of the Oder, committing the most horrible excesses, and crushed the corps of Lewald at Gross-Jägersdorff. The Prussian loss was four thousand six hundred killed, six hundred taken prisoners, and twenty-nine guns. But, to the astonishment of all Europe, instead of following up his advantages, Apraxin retraced his steps and recrossed the Niemen. The ambassadors of France and Austria suspected treachery, and clamored for his dismissal from the chief command. His papers were examined, and were found gravely to compromise the Grand Duchess Catherine and the Chancellor Bestuzhef-Riumin, who, expecting Elisabeth's immediate death, and knowing that Peter would have little favor to show him, was planning to have the young son of Catherine appointed Tsar, with his mother as regent. The latter was deprived of his office and dignities, and exiled to one of his estates, one hundred and twenty versts from Moscow, whither his wife and son followed him. His place was filled by Vorontsof. Catherine threw herself at the Empress's feet, assuring her of her innocence, and begged her permission to quit Russia and return to her mother. The Empress finally forgave her and restored her to favor.

In January, seventeen hundred and fifty-eight, Fermor, who after Apraxin's dismissal had taken the command of the Russian army, again invaded the Prussian states, took Königsberg, and in August bombarded Küstrin on the Oder. Frederic the Second hastened to Silesia, made a junction with Graf Dohna, and thus found himself at the head of thirty-two thousand men, in presence of eighty-nine thousand Russians, near the

village of Zorndorff, which lies a short distance from Küstrin. In spite of the stoical bravery of the Muscovites, and the defeat of the Prussian left wing, their inexperience, the weakness of their commander, and the superiority of the cavalry of General Seidlitz caused them to be beaten. They lost five generals, nine hundred and thirty-five other officers, twenty thousand five hundred and ninety men, one hundred cannon, and thirty flags. The Prussians lost three hundred and twenty-four officers and eleven thousand men. But Frederic the Second had not yet reached his aim, as his enemies were by no means annihilated, and were able to make an imposing retreat.

In seventeen hundred and fifty-nine Soltnikof, Fermor's successor, returned to the Oder, defeated the Prussians at Paltzig, near Züllichau, and made his entry into Frankfort. Frederic again came to the help of his lieutenants, and encountered the Russians near Künersdorff. This time his army was simply crushed under the enormous weight of the Muscovite masses. He lost eight thousand men and one hundred and seventy-two guns. He himself escaped with great difficulty from the field of battle, with forty hussars. From the battle-field he wrote to his minister, Finkenstein: "Only three thousand men now remain to me of my army of forty-eight thousand. All are in flight; it is a cruel blow. The consequences of the battle will be worse than the losses which it has already caused. I no longer have any resource, and I think all is lost. I shall not survive the fall of my fatherland. I bid you farewell forever." But the disagreement between the Austrians and the Russians saved him. He was allowed time to collect his scattered forces, and soon he saw himself at the head of twenty thousand men. At this moment he thought of suicide. The disaster of Künersdorff weighed on him during the remainder of the war. Henceforth he could only hold himself on the defensive, without daring to descend into the plain.

The allies were not less exhausted than Frederic. Elisabeth alone declined to speak of peace till she had "reduced the forces" of Frederic, and secured the annexation of Eastern Prussia. Soltuikof was made field-marshal, and Prince Galitsuin, general-in-chief. All the lieutenant-generals received the order of Saint Andrew, and each soldier was munificently rewarded. In seventeen hundred and sixty the Russians entered Berlin after a short resistance, pillaged the State coffers and the arsenals, and destroyed the manufactories of arms and powder. The following year they conquered Pomerania, and Rumantsof took Kolberg. This was the last disaster that Frederic suffered at the hands of the Russians. He would have been lost if this terrible war had continued; he was saved by Elisabeth's sudden death, which took place on the twenty-fifth of December (old style), seventeen hundred and sixty-one. Still his power was much weakened. The Empress had left Prussia less dangerous and threatening than she had found it.

REFORMS UNDER ELISABETH: FRENCH INFLUENCE.

The reign of Elisabeth was marked by an increase of orthodox zeal. In spite of her dissolute manners, she was much influenced by the priests, though she still clung to her old superstitions. In seventeen hundred and forty-two the Holy Synod ordered the suppression of the Armenian churches in the two capitals, and hoped likewise to suppress the dissenting churches on the Nevski Prospekt. In the Tatar regions some of the mosques were closed, and the erection of new ones forbidden. The intolerance of the bishops and missionaries caused the Pagan or Mussulman tribes of the Mordva, the Tcheremisa, the Tchuvashi, and the Meshtchera to revolt. Thirty-five thousand Jews were expelled on the ground that they were "the enemies of Christ our Saviour, and did much evil to our subjects." To the observation of the senate that she was ruining commerce and the empire, Elisabeth replied,

"I desire no gain from the foes of Christ." The fanaticism of the raskolniki rose by contact with the fanaticism of the officials. Fifty-three men burned themselves at once near Usting, and one hundred and seventy-two near Tomsk in Siberia.

On the other hand, the morals of the clergy were corrected, and attention paid to their education. The monasteries were enjoined to send pupils to the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow, which complained that at present its number consisted of only five. Rebellion and drunkenness were repressed by stripes and chains. The fair of the priests was put down, and all popes who hired themselves out in public were whipped. The laws of Peter the First against persons who walked about and talked in church were revived. The tobacco pouches of those who used snuff in church were confiscated. Inspectors nominated by the bishops obliged the peasants to clean their holy images, the dirtiness of which was shocking to strangers. Catechisms were distributed in the churches, and a new corrected edition of the Bible was exposed for sale. Theological studies, when they were not absolutely neglected, were still very puerile. At the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow they discussed whether the angels think by analysis or by synthesis, and what is the nature of the light of glory in the future life.

The senate was re-established, with the functions given it by Peter the Great, of which it had been deprived by the High Council of Catherine the First, or the Cabinet of Anna Ivanovna. Trade was encouraged. The tchin, or rank, of assessor, of secretary of colleges, and of councillor of state, was given to manufacturers of cloth, linen, silk, and cotton. In seventeen hundred and fifty-three the custom-houses of the interior were suppressed, as well as many toll-duties. Agricultural banks were founded which loaned money to landholders at six per cent; while private individuals were raising usurious interest to fifteen or even twenty per cent. Sons of

merchants were sent to study trade and book-keeping in Holland. New mines were discovered, and the commerce with the far East increased rapidly. Siberia began to be peopled. Attempts were made to colonize Southern Russia, now freed from the prospect of Tatar incursions, with Slavs who had fled from the Turkish or Tatar provinces. On the territory acquired by Anna Ivanovna, between the Bug and the Oder, the agricultural and military colony of Novaia Serbia, or New Servia, was founded, which furnished four regiments of light cavalry.

Legislation became less severe. Elisabeth imagined that she had abolished the penalty of death, but the knout of her executioners killed as well as the axe. Those who survived flagellation were sent, with their nose or ears cut, to the public works. Torture was employed only in the gravest cases. It is estimated that during her reign more than eighty thousand were knouted or sent to Siberia. But if the civil code did not advance, a code of procedure and a code of criminal investigation were completed. The police had hard work to maintain even a show of order in this rude society. The government was powerless to stop brigandage on the great highways, pirates still captured ships on the Volga, and armed bands gave battle to regular troops. Moscow and Saint Petersburg were like woods of ill-fame. Thieves had lost none of their audacity, and one of them, Vanka Kaïn, the Russian Cartouche, is the hero of a whole cycle of songs. Edicts were promulgated to prevent the keeping of bears in both capitals, and to hinder them from being allowed to roam at night through the towns of the provinces. Public baths common to both men and women were forbidden in the large towns.

Under the reign of Elisabeth the real minister of literature and the fine arts was her young favorite, Count Ivan Shuvalof. He founded, in seventeen hundred and fifty-five, at the centre of the empire, the University of Moscow, whose small

STREET IN ST. PETERSBURG.

beginnings have excited the contempt of German historians, but of which Nikolai Turgénief was able to say in eighteen hundred and forty-four, that "never in any country has any institution been more useful and more fruitful in good results; even to-day it is rare to find a man who writes his own language correctly, a well-educated and enlightened official, an upright and firm magistrate, who has not been at the University of Moscow." Shuvalof desired that every student, whatever his origin, should carry a sword, and bear the rank of the tenth degree of the tchin, corresponding to major in the army; doctors were given the eighth degree. Ten professors taught the three branches of jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy. He likewise planned to open two universities, at Saint Petersburg and at Baturin, and gymnasia and schools in all the governments; he established schools on the military frontier of the south, and one at Orenburg for the children of the exiles. He sent young men abroad to finish their studies in medicine. In seventeen hundred and fifty-eight he endowed the Academy of Fine Arts at Saint Petersburg, and over it he set French masters. The painter Louis Joseph de Lorraine, the sculptor Gilet, the architect Valois, and later Dévely and Louis Jean François Lagrenée, chief painter to the Court, were among them.

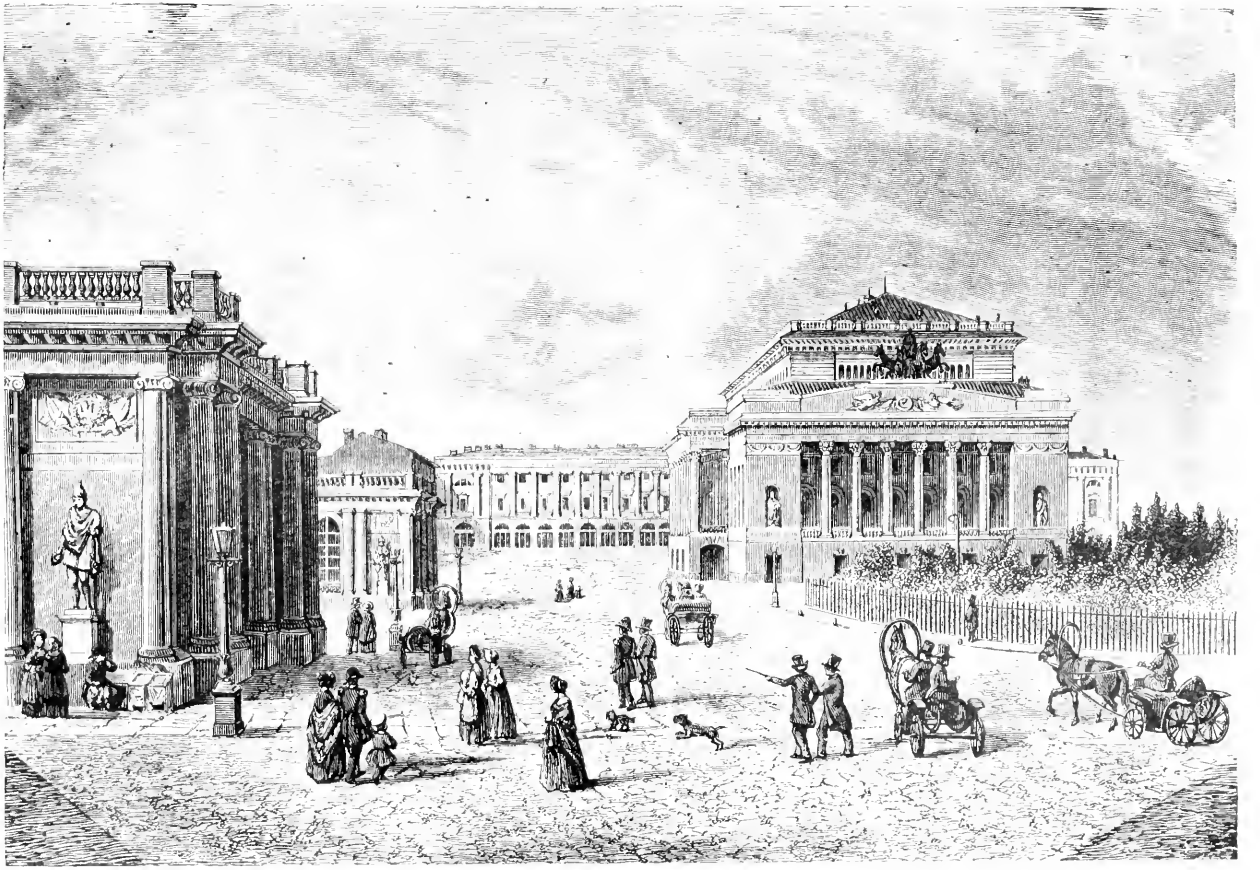
Saint Petersburg, which in seventeen hundred and fifty contained only seventy-four thousand inhabitants, began to look like a capital. The Italian Rastrelli built the Winter Palace, the Monastery of Smolna, which became under Catherine the Second an institution for the daughters of the aristocracy, and the Palace of the Academy of Sciences, and traced the plan of Tsarskoe-Selo, the Russian Versailles.

Under the presidency of Kirill Razumovski, the brother of Elisabeth's morganatic husband, the Academy of Sciences, which had been founded by Peter the Great and Catherine the First, began to make itself known. In spite of the interminable contests excited by Lomonosof between its German

and Russian professors, it continued to publish both books and translations.

The Academicians Bauer and Müller devoted themselves to the origin of Russia. Tatishtchef, formerly governor of Astrakhan, wrote the first history of the monarchy. Lomonosof, Professor of Physic, made himself the Vaugelas and the Malherbe of his country. The son of a fisher in the neighborhood of Arkhangel, he had the colossal frame of the ancient *bogatuir*, and many of the vices of the people. His real name was Dorofćef. He was sent abroad to complete his studies, and there became the hero of a hundred adventures. He married the daughter of a Magdeburg tailor, was kidnapped for the King of Prussia, and imprisoned. Even in Russia his drunkenness and turbulence would have drawn him into many scrapes, but for the intervention of his protectors. He published a grammar, a book of rhetoric and poetics, and labored to free the modern Russian language from the Slavonic of the Church. His "panegyrics" of Peter and Elisabeth, and, above all, his Odes, are the masterpieces of the time. Sumarokof wrote dramas, comedies, and satires, and published the first Russian review, "The Busy Bee." Kniazhnin was very successful in comedy, though his tragedies were poor. Prince Kantemir, son of the Hospodar of Moldavia, ambassador at Paris and London, published letters and satires. Trediakovski, author of the tragedy of "Deidamia" and of another inferior epic poem, called the "Telemakhid," imitated from Fénelon, is chiefly known as a reformer of the language, and an indefatigable translator. He translated all Rollin's "Ancient History," Boileau's "Art Poétique," the libretti of Italian operas, and works of science and politics. His biography proves the small estimation in which a poet was then held. Anna Ivanovna had employed him to make rhymes for her masquerades, and we have seen how brutally he was treated by Voluinski.

Elisabeth, like Anna Ivanovna, loved the theatre. The Italian company of Locatelli acted ballets and comic operas.



THEATRE IN SAINT PETERSBURG

Sérigny, director of a French theatre, made twenty-five thousand rubles a year. The Empress furnished spectators, willing or reluctant, sending lackeys to beat up the laggards, and imposing a fine of fifty rubles on all who would not come. The Russian theatre had already begun to exist. Sumarokof led his actors, who were members of the corps of cadets, into the apartments of the Empress. Volkof, the son of a merchant, and a protégé of the voïevod Mussin-Pushkin, was at once author, actor, manager, decorator, and scene-painter, and having seen the German company at Saint Petersburg, he started a company at Iaroslavl. The Empress, hearing of it, invited him to come to the capital, where he founded the first public Russian theatre in seventeen hundred and fifty-six. Three years later he was sent to Moscow for the same purpose. Sumarokof afterwards became the manager of it, and wrote twenty-six pieces for it, among which were "Khorev," "Sineus and Truvor," "Dmitri the Impostor," and some translations of Shakespeare and of French pieces.

The characteristic feature of the reign of Elisabeth is the establishment of direct relations with France, which had been, since the seventeenth century, the highest representative of European civilization. Up to this time French civilization had been only known at second hand in Russia. The people were Dutch under Peter the First, German under Anna Ivanovna. The Russians had made themselves the pupils of those who were themselves but pupils of the French. Now the barriers were thrown down. Learned Frenchmen were members of the Academy of Sciences, French artists of the Academy of Fine Arts. Sérigny's French theatre was thronged; Sumarokof caused Russian translations from French works to be put on the stage, and the Russians learned to know Corneille, Racine, and Molière. The writings of Vauban on Fortifications, and of Saint Rémy on Artillery, were translated. The favorite, Ivan Shuvalof, had his furniture brought from France, his dresses from Paris, loved everything French, and caused

Elisabeth, who had once been betrothed to Louis the Fifteenth, to share his tastes. Elisabeth herself dressed most expensively in the French fashion. When she died more than fifteen thousand rich dresses were found in her wardrobe, none of which had ever been worn more than once. Several thousand pairs of shoes and slippers and two great chests of silk stockings also bore witness to her extravagance. La Chétardie and L'Hôpital made the manners of Versailles fashionable. The Russians perceived that they had more affinity with the French than with the Germans. Trediakovski and Kirill Razumovski went to perfect themselves in Paris, where the Russian students were sufficiently numerous to have a chapel of their own, under the protection of the ambassador. A Vorontsof entered the service of Louis the Fifteenth, and in the uniform of the light cavalry stood on guard in the galleries of Versailles. The ambassador Kantemir was a friend of Montesquieu. A generation of French in ideas and culture grew up at Elisabeth's Court. Catherine the Second, Princess Dashkof, and the Vorontsofs wrote French as easily as their own language. In seventeen hundred and forty-six De l'Isle communicated to the Academy of Sciences the wish expressed by Voltaire to become a corresponding member. The following year, by means of D'Allion and Kirill Razumovski, Voltaire entered into relations with Shuvalof, who furnished him with documents, as well as with advice and criticism, for his "History of Russia under Peter the Great."

In her internal policy, then, Elisabeth continued the traditions of the great Emperor. She developed the material prosperity of the country, reformed the legislation, and created new centres of population; she gave an energetic impulse to science and the national literature; she prepared the way for the alliance of France and Russia, now emancipated from the German yoke; while in foreign affairs she put a stop to the threatening advance of Prussia, vanquished and reduced to despair the first general of the age, and concluded the first

Franco-Russian alliance against the military monarchy of the Hohenzollerns. Better appreciated by the light of later discoveries, Elisabeth will hold an honorable place in history, even when compared to Peter the Great and Catherine the Second.

CHAPTER VIII.

PETER THE THIRD AND THE REVOLUTION OF SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO.

GOVERNMENT OF PETER THE THIRD, AND THE ALLIANCE WITH FREDERIC THE SECOND. — REVOLUTION OF SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO: CATHERINE THE SECOND.

GOVERNMENT OF PETER THE THIRD, AND THE ALLIANCE WITH FREDERIC THE SECOND.

THE successor of Elisabeth was her nephew, the grandson of Peter the Great, son of Anna Petrovna and of Karl Friedrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp; at the time he was thirty-four years of age. His accession was looked forward to with feelings of mistrust, because he affected to think himself a stranger in Russia, and to act more as the Duke of Holstein than as heir to the imperial throne. Without education and without training, his youth had been passed in puerile amusements; he seemed to care only for minute military details, occupied himself in drilling his battalion of Holsteiners, — known by the name of "long-suffering," — and showed himself the fanatical admirer of Frederic the Second and of the Prussian tactics. His aunt suspected him of communicating to Frederic the secret deliberations of her government, and thought herself obliged to exclude him from conferences which were concerned with affairs of war and administration.

The first measures of Peter the Third caused, however, a delightful surprise. In February, seventeen hundred and sixty-two, he published a manifesto which freed the nobility from the obligation imposed on them by Peter the Great, of devot-

ing themselves to the service of the State. He reminded them that this law of his grandfather had produced most salutary effects, by forcing the nobles to educate themselves and take an interest in the public welfare, by giving birth to an enlightened generation, and by furnishing the State with distinguished generals and administrators. But now that the love of the sovereign and zeal for his service was spread abroad, he thought it no longer necessary to maintain the law. The Russian nobles, overcome with gratitude, thought of raising a statue of gold to him. Peter the Third answered that they could put the gold to a better use, and he hoped by his reign to raise a more enduring memorial in the hearts of his people. Another reform was the abolition of the Secret Court of Police, — "an abominable tribunal," writes the English ambassador, "as bad, and in some respects worse than the Spanish Inquisition." Peter the Third respected the raskolniki; they had been so cruelly persecuted during the preceding reign, that their number had fallen from forty thousand to five thousand in the government of Novgorod alone; and thousands of these unhappy creatures had fled to the deserts, or emigrated into the neighboring countries. He commanded that they should be brought back to Russia, offering them at the same time lands in Siberia; "for," says the ukaz, "the Mahometans and even idolaters are tolerated in the empire. But the raskolniki are Christians." He took up his grandfather's project of the resumption of conventual property, allowing the monks a pension in its stead. He even thought of the peasants, on whom the modern State founded by Peter the Great weighed so heavily, and proclaimed a pardon to those who, misled by false intelligence, thought they were able to rise against their masters. The greater part of these acts were inspired by his Secretary of State, Volkof. The culprits of the last reign — the Mengdens, Madame Lapukhin, old Marshal Münnich and his son, Lestocq, the Duke of Kurland, and all the Birens — were recalled.

Unhappily, the Emperor's personal conduct almost neutralized any wisdom in his laws. Not only did he plunder the clergy, but he did not hide his contempt for the national religion, which he had been forced to embrace instead of Lutheranism. The people were scandalized by his attitude in the funeral chamber where the corpse of his aunt was exposed. "He was seen," says Princess Dashkof, "whispering and laughing with the ladies-in-waiting, turning the priests into ridicule, picking quarrels with the officers, or even with the sentinels, about the way their cravats were folded, the length of their curls, or the cut of their uniforms." The reforms that he introduced into the dress and drill, so as to assimilate them to those of Prussia, irritated the army; the guards were jealous of the favor shown the battalions of Holstein, which he wished to raise to eighteen thousand men, and proposed as models for the national troops. The suppression of the body-guard of grenadiers, formed by Elisabeth in seventeen hundred and forty-one, announced to the regiments of Preobrazhenski, Semenovski, and Ismaïlovski the lot that awaited them. The Emperor had already observed that "the guards were dangerous, and held the palace in a state of siege."

The court was discontented with the foolish innovations he introduced into etiquette, obliging the ladies to courtesy in the German fashion. He seemed to have taken an aversion to all the tastes of his aunt, and one of his first cares was to dismiss the French company of actors. The manners of the upper classes had become sufficiently refined to look upon Peter's gross habits with disgust. "The life led by the Emperor," writes the French ambassador, De Breteuil, "is shameful." He smokes and drinks beer for hours together, and only ceases from these amusements at five or six in the morning, when he is dead drunk. . . . . He has redoubled his attentions towards Mademoiselle Vorontsof. One must allow that it is a strange taste: she has no wit; and as to her face, it is impossible to imagine anything uglier: she resembles in every way a servant at a low inn."

The foreign policy of Peter the Third only widened the breach between himself and his subjects. Frederic the Second, since the battle of Künersdorff, was brought to the greatest straits; the slow movements of Buturlin in the campaign of seventeen hundred and sixty-one had indeed procured him a little respite, but if the war with Russia was prolonged, he was ruined. We may imagine with what joy and hope he hailed the accession of Peter the Third. He addressed his congratulations to the new Emperor through the English ambassador in Russia, and the friendship between the great king and his admirer was soon renewed. The king sent him the brevet of major-general in the Prussian service, and Peter is said to have boasted that his surest title to glory was in his subordination to Frederic. Tchernishef received orders to detach himself from the Austrians in Silesia, and the King of Prussia sent Goltz to make proposals of peace to the Tsar. He authorized his envoy even to cede Eastern Prussia if it was exacted by Peter, merely reserving to himself an indemnity. On his arrival Goltz found a prince who swore only by Frederic the Second, wore his portrait in a ring, and remembered all that he had suffered for him in the reign of Elisabeth, when he had been dismissed from the "Conference." There was no longer any question of annexing Eastern Prussia, as the late Tsaritsa had so ardently wished; Peter the Third restored to his "old friend" all the Russian conquests, and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with him. The two princes promised each other help to the amount of twelve thousand infantry and eight thousand horses, and the Prussians, who had till that moment been fighting the Russians, now joined them against Austria. Frederic guaranteed to the Emperor his States of Holstein, and confirmed Peter's uncle in the duchy of Kurland, undertaking to come to an understanding with him on the subject of Poland. Such a sudden change in State policy had never before been seen. Breteuil and Mercy d'Argenteau, the French and Austrian ambassadors, found

themselves all at once in disfavor. The envoy of Frederic the Second was not only a favorite, he was really the chief minister of the Emperor of Russia, pointing out suspicious characters, banishing his enemies, accusing Vorontsof and the Shuvalofs of French sympathies. The treaty being concluded, Peter the Third, at a grand dinner, proposed the health of the King of Prussia, amidst the thunders of the guns of the fortress. He carried his extravagances, by which he testified his admiration for the great man, to such a point as to disquiet Goltz himself. "Let us drink to the health of the king our master," he cried in one of his orgies; "he has done me the honor to confide to me one of his regiments. I hope he will not dismiss me; you may be assured that if he should order it, I would make war on hell with all my empire."

REVOLUTION OF SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO: CATHERINE THE SECOND.

The Russians would have hailed with pleasure the end of a tedious war, though they regretted the abandonment of the conquests of Elisabeth, but a new war succeeded the old one; the empire was to be exhausted anew, combating its allies of yesterday, and to fight against Denmark for the pretensions of the house of Holstein. The hearts of the people softened towards the Empress Catherine on account of the harsh treatment she had received, her intelligence and her demonstrations of piety throwing into relief the incapacity and extravagances of her husband. Peter the Third wished to divorce her and to marry Elisabeth Vorontsof; he was said to meditate disinheriting his son Pavel, or Paul, in favor of Ivan the Sixth; once he gave an order, which was not executed, to arrest his wife, and to confine her in a convent.

Sophia of Anhalt, now the Empress Catherine, was not a woman to pardon these threats, nor to wait till they were carried into effect. As Breteuil remarks, "All this, joined to

daily humiliations, fermented in a brain like hers, and wanted only an occasion to break out." She bided her time and acted.

Numerous contemporary documents exist about the revolution of June, seventeen hundred and sixty-two. It must be remembered, however, that all of these accounts were written by Peter's enemies. The accounts best known are those of Rulhière, of Princess Dashkof in her Memoirs, of Keith and Breteuil in their despatches, and of Catherine the Second herself in her letter to Poniatovski. The order given to the guards to leave for Holstein precipitated the revolution of seventeen hundred and sixty-two, as a similar order precipitated that of seventeen hundred and forty-one. Peter the Third had no idea of his danger, although he was frequently warned by Frederic to be on his guard; he did not see that conspirators were silently increasing and multiplying in the senate, in the court, and in the army. The number of them was great, and their aims often different. Some wished to proclaim Paul the First, under the guardianship of his mother; others desired to crown Catherine herself. The group which had then all the confidence of the Empress was composed of young officers: Gregory Orlof, her lover, Alexis Orlof, and three other brothers, Bibikof, and Passek. The Orlofs were acquainted with all the details of the affair, and concealed it with care from the other conspirators, among them Princess Dashkof, the sister of the Emperor's favorite mistress, whom they considered wanting in discretion. Put on her guard by the arrest of Lieutenant Passek on the eighth of June, Catherine resolved to act. Peter the Third was then at Oranienbaum, about twenty miles from Saint Petersburg, with his Holsteiners, and Catherine at Peterhof, between Oranienbaum and Saint Petersburg. She abruptly quitted her residence, accompanied by Gregory and Alexis Orlof and two servants. On her arrival in the capital the three regiments of Foot Guards rose and took the oaths to her at the hands of their

priests. Peter's uncle, George of Holstein, was arrested by his own regiment of Horse Guards. From Our Lady of Kazan, Catherine went to the Winter Palace, whence Admiral Taluizin was sent to secure the allegiance of Kronstadt, and whence proclamations were issued to the people and the army. Then, at the head of nearly twenty thousand men, besides artillery, she marched on Oranienbaum.

Peter the Third, suddenly aroused from his tranquil repose, embarked for Kronstadt to put himself at the head of the garrison. "I am the Emperor," he cried to Taluizin. "There is no longer any Emperor," replied the admiral, and, menaced by the artillery of the fortress, Peter had to return to his residence. There, in spite of the counsels of the warlike old Münnich and the presence of his fifteen hundred Holsteiners, he quietly abdicated, — "like a child being sent to sleep," as Frederic the Second remarked. He visited his wife with his mistress and his most intimate friends: "after which," relates the Empress, "I sent the deposed Emperor, under the command of Alexis Orlof, accompanied by four officers and a detachment of gentle and reasonable men, to a place named Ropsha, fifteen miles from Peterhof, a secluded spot, but very pleasant." Here he died in four days, of a hæmorrhoidal colic," his wife assures us, which was complicated by "flying to the brain." This was the version officially adopted. The English ambassador relates that he received the following note from the Russian Cabinet: "The imperial minister of Russia thinks it his duty to inform the foreign ministers that the late Emperor having been taken ill with a violent colic, to which he was subject, died yesterday."

Capefique, in his history of Catherine the Second, which always takes the best view of her character, thus describes the death of Peter: "Six days after his abdication the three Orlofs came to visit him in his prison. What was the design of this dark mission? Was a new abdication or was exile the question at issue? Was the prison the portal of the tomb? The only

explanation which has any certainty is, that a hand-to-hand struggle ensued in the cell. Peter was of great muscular activity. Alexis Orlof was in no respect his inferior; the Tsar was overcome by the grasp of his adversary. The fingers of Orlof's colossal hand left a black and blue mark around his neck; the Tsar was choked to death in a brutal and savage conflict. It is said that the Empress had no desire for this melancholy catastrophe; the Orlofs of their own free will assassinated the prince, who some day might be able to avenge himself for so many insults. Oftentimes when such revolutions occur we find accidents, catastrophes which at first were not premeditated. The bloody demon of political exigency arises to command these State crimes which save empires; and it is perhaps with a sad and bitter thought that Voltaire celebrates Catherine as the Semiramis of the North."

The unhappy son of Anna Leopoldovna and of Anton, the great-grandson of the Tsar Ivan the Fifth, the Emperor, imprisoned since his childhood by Elisabeth and confined at Schlüsselburg, had been brought by Peter the Third to Saint Petersburg. He was now twenty-one years old, and had lost his reason. Catherine the Second imprisoned him anew at Schlüsselburg. He was no dangerous character, but merely a name. A memorandum of the Empress on the subject still exists. "It is my opinion that he should not be allowed to escape, so as to place him beyond the power of doing harm. It would be best to tonsure him, and to transfer him to some monastery, neither too near nor too far off; it will suffice if it does not become a shrine."

Revolutions are almost invariably followed by revolts. The frequency of these military coups-de-main encouraged audacious spirits; and only two years after Catherine's usurpation, Mirovitch, lieutenant of the guards, conceived the project of delivering Ivan the Sixth. His warders, seeing no other means of preventing his escape, put him to death at the moment that Mirovitch entered his chamber, and the conspi-

rator found nothing but his corpse. He was himself arrested and condemned to death. The day of the execution, the people, who during the twenty years' reign of Elisabeth had seen no one beheaded, uttered such a cry, and were seized with such emotion, that when the executioner held up the head of Mirovitch the bridge over the Neva almost gave way under the pressure of the crowd, and the balustrades broke. Catherine had now no rival for the throne of Russia except her own son.

"I know," writes Voltaire some years later, speaking of Catherine, — "I know that she is reproached with some trifles about her husband, but these are family affairs with which I do not meddle. And, after all, it is often as well to have a fault to repair; it obliges people to make greater efforts to wrest esteem and admiration from the public." We shall see what efforts were used by Catherine the Second to force the Russians to forget the means by which she had gained the throne.

VOLTAIRE.

CHAPTER IX.

CATHERINE II.: EARLY YEARS.

1762–1780.

END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR: INTERVENTION IN POLAND — FIRST TURKISH WAR: FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND (1772): SWEDISH REVOLUTION OF SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO. — PLAGUE AT MOSCOW. — PUGATCHEF.

END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR: INTERVENTION IN POLAND.

IN the first moments that followed her triumph, Catherine the Second published a manifesto in which Frederic was treated as "perturber of the public peace," and "perfidious enemy of Russia." She soon, however, changed her mind. This princess, who had punished Peter the Third for his alliance with Prussia and his designs upon the Church property, was herself destined to realize, both in her foreign and domestic policy, the plans of her husband. Tchernishef had received the order to detach himself from the Prussians, as he had formerly received the order to detach himself from the Austrians. Frederic managed to retard the departure of the general for three days, and Tchernishef consented to occupy with grounded arms a position which covered the Prussian army. Frederic profited by this to defeat Daun at Burkersdorff and Leutmannsdorff. The final withdrawal of Russia from the Seven Years' War hastened the conclusion of peace. During all the early part of her reign, Catherine's policy consisted in what is known as the "system of the North"; that is, a close alliance with Prussia, England, and

Denmark, against the two great powers of the South, the house of Bourbon and the house of Austria. The diplomatic struggle with France especially was very lively in the secondary courts; that is to say, at Warsaw, at Stockholm, and at Constantinople.

The duchy of Kurland, legally a dependency of the Polish crown, but in reality annexed to the Russian Empire, found itself at that time without a sovereign. Anna Leopoldovna had exiled the Duke Biren; Peter the Third had intended that George of Holstein should have the crown; Augustus the Third had coveted it for his son Charles of Saxony; Catherine put an end to the competition by re-establishing Biren. It was a union in disguise of Kurland and the empire.

A more important event soon absorbed all her attention: this was the approaching death of the King of Poland, and the consequent opening of the whole question of succession. Two parties were then disputing the power at Warsaw: the court party, with the minister Brühl and his son-in-law Mnishek, and the party supported by Russia, headed by the Tchartoruiski. The former wished to secure the succession for the Prince of Saxony, which was also the policy of France and Austria; the latter intended to elect a piast, that is, a native noble of their own party, and their choice had fallen on Stanislas Poniatovski, a nephew of the Tchartoruiski. Thus France, which in seventeen hundred and thirty-three had made war for a piast against the Saxon candidate, now supported the Saxon candidate against Poniatovski. Circumstances had changed, and the kingdom of Poland, becoming every day more feeble, could be sustained at all only by the forces of a German state, Saxony. But Frederic the Second feared an increase of power for Saxony quite as much as for Poland; Saxony was the old rival of Prussia in the empire, as Poland had been in the country of the Vistula. Russia, on its side, which, by fighting Stanislas Leshtchinski, had fought the father-in-law of Louis the Fifteenth, now fought for the

Saxon, the client of France and Austria. Further, it had no intention that a Polish noble should become too powerful, and meant to get rid of the Tchartoruiski. The candidature of Stanislas Poniatovski, a man without any personal power, therefore satisfied the desires of Frederic the Second, the interests of the Russian Empire, and the sentiments of Catherine, who was glad to be able to crown one of her early lovers. When Augustus the Third really died, the country was violently agitated by the diets of convocation and election. Power was fiercely disputed by the two parties. The Tchartoruiski called in the Russian arms to put down their enemies, and under the protection of foreign bayonets Poniatovski inaugurated his fatal reign, in which Poland was thrice dismembered, and erased from the list of the nations.

Three principal causes led to the ruin of the ancient royal republic. The first was the national movement of Russia, which tended to complete itself on the Western side, and, to use the expression of its historians, to "recover" the provinces which had formed part of the territory of Saint Vladimir; that is, White Russia, Black Russia, and Little Russia. The national question was complicated by the same religious question which had led, under Alexis Mikhaïlovitch, to a first dismemberment of the Polish State. The complaints of the agitations of the Uniates were on the increase in Lithuania, and Russia had often tried to interfere diplomatically. In seventeen hundred and eighteen and seventeen hundred and twenty Peter the Great wrote to Augustus the Second to inform him of the ill-treatment suffered by his brethren of the Greek Church. Augustus published an edict which insured the free exercise of the orthodox religion, but which remained unexecuted, as the king was never sufficiently strong to restrain the zeal of the clergy and the Jesuits, to repress the abuses of power on the part of his officers, and to protect the peasants belonging to the Greek Church against their lords. In seventeen hundred and twenty-three Peter wrote to

the Pope to entreat his interference, threatening reprisals against the Roman Church in his dominions. The Pope declined the proposals of Peter, and the annoyances continued.

The second cause of the ruin of Poland was the insatiable greed of Prussia. Poland possessed Western Prussia, that is, the lower Vistula between Thorn and Dantzig, separating Eastern Prussia from the rest of the Brandenburg monarchy. It thus spoilt the construction of the latter State by dividing it into two parts. Poland also occupied the side of the country where German colonization had greatly developed, especially in the towns. Moreover, the government of Warsaw was so foolish as to annoy the Protestant dissenters in the same way as it did those of the Greek Church.

In the third place, Poland could not escape the spirit of reform which was the spirit of the eighteenth century. Poniatovski and the more enlightened Poles were well aware of the contrast between the national anarchy and the order that existed in the neighboring States. While Prussia, Russia, and Austria tried to constitute themselves into modern States, to build up the central powers on the ruins of the forces of the Middle Ages, to realize the reforms proclaimed by French philosophers and political economists, Poland had, up to that time, followed the opposite plan, despoiling the kingly power at each accession, weakening the national strength, persisting in the traditions of feudalism. In the midst of European monarchies which attained, on its very frontiers, the maximum of their power, Poland remained a state of the eleventh century. It had allowed them to get such a start, that even the effort for reform hastened its dissolution.

From a social point of view it was a nation of agricultural serfs, under the power of a numerous class of small nobility, themselves subject to a few great families, against which the king was absolutely powerless. There was no middle class at all, unless we give that name to some thousands of Catholic citizens, and to a million of Jews, who had no interest in

maintaining a state of things which condemned them to eternal opprobrium. Economically, it had a primitive system of agriculture worked by a serf population, little commerce, no retail trade, no public finances. From a political point of view the country was legally composed of nobles only. The rivalry of the great families, the anarchy of the diets, the weakness of the king, the pacta conventa, the liberum veto, the confederations or diets under the shield, the inveterate habit of invoking the intervention of foreign powers, or of selling them their votes, had extinguished in Poland the very idea of law and a state. From a military point of view the Polish soldiers were merely the lawless soldiers of the Middle Ages; the only cavalry was that of the nobility; there was no infantry, little artillery, and scarcely any fortresses on the frontiers, which were everywhere exposed. Maurice de Saxe affirms, in his "Reveries," that it needed only forty-eight thousand men to conquer Poland. What could this State do, divided against itself, long ago corrupted by the gold of its enemies, enclosed by three powerful monarchies, which occupied its territory with never a thought that they were violating its frontiers, and whose ambassadors had more power in its diets than the king?

Catherine and Frederic had come to an understanding on two essential points: to vindicate the rights of the dissenters, and to prevent all reform of the anarchic constitution, which was giving Poland into their hands. While affecting to espouse the cause of tolerance, they made Europe forget that it was to be gained at the price of the independence and integrity of the country. The noisy fanaticism of the Poles helped them to conceal their object.

In seventeen hundred and sixty-five Konisski, the orthodox bishop of White Russia, presented a petition to the King of Poland, recalling all the vexations to which the Greek Church in the kingdom was subject. Two hundred churches had been taken away from them and given to the Uniates; they

were forbidden to rebuild those which had fallen into ruin, or to construct new ones; their priests were ill-treated, sometimes put to death. "The Missionary Fathers," says the petition, "are specially distinguished for their zeal: seconded by the secular authority when they are engaged on a mission, they assemble the Greco-Russian people of all the neighboring villages, as if they were a flock of sheep, keep them for six weeks together, force them to confess to them, and, to frighten those that resist, raise impaling poles, display rods, thorny branches, erect scaffolds, separate children from their parents, women from their husbands, and seek to astound them by imaginary miracles. In cases of stout resistance men are beaten with rods or with thorny branches, their hands are burned, and they are kept in prison for months together."

Russia supported the complaints of the dissenters before the Polish Diet, and Stanislas promised to sustain them. It was necessary to secure to the people the free exercise of their religion, and to the orthodox nobles the political rights of which they had been deprived by former legislatures. The Diet of seventeen hundred and sixty-six made a frantic opposition to this proposal; the deputy Gurovski, who attempted to speak in favor of the dissenters, narrowly escaped being put to death.

Repnin, Catherine's ambassador, got the dissenters to promise that they would resort to the legal means of confederations. The orthodox assembled at Slutsk, the Protestants under the patronage of the Russian ambassador at Thorn; there was also at Radom a confederation of Catholics, who were enemies of the Tchartoruiski, and of those who feared a reform of the constitution, and the abolition of the liberum veto. Russia, which with Prussia had guaranteed the maintenance of this absurd constitution, likewise took them under its protection. Eighty thousand Muscovites were ready, at a sign from Repnin, to enter Poland. Under these auspices opened the Diet of seventeen hundred and sixty-seven: the Poles did not

appear to feel the insult to their independence, and only exerted themselves to support the system of intolerance. Soltnik, bishop of Krakof, Zalutski, bishop of Kief, and two other nuncios showed themselves most warm in their opposition to the project. Repnin caused them to be violently removed and taken to Russia, and the Poles had done so much themselves that Europe applauded this violation of the law of nations, as it seemed to secure liberty of conscience. The Diet yielded, and consented that the dissident nobles should have political rights equal to those of the Catholics; but Romanism remained the religion of the State, and that which the king must always profess. In seventeen hundred and sixty-eight a treaty was made between Poland and Russia, in virtue of which the constitution could never be modified without the consent of the latter power. This was to legalize foreign intervention, and to condemn Poland to perish by reason of its abuses. The Russian troops evacuated Warsaw, and the Confederates sent deputies to thank the Empress.

In spite of this, the Confederation of Radom, the most considerable of the three, which had taken up arms to hinder the reform of the constitution, and in no wise to support reforms in favor of the dissenters, was much discontented with the result. When it was dissolved, there sprang from its remains the Confederation of Bar, in Podolia, which was more numerous still, and had adopted as its programme not only the maintenance of the liberum veto, but also that of the exclusive privileges of the Catholics. In Gallicia and Lublin two other confederations were formed with the same objects in view. The insurgents took for their motto, "Religion and liberty"; but the word "liberty" was heard with indifference by the mass of the people, who saw in the "liberty" of the Poles only that of the nobles. The Confederates of Bar sent deputies to the courts of Dresden, Vienna, and Versailles, to interest them in their cause. In the West opinion might well be perplexed. On which side, men asked, was the nation ranged?

Whither did the forces of the future tend? Were right and justice at Warsaw with the king and the senate, and all the men who had voted for the enfranchisement of the dissenters, and who meditated in secret the reform of the constitution and the revival of Poland, or were they at Bar, where turbulent nobles, guided by fanatical priests, revolted in the name of the liberum veto and religious intolerance? Voltaire and the greater part of the French philosophers declared in favor of King Stanislas; but the Duke de Choiseul, minister of Louis the Fifteenth, supported the Confederates. It did not strike him that by weakening the authority of the Polish king he was weakening Poland itself. The Polish government, in presence of the insurrection, found itself forced to commit a fresh blunder. The royal army did not amount to nine thousand effective men, and, according to the treaty of alliance with Russia, they appealed to Catherine for troops. The Muscovite columns wrested Bar, Berditchef, and Krakof from the Confederates. The orthodox monks replied by their sermons to those of the Catholic priests. Hontaï and Zheliézniak called to arms the Cossacks of the Ukraina, the Zaporoshtsui, and the haïdamaki, or brigands, who in a few days amounted to twenty thousand men, and went plundering from estate to estate. Prince Kaspar Liubomirski, to his own harm, out of hatred to the Confederates, gave fresh inducements to the peasants. A savage war, at once national, religious, and social, desolated the provinces of the Dnieper; the land-owners saw the return of the bloody days of Khmelnitski. No Catholic priest, no Jew, no noble, was safe. One of each of these classes was seen, hanging upon a tree in company with a dog. The farther they spread the more their strength increased, and the more brutal they became. The massacre of Uman, a town of Count Pototski's, horrified the Ukraina. All the residences within forty miles were burned to the ground, and at the least calculation ten thousand Jews and Catholics were put to death.

The Confederates, repulsed by the Russian columns, obtained some support from the Court of Vienna. They had established the council of the Confederation at Teshen, their headquarters at Eperies in Hungary, and still held three places in Poland. Choiseul sent them money, and sent also the Chevalier de Taulès, Dumouriez, and the Baron de Viomesnil, to organize them. In the Memoirs of Dumouriez we find that the forces of the Confederation, scattered through the whole extent of Poland, did not exceed sixteen or seventeen thousand horsemen, without infantry, and divided into five or six bands, each with its independent chief. Zaremba, in Great Poland, the Cossack Sava, Miatchinski, Valevski, and many others, usually acted without combination. Pulavski was the open enemy of Pototski; Dumouriez, with his undisciplined troops, was beaten at Landskron in seventeen hundred and seventy-one; but Viomesnil, Dussaillans, and Choisy, three French officers, surprised the Castle of Krakof in seventeen hundred and seventy-two; it was shortly afterwards recaptured by Suvorof. On the third of November, seventeen hundred and seventy-one, an attempt was made by some of the Confederates to secure the person of the king. As he was about to leave the house of his uncle, the Chancellor of Lithuania, at ten o'clock at night, he was suddenly surrounded by twelve or fifteen men. His escort was overpowered. A bullet grazed his skin. He was dragged out of the carriage by his feet. His orders and decorations were torn from him, and he was severely wounded in the head by a sabre-cut. Two horsemen then hurried away with him before the spectators could make any plan of rescue. In a few moments he was set upon a horse which, fortunately, stumbled and broke a leg. Those who were intrusted with guarding him missed their way in a wood, and, thinking that they heard the voices of Russians, they forsook him and fled. About five o'clock in the morning the king returned to Warsaw, wounded and bleeding. This deed of the Confederates placed them in a very bad light, excited the

ostentatious and insincere indignation of the European courts, and increased Voltaire's dislike of them.

FIRST TURKISH WAR: FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND: SWEDISH REVOLUTION OF SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO.

Choiseul imagined that the best way of aiding the Confederates was to induce the Turks to declare war against Russia. Vergennes, the French ambassador at Constantinople, set to work energetically to bring it to pass; but unhappily France greatly exaggerated the power of Turkey, and was ignorant how far its strength had diminished since its last war with Austria. The mistake made by Choiseul when he linked the fate of his ally on the Vistula with the success of the Ottoman arms only rendered the partition of Poland inevitable. On the news of the violation of the frontier at Balta, not by the Russian troops but by the haidamaki, or brigands, who were pursued by the former, the Sublime Porte declared war on Russia. The Baron de Tott had been sent by Vergennes to Kruim-Girai, Khan of the Crimea, to persuade him to second the Turks. In the winter of seventeen hundred and sixty-eight the Tatars devastated Novaïa Serbia, one of the new centres which had been founded by Elisabeth. Catherine, whose forces were occupied in Poland, had only a feeble army to oppose to the Turco-Tatar invasion. "The Romans," she writes to her generals, "did not concern themselves with the number of their enemies; they only asked, 'Where are they?'" Alexander Galitsuin, with thirty thousand men, was therefore ordered to check the Grand Vizier at the head of one hundred thousand, who was on the point of entering Podolia to join the Polish Confederates; Rumiantsof was to occupy the Ukraina and watch the Crimean Tatars and the Kalmuicki. Galitsuin took the initiative, defeated the Grand Vizier on the Dnieper, near Khotin, which capitulated in September, seventeen hundred and sixty-nine, and took up a position in Valakhia and Mol-

davia, to the great joy of the orthodox populations of the Danube. The following year his successor, Rumiantsof, defeated the Khan of the Tatars, although the latter had one hundred thousand men, and was intrenched on the banks of the Larga. He then gained over the Grand Vizier in person the victory of Kahul in seventeen hundred and seventy, where seventeen thousand Russians defeated one hundred and fifty thousand Mussulmans. In seventeen hundred and seventy-one Prince Dolgoruki forced the lines of Perekop, ravaged the Crimea, took Kaffa, Kertch, and Ienikale, and put an end forever to the Turkish rule in the peninsula. During this time the army of Valakhia captured the fortresses on the Danube, successfully completed the conquest of Bessarabia by taking Bender, and penetrated into Bulgaria.

Catherine the Second prepared a yet more terrible surprise for the Turkish Empire, disturbed as it was by the revolt of the Pasha of Egypt. A Russian fleet left the Baltic under the orders of Alexis Orlof, and, after having put in at the English ports and made the tour of Europe, suddenly appeared on the coast of Greece. The Christian populations of the Western Morea and the Maïnotes, the inhabitants of the ancient Lacedæmon, revolted; Voltaire was already singing the regeneration of Athens and the resurrection of Sparta; but Orlof abandoned the Greeks after he had compromised them, and hastened away in search of the Turkish fleet. With the help of his lieutenants, Spiridof and Greig, he defeated it at the harbor of Chios, and totally annihilated it in the port of Tchesmé, aided by fire-ships started by the English lieutenant, Dugdale. At this news the terror of Constantinople exceeded all bounds; they pictured the Russians arriving in the Bosphorus. Admiral Elphinstone, to whom nearly the whole credit of this great victory was due, advised Orlof to sail immediately for Constantinople. But Orlof wasted his time in the conquest of the islands, while Baron de Tott rallied the courage of the Sultan and the Turkish people, drilled the Ottoman

soldiers, cast cannon, and put the Dardanelles in a state of defence. When the Russians at last, in seventeen hundred and seventy, presented themselves at the entrance of the Straits, they were too late. Elphinstone, in disgust, resigned his position, and, being received with great coolness at Saint Petersburg, he returned to England unrewarded. Orlof, on the other hand, whose follyand stupidity had prevented any use being made of the victory, was received as a conquering hero.

Russia, however, had none the less conquered Azof, the Crimea, the shore of the Black Sea between the Dnieper and the Dniester, Bessarabia, Valakhia, Moldavia, a part of Bulgaria, and of the islands of the Archipelago, and would willingly have kept its conquests, but Austria took fright at Russia's close neighborhood and at the disturbance in the equilibrium of the East. It was at this time that the Turkish and Polish questions became involved in each other: Poland was to serve as the ransom of Turkey.

Of the three Northern States, Prussia was the most interested in the dismemberment of Poland; it was a geographical necessity that it should lay hands on Western Prussia, and, if possible, on the cities of the Vistula. Its king, Frederic the Second, denounced to Catherine the projects of the Tchartoruiski for the reform of the constitution, and brought to light the wrongs of the dissenters; in a word, he created the Polish question. In the interviews of Neiss in Silesia, and of Neustadt in Moravia, he had disquieted Joseph the Second and Kaunitz on the subject of Russian ambition in the East, and had suggested the idea of a partition of Poland; and he also sent his brother, Prince Henry, to Saint Petersburg, to gain over Catherine the Second. Prince Henry made her clearly comprehend that her pretensions in the East would cause Austria and France to side against her; that her ally, his brother, the King of Prussia, weakened by the Seven Years' War, would be unable to stand a war against united Europe; that no doubt she had a right to an equivalent for the expenses of

YOUNG VALAKHIAN WOMAN

the double war, but that it could matter little to her whether she procured this indemnity from the Vistula or from the Danube; that she could therefore aggrandize herself at the expense of Poland, and that to re-establish equilibrium in the North she must suffer Prussia and Austria to aggrandize themselves also.

Catherine the Second, who had already on her hands the wars with Poland and Turkey, could not dream of fighting also both Austria and Prussia. Although she would have preferred to maintain the integrity of Poland, on condition of holding a preponderating influence over its affairs, she was forced to submit to the proposal of Frederic the Second. The King of Prussia knew how to play off Russia and Austria against each other. Even now he was acting as master in Great Poland, taking away the wheat for his own subjects, and the inhabitants for his own army. Once he occupied Dantzig. Austria in turn, in order to vindicate its ancient rights, invaded the county of Zips. The partition was almost completed, when it was legalized by the treaty of February seventeen, seventeen hundred and seventy-one, between Prussia and Russia, accepted by Austria in April, and signified to the King of Poland on the eighteenth of September in that same year. Russia obtained White Russia, including Polotsk, Vitepsk, Orsha, Mohilef, Mstislavl, Gomel, with one million six hundred thousand inhabitants; Austria had Western Gallicia and Red Russia, with two million five hundred thousand people; while Prussia got possession of the long-coveted Western Prussia, with a population of nine hundred thousand souls.

Russia had still to treat with the Porte. After the rupture of the Congress of Fokshany, in seventeen hundred and seventy-two, the war again broke out. The Russians had been forced to raise the siege of Silistria, but they had surrounded the Grand Vizier in his camp of Shumla, and a single victory might open to them the way to Constantinople. Sultan Ab-

dul Hamid consented to sign the Peace of Kutchuk-Kaïrnadji in seventeen hundred and seventy-four. He undertook to recognize the independence of the Tatars of the Bug, of the Crimea, and of Kuban; to cede Azof on the Don, Kinburn at the mouth of the Dnieper, and all the strong places in the Crimea; to open the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to the merchant ships of Russia; to treat the Russian merchants in the same way as the French, who were then the most favored nation; to grant an amnesty to all the Christian populations engaged in the last insurrection; to allow the Russian ambassadors to interfere in favor of their subjects in the Danubian principalities; to pay a war indemnity of four million five hundred thousand rubles, and to recognize the imperial title of the Russian sovereign. Not only did Russia acquire important territories and numerous strategical points, but it established a sort of protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and prepared the way for the annexation of the Crimea, of the Kuban, and of all the northern shore of the Black Sea.

France, indirectly defeated in Poland and Turkey, had lately obtained a great diplomatic success in Sweden. Frederic the Second and Catherine the Second were under a tacit understanding to guarantee in the latter country the maintenance of the oligarchic constitution, which was practically the maintenance of anarchy. This was in order to reserve to themselves a pretext for interference, and even to prepare for a dismemberment, which would have given Finland to Russia, and Swedish Pomerania to Prussia; the rôle of third partitioner, played by Austria in the Polish question, would have been here assigned to Denmark. Gustavus the Third, who had grown up amidst the clamors and intrigues of the Diet, was determined to re-establish the royal power, as being the only hope for the independence of the country. In seventeen hundred and seventy-one, while he was still prince royal, he went to France, visited the philosophers, frequented the fash-

ionable salons, amongst others that of Madame Géoffrin, and received encouragement and promises of help from the French government. The spectacle of the anticipated partition of Poland strengthened him in his patriotic resolutions, and a favorable opportunity seemed offered by the embarrassing situation of both Russia and Prussia. Recalled to Sweden by the death of his father, he prepared his coup-d'état with the utmost secrecy, having previously gained over the army and the nation. On the nineteenth of August, seventeen hundred and seventy-two, he assembled the guard, dismissed the senators, made the people of Stockholm rise in revolt, and imposed on the Diet a constitution of fifty-seven articles, which guaranteed the public liberties, at the same time that it restored to the Crown its essential prerogatives. He then abolished torture and the State inquisition, shut up the "cave of roses," a hole full of reptiles used for "the question," and set on foot useful reforms which placed Sweden, already impregnated with French ideas, in the current of the eighteenth century. The success of this bloodless revolution, which doubled the real power of Sweden, and put it beyond the pale of foreign intrigue, caused great mortification to Frederic the Second and Catherine; but the affairs of Poland deprived them of the power or will to interfere.

PLAGUE AT MOSCOW.—PUGATCHEF.

Catherine the Second, victorious in Poland and in Turkey, found herself face to face with terrible difficulties in her own empire. In seventeen hundred and seventy-one the plague broke out at Moscow, and during the months of July and August the deaths amounted to a thousand a day. The people, wild with fright, and bringing costly offerings and jewels, thronged to the feet of the holy image the Mother of God at Bogoliubovo, and many died of suffocation in the crowd. Archbishop Amvrosi, an enlightened and educated man, sent five men to remove the image. This was the signal for a terrible insurrection. "The archbishop is an infidel," cried the people;

"he would deprive us of our protectress; he is in a conspiracy with the doctors to make us die. It is wrong for the orthodox to suffer injustice from those above them. If they had not smoked up the streets and the hospitals, then surely the plague would have long ago ceased. To the Kreml! to the Kreml! Let us demand of Amvrosi why he forbids us to pray to the Mother of God!" Amvrosi was put to death, and his palace pillaged. It was necessary to use muskets and cannons to disperse the crowd, which was ready to commit new deeds of violence. Catherine in October sent Gregory Orlof with the skilful Dr. Todte to appease the revolt, and to reassure the people. At last the plague ceased, and peace was restored. On his return Orlof was received with a triumphal arch with an inscription: "To the man who freed Moscow from the plague."

The insurrection of Moscow proved in what gross darkness the lower classes of the capital, the domestic serfs, lackeys, small tradesmen, and workingmen then lived. The revolt of Pugatchef shows what elements of disorder were fermenting in the distant provinces of the capital. The peasants, on whom were laid the burden of all the State expenses, all the needs of the proprietors, and all the exactions of the officials, were forever dreaming of impossible changes. In their profound ignorance they were ever ready to follow any impostors, and there were now plenty; false Peters the Third, Ivans the Sixth, and even a Paul the First, who took advantage of these debased classes, prejudiced as they always were against "the rule of women." The raskolniki, made wild and fanatical by many persecutions, remained in their forests or in the scattered villages of the Volga, irreconcilable enemies of this second Roman Empire, stained with the blood of the martyrs. The Cossacks of the Iaïk and the Don, and the Zaporoshtsui of the Dnieper, chafed under the yoke of authority to which they were unused. The tribes of the Volga, Pagan, Mussulman, or converted to Christianity in spite of themselves, awaited

only a pretext to recover their lawless liberty, or to reclaim the lands which the Russian colonists had usurped.

How little these ungovernable elements accommodated themselves to the laws of a modern State was seen when, in seventeen hundred and seventy, the Kalmuik-Torgauts, men, women, and children, to the number of about three hundred thousand, with their cattle, their tents, and their chariots, abandoned their encampments. Ravaging everything in their road, they crossed the Volga, and retired to the terrritory of the empire of China. Catherine demanded of the Chinese Emperor their return, but he replied that they had simply come back to their ancient dwelling-place and were now under his protection. When we add to these malcontents the vagabonds of all kinds, the ruined nobles, the disfrocked monks, the military deserters, fugitive serfs, highwaymen, and Volga pirates, we shall see that Russia, especially in its Oriental part, contained all the materials necessary for an immense Jacquerie, like that which the false Dmitri or Stenko Razin had let loose. The Iaïk, whose Cossacks had risen in seventeen hundred and sixty-six, and had been cruelly repressed in seventeen hundred and seventy-one, was destined to furnish the chief to this servile war. Emilian Pugatchef, a Cossack deserter and a raskolnik, who had been already confined as a dangerous character in the prison of Kazan, and had found means to escape into the steppes of the Iaïk, gave himself out as Peter the Third, and asserted that he was saved under the very hands of the executioner. Displaying the banner of Holstein, he proclaimed that he would march to Saint Petersburg to punish his wife and to crown his son. He besieged the small fortress of Iaïtsk with only three hundred men. This in itself was an insignificant affair, but all the troops sent against him passed over to his side and delivered up their chiefs. It was his custom to hang the officers, and cut the hair of the soldiers in the Cossack style. In the villages the nobles were also hung. All who resisted him

were punished as rebels, convicted of the crime of high treason. He thus gained possession of many little fortresses on the Steppe. Whilst his intimate friends who knew his origin treated him when alone as a simple Cossack, the people began to receive him with bells, and the priests to present him bread and salt. Some of the Polish Confederates, captives in those regions, organized his artillery. For almost a year he made Kazan and Orenburg tremble, and defeated all the generals sent against him. Everywhere proprietors fled, and the barbarous tribes hastened to his headquarters. The peasants rose against the nobles, the Tatars and Tchuvashi against the Russians: a war of race, a social war, a servile war, was let loose in the basin of the Volga. Moscow, with its one hundred thousand serfs, was agitated: the lower orders, seeing the frightened land-owners pour in from Eastern Russia, began openly to speak of liberty and the extermination of the masters. Catherine the Second charged Alexander Bibikof to check the progress of the scourge. Bibikof, on his arrival at Kazan, was alarmed at the universal demoralization, but he rallied his courage, reassured and armed the nobles, restrained the people, and affected the greatest confidence, while he wrote to his wife, "The evil is great — it is frightful! Alas! it is ugly!" He thoroughly comprehended that all this disorder was not the work of a single man. "Pugatchef," he said, "is only a bugbear worked by the Cossack thieves; it is not Pugatchef that is important, but the general discontent." Although very uncertain of his own troops, he attacked the impostor, defeated him both at Tatishtcheva and at Kargula, dispersed his army and took his guns. Bibikof died in the midst of his victories, but his lieutenants, Michelson, de Collonges, and Galitsuin, gave chase to Pugatchef. Tracked to the Lower Volga, he suddenly ascended the river, threw himself into Kazan, which he pillaged and burned, received a check before its Kreml, and was beaten on the Kazanka. Then he returned down the river, boldly entered Saransk, Samara, and

Tsaritsuin, and, though closely followed by his enemies, had time to hang the imperialists, and to establish new municipalities. During his retreat to the south the people awaited him on the road to Moscow, and, in order not to disappoint them, false Peters the Third and false Pugatchefs sprang up on all sides, and at the head of savage bands put proprietors to death and burned castles. Moscow was nearer revolt than ever. It was time that Pugatchef was arrested. Shut in between the Volga and the Iaïk, by Michelson and the indefatigable Suvorof, he was pinioned and surrendered by his own accomplices, at the very moment when he intended flying into Persia. He was brought to Moscow, so that the people might witness his punishment. There he was quartered in January, seventeen hundred and seventy-five. Many declined to believe in the death of the false Peter the Third, and if the revolt was put down the spirit of revolt existed some time longer.

It was a warning for Catherine the Second, and she remembered it when in seventeen hundred and seventy-five she extinguished the Zaporozh republic. This brave tribe, expelled by Peter the Great and recalled by Anna Ivanovna, no longer recognized their former territory in the Ukraina. Southern Russia, freed from Tatar incursions, was being rapidly colonized; cities were in process of construction everywhere, the boundaries of property were fixed, and the vast herbaceous steppes, through which their ancestors had roamed as freely as the Arabs in the desert, were transformed into cultivated fields with a beautiful black soil. The Zaporoshtsui were much discontented with this transformation; they intended to reclaim their lands, and re-establish the desert; they protected the haïdamaki, who ill-treated the colonists. Potemkin, the creator of New Russia, became weary of these inconvenient neighbors. By order of the Empress he occupied the sétcha and destroyed it. The malcontents fled to the territory of the Sultan; the rest were organized like the Black

Sea Cossacks, and in seventeen hundred and ninety-two the Isle of Phanagoria and the eastern shore of the Sea of Azof were assigned them. Such was the end of the great Cossack power. It no longer existed save in the songs of the kobzarui or mandolin-players.