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ABRIDGED

HISTORY OF RUSSIA,

FROM THE EARLIEST TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

V. V. D'ORLOWSKI.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

The original plan was to extend this publication. Unforeseen circumstances, however, have contributed to its unavoidable curtailment. On its merits the reader will decide. It may suffice to mention, that the author has no presumptuous pretensions; his intention simply being to introduce historical facts relating to Russia, not as it ought to be, or may be, but as it is, in a light and superficial form, leaving it to the reader rather to form an opinion, than to enforce one.

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ABRIDGED HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

Part First.

INTRODUCTION.

The efforts of historians to penetrate into the most obscure period of the history of Russia have hitherto failed. The vast extent of this immense empire, its originally limited intercourse with the West, not naming other causes, have contributed to the difficulties encountered. That Russia was at a very ancient time partly occupied by different races, of whom some appear to have attained a certain degree of civiliza-

tion, remaining vestiges fully indicate. Their origin from the East, from Asia and India, is now sufficiently established. Yet, however remote their settling in present Russia, the earliest data of Russian history, or, at least, the name of Russia, is not older than the ninth century; in fact, they do not begin before the invasion of the Mongols, or Moguls, in 1237; who, although as conquerors, appear amalgamated with the Russians proper, after a sway over them of nearly two hundred years. Of the national type of present Russia, a general survey is not sufficient to convey an accurate conception; and this will not surprise, if it is considered that all climates and manners, which, more or less, individually characterize each of the other European nations, are to be

met in Russia combined. Thus, the beautiful and animating serenity of the southern sky of Europe, and the oppressive heat, almost equal to the tropical, strangely contrast there with the most acute cold, and all the melancholy of a protracted, wearisome winter of the glacial regions. That these contrasting differences in the climate of Russia must have produced corresponding types of character and manners, national and domestic, is scarcely necessary to mention.

Who ever visited St Petersburg, before the present war, and did not leave it with impressions of having resided in one of the most charming and captivating of European towns?

But it must be remembered that St Petersburg is the residence of the Czar, of his gay court, and his senators; the rendezvous of the most distinguished families of Russia, who hasten there from the most remote parts of the empire, to forget, in the variation of festivities, enjoyment, and excitement, the seclusion and sameness of their estates and castles, surrounded, frequently, by almost impenetrable forests or boundless plains. There are necessarily numerous other places, equally visited, and, geographically considered, much more favoured than St Petersburg, and offering, but perhaps on a lesser scale, the same inducements; still they are all European, and differ little in their character and mode of life from similar towns in other countries.

An almost magic change, however, is perceptible in that portion of Russia

termed Asiatic, or bounding thereon. The peculiarities of the Asiatic races are here preserved, and although the observer is conscious of being in Russia, he looks there in vain for Europe. To understand, therefore, Russia, to form a precise idea of its internal national character, would require a perfect acquaintance with all that is European, as well as belonging to the East; and thus it may be said that Russia is stationary in one part, progressive in the other: the influence of the East being irresistible, the active spirit of the West inevitable. In this conflict of Orientalism with the Western revolving, or, less properly termed, reactionary spirit, rests the so much talked of difficulty to understand Russia. That, besides, the East is not disposed, prepared,

or perhaps constituted, to tolerate or to accept much from Western influence, it would not be difficult to prove. The general belief in boasting Western Europe appears to be, that the grossest ignorance and barbarism prevail in the East; and that, in comparison, the West is a real paradise. Those acquainted with the East will think differently. Overlooking that the East is considered as the cradle of the origin of society, and merely reviewing the history of those ancient states, of which several no longer exist, it will be found that all that is comprehended within modern ideas of civilization flourished there long before the real existence of a Western Europe: and if a sort of sameness, languor, apathy, or torpor, now characterize the Eastern nations, this is, undoubtedly, the result of their great antiquity, and of the vicissitudes and changes which they at a very remote period experienced; and also partly the consequence of those exterminating wars which had been carried on there on a scale with which nothing of modern warfare can be compared. Perusing the pages relating to those razzias by which empires of vast extent were shattered to pieces, cities levelled to the ground, and a complete destruction persisted in by the conqueror or invaders, the apathy or passiveness is easily explained, as well as the gorgeous ostentation on one side, and the servility on the other, interpreted.

It is indeed the surest indication, that after an activity unequalled in modern times, having attained the summit of internal perfection, the original inhabitants of those regions, in their refined state, were overwhelmed and destroyed by the rude hand of oppressors, or by the uncontrollable thirst for conquest of invading hordes; who, thus satiated by accomplished devastation and ruin, without further opportunities for aggression, relapsed into that state of passiveness alluded to, rudely copying and adopting what they had not entirely obliterated.

Notunfrequently surprise is expressed, that in Russia, where no over-population is perceptible—where, on the contrary, taking into account the vast extent of territory, the number of inhabitants is limited—not only continued belligerent attitudes should be maintained, but positive hostilities carried

on. The position of Russia, between those two influences noticed, and also its restless and aggressive policy, may partly account for the apparently or really injurious attitude.

The extent and nature of commerce, depending upon the geographical position of a country, and upon its natural resources, must necessarily influence the internal constitution and classification of the inhabitants. The natural resources of Russia are extensive; -there exists, however, not a general necessity to call them into full operation: the latter, besides, is restricted, for reasons and through circumstances which to discuss here would oblige to deviate from the present purpose. The problem of the development of a class or classes of persons not observable in VOL. I.

Russia is thus solved, by the existence of the general necessity alluded to in other countries. As there is no active middle class in Russia, consequently also nothing can proceed from it. Public opportunities for discussion or debates in Russia are impracticable; ameliorations, therefore, real or merely intended, indeed all changes, are produced by an authoritative ukase or order, by which imperfections or abuses are corrected. Such ukases are stringent and precise; but, without enlarging on their nature, it may be generally stated, a review of them will show that they mark-obviously such only which at once affect the whole country-a certain meeting of the consequences and results of the natural development taking place, or most urgent wants, in a national point of view. This development, in the meantime, is not promoted by prudent measures, but, on the contrary -being misinterpreted -frequently violently obstructed. More than about the absence of a middle class in Russia, is said concerning serfs. To perceive that frequently foreign opinions in this respect are exaggeratedomitting to enlarge on what are termed crown-serfs-and frequently do not distinguish the difference betwixt serfs and slaves, it must be considered that the Russians proper are composed of land proprietors, or possessors of land to such an extent as to produce disbelief in other countries; and tenants, the serfs, or so-termed slaves, born and living on the estates, and looked upon as property of the land possessor in the

same degree as the lands and estates themselves. In Russia the extent of landed property is not described by such or such an extent of territory, by so many square miles or acres, except for some special purpose, but indicated by the number of "souls," as it is termed, within the boundary of the estates; and then only the number of males is given, owing to the mode of military enrolment. It is well known that these "souls" are, if not generally, yet for the greater part, without what is termed mental culture among that class elsewhere; taking into account, however, it may be said the primitiveness which prevails among them, it becomes a matter of question whether they would otherwise be more content than in general they appear to be.

On the other hand, the higher classes in Russia, to which the land proprietors belong, are distinguished for their refinement and superior cultivation; the degree of which must necessarily influence the management of their estates; and thus the condition of the "souls" depends much upon circumstances. If, indeed, on some estates it may be unenviable rather than otherwise, this must be attributed to the impossibility of the land proprietors taking direct notice of, or becoming acquainted with, the abuses or overstepping of authority granted to agents, stewards, or other administrators of their distant domains. Owing to this vastness of possession, frequently entire estates, comprising towns and several villages, are let out to persons, who then become entitled to an equal power with the proprietor, similar to those sometimes called in this country middle-men. The facilities which exist in other countries in conveying direct agricultural produce and the indirect resources from husbandry, to markets, properly speaking, are numerous and at hand : not so in Russia, and simply because the distance from certain estates to places where the produce alluded to may be advantageously disposed of is often not only considerable, but such that its removal becomes impracticable, and only available to the land proprietor himself. The latter, for the occupation of his tenures, naturally expects a remuneration; consequently the tenant is held to perform certain agricultural obligations on the domains, or to send so many hands, as

it is termed, according to the extent of the tenure. The obligation, then, or rather the necessity, to labour instead of paying for the occupation of the tenure, constitutes the so-termed esclavage, or serfdom,—which, in reality, is to some extent bondage.

Travelling, through many parts of Russia, is not combined with those comforts which render a journey pleasant. How much, then, of the real state of the country must escape observation, and how little can be acquired when the course pursued leads there where many tourists already have been, and when real or apprehended obstructions deter from going elsewhere! But, in that respect, foreign observers are not the only persons misinformed. If irregularities appear in some of the depart-

ments, or the so-called governments. remote from the capital, an official inquiry is immediately instituted, and a reprimand, if necessary, addressed there; but notwithstanding of this, A. finds no difficulties in transferring the whole matter to B, who blames C, C accuses D, and so on, until the whole avalanche of mutual accusation, exculpation, &c., comes down upon Z, who has no other alternative but patiently to resign himself to his fate: every one in this series, however, although conscious of his own as well as of the unscrupulosity of his associates above and below, considers himself a perfect pattern of integrity. Concerning the domestic character of the Russians. nothing must more surprise the foreigner than the absence of seriousness among them. There is no doubt that the Russians, before, during, and after their subjugation by the Moguls, had many causes of sorrow; but all traces of them appear to be obliterated, and certain it is that they are of a cheerful and light-hearted disposition. Without going into details, it is manifest that Russia, in many aspects, materially differs from any other European country. All depending there upon the absolute will of the Czar, the acts emanating from this will must necessarily be influenced by many incidents, often perhaps by trifles, precluding even the possibility of well-meant intentions to reach the highest quarter.

The department of Russian biographical or court history shows that many circumstances and occurrences have

contributed to disturb, if not to mar, the tranquillity requisite for the attainment, execution, and completion of important state purposes; and thus the anomaly of some facts connected with Russian history may to some extent become clucidated.

The reader who expected in this introduction what may be termed a political illustration of Russian history will feel disappointed. The purpose, however, is to exhibit modern views on Russia, and not to enter into those complicated historical matters, [which, although the result of mere coincidence and uncontrollable events, yet frequently are ascribed to premeditation and matured plans. Before going over to the real history of Russia, a short notice of the Russo-Turkish question may not be out of place.

A brief summary of opinions originally entertained concerning this subject, indicates that some imagined it was a question relating to the orthodox faith; others maintained it was one of commerce; another class thought they perceived in what was taking place an opportunity offered to diplomacy for the display of its abilities and intricacies, or for the exhibition of military tactics, where for blank cartridges, and the harmless roar of cannon, real balls, &c., were to be substituted.

Be this as it may, it is evident that a fixed plan and purpose had been traced, and that if this plan in its original form has not been carried out, has been changed or abandoned, such is the consequence of the unexpected turn which events have taken.

As a general remark, applicable to

what has just been mentioned, it may be added, that the plans for the aggrandizement of Russia, as is well known, were laid down at a remote epoch, but by whatever means the visible partaggrandizement has been effected, one, though probably the most important impediment, appears to have been overlooked, namely, the internal amelioration, increase of population, in fact, the inevitable progress, of those countries which were to become subservient to the designs planned.

In conclusion, the circumstances which caused the present war, although now well understood, may, as belonging to history, find a place here.

From very remote times, the Latins and the Greeks disputed among themselves the possession of the sanctuaries of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other consecrated places. A treaty between Francis I. of France and the Sultan Solvman, granted the possession of those places to the Latins. In a renewed treaty, in 1740, this clause was ratified. But none of those diplomatic acts determined or pointed out precisely the sanctuaries which were to belong to the Latins. Hence arose perpetual discussions, which the Ottoman Porte, through a very natural partiality, habitually regulated in favour of her Greek subjects.

The origin of the question which contributed to the present hostilities goes back to 1846. A certain portion of the holy places of Bethlehem belonged to the Greeks; the Latins, however, who pretended to have possessed vol. I.

them previously, had affixed to those places a silver star with a Latin inscription. This star one day having disappeared, the Latins accused the Greeks, and in order to obtain redress, claimed the intervention of France. The government of Louis Philippe, through M. de Bourqueney, French ambassador, requested that the star should be replaced in its former position, and the restoration to the Latin clergy of twelve sanctuaries which they claimed, and, among others, the Holy Sepulchre, the great Church of Bethlehem, the Tomb of the Virgin, and part of the garden adjoining the Church.

The negotiations begun by Louis Philippe were not as yet settled, when the revolution of July changed the aspect of France. General Lahitte, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the meantime addressed circulars to all the Roman Catholic powers to second France. The Greeks protested, the Porte hesitated, and endeavoured to maintain the status quo. At this juncture, General Aupick, envoy extraordinary of the French republic, requested the formation of a mixed commission to investigate the relative claims of both parties; to which the Sultan consented. Desirous, however, to give to his Greek subjects a proof of his sympathy, he appointed as member of this commission, M. Aristarchie, councillor of the Greek patriarch. This choice took place contrary to the protestation and objections of the French ambassador

Whilst the commission examined

the documents which both parties had laid before it, the Emperor of Russia addressed an autograph letter to the Sultan, in which he reproached the Ottoman ministers, Redshid Pasha, Fuad Effendi, and Ali Pasha, of having recognised the treaty of 1740; which obviously was not the case. Yet, through deference for the Czar, who came forward as the protector of the Greek Church, the Sultan dissolved the mixed commission; for which he substituted one composed of Ottoman functionaries. This, however, was not what the Czar desired. He endeavoured to make himself recognised as chief or head of the Greek Church in the East; proposing, in the meantime, to the French government, a joint agreement in the affair of the holy places. The French government perceived the snare, and declared, that as they recognised the Porte as a principal party to the question, they would not transact with Russia exclusively. It is well here to notice, that this proposal of the Czar laid bare to the French cabinet the real intentions of Russia with recard to the Sultan.

Before the sitting of the new commissaries appointed by the Turkish government, the Porte tried an arrangement, by proposing a division of the sanctuaries between the parties. This was rejected; and then the commission, after protracted deliberations, presented to the council of ministers a report, signed by all its members. According to this document, the great cupola of the Holy Sepulchre became common to all; the smaller cupola, possessed by the Greeks from ancient firmans, remaining in their possession. The Latins were admitted to officiate in the sanctuary of the Tomb of the Virgin, from which they had been excluded until then, although Greeks, Armenians, and even Mussulmans, had been admitted. In order, also, not to excite the susceptibility of the Greeks, the commission decided that no alteration should be made in the interior of the sanctuaries; and that the Latins, after having officiated, should remove all those articles used by them during the performance of their ceremonial worship. The commission admitted that the Church of Bethlehem may have been erected by the Latins, but that, devoted for ages to the Greek

rite, the latter should retain it. The so-called "Grotto of the Nativity," moreover, being situated under the altar, it was settled that the Catholics should have "one key" to the church, and "two keys" to the altar.

The council of ministers admitted these conclusions, and fixed the terms for a reply to the Czar's letter. Soon after, the vice-chancellor of the divan left with a firman for the Holy Land. But there he experienced a most violent resistance from the Greeks: which obliged him to consult his government. Fuad Effendi summoned a council of ministers, calling in the members of the commission; and it was decided that in spite of the opposition of the Greeks, a key of the great door of the Church of Bethlehem should be given to the Latins, and that a new star, for the one that had disappeared, should be replaced by the Ottoman government. This transaction satisfied nobody. France had expressly reserved to herself all her rights flowing from anterior treaties. The Greeks solicited the support of the Czar: and it was then that the Emperor Nicholas resolved to send Admiral Prince Menschikoff as extraordinary ambassador to Constantinople; where he arrived on the 28th February 1853, with a display of unusual ostentation. The proceedings and bearing of this extraordinary ambassador having been detailed at great length in all the leading papers, it would be indeed trying the patience of the reader to recur to facts and matters so well known. Condensing, therefore, the account relative to the subject, it results that Prince Menschikoff pressed upon the Porte pretensions affecting, not the privileges of the Greek Church at Jerusalem, but the position of many millions of Turkish subjects in their relations to the Porte; and from all appearance, intended to substitute the Czar's authority over them for that of the Sultan. These demands being at once rejected, Prince Menschikoff declared that the refusal would impose upon the imperial government the necessity of seeking a guarantee by its own power. The Sultan immediately consulted with his allies, England and France, made known the imperial threat, and solicited aid and advice. To prevent any aggression on the part of Russia, orders were given for the British fleet to leave Malta, and, in co-operation with that of France, to take up its position in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. Negotiations in the meantime, actively proceeded; but the Czar, in spite of the undecided dispute, ordered large military forces to be concentrated on the frontier of Turkey, and a menace of invasion was conveyed by Count Nesselrode to Redshid Pasha, dated May 19, 1853, stating, that if the Sultan did not, within a week, acquiesce in the demands of the Emperor of Russia, a Russian army would march into the Principalities.

The Sultan did not accede to the demand, and consequently the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were at once occupied by Russian troops.

The Sultan, further, did not, although he could have done it in the exercise of his right, declare war, but addressed a protest to his allies. England, in conjunction with the sovereigns of France, Austria, and Prussia, then made repeated attempts to meet any just demands of the Czar, without affecting the dignity and interests of the Porte. Had Russia had no other object in view but to obtain security, as she alleged, for the enjoyment by the Christian subjects of the Porte of their privileges and immunities, she would have found it in the offers made by the Sultan. That security, however, not being presented in the shape of a special and separate stipulation with Russia, it was rejected. Twice did the Sultan make honourable offers; but in both instances did he meet with a stubborn refusal. It thus became manifest that the aims of Russia were different from what at first they appeared to be; and, in selfdefence, the Sublime Porte declared war against Russia. Still England, with the allies, endeavoured to secure peace, although without effect. The military preparations of Russia, in the meantime, became more menacing. In this state of affairs, England, in conjunction with the Emperor of France, determined to take up arms for the defence of Turkey, and war against Russia was accordingly declared on the 28th March 1854.

Thus a peace which had lasted the unparalleled period of thirty-nine years was at an end, and three powerful states, which alternately, at one period or another, had dictated rules to Europe, are once more engaged in a struggle, the duration, the end, and the results of which, it is not easy to foresee; but it must nevertheless in its results be attended by the most important consequences to the destinies of mankind.

Part Second.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

Ir is difficult to impart to such an outline that romantic or poetical tinge with which Russian historians have succeeded, in their native language, to colour it; solely because the history of Russia does not offer a series of such animating events as may be found in the history of other nations, except when the attention is exclusively directed to the details of the history—as far as it is preserved—of the different tribes and races which originally settled in Russia, and formed distinct principali-

ties, provinces, or kingdoms. Although their most remote history is only to be approached by hypothesis, or to be elucidated by conclusions drawn from an analogy of their language, customs, etc., with those of Persia, India, Asia, in fact, the East, or from scattered, antique monuments; yet the more attentive inquirer will meet, in the records preserved concerning the internal administration and government of those small states long extinct, and now partly belonging to Russia, with a wisdom, foresight, and perfection, the perusal of which must produce feelings of the highest admiration, and the irresistible regret that such noble branches should have experienced vicissitudes and fatalities thwarting their further development. All the knowledge respecting the ancient history of the Slavic races which chiefly compose present Russia, is gathered from foreign authors, the earliest of their own historians not beginning to write before the second half of the eleventh century. It results, from the very nature of this information, that satisfactory knowledge cannot be obtained. At the period just mentioned they already were in possession of the whole vast extent of territory which they now occupy; and about seventy or eighty millions at present speak the Slavic language in its different dialects. But the history of Russia exclusively is the present purpose, and not the history of the widely-dispersed Slavic races.

Previous to the last three centuries the history of Russia is vague and ob-

scure; its name, as before stated, being not older than the ninth century, derived from the Rossi, a Slavic tribe frequently mentioned in ancient history. The northern part of Russia, however, was long before inhabited by Slavonic* nations, who were divided into small states, under chiefs chosen by themselves, and most of them tributary to more powerful neighbours; one of their characteristics being an innate predisposition to acknowledge superiority; and thus everywhere an appreciation of military merit and aristocratic government may be observed.

From time to time the Scythians, Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other bar-

^{*} Slavic, or Slavonic, is not derived from the Latin, or English word "slave," but from the Slavonic slava,—prowess, fame, renown.

barous tribes, successively occupied the country.

About the middle of the ninth century civil dissensions arose among the Slavi of Novogrod, at the election of a new posadnik or chief; harassed at the same time from without by the conquering and enterprising Varegians, a Scandinavian tribe, they no longer were able to resist; Ruric, therefore, a Scandinavian chief, by uniting, in 862, the independent states or tribes who occupied the country, became the first Russian monarch.

In the beginning of the eleventh century Jaroslav, the son of Vladimir the Great, imitating his father's example, divided on his death-bed the empire among his sons, and bequeathed thus the germs of anarchy and sanguinary wars. Profiting by the dissensions and feuds of Jaroslav's sons, the Moguls, then a most ferocious and physically repulsive race from central Asia, under Khan Batto, invaded the country in 1237, and easily subdued the Russians, who remained subject to him and his successors for more than two centuries and a half. In 1477, under the prosperous reign of Ivan Vasilevitch III., who united Novogrod with his own princedom of Moscow, several of the Tartar dominions were added to Russia, and the independence of the empire reestablished. From that time dates the progress of Russia, although the extinction of the reigning dynasty in 1595, by the death of Czar Fedore, proved a prelude to a protracted series of civil discords and struggles. These

lasted till 1613, when a young nobleman, Michael Romanoff, descended from the late dynasty in the female line, was named sovereign, by an assembly composed of the principal Boy-In conformity to the ancient Asiatic custom, then observed in Russia, a number of the most beautiful ladies in the provinces were invited to the court, and provided with apartments. The Czar paid them visits, sometimes incognito, sometimes in his real character, and chose one amongst them. At the appointed day of the nuptials the bride was presented with a rich wedding-suit; and other dresses and presents were given to the rest of the fair candidates, who then returned home. In this manner was Michael Romanoff united to Eudocia, daughter of a country gentleman, named Streshnin.

Having restored tranquillity in his own dominions, and concluded peace with the neighbouring countries, Sweden and Poland, Michael Romanoff reigned quietly, without making any alteration in the state. After his death in 1645, his son, Alexis Michaelowitz, ascended the throne by hereditary right.

Alexis was married, in the same manner as his father, to the daughter of a Boyar, Miloslawski, in 1647; his second wife was of the family of Nareskin.

Although his reign was disturbed by formidable insurrections, and by domestic and foreign wars, Alexis recovered part of the provinces lost in the preceding disorders. In a war with the Poles Alexis was successful; against the Swedes unfortunate. The Turks at that time, 1671, becoming his most formidable enemies, Alexis formed a design which seemed to presage the extension of power, dominion, and influence, which the Russian empire would one day obtain. He sent ambassadors to the Pope, and to almost all the great Sovereigns in Europe, excepting France-which was in alliance with Turkey-in order to establish a league against the Ottoman Porte. At the court of Rome his ambassadors succeeded only in "not being obliged to kiss the Pope's toe;" and at other courts they met with hollow good wishes, the Christian princes being then engaged in quarrels between themselves. In the midst of these contemplated designs to consolidate the power of Russia, undertaken under most disadvantageous circumstances, Alexis suddenly died, at the age of forty-six, in the beginning of 1677.

On the death of Alexis, the former confusion returned. He left by his first marriage two princes and six princesses; by his second, Peter and the Princess Nathalia. The eldest son, Fedore, dying soon after his father, and the second, Ivan, being of weak intellect, the sovereignty was vested in Peter in conjunction with Ivan. Of the six daughters of Alexis, the Princess Sophia was the only one remarkable for her talents, but still more so for the mischief she intended against Peter, hereafter the Great.

Peter was born on the 30th of May

-10th of June, new style-in the year 1672, and having descended of a second marriage, it was little expected that he would one day become Czar. The Princess Sophia, in the meantime, finding herself situated between two brothers, one of whom was incapable of governing through infirmities, and the other on account of his youth, formed the design of placing herself at the head of the empire, and declined to retire to a monastery, as was the custom with unmarried Russian princesses. She succeeded in exciting the Strelitzi to a revolt, during which almost all those whom the princess suspected opposed to her perished. Without detailing her further intrigues, it may suffice to mention. that Princess Sophia in effect ascended the throne of Russia in June 1682. though without being declared Czarina, merely as co-regent with her brothers, Ivan and Peter. Still she enjoyed all the honours of a sovereign. Her bust was on the public coin, she signed all despatches, held the first place in council, and enjoyed a power without control. Of a most agreeable person, the princess possessed besides a great share of understanding and talents; qualities, however, which became considerably tarnished by her ambition. During the time Sophia continued to govern in Moscow, whilst Ivan had only the name of Czar, Peter, now at the age of seventeen, had already the courage to aim at real sovereignty. Private memoirs affirm that a scheme had actually been laid to assassinate Peter I.: and the tragedy was on the point of being VOL. I.

acted, when Peter, being apprised of the menacing danger, took refuge in the Convent of the Trinity, within twelve leagues of St Petersburg, which then was, at the same time, a convent, a palace, and a fortress, and the usual asylum of the court in cases of danger and serious commotion.

At length, in 1689, the Princess Sophia retired to her monastery at Moscow, after having so long held the reins of government; and from this instant began the real reign of Peter. His brother John led a retired life, and died in 1696.

On ascending the throne, Peter I. assumed the title of "Emperor of all the Russias;" the four great divisions of the empire being Russia Proper, Red, White, and Black Russia. His

reign was one of the most remarkable recorded in history. Endued with mental qualities of the highest order, Czar Peter easily perceived the wants of his nation, and the importance of improving them; in which endeavours Czar Fedore's plans materially assisted him. In all his projects, therefore, he proceeded with an energy and vigour unparalleled, using even the most vehement means to elevate his Russian subjects from a degraded to a polished state. It may be said, indeed, that an entire century of slow progress vanished before a rapid enlightenment. Russia is indebted solely to Czar Peter for its great influence in the affairs of Europe, that influence being of no consideration during any former reign. He introduced the arts and knowledge of



foreign nations into his own; and with the view of understanding personally the improvements of other countries, and of introducing them into Russia, he travelled through many parts of Europe. In Holland, disguising himself, Peter learnt, besides other useful matters, the art of constructing ships.

In 1709, Russia was successfully invaded by Charles XII. of Sweden; although at the battle of Pultava, and thereafter, fortune favoured the arms of Peter. Poland and the northwestern provinces, which Charles had wrested from Russia, were recovered, and definitely re-annexed to Russia by the peace with Sweden in 1721.

Peter the Great died in 1725, in his fifty-third year, and was succeeded by the Czarina, Catherine I.; who reigned

only two, and her son, Peter II., three years. Anne, a niece of Peter, succeeded, occupying the throne ten years. Ivan III., a child, bore the title of sovereign not quite two years; but the reign of Elizabeth, daughter of Peter I., lasted twenty years, and was one of great splendour, attended with an essential and most beneficial influence on the general civilization of the nation. The successor of Elizabeth, Peter III., lost both his throne and life in the first year of his reign. His consort, the Czarina, Catherine II., succeeded; and from this period may be dated the more active execution of the plans laid down for the extension and aggrandizement of Russia. Under the Empress Catherine II., the first war with Turkey lasted from 1760 to 1774, and was conducted with great success. In 1773, the second partition of Poland took place; and a second war with Turkey was begun in 1787, and carried on vigorously, first in conjunction with Austria, afterwards by Russia' alone. The hostile attitude assumed by England led to a treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey, which was signed in 1792. In 1795 the final dismemberment of Poland was carried out. Catherine II. died in 1796, leaving the throne to her son, Paul I.

The campaign of 1799 first brought the Russian and French armies into contact. In Italy the Russians were victorious; in Switzerland they suffered defeat. In 1800, the Emperor Paul recalling his troops, the contest was suddenly terminated; and in the year following, this feeble monarch perished by the hands of conspirators.

His son, Alexander, reversed several acts of his father, preserving peace until the aggression of the Emperor Napoleon I. caused the formation of the third coalition in 1805. The conquest of Prussia led to the peace of Tilsit, when Czar Alexander was afterwards induced to take part with France against Austria. The continued aggression of Napoleon, however, roused the Russian Court, and in 1812 began the fourth great struggle between France and Russia. Here one of those errors was committed so disastrous in its consequences. Although warned not to trust to the climate, Napoleon, notwithstanding, left Poland with his splendid army, and, as if in derision of this warning, reached Moscow. In order, however, that it might not afford winter-quarters for the French troops, it was set on fire by the Russians. This fearful experiment took place on the 14th September 1812: and so completely did it succeed, that on the 19th October, the French were compelled to commence one of the most calamitous retreats on record. On the 19th November 1825, the Emperor Alexander died, not without suspicious circumstances concerning his death. His eldest brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, became by right of succession entitled to the throne; having, however, previous to the demise of the Emperor Alexander, already resigned all pretensions to its occupation, a manifesto

was published on the 12th December 1825, announcing the accession to the throne of the Emperor Nicholas I.; but of which he did not obtain possession without difficulties, a formidable insurrection having been set on foot to oppose it. The earlier part of his life he spent in travelling from court to court, and in attending to the duties of a military command; in which he distinguished himself by the improvements he effected in the efficiency of the Russian army, and also in ameliorating other departments; in fact his whole ambition and aspiration, apparently, were indefatigably to acquire for Russia preponderance, and a commanding position,-aims which recent events have fully corroborated.

Nart Third.

NOTICE OF SOME OF THE MOST STRIK-ING EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA, SINCE THE REIGN OF CATHERINE II.

During the reign of the Empress Catherine II., two distinct wars were carried on with Turkey, and the second and final partition of Poland took place. These events, apparently insignificant, although in reality of the utmost importance, were viewed by Western Europe with indifference. By weakening Turkey, Russia gained a strong footing in a south-easterly direction; by

absorbing Poland, a formidable weapon for increasing the influence of Russia on the Western Powers. At his demise, the Emperor Alexander left the empire in friendly relations with all the Western Powers, but in evident disagreement with the Ottoman Porte. Affairs lingered on for fully five years, until the insurrection of the Greeks called for the interference of the cabinets of Europe: which ended in advantages to Russia, as well as the war between Russia and Persia, from 1826 to 1828. The war with Turkey from 1828 to 1829, had for result the recognition of Greece as an independent kingdom, and the placing on its throne, in the month of May 1832, the then young Bavarian Prince, Otho I.

The original design of the allied

cabinets, in taking the Greek nation in 1826 under their protection, was to save it from inhuman extermination, and secure the fate of Greece for the future, by an exact definition of the nature of her dependence upon the Turkish government. The Sultan did not oppose the decision of the allied cabinets with regard to Greece, and recognised its independence.

Scarcely had the affairs of Turkey been brought to a conclusion, when, in 1830, Poland revolted. The part which exclusively Russian diplomacy took in the affairs of Persia, Turkey, and Egypt, in fact of the East, as well as that of the Western cabinets, may be interesting to the politician; all that is intended to be introduced here, is, however, historical fact.

The revolution in Poland, viewed as an event better known, and perhaps more attractive, requires a more detailed consideration.

Original Poland, unacquainted with those resources which modern diplomatic intricacy furnishes, was placed, at that remote period of history, in the same position towards the West which, after her absorption, Russia occupied; with this difference, that her policyif there was any-or at all events her practice-was that of good faith towards her neighbours, a confidence in her sword and courage; and that, unlike Russia, Poland did not profit by the lessons which the perfidy, cunning, and treachery of her neighbours, gave her. Through an ill-placed confidence in her devoted yet pusil-VOL I.

lanimous leaders. Poland became the arena and prey of foreign intrigues; which were only too successfully carried on, at a moment when it required not vain declamations and sentimental outpourings, but determination, prompt vigour, and energy. Without entering into details, the fact is, that Poland was dismembered; and Western Europe, through this fact, became deprived of a shield which faithfully, although unconsciously-with regard to Poland herself-had protected its peace and progress. Poland, indeed, was not aggressive, but proud and ready to defend the rest of Europe, without claiming reward, and never interfering in the affairs of her neighbours.

The unbounded and indiscriminate hospitality of Poland, its toleration,

became proverbial, and attracted vast numbers of foreigners, who, unmolested, not only settled in the country, but to whom privileges were granted not enjoyed even by the natives. How ill rewarded for this generous act Poland has been, history only too woll proves; establishing the melancholy fact of a nation spontaneously, courageously, contributing to the repose and welfare of other nations, and those nations in the same degree baffling these noble efforts at the moment when support was most actively required.

The Duchy of Warsaw, created by Napoleon I., was, with the exception of the provinces of Posen, Gallicia, and Cracow, annexed to Russia by the Congress of Vienna. The Emperor Alexander, therefore, with the view of attaching the Polish nation to his throne, granted, or rather pointed out to them, a peculiar form of government, by a constitutional charter of the 12th December 1815.

His intentions undoubtedly were pure, and emanated from a generous impulse; intrusted, however, under very critical circumstances, to persons of whom the majority were actuated by avarice and corruption, the purity of intention was soon perverted, and instead of producing the aimed-at attachment to the imperial throne, resulted, not only in an alienation from it, but in hatred for everything Russian. Prince Adam Czartoryski, the only descendant from the ancient royal family of the Jagellons, an intimate friend in early life of the Emperor Alexander

naturally expected, if not the viceroyalty of Poland, at least some important post;—the Prince, however, was disappointed.

Of a pacific and yielding disposition, possessing considerable attainments and abilities, and initiated into the mysteries of the then Russian policy, Prince Czartoryski retired from public life, although not without some hope in the future. Whether he may or may not have contributed to the outbreak of the last revolution in Poland, considering the respect felt for the Prince, it is not intended to discuss; vet certain it is, that, with his knowledge of the very risking position in which he stood, Prince Czartoryski was perhaps the last among the Poles who would have voluntarily and determinately engaged in so hazardous a step. In similar occurrences—and there are proofs of this in most recent events—it requires a determination and personal boldness, which are quite uncongenial with the Prince's natural disposition.

The principal causes which produced the Polish revolution of the 29th November 1830, may be therefore condensed within a few lines. Innovations and changes forced upon a nation, although in reality they may be imperatively necessary, and calculated for beneficial results, yet must be viewed with distrust, and accepted or tolerated with dislike and aversion; the more so by a nation which, like the Polish, had enjoyed for centuries thoroughly free institutions, and which, instead of submitting to the dictates of strangers, was

accustomed to keep her enemies in abeyance.

From this it is easily to be deduced with what feelings and impressions the new order of things, after the 12th December 1815, was received in Poland. Still everything went on tolerably well; prosperity and contentment took the place of uncertainty and distraction, and the traces of late calamities became gradually obliterated during the reion of Alexander. A remarkable change, however, was observable on the accession to the throne of Russia of the Emperor Nicholas. The opposition which he experienced, and the discovery of a vast conspiracy, provoked measures considerably affecting the hitherto tolerable rule introduced into Poland.

Returning to the final dismember-

ment of Poland, it must be admitted that a certain degree of hatred was by it naturally engendered against Russia, which went on increasing, fomented in the meantime by certain visionaries. exalted patriots, or by persons candidly devoted to the welfare of their country. or by such who could not otherwise but gain by a revolutionary movement: there was, besides, the Court of Rome, with pretensions to regain influence in Poland: adding to this the sometimes shocking and detestable acts,-as, for instance, the implication of innocent persons of all ranks in imaginary plots, for the sake of extortion: the insults offered to civilians as well as military officers of all grades; in fact, the most cowardly violation of the laws-held sacred and respected by barbarians-

directly or indirectly committed by those who had been intrusted with the execution of the designs of the government, as laid down by Alexander on the 12th December 1815 :- and it must not surprise if the Emperor Alexander's originally beneficial intentions became marred, if a general indignation seized the Poles, and on the 29th November 1830 the memorable revolution broke out. It is not a question to examine here, whether the Poles were justified in breaking an allegiance forced upon them; but considering this event in a strategetical point of view, it must be admitted that all chances were in favour of the revolutionary war. The Polish army was composed only of about 40,000 men, with 60 or 80 cannon, but so admirably drilled and disciplined. that it had all the advantages of a powerful army. The only misfortune was, that they had not any general with confidence in this small number The command was ultimately forced upon General Chlopicki, who hesitatingly accepted it. Without denying military talent to General Chlopicki, he was, however, quite unfit for the command of an army drilled according to the then most modern improvements, and animated by a spirit requiring almost electric activity. After considerable delay, by which time was given to a formidable Russian army of 120,000 men, with 200 cannon, to come down almost within gun-shot of Warsaw, the battle of Grochow was fought, on the 25th February 1831; in which the Poles displayed heroic courage.

This action convinced, at last, General Chlopicki of his error and unfounded diffidence, and, too late, roused his energy. Notwithstanding his diffidence, the Russians were beaten on all points; but no one was there to conduct the Poles to a complete victory. Chlopicki had been carried off the field wounded, and the Polish army, without a commander, was attacking the Russians till nightfall, when both antagonists, as if by mutual agreement, retired from the field of battle.

After another delay, the command of the Polish army was intrusted to General Skrzynecki, an officer of great merit, and indeed fully qualified for the task assigned to him. Impenetrable silence concealed his plans; and as a proof of his first exploit, Skrzy-

necki, with admirable strategetic dexterity, succeeded in dislodging the Russians from their position on the right or opposite bank of the Vistula. Feigning to attack with all his forces the left wing of the Russian army, resting on the bank of the river, General Skrzynecki in reality meditated to fall upon the right and centre, should the Russian commander order reinforcements to march upon the left wing, and thus weaken the other parts. In this Skrzynecki was not disappointed. No sooner did he perceive the enemy's movement, when he took advantage of the success of his "ruse," and incessantly pursued the Russians, who, defeated, in great confusion and haste retired

The Russian vanguard had already

entered Breshe Litewski. Skrzynecki in the meantime reached Siedlez, a town which the Russians, after entering Poland at the beginning of the campaign, in their rear, had selected for a military depôt and hospital, and had fortified, by throwing up trenches, &c. This place was either to be burned down, or a detachment of observation to be left there for strategetical reasons. Skrzynecki, through humane considerations, preferred the latter; moreover, as Siedlez contained not only Russians, but many wounded Poles, prisoners. Undecided, however, to take upon himself the entire responsibility of either step, Skrzynecki summoned the other commanding officers to a council. Just when Skrzynecki's plan had been adopted unexpectedly Prince Czar-VOL. I.

torvski in great haste arrived with a note from Paris, in which the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a sort of appeal to the Polish nation, under the plea of "arresting a further effusion of blood, advised the Poles to remain on the defensive, his government having already taken the necessary steps to secure the nationality of Poland." Without commenting on this diplomatic note, it is almost obvious to mention that Skrzynecki's farther progress and plans were paralyzed; that after another delay, the disastrous battle of Ostrolenka was fought; and that the promises contained in the French note were not verified. The ultimate result of the Polish revolutionary war is well known. The wrecks of that courageous army, which,

at the beginning of 1831, went to the encounter of the enemy,—inexperienced youths, officers of all grades, once wealthy nobles, and persons more or less distinguished of all ranks,—fled from their native soil, dispersing themselves over the globe. Some are already no more; others are with hope and uncertainty looking forward to an impenetrable and mysterious future.

Part Fourth.

STATISTICAL NOTICE OF FORMER RUSSIA.

The more civilized a country, the better it is peopled. Thus China and India are more populous than any other empires; because the many revolutions, changes, and vicissitudes, which they have experienced have contributed to an early establishment of regulated society among them: the antiquity of those nations and of their government, which has subsisted for more than our thousand years, presupposes a series of ameliorating efforts in preceding ages.

The Russians, as mentioned, are of recent date; but the means and materials which contribute to the civilization of other nations, having been introduced into Russia, as far as government is concerned, in their full perfection, it happens that Russia has made more progress in fifty years than any other country in five hundred, in respect to the consolidation and increase of its power.

Although the number of inhabitants in Russia is considerable, it is by no means proportionate to the extent of the country.

Before the present century more than 75,000 monks and 8000 nuns resided in different parts, and had 70,000 bondmen to till the lands belonging to their monasteries and nun-G 2

neries. Peter the Great, however, reduced the number, as well as his successors.

The revenues of the empire in 1735 show a total of thirteen millions of rubles. This moderate sum was still sufficient at that time to maintain 339,500 land and sea forces. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that at present both revenues and troops are considerably augmented.

In former times, the Russian government resembled that of the Turks, in respect to the standing forces or guards, called Strelitzi; who, like the Janizaries, frequently disturbed the state as much as they defended it; and owing to their insolence, it was a dangerous and risking step to disband them.

The established religion in Russia

has, ever since the eleventh century, been that of the Greek Church; though there were always a greater number of Mahometan and Pagan provinces than of those inhabited by Christians; with this peculiarity, that the Czar is the supreme Pontiff of all members of what is called in Russia the Orthodox Russian Greek Church.

Before the time of Peter the Great, Russia was obviously neither so populous nor so prosperous as it appeared more recently. It had no possessions in Finland nor in Livonia; and these province alone had long been worth more than all Siberia. The White Sea, the Baltic, the Euxine, the Sea of Azof, and the Caspian Sea, were entirely useless to a nation that had not a single ship, nor even a term in their language to express

a fleet. If nothing more had been wanting but to be superior to the Tartars, and the other nations of the south, as far as China, the Russians undoubtedly had that advantage; but to become equal with civilized nations, required a complete reform; which must have appeared then the more impracticable, inasmuch as they had not, as stated, a single ship at sea. The most common manufactures lingered, and agriculture itself was neglected. Besides, there was a law which prohibited any Russian from going out of the country.

The details above have been given with the view to show how rapidly Russia has emerged from a state of inertness and inferiority to one which has given, in modern and most recent times, umbrage to other nations. Growing and uninterrupted prosperity, especially in a state constituted like Russia, must degenerate into ambition, and aspiration to a predominance over other nations. The present war, therefore, whatever its issue, must have convinced the Czar, as well as the Russian nation, that their strength was overrated by themselves, and that designs of aggrandizement and aggression are as hazardous as their results are deceitful.

Part Fifth.

RESUME OF THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA FROM IVAN, VASILIEVITCH, 1462, TO PETER I., 1682.

In order to exhibit the state of Russia before Peter I., with whom the modern history of Russia is usually considered to commence, it becomes necessary to introduce a summary of the different events, changes, and ameliorations, since Ivan Vasilievitch 1462, and which obviously so materially contributed to render the name of Peter eminent. Since Ivan, 1462, the history of Russia ceases to be a mere chronicle of feuds and

quarrels between petty princes, but exhibits the efforts of a country aspiring to independence. A better army was organized, the arts and industry revived, and embassies were sent to all the principal courts of Europe. Moscow was embellished, and foreign ambassadors appeared in the metropolis. Ivan's energy was chiefly directed to the restoration of the ancient form of government in Russia: in which his efforts did not end without considerable success. From the borders of Lithuania he made conquests as far as Siberia; and in 1478 vanquished Novogrod, which until then had maintained its independence.-Amongst other spoils, the famous bell was brought to Moscow.

Ivan's marriage, in 1472, with the Greek Princess, Sophia, had for result

that Russia became more known to the rest of Europe. Through this alliance, also, Ivan adopted the Greek imperial double-headed eagle, which he combined with the insignia of his own seal. At this period Ivan, contemplating the emancipation of Russia from the yoke of the Tartars, refused to pay the tribute imposed upon Russia, and at the head of a numerous army marched to the encounter of the Golden Horde. The Tartars, however, instead of accepting battle, seized by a strange panic, fled; and thus, in 1480, ended the dominion of the Mongols. In 1487 a successful expedition was undertaken against Kasan, and a treaty concluded with the Emperor Maximilian. The discovery of copper ore facilitated the coinage of money. On the 27th

October 1505 Ivan died, having previously, in 1503, named his son, Ivan Vasili, for his successor. Vasili in his relations with foreign states always assumed the title of Czar, and was the first who distributed estates among Boyars;* who then were bound to furnish armed men, horse and foot, in case of war. Fond of ostentation, he displayed pomp, ceremony, and pageantry, in his reception of foreign embassies. Reigning from 1505 to 1535, his government appears to have been merely a continuance of his father's system. Under Vasili the last of the petty princes disappeared.

Vasili's marriage remaining without issue, he annulled it, and married the

^{*} The Russian for the usually erroneously word "Boyard" in other languages. Ħ

Lithuanian Princess, Helena. In 1533
Vasili unexpectedly died, having appointed as successor his eldest son, John, under the guardianship of the Czarina, Helena. Following his taste for pomp and ostentation, Vasili had surrounded himself with many distinguished and learned foreigners, whose presence considerably promoted the diffusion of polite learning.

Thus, until the majority of Ivan IV., the reins of government were in the hands of his mother, the youthful Czarina Helena. Many powerful families, taking advantage of this state of affairs, soon manifested their wish to participate in the government, and soon constituted a formidable oligarchy. Helena suddenly died, in 1538, and the eldest Boyar, Vasili Zinsky, placed himself at

the head of the government, only to make room for his brother, who apparently as soon despatched to another world, left the place to a fresh aspirant. The greatest barbarities were committed, and the education of the young Czar was entirely neglected; the result of the latter being, that when he obtained the government, neither the love for his consort Constantina, nor the regard for his name, could keep him from a taste for coarse and degrading pleasures.

On the 12th April 1547, a fearful conflagration nearly destroyed the entire city of Moscow. This event, in conjunction with other circumstances, produced the deepest impression on the young Czar, entirely changed his character, and stimulated him to energetic activity. In a most successful

campaign, Astrakan, Siberia even, were laid under tribute, and Russia had before her the way for almost boundless territorial aggrandizement in northern Asia, During Ivan's government a treaty between Russia and England was concluded, and the first Englishmen appeared in Moscow in 1554. belonging to an expedition sent for the discovery of the north-west passage. Russia indeed was now more powerful than ever. Ivan IV. could already send 300,000 cavalry and infantry into the field. In 1550 Dorpat fell into the hands of the Russians; and by the conquest of Narva, Russia acquired a harhour In the midst of these successes the Czar sustained, in 1560, a most painful loss in the death of the Czarina, to whom he was most passionately attached. In a fit of passion, some say aberration of mind, Ivan put to death, or rather assassinated, his eldest son, Ivan, 1581, and died himself in 1584.

Fedore I., Ivan's second son, succeeded: but, owing to his mental weakness, and in virtue of his father's will, he reigned under the direction of a council of three experienced Boyars; among whom Boris, as the father of the Czar's wife, had so much influence that when Fedore I. in 1598 died. Boris contrived to be unanimously elected Czar. Fedore's reign offers nothing remarkable, except that the Swedes were obliged in 1595 to make peace, and the subjugation of Western Siberia was completed. After Fedore no heir male remained from the race of Ruric, excepting the Boyar Nikiti Romanovitch, who, however,

was preceded by Boris, who ruled till 1605. His son, Boris Fedorovitch, maintained himself only a few weeks, a Pretender having arisen in Poland. Soon, however, the untenable ground of his pretensions was discovered, and the Boyar Vasili Ivanovitch was elected Czar in 1606. A new Pretender, named Peter, however, dethroned Vasili Ivanovitch: and a second, Demetrius, appeared in Poland. Sigismund, King of Poland, espoused the cause of the latter, penetrated to Smolensk, besieged Moscow, and compelled that city to choose the Polish Prince, Vladislas, for Czar. At this juncture several Boyars raised an army in 1612, repulsed the Poles, and placed on the throne of Russia a nobleman, Michael Fedorovitch Romanoff, as the nearest relative

of the Czar's family. In 1617 peace was made with the Poles; and Michael succeeded so well, with a conciliatory policy which he appears to have adopted, that at his demise, in 1645, Russia once more flourished. His son, Alexei Michaelovitch, directed hisattention chiefly to internal ameliorations, such as the administration of justice and law, and the improvement of the army and war department. In 1654, in a war against the Poles, he reconquered the provinces lost previously. Not less successful was he in a campaign against the Swedes. His reign was one of the most beneficial to Russia; the energy of Alexei not being directed so much towards aggrandizement, or the excitement of warfare, as to the consolidation of distorted elements and the obliteration of calamities which previous dissension and distraction had caused, and which menaced Russia with the danger of becoming the prey of her hostile neighbours.

In 1676 Alexei was succeeded by his son Fedore, or Theodore Alexeivitch, who became Czar at the early age of fifteen. Suffering from bodily infirmities, his reign of sixteen years, as he died in 1682, is void of interest in a general point of view. His brother Ivan being almost blind and dumb, and consequently incapable of governing, Fedore nominated his younger brother Peter, the issue of Alexei's second marriage, to the empire of Russia.

Although, as stated at the beginning, this portion is merely intended as a resumé of the history of Russia, preceding the modern, yet it may in so far be interesting, as it represents the state of Russia at the time of Peter's accession, and in the meantime traces his ancestry and descendancy, unmingled with those alliances which in subsequent periods have been the cause of so much confusion.

In concluding this first volume, it is well to state, that it may be regarded merely as a synopsis of the whole plan of the work, as originally contemplated; the second volume, therefore, will contain a more detailed account of the modern history of Russia to the present time.

ABRIDGED

HISTORY OF RUSSIA,

FROM THE EARLIEST TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

V. V. D'ORLOWSKI.

VOL. II.

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M.DCCC.LVI.

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ABRIDGED HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

Part First.

MODERN HISTORY OF RUSSIA, SINCE PETER I. (1682.)

LOOKING back to the combats, feuds, and dissensions, which mark the preceding periods of the history of Russia, not omitting the ravages committed by the savage Mongols, it is evident that all the elements of those convulsed times must have descended among the Russians when Peter I. became Czar; nay, traces of them may be observed in Russia at this moment. Intrigues,

fratricide, parricide, &c., were the rule of the day; and Peter himself escaped from assassination only by the timely warning of a confidant, and his more timely retreat to the Castle of the Trinity, where he had leisure and opportunities to reflect and to plan his further proceedings. It is, therefore, not to be surprised if his innate talents, and natural ardour of mind manifested themselves as soon as he acquired power. This ardour, as it appears from some historians, carried him too far, Instead of patiently waiting, and assisting the slow, yet sure progress of his nation, by prudent measures, he used violence; which certainly at the time apparently produced the desired results, yet introduced the very elements calculated at a future period to

cause convulsions in the heart of Russia. His mind, at all events, was bent on ameliorating Russia. He intensely felt the degraded state of his country, and unconsciously, perhaps, carried away by that ardour and sanguine desire to remedy all the deformities before him, he resolved upon leaving Russia. Laying aside his rank, and merely contemplating his useless absenteeism from Russia, where his presence was imperatively necessary, it must be admitted, that, in order to introduce into Russia the art of constructing ships, the tuition of mathematics, &c., it would have been much more prudent and consistent with dignity to have invited, under advantageous promises, foreign ship-carpenters, artisans, &c., rather than for the Emperor

of all the Russias to remain abroad, in a subordinate condition, especially as he had before him the example of his father. Alexis, and the advice of a celebrated and devoted foreigner. Le Fort, of a noble and ancient family in Piedmont. In 1689 Peter began to reign, and after organising his military forces, prepared for war against the Turks and Tartars, who were menacing the borders of Russia. Having subdued the latter, Peter resolved upon a splendid military show. His army entered Moscow under triumphal arches, in the midst of fireworks, headed, not by the Czar, but by Marshal Sheremento, General Gordon, and Scheir, and Admiral Le Fort. It was intended to accustom the public to pageantry, and to raise in the youth of all ranks a feeling of

emulation. On this occasion, also, was struck the first medal in Russia, with the superscription, "Peter the First, Emperor of Muscovy;" on the reverse, "Victorious by fire and water." In 1697 Peter determined to visit incognito Denmark, Brandenburg, Holland, Vienna, Venice, and Rome; excluding from his route Spain, because the arts he wished to acquire were neglected there; and France, in consequence of the ostentation and splendour with which Louis IV, surrounded himself not agreeing with the incognito in which Peter intended to travel.

In a private character he put himself into the retinue of three ambassadors, —General Le Fort; the Boyar Alexis Golovir, Governor of Siberia; and Wonitzin, Secretary of State. Twelve private gentlemen, four principal secretaries, two pages for each ambassador, a company of fifty guards, with their officers, in fact, 200 persons, composed this cortege.

At this period Peter was twentyfive years of age. His victory over the Turks and Tartars, the splendour of his triumphant entry into Moscow, the death of his brother Ivan, the confinement of the Princess Sophia to a cloister. and, above all, the universal respect shown for his person, seemed to assure him the tranquillity of the empire during his absence; having, besides, provided against every emergency. As this journey proved the occasion of a war, which at first paralyzed, but ultimately promoted all the designs of Peter, it becomes necessary to take a

glance at the state of Europe at that time.

Sultan Mustapha II., on the Ottoman throne, owing to the weakness of his administration, could not make any efforts to regain Azoff, lately taken by the Czar. John Sobieski, King of Poland, died 17th June 1696; and the crown was in dispute between Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who obtained it, and the Prince of Conti. In Sweden. Charles XII, succeeded his father Charles XI., in 1697, being only fifteen years of age. And Germany, then at war with the Turks and the French, and united with Spain, England, and Holland against Louis XII., was on the point of concluding peace. Such was the state of affairs when Peter began his journey in April 1697.

Without following Peter in his tour, it may be sufficient to mention, that he received news of a rebellion in his dominions, when he prepared to leave Vienna for Venice. Certain old Boyars. to whom the ancient customs were still dear, and some priests, to whom the new ones appeared little better than sacrilege, began disturbances, assisted by the Strelitzi, with the old faction of the Princess Sophia, whom they wished to place on the throne. They were, however, defeated within fifteen leagues of Moscow, in September 1698. The Czar suddenly appeared in Moscow, and after condemning the leaders of the revolt to terrible and horrid punishment, the Strelitzi were for ever suppressed. By abolishing further, in 1711, the Court of Boyars, for which a Senate was substituted, Peter entirely consolidated his power. It would be tedious to enumerate all the reforms and innovations which Peter introduced. His attention was, indeed, directed to the most minute matters, and never did he neglect the most trivial opportunity to improve the state; and even frequently, sword in hand, unmindful of danger, he, at the head of his army, defended himself most courageously, and animated the army by his example, as the Swedish campaign, especially, fully testifies. All that appears necessary to conclude this remarkable period of the history of Russia, may be a summary of the farther progress of Peter.

In 1702 the Swedish fortress of Schlusselbourg was taken; and thus Peter attained one of his sanguine wishes,—of possessing a fortress in the Baltic. But to establish a commerce, a harbour was necessary. On the 16th May 1703, therefore, the foundation of St Petersburg took place. Before, however, Peter made all necessary warlike preparation against the Turks in the south; and in the north, he made himself master of an important fortress near the Lake Ladoga, named Nyantz, or Nya.

It was on a barren and marshy ground, which communicated with the mainland only by one way, where Peter selected the site for his new capital. The ruins of some of the bastions of Nya were used for the first stones of the foundation. A small fort was first erected upon one of the

islands, which is now in the centre of the city. The Swedes beheld without apprehension a settlement in the midst of a morass, inaccessible to vessels of burden. In a short time, however, they saw the fortification advanced, a town raising, and the little island of Cronstadt, situated opposite it, transformed in 1704 into a formidable fortress.

These works, which apparently required a time of profound peace, were carried on during all the excitement attending war. From every part of the empire workmen were called together, to assist in building the new city. Neither the difficulties of the ground, which was to be rendered firm and raised, the distance of the necessary materials, etc., nor the epidemical disorder which ravaged, could dispose the control of the con

courage the founder; and in five months a new city was called into existence. It is true that only two brick houses adorned it, the remainder being little better than mere huts; yet this was all that was then necessary.

In 1716, Peter resolved upon a second voyage; but not, as before, in the garb of a person who travelled for instruction, but as a Prince desirous to initiate himself into the secrets of other Courts. The life, the travels, the actions of Peter, as well as of his rival, Charles of Sweden, exhibit a most surprising contrast to the manners which then prevailed in other countries; and this undoubtedly is one of the reasons why the history of these two singular men excited such curiosity, and yet retains it

After his second journey, the Czar established a secret inquisitorial court; which has caused many private melancholy catastrophes, its influence, as may well be imagined, being easily turned for clandestine purposes, the victims of which being placed so that they remained without the means or a chance of defence.

Already, on the 7th of May 1724, Peter had caused his consort, Catherine, to be crowned as Czarina, after he had lost his son Alexis; as some historians say, Peter having caused his death himself. Catherine reigned till 1727; during which time she endeavoured to carry out several schemes of her late consort, and appears continually to have made efforts to gain popularity, by the reduction of taxes

and the recall of banished subjects. In the meantime she increased both navy and army. Having extended Peter's law of succession, Catherine decreed, on 6th May 1727, that the Grand Duke Peter should succeed her : and that he, in turn, should be succeeded by any of his children. Accordingly Peter II., grandson of Peter, reigned from 1727 to 1730, under the guardianship of Menschikoff. During his reign the Ladoga canal was completed; and he died of the small-pox. having borne the title of Czar only three years. Disregarding the ordinances of Catherine, the Senate chose for Czarina the Princess Anna, Dowager Duchess of Courland. The death of Augustus II. of Poland involved Russia in a war with Poland and

France; and led, in 1786, to hostilities with the Turks. The latter were, in 1738, defeated; and Field-Marshal Munnich crossed the Pruth in order to occupy Moldavia, hopping thus to reach Constantinople; but at this juncture Austria concluded the treaty of Belgrave, and the Russians were compelled to accept peace.

A year before her demise, in 1740, the Czarina married her niece, Princess Anna, to Antony Ulric, Duke of Brunswick, and named as her successor Ivan Antonovitch, the issue of this marriage.

Thus the infant Prince, Ivan IV., became Czar, under the regency of the Duke of Courland. This caused great dissatisfaction, the daughter of Peter I., Elizabeth, having been passed over in

the succession; so far that her partisans succeeded in overthrowing the regency, and, from November 24, 1741, Elizabeth continued to reign, till 1761. Her first act was to abolish capital punishment, and to direct the continuation of the war against Sweden; which resulted in the annexation of the whole of Finland, at the peace of Abo, in 1743. Private animosity to King Frederic of Prussia inclined the Czaring more towards an alliance with Austria. The Russian army entered Prussia in 1757, and defeated the Prussians at Jagersdorff. Elizabeth's reign was one of great splendour; of which at this moment numerous memorials are preserved. In 1743, Elizabeth had invited to Russia Charles Peter Ulric, Duke of Holstein Gottorp, and married him to Princess Sophia Alexievna. He succeeded as Peter III., when Elizabeth died, in 1761. In opposition to Elizabeth, Peter had a great predilection for Prussia. By his introducing, however, Prussian customs and Prussian discipline into the army, by his indifference for the Senate, and several unpopular acts, he created himself many enemies around him; so far, that on the 28th of June 1762, he was compelled to abdicate, and died a few months after his consort Catherine had been proclaimed Czarina. She at once confirmed the suppression of the secret court, established a commission for the better adjudication of church property, and invited strangers to Russia, in order to increase the population. After founding several useful and benevolent institutions, Catherine summoned deputies from every province of the empire, to complete a book of statutes; resolving, in the meantime, on a progress through her dominions as far as Kasan. In 1769 Russia became involved in a war with the Turks, the Russians defeating the latter. Poland further was conquered in 1794, and a large portion of that kingdom added to Russia.

The Empress died November 6, 1796; and her son, Paul I., succeeded. Of a pacific disposition, he made peace with Persia; but in order to acquire greater influence in the affairs of Europe, which by the French Revolution were then completely changed, he concluded a treaty with England. Three Russian armies had already been de-

spatched, to Italy, France, and Holland, when Paul suddenly altered his tactics, and appeared inclined to ally himself with France. His unexpected death, during the night of the 11th March 1801, arrested all the further plans of Paul.

With Paul's demise a new century begins; and as the preceding pages—beginning with Peter I.—have been little more than a mere imperfect enueration of the reign of the monarchs of Russia, it may not be out of place to look at the progress Russia and made during so short a time.

During the period between the death of Peter I. and the accession of Anna I. (in 1730), the old Russian spirit awoke. At Court and in private life, European customs, introduced by Peter, continued. Still, the prejudice of the Russians against what was foreign became everywhere apparent. Petersburg remained a thorn in the eye of the old party, who nourished a strong predilection for Moscow. The predominance of foreigners in the country ended with the revolution in 1741, when Elizabeth, daughter of Peter I., was made Czarina, in lieu of Ivan. The banishment, even to Siberia, of several foreigners, did not calm the dissatisfaction; and so far as 1742, there were symptoms of discontent among the military in St Petersburg. In the meantime Russia had become powerful; Russian policy was everywhere apparent, and the friendship of the empire everywhere courted; so that the animosity towards strangers gradually subsided. The state advanced rapidly, and the increasing habits of luxury did away with the opposition to innovations in the outward customs of life, and to the dislike for St Petersburg. A university, a public library and collegiate schools, were founded at Moscow; so that here also European customs were diffused.

With Catherine II. begins a period when strangers were hospitably entertained, and invited to settle, as in the time of Peter. Although Russians alone were intrusted with the more important affairs of government, the nobles vied with each other in their adoption of foreign customs.

Peter had to drain a swamp to make a solid foundation for the future Capital: Catherine erected on it Palaces. Peter exerted himself towards consolidating his power: Catherine courted its glitter. With the greatest energy and determination, Peter scarcely succeeded in calming the opposition of the masses: Catherine was profuse in introducing institutions, to carry the Russians forward by precept and example. There were no defined parties at the Court of Catherine-her favourites followed in regular succession; but their dismissal did not result in any political movement. The attitude of the nobles at no time betrays dissatisfaction at Catherine's government; and the people were not yet sufficiently emancipated, so as to manifest a political opinion. The extension of the empire over the northern coast of the Euxine increased its commerce

and power; and Cherson and Odessa, founded in 1778, became important from their advantageous position.

The manners of the nobility were freed from their barbarism by the customs of Western Europe, and the introduction of its luxuries; and all the higher classes of Russians took pleasure in participating in these customs .-in surrounding life with refinement, in visiting European capitals, and in the acquisition of foreign languages. The increasing intercourse with foreign nations served to elevate the condition of the merchants: who, especially in larger towns, participated, after the nobles, in the progressive movement.

Until towards the time of Catherine, the scientific culture of the empire was almost entirely in the hands of YOL. H. • L strangers. Catherine, much occupied with literary pursuits, and anxious for the advancement of the national literature, founded, in 1783, an Academy of Russian History and Language. The drama was a favourite amusement of the Russians; and in this department of literature their best productions are to be met with. Sculpture, architecture, and painting, were likewise cultivated in the principal towns.

The reflecting reader must be struck with amazement at the rapidity with which Russia, from a semi-barbarous state, within such a limited period, emerged and became a country, if not superior, at least equal to any of the then most refined and civilised of European countries.

Part Second.

FROM ALEXANDER I. (1801) TO NICHOLAS I. (1825.)

The entire period of the reign of Alexander was one more of calm rather than otherwise; the wars even in which, during this epoch, Russia was engaged, partaking more of the defensive than the aggressive character. Alexander's first care was to re-establish peace; and for that purpose treaties were concluded with England and Austria, and also peaceable arrangements made with France. The secret state inquisition,

introduced by Peter, was abolished; and many banished persons were recalled. Under Alexander's auspices, also, the Senate was re-established,—as a point of contact between the Government and the people; and the censorship became less stringent. The voyage of Ino Krusenstern round the globe, in 1804–1806, was for the first time accomplished by Russian vessels; and the army was augmented to 500,000.

Misunderstandings, in 1804, between Russia and France, resulted in an alliance of the former with England and Austria; in virtue of which, a Russian army was despatched to Germany against the French. Alexander himself headed his troops; and after some strategetical demonstrations on both sides, the battle of Austerlitz (Novem-

ber 1805) decided the war,—Austria capitulated, and the Russian army returned home. In 1806, Alexander, in the war between France and Prussia, sided with the latter; and his army marched towards the Russo-Prussian frontier. In the meantime, the French Cabinet had succeeded in producing a rupture between Russia and the Porte, and in effecting the dismissal of the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia; of which the Russians took advantage, and not only occupied Moldavia, but victoriously entered Bucharest.

In spite of the aid of the Russian army, the Prussians were defeated by the French, and compelled to retire to the most remote part of their frontier; and finally, the famous battles of Eylau and Friesland produced the peace of

Tilsit (June 25, 1807), where a treaty was concluded in person between the Emperor Napoleon I. and Alexander.

It appears that, owing to similar political and strategetical views, an intimacy issued from the interview of Napoleon with Alexander, during which the former unfolded to the Czar the gigantic plans which he intended to carry out, with the co-operation of Russia. These plans bear the greatest analogy to the causes of the present war : with this difference, that the Emperor Napoleon I. merely contemplated the partition of Turkey, by which both parties should be benefited, whereas Nicholas had in view the absorption of Turkey and its annexation to Russia. The only point, however, which caused a sort of collision between Napoleon and Alexander, was the possession of Constantinople; the latter, in Napoleon's opinion, would be the dominion over the entire globe. Napoleon consented that, besides Bessarabia, Russia should become possessed of Moldavia. Wallachia, and Bulgaria, as far as the Balkan; France was to have the maritime provinces, Albania, Thessalv, and the Morea: Austria-as an indemnification-Candia, Bosnia, and Servia. But Alexander aimed at a more complete division, by which Russia would obtain Constantinople. Here, then, arose the collision; Napoleon could not bear the idea that Constantinople should become the prey of any one else but himself, and abandoned the idea of dismembering Turkey, feeling it impossible to agree with Russia.

In several conversations at a second interview, at Erfurt, on the 27th September 1807, where Napoleon refused to give up Constantinople, Alexander pressingly pronounced the desire to possess himself of Wallachia and Moldavia. Until then, Napoleon had suffered the occasional occupation of those provinces by the Russians; Alexander was therefore enchanted when he found that Napoleon and France were going to consent to the definitive possession of the Danubian provinces. The greatest difficulty, however, appeared in the proper adjustment and framing of a treaty. At length, after considerable delay, the treaty was signed on the 10th October ;-but owing to the rejection, by Alexander, of the offers made by Napoleon to espouse the sister of Alexander, the treaty alluded to was not carried out; and in 1809, June 27th, a Russian army crossed the Danube, and soon took possession of the most important fortresses.

In 1812 a rupture took place between Russia and France, which caused the memorable campaign against Russia, which so disastrously terminated for Napoleon. As stated in the first volume, Napoleon had, without opposition, reached Moscow, when the Russians set fire to it; which, no sooner extinguished, was rekindled with renewed fury. The retreat of the French from Moscow is one of the most calamitous ever recorded in the history of warfare.

This fatality gave to Alexander an opportunity to co-operate with Na-

poleon's enemies. Accordingly, after the Russians had victoriously passed through Germany, they contributed to the victory of Leipsic, in 1813, crossed the Rhine, and, on March 14, 1814, entered Paris The attention of Alexander was much occupied with the internal organization of Poland, which the congress of Vienna had constituted into a "Dukedom of Warsaw," and portion of the Russian empire. Alexander reconstituted it into a kingdom, with a constitution, and consisting of three estates, King, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies ;-although this was, in all probability, more with the view to calm and to reconcile the Poles. than to grant them realities; besides, such arrangements were best calculated to aid in the discovering of the real sentiments of the Polish nation towards

During 1818, serious symptoms of disturbance and discontent manifested themselves; probably caused by the rising in Italy and Spain, and the Greek revolution. This circumstance, in conjunction with other events, produced a decidedly anti-liberal character in the acts of the Cabinet; and in the interior a more stringent censorship.

In spite of these measures, new conspiracies were discovered, especially in the army, which considerably affected Alexander during the last hours of his life, which terminated on the 30th November 1825.

Part Third.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS I.

Whilst in the history—especially the modern—of other countries, the reign of the sovereign merely marks an epoch which exhibits the reactionary, progressive, or other activity of the nation, the history of Russia is merged in the history of the Czar. This has been displayed more, perhaps, than ever before, during the reign of the late Czar Nicholas. In the same degree as the internal resources of Russia successfully developed themselves, in

the same measure the ambition of the Czar increased. The present war, therefore, must be considered more as the result of that individual ambition than probably in harmony with the general desire of the nation. As ominous as was the accession of Nicholas I. to the throne of Russia, as little consoling, and it may be said, as much mortifying, must have been his vacating it at his demise.

As the youngest of three brothers, sons of the Emperor Paul, Nicholas had no direct and certain hope of becoming one day Emperor of all the Russias. Constantine was thus the next heir to the throne, and a voluntary abdication on his part could alone annul his pretensions. Constantine had already abdicated all pretensions to you. II.

the throne of Russia, in a letter of January 26, 1822, addressed to the Emperor Alexander. The Grand Duke Nicholas, however, refused to accept the imperial dignity until Constantine should have repeated his abdication. Thus, on the 24th December 1825, Nicholas accepted the crown.

Already, under Alexander, a formidable conspiracy had been formed; which, had it succeeded, would have totally changed the aspect of Russia. An opportunity was required for its outbreak. The juncture between the death of Alexander and the uncertainty resulting from the new successor's hesitation, furnished it. It was when the Emperor resolved to announce his accession, that, during the night preceding it, the execution of the revolt was planned, and carried into effect on the morning of the 25th. It became menacing, and would have, in all probability, succeeded, had there been from the beginning a combined purpose of action. Nicholas, overcoming his first timidity, and perceiving that to hesitate longer was certain death to him, or at least deposition, with a few devoted followers, at last faced the danger, and the insurgents were ultimately defeated. Thus ended this ominous event; in consequence of which more than two hundred persons, some belonging to the most eminent Russian families. were condemned for life to the mines of Siberia, thirty-one to be hanged, and five to be quartered alive. The latter sentence was, however, commuted into suspension, and the thirtyone to be sent to Siberia. To comment on this melancholy catastrophe is useless. According, however, to the opinion and judgment of some persons known for their candour, it would have been more politic to have shown elemency, rather than to create the elements of terror; which, as is well known, have spread during the reign of Nicholas to an excessive extent.

Nicholas was twenty-nine years old when he became Emperor, and, although surrounded in other respects by every thing European, introduced more of an Asiatic than European mode of government. It is remarkable to contemplate the restlessness which characterises the reign of Nicholas. At the moment when Moscow was celebrating the accession of the

new Czar, Persia arose against Russia, and the son of the Shah suddenly invaded Georgia. Paskiewitch at once hastened to the assistance of the military commander of these provinces; and succeeded so well in his campaign, that even Erivan fell into his power. and the Persians were compelled to accept peace. No sooner had this expedition accomplished its purpose, when Russia declared war against Turkey. On the 14th April 1828, General Wittgenstein crossed the Pruth, the Emperor accompanying his army. On the 2d October Varna capitulated, and the campaign closed. In vain did the then most emineut diplomatists endeavour to induce England, France, and Prussia, to join Austria, in order to make them mediators between Russia and the Porte. In February 1829, the Russians again opened the campaign. They crossed the Danube, took Silistria, marched over the Balkan, and, at the end of August, Diebitsch entered Adrianople. The Porte was necessitated to sue for peace, and the treaty of Adrianople was concluded on 2d September 1829.

In 1830, the revolution in Poland—of which details are given in the first volume—again called the Russians into the field of battle; and no sooner was the revolutionary war over, when the mountaineers of the Caucasus engaged the attention of the Czar. This war was concluded July 8, 1834, by the treaty of Undiar Skelessi.

The Czar, viewing the establishment of the July monarchy in France as a new triumph of revolutionary principles in Europe, changed his relations with the French Government, and, after the revolution in Poland, endeavoured, by all imaginable means, to arrest the extension of what he termed a revolutionary element, by suppressing even freedom of opinion in his own dominions. He further no longer concealed his plans upon the East.

Russia, from 1844 till 1854, apparently remained in peace,—if the continued combat in the Caucasus may be set aside, and an insignificant new outbreak in Poland, and the participation of a Russian army in the revolutionary war of Hungary with Austria, may be excepted. Laying aside all details, is it surprising that the annexation of Turkey should have formed the all-ab-

sorbing project of the Emperor Nicholas, in later years especially, when a mere comparison is instituted between the geographical position of St Petersburg and Constantinople alone? The former, with all its attractions, is still but a capital forced into existence by artificial means, by efforts made to overcome irremediable natural disadvantages; whereas Constantinople, so advantageously situated, surrounded by gorgeous and most romantic scenery. once in possession of the Czar, would have given him the command of the whole globe.

When the general attention was concentrated upon St Petersburg, the unexpected news of the death of Nicholas resounded, it may be said, from one end of Europe to the other. This announcement appeared so extraordinary, that few at first believed it; official evidence, however, soon left no further doubt that the Emperor had expired on the 2d March 1855.

The history of his successor, his eldest son, the Grand Duke Alexander, as Alexander II., appertains to the future; it is therefore obviously out of place now to enter upon its particulars.

Part Fourth.

REVIEW OF THE LATEST EVENTS, BE-GINNING WITH THE PRESENT WAR.

To mention here the date of the departure of the allied troops for the seat of war; to give the details of their landing, as well as their subsequent crossing over to the Crimea; or to enlarge on the courage and endurance displayed by them at the battles of the Alma, Inkermann, Balaklava, and ultimately at the siege and taking of Sevastopol; would be nothing more but a recapitulation of facts with which volumes are

already replete. It remains thus simply to consider that the present war, with regard to England and France, is not one of aggression or conquest, but one having an important and high purpose,-it is a protective one, an effort to establish or to maintain that equilibrium which the aggressive sway of Russia was on the point of destroying. The battles, moreover, fought, will be lasting memorials for an inquiring posterity; who, more than the present generation, will with gratitude acknowledge and appreciate the struggle and the sacrifices made. Nor must it be supposed that all the Russians do not understand the purpose of the Allies. It is well to remember, that as far back as Peter I. efforts have been made by the Russians themselves for the

emancipation of Russia from abuses. The same were repeated, only under a different form, by more conspicuous leaders at the close of Alexander's They found a powerful stimulus on the accession of the Emperor Nicholas. In fact, these efforts were on the point of being realised, but few understood them,-they were perhaps premature. The Emperor Nicholas aware of their manacing grandeur and extent, resolved upon thwarting, and if possible of annihilating them. To accomplish this, the whole Russian army, from north to south, from west to east, was at once put in motion; the Caucasus, in the meantime, furnishing an opportunity for the occupation or destruction of those whom the Czar considered dangerous. In the midst of these apparently calming remedies the hereditary and innate desire of the Czar for aggrandizement did not remain passive. To attain his cherished views, to prevent an interference of other interested European states, it was necessary to produce a sort of somnolency, especially among the Western Powers, France and England. Having attained this purpose, the Czar, with the utmost nonchalance and perfect conviction of success, under the anomalous pretext of taking under his paternal care the Christian inhabitants of Turkey, proceeded to those claims-the cause of the present war. Twice had Russia, or at least the then reigning sovereigns. succeeded in producing hostilities with Turkey under exactly similar pretences. No one then interfered, because neither VOL. 11.

France nor England seemed to care for the issue of such claims, nor reflected on their probable consequences.

The accession to the supreme power in France by Louis Napoleon, the present Emperor, changed the aspect of affairs, and called forth the joint activity and co-operation of both countries, regardless of the diplomatic expedients and other experiments used by Russia, aiming at a rupture between the French and English Governments, or at an adhesion of one of them to the plans of the Emperor of Russia. The duplicity displayed in these endeavours resulting in a more intimate understanding of both Cabinets, ultimately produced a joint declaration of war. Yet, before this ultimatum, every possible means were tried to induce the Czar to desist from

his designs; and nothing is perhaps more characteristic in that respect than the letter of the Emperor of France to the Emperor of Russia. It concludes thus:—

"If your Majesty desires as ardently as I do a pacific solution, what more simple than at once to declare that an armistice shall be signed forthwith? In that case the Russian troops would quit the Principalities, and our squadrons the Black Sea. Let your Majesty adopt that plan, in which the Queen of England and myself are perfeetly in accord, and tranquillity will be re-established, and the world satisfied. Let not your Majesty suppose that the slightest animosity can enter my heart; it experiences no other sentiments than those expressed by your Majesty in the letter which you wrote to me." &c.

The Czar's reply destroyed all prospect of an amicable settlement; and thus nothing remained but the chances of a determined war. The leniency displayed, especially by Great Britain, in this contest, at the first bombardment of Odessa,-the reluctance, shown to be serious,—the, for the Russians, so disastrous and unsuccessful attacks upon Silistria,-were not sufficient to produce a change in the Czar's resolution. It then became evident that nothing was left to the Allies but to advance, and thus to acquire the respect due to them by other nations.

It has been repeatedly said, "Time with Russia is everything;"—thus, in spite of the serious disposition exhi-

bited by the Allies, both before Sevastopol and in the Baltic, negotiations were carried on by the Prussian and Austrian Cabinets, or by the latter in conjunction with England and France. The conference at Vienna was to become a strong point d'appui for Russia, had the Allies, awaiting the result of this conference, and under the impression of a peaceable issue, suspended their military operations. The latter, however, being carried on with renewed ardour and more vigour than before even, the Russian Government experienced the mortification of a disappointment. Yet, in spite of the most manifest evidence, that, in the first instance, the war had been caused by Russia alone, and that the negotiations failed solely because Russia did not agree to the views of the Allies, in a subsequent Russian manifesto it was stated, "That, owing to the obstinacy and implacability of the Western Powers, the conference at Vienna had totally failed."

Enough has been said and written on the capture of Sevastopol, and of the successes of the Allies in the Baltic, to induce the hope of further success at the active re-opening of the campaign.

In the meantime, when thus noticing the achievements of the allied army, the chivalry of the Russians, and the obstinacy which they displayed, must not be passed over. The detailed plan, moreover, of the last remarkable effort of the Russians made on the Tchernaya, and found upon the Russian General Reid, most creditably reflected upon the military qualities of the General Commander of this movement against the Allies;—it was, indeed, styled a chef-d'œuvre of combination, by the Commander-in-Chief of the French army, General Pelissier. The Sardinians on this occasion had the first opportunity to verify the high opinion entertained of them when they joined the Allies. According to subsequent reports, they displayed in the highest degree vigour and intrepidity.

Part Fifth.

GENERAL INTERNAL AND STATISTICAL NOTICE OF RUSSIA.

In a country so vast as Russia, and also taking into account its internal organization and administration, it becomes exceedingly difficult to obtain correct statistical information; the occupants of Government offices in distant parts being, moreover, as a matter of routine, accustomed rather to take care of themselves than of the State. And why should it not be so, if it is considered that such offices,

though offered ostensibly as rewards, are frequently awarded as a punishment for some coup de main? Thus it happens that the number of inhabitants in Russia is given as amounting to 60,000,000, by others to above 70,000,000, by some to between these numbers. The same is the case with the exact territorial extent of the country. From the very peculiar state of the secondary and minor Governmentadministrations in Russia, it is easy to comprehend the confusion which must exist in the revenue of the country, and which can only be approached by the most cautious and still doubtful hypothesis.

That this anomalous country, by gradually passing over to a regular, settled, and systematic state, will ultimately prove to possess resources of infinite value and amazing magnitude, there is not the least doubt; but such a state of things can only have its existence in the future. The declamations, therefore, about the inexhaustibility of Russia are as ill-timed as they are contradictory. If it is sufficient to prove the inexhaustibility of the resources of Russia by an indefinite prolongation of the present hostile attitude, apparently intended to be maintained by Russia, nothing would be more easy than to show that France and England are not only equal to such a contest, but that their joint resources are fully capable to compete with those of Russia. The only question to decide upon, would be the results, for both Russia and the Western

Powers, likely to follow from this apparent rivalry. To attain the first object,—namely, the prolongation of the contest ad infinitum, without manifesting the slightest deficiency of resources,—Russia has only to remain passive, and the Allies to do exactly as the Russians, or rather to be on the defensive. The results and influence of such a war to discuss here, would be deviating too much from the fixed purpose of this work; and moreover it would interfere with the impartiality intended to be observed in these pages.

Leaving, therefore, this somewhat complicated matter, and returning to this the last portion of the History of Russia, and noticing the fundamental laws, according to the code of Czar Michael Romanoff, "the Russian empire

is an unlimited monarchy, whose ruler is bound by no treaty, no capitulation or agreement made with or against his subjects. The execution and administration of government has, without any restriction, and with the most boundless right of action, since the most ancient times, been considered as the prerogative of the Czar; whose jurisdiction extends over both temporal and spiritual affairs. He is the supreme priest, the first judge, the most eminent general, the principal banker. His person is sacred and inviolable."

The highest Councils are :-

I. The Council of State. This is the first court in the empire, under the presidency of the Emperor; or, in his absence, of one of the first officers of State. This Council is divided into five departments, each with a president and functionaries. These departments are those of Justice, War and Marine, Civil and Military Affairs, Finance, and Polish Affairs.

II. The Directing Senate, founded by Peter I. on 22d February 1711. As an assembly of justice, it occupies the highest place, and ranks as highest court of appeal in civil and criminal causes. Six of its departments hold sittings in St Petersburg, three in Moscow, and two in Warsaw. The Emperor alone presides in the Senate, and has the right to annul the decisions of the State Council and of the Senate. The number of the senators is not limited. In case of the absence of the Czar, the Minister of Justice follows.

There are, besides, other assemblies vol. II.

under a directing influence of the Senate,—the Court of Heraldry, the Commission of Requests, the Senatorial Archives of State, the Directing Synod. The latter is the highest ecclesiastical court, under the authority of the Emperor.

The ministerial offices are now nine in number,—1st, The Imperial Household. 2d, The Imperial Domains. 3d, The Exterior. 4th, War. 5th, Marine. 6th, Interior. 7th, Commission of Public Education. 8th, Finances. 9th, Administration of Justice. Then follow three Directories,—the Postal, the Public Traffic, and Chief Control. The Police, under the authority of the Minister of the Interior, is divided into Civil and Municipal, Public and Secret Police.

The Russian War Department is more remarkable than any similar system in other countries; for one simple reason: While everywhere else, excepting in France, the state of the army,its organization, its accoutrements, in fact, all that contributes to the comfort of an army, and consequently increases its usefulness,-has remained, for more than thirty years, exactly in the same condition, in an absurd statu quo; in Russia almost daily changes and improvements have been introduced into the army since Peter the Great, owing, at that time, to the incursions of the Tartars and Turks, when it became urgent to establish on the southeastern borders an armed service consisting then of Kuban Cossacks.

In 1815, after the French war, the

Emperor Alexander found himself under the necessity of devising some plan for maintaining an army on the most economical scale; a project, therefore, was submitted to the Czar's consideration by Count Akatshejeff, General of Artillery, which consisted in quartering the soldiers upon the Crown peasants, and erecting military villages, to each house being allotted a certain quantity of land, &c. This plan at once was adopted, and the inhabitants of those parts where the colonies were going to be established, in return for receiving at first soldiers into their own dwellings, were exempted from the duties hitherto paid to the Government. It would be tedious to enumerate further details, it may suffice, then, to state simply that colonies were established in the governments of Novogrod, Mohilev, Kiev, Podolia, and Cherson, and also in other localities near Poland, Austria, and Turkey; that the colonists themselves remain half agriculturists half soldiers until the expiration of five-and-twenty years, if a Russian, twenty years if a Pole; and that after this time he is at liberty to quit the service, &c.

With regard to the title and rank of military officers, they are exactly the same as in other foreign armies. In Russia, however, there exists this peculiarity, that each rank of a military officer corresponds with a certain rank or office in civil service; so, for instance, the rank of field-marshal is equal to the rank of full privy councillor of state (the Premier of the British Government)—major-general, full councillor of state,

colonel, collegiate councillor,—captain, titular councillor,—lieutenant, government secretary; and so on to the rank of ensign. The arsenals, cannon foundries, in fact, all the manufactories and magazines of the war "materiel," as splendid and most expensive buildings, have frequently been noticed by visitors and strangers, and described by them

With regard to the standing army, the details are more minute and correct than in any other department; and summing up the whole, it would appear that, including every branch of the army ready to take the field, but not counting the reserve corps, the Finland army corps, the Siberian corps, the various cavalry corps of Cossacks, and the veterans and invalids, the Russian

army, on the outbreak of hostilities, amounted to above 500,000 men.

Peter I., who, as will be remembered, introduced a better system into the Russian army,—who in reality formed one,—was also the first to create a Russian navy; and thus in 1698 the first line-of-battle-ship was launched, and in 1699 the first frigate.

From 1852 to 1853 the Russian fleet appears divided into two departments,—the Baltic fleet of three, and the Black Sea fleet of two divisions; comprising about 60 ships of the line, with from 70 to 120 guns; 37 frigates of 40 to 60 guns; 70 corvettes, brigs, and brigantines; and 40 steamers: manned by 42,000 sailors, and 20,000 marines, mounting 9000 guns. In this brief summary the gun-boats and the fleets

of galleys in the Caspian Sea and that of Okotsk are not included. The whole administration of the naval department is under the control of the Ministry of the Marine; and promotion from commander to admiral takes place according to seniority; from lieutentant to captain according to a ballot, modified by seniority. Below the midshipman talent alone insures promotion.

That all these arrangements must have been considerably affected and changed after the results of the campaign of two years, it is not necessary to mention.

As numerous as the races which occupy Russia, as varied are their religious professions. Russia is the chief seat of the old orthodox Greek Church: and the chief state or established religion is the Græco-Catholic; which, owing to an early intercourse with Constantinople, is modelled on the oriental form. The clergy of the Established Church are exempt from corporal punishment, and from taxes, and their affairs are regulated by the Holy Synod. They are divided into two classes, viz., clergymen in orders and secular priests;—the first supplying the higher ecclesiastical offices, and wearing black, while the second class wear brown and blue garments.

The number of bishoprics is undefined, and entirely depends upon the pleasure of the Czar. They are under the direction of the Metropolitans, chiefs of those dioceses contained within the capitals of kingdoms now incorporated with Russia; secondly, of

Archbishops; and thirdly, under those who obtain their titles at the will and pleasure of the Czar, at any time.

The educational system in Russia has obviously been modelled and remodelled, in consequence or owing to the political condition of the country. Thus it happens that several once flourishing universities no longer exist, and that in some of the higher colleges and institutions for learning, a sort of military rule has been introduced; and even exclusively military schools have supplanted the former.

In 1773, Catherine founded in St Petersburg, at the suggestion of the Bashkir Ismael Wasimoff, the institution of Mining Engineers; which, however, was only organised in 1834. Since the latter date, a technical mining school, the medallic department in the Mint, a practical mining section, and the section of workshops of Barnaul, have been opened in St Petersburg.

Commerce, which stands so pre-eminent, especially in England, has, as remarked in the Introduction, in Russia always remained more passive than active, owing to the peculiar internal state of the country. In a country where there is no independent scope and stimulus for commercial enterprise, where jealousy or suspicion interferes with the exertions of those who otherwise might freely and fearlessly bring into active motion, if it may be said so, all the resources of the nation. it is but natural that the important department of commerce should remain barren and insignificant,-considering the extent of Russia. What has been said in the preceding lines must apply to commerce as it might be understood according to modern views, or commerce on an elevated scale; moreover, as Russia has, since the most remote period, always carried on a considerable commerce, only its current has undergone changes. So, for instance, the south part of Russia was, before Tamerlane, the staple mart of commerce of Greece, and even of the Indies: and the Genoese were the principal factors. The Tanais and Boristhenes were loaded with the productions of Asia until the end of the fourteenth century, when Tamerlane conquered the Taurican Chersonese, the present Crimea or Crim Tartary; and when the Turks became masters of Azof, this great branch of commerce was totally destroyed. Peter formed the design of reviving it, but the unfortunate campaign of the Pruth wrested this city from him, and with it all projects upon the Black Sea. Nevertheless there was still a road open through the Caspian Sea. Silk was introduced during Peter I., via Astrakan, from Persia; and the first foundation of a trade with China was laid in 1653 :and after the creation, it may be said, of St Petersburg, above 200 foreign vessels were trading to the new capital in the space of a year. Without enlarging on the state of the foreign commerce of Russia in modern times. it may be well to conclude with a superficial notice of the internal produce VOL. II.

and resources of Russia, influencing the commercial transactions of the interior. The natural properties of this state have not reached the degree of cultivation of which they are capable. This is peculiarly the case with agriculture, and perhaps more surprising than with any other branch; but here the scanty population of Russia would furnish a solution, as also the diversity of climate, and the absolute barrenness of some parts. As the most fertile regions, may be classed the central provinces, and especially the soil in Little Russia, Kasan, Simbirsk, Harkow, Kursk, and the ancient Polish provinces, the Ukraine, Volhynia, Podolia. Artificial or scientific manuring is quite unknown; and even in the most simple mode of culture Nature does

more than the hand of the labourer. Esculent vegetables exist in great abundance, as well as meadow land. Hemp and flax form a valuable article of commerce, not only for home consumption, but for exportation; and are, next to rye, the most important agricultural production of the empire. The south of Taurida produces wine resembling in excellence the Hungarian. Next to agriculture, the chief support of the inhabitants consists in cattlerearing; for which the central and southern provinces are particularly suited, and where field-labour, and cattle-rearing are found combined. The Ukraine and Podolia have, from an early period, supplied the north of Russia and the neighbouring states with troops of oxen famous for their

extraordinary size and symmetry. On the Don, among the Cossacks, and on the borders of the Black Sea, a fine race of oxen is to be met with, as well as in parts of Central Siberia, and even in Kamtschatka. This branch produces the two well-known articles of Russian commerce-hides and tallow. The rearing of horses is so common in Russia, that the meanest peasant keeps at least one, or even several, which are employed for all the purposes of labour. The Khirgese, the Calmucks, and especially the Bashkirs, possess herds of horses numbering from 1,000 to 2,000; which are used not only for riding and draught, but as articles of food. The horse is to them what the reindeer is to the inhabitants of the polar regions. Horses

in a wild state are still to be found in the steppes between the Ural and the Volga, the Irtish and the Ob.

In the south of Russia immense flocks of sheep are found; although their wool is rather coarse, except where the land-proprietors,-of whom some possess from 10,000 to 20,000,by introducing, at some expense, Spanish, French, Saxon, and other foreign rams, have succeeded in refining the original coarseness of the wool among the sheep on their estates. In the mountains which form the boundary of Southern Siberia, wild sheep still exist. All other domesticated animals are reared in abundance. The Russian bristles form a considerable article of export. Of more value than the horse to the Northern Siberians, the Lapps, Samoi-

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edes, Ostiaks, Tunguses, is their faithful companion, the reindeer, who drags them over the deepest snow through untrodden wildernesses, nourishes them, supplies them with clothing, even with thread and household furniture; while, by scraping his own food, the moss, from under the snow, he costs them nothing; from 600 to 5,000 are generally the property of one single individual

It must not be supposed, however, that what has been mentioned concerning the neglect, indifference, or imperfection in the cultivation of the soil in Russia, or in other branches of husbandry, is to be applied without exception. Such a statement would indeed mislead the reader unacquainted with Russia. The remarks refer only

to the peasantry, or to the second and third class land-proprietors. On the estates and domains of the nobles, and especially of those who may have been much abroad, as much attention is bestowed on the proper management of everything connected with agriculture as there is in England.

Great quantities of honey and wax are exported, the produce of bee-keeping throughout the Ukraine, Volhynia, Podolia, and all the provinces south. The extensive woods and desert parts of Russia contain a great variety of game,—in such abundance that the chase is left free throughout the country. Game laws are unknown, except in Siberia, where the inhabitants pay their Government taxes in sables, furs, and skins. Besides the ermine, the

sea and lake otter, foxes, beavers, wolves, lynxes, martens, ferrets, and various smaller animals, throughout Russia; red deer and elks haunt the central provinces, stags the Dnieper, chamois and vezuar-goats the Caucasus, and wild boars the Dnieper and Volga; moor-fowl, wood-cocks, wild ducks and geese, snipes, pheasants, etc., may be seen anywhere in Russia.

The chief occupation of many races in Siberia consists in fishing; which furnishes both an article of consumption for the inhabitants, and an article of export,—such as caviare, train-oil, and whalebone,—to the extent of more than 20,000,000 of rubles annually. From the fisheries in the Arctic Ocean, the White Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, &c., and from the great

rivers and lakes, an annual produce of more than 30,000,000 rubles is derived.

The supply of salt for the Russian empire is obtained partly from mines of rock salt, partly from salt lakes, and also from salt springs. The richest mines of rock-salt are situated in the government of Orenburg. As for salt lakes, the Jeltov lake, the Crimean lake in Tauria, and the salt lake of Astrakan, are the principal. Formerly the sale of salt in Russia was unrestrained; lately, however, it has been monopolised by the Government.

Since about the middle of the last century, a new and very valuable branch of national industry has been called into existence by mining operations. The mines of Russia can vie with the richest and most productive of any nation. The Ural mountains were the first in which, in 1699, mining operations were commenced, by Peter I. Then followed the working of the Altaic and Nertshinskie mountains, the iron and copper mines of the Olonezic mountains. The Ural vields gold, iron, and copper; the Altaic, silver and gold; and the Nertshinskie mountains are rich in veins of gold, silver, and platina. A few years since, the value of the produce of all the mines was estimated at: gold, 2,000,000 rubles; silver, 3,500,000 rubles; iron, 10,000,000 rubles; and lead, 60,000 rubles. Besides in metallic minerals, Russia is rich in valuable stones,—granite, porphyry, jasper, marble, &c.

The most lucrative of all private undertakings in Russia is distilling.

Under Peter I, the foundations of

factories were laid, which in 1796 already exceeded 2000 in number, and have since obviously considerably increased. They chiefly prepare or manufacture linen, cotton, wool, hemp, iron; as also sugar, colours, tobacco, potash, vitriol, gunpowder, and glass.

It will be seen, from this very imperfect sketch of the internal state and natural productiveness of Russia, that it contains vast and numerous resources, which time alone is capable to develop and to bring into more active operation.

In the midst of an outcry against the aggressive tendency of Russia, it may not be without interest to conclude with noticing, that during the last two centuries Russia has doubled her territory, and during the last hundred years tripled her population. Her conquests from Sweden are greater than what remains of that kingdom. She has taken from the Tartars an extent equal to that of Turkey in Europe, with Greece, Italy, and Spain. Her conquests from Turkey in Europe are more in extent than the kingdom of Prussia, without the Rhenish provinces. She has absorbed from Turkey in Asia territory equal to all the small states of Germany; from Persia, equal to the whole of Great Britain and Ireland; and from Poland equal to the whole Austrian empire. A few years more, another bold step,-and what remains of Europe, after Russia, will have disappeared from the map, and Russia, Russia, Russia, be inscribed everywhere !

APPENDIX.

I. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF RUSSIA.

Although lately much has been said and written concerning the domestic life, the manners and customs, of the Russians, yet this subject is far from being exhausted or thoroughly illustrated. It is, however, not intended to introduce here any additional details. It may suffice to remind the reader of the remark in the Introduction to this work, which says, that "all manners and customs which individually characterize each of the other European nations, are to be met in Russia You. II.

combined." To this must be added, that, in many parts of Russia, manners. customs, and costumes prevail, bearing a decided oriental character. But nothing, perhaps, is better calculated to illustrate the present subject, than by considering that the Russian empire comprehends more than one-half of the whole continent of Europe, the whole of Northern Asia, and a large portion of North America; and that it extends over more than one-seventh of the whole land on the surface of the globe, with an area estimated at upwards of 7,000,000 of square miles, including the greater part of ancient Poland, Finland, East Bothnia, part of Lapland, the Crimea, Bessarabia, and part of Moldavia, besides the Asiatic provinces of Transcaucasia, Georgia, and Siberia.

A brief description of the principal towns may further contribute to suggest an idea as to the domestic life, &c., in Russia.

St Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great, is built partly on some low, marshy islands at the embouchure of the Neva, partly on the adjacent mainland. It is said that 10,000 persons perished in laying the foundation of the city; which, in consequence of its situation in a flat and marshy soil, is unfavourable for drainage, and exposed to inundations; in the last of which, in 1824, 5000 inhabitants were drowned. The form of the place is nearly circular, and its whole circuit about 18 miles

The course of the Neva, from east to west, divides St Petersburg into

two parts, and resembles somewhat that of the Thames through London. The regularity and breadth of the streets of St Petersburg, generally well paved with stone, is most remarkable. Although many of the houses are still of wood, the aspect of this capital is magnificent, in consequence of the many truly noble public and private edifices which it contains; -such as the Hermitage Palace (built by the Empress Catherine), the Marble Palace, several splendid cathedrals, the Mint, and other edifices of most imposing structure. Close to one of the granite quays which line the banks of the Neva, is the famous bronze statue of Peter the Great, on a huge block of granite. A granite column, 84 feet high, erected in memory of the Em-

peror Alexander, occupies another part of the city. It is recorded, that, some years since, the city had 156 bridges, of which 12 were of cast-iron, 31 of granite, and several suspension bridges. The five bridges across the Neva and its branches, chiefly on boats, are annually removed, before the river is frozen over, which generally is the case for five months of the year. St Petersburg contains an university, numerous public schools, an academy of sciences, and several valuable museums and institutions, besides theatres for Russian, English, German, French, and Italian plays and operas. Baths are numerous, and much frequented. Population estimated at nearly 500,000.

Moscow, the ancient capital of Russia, is situated on the river Moskva,

about 60 miles from its mouth, and consists of four circular or semicircular divisions, each surrounding the other. The circumference of Moscow is 20 miles. Since the conflagration of 1812, Moscow has been rebuilt on a modern plan; which contributed to enlarge and embellish it considerably. One of the most remarkable features is the Kremlin .- a sort of citadel, on a height, by which it commands a prospect over nearly the whole city. Its circumference is about two miles, and contains the ancient palace of the Czars, which escaped the destructive fire.

The Church of St Michael, containing the tomb of the Czars,—the Church of the Annunciation, in which the Sovereigns of Russia are crowned,—and the Church of Ivan Veliki,—are splen-

did structures. One of the curiosities of Moscow is the great bell, 21 feet high, and 20 feet in diameter,—considered the largest ever founded.

Moscow was founded in the middle of the twelfth century, and has twice been sacked by the Mongols,—in 1233 and 1293. The Poles took it in 1611, and the French occupied it in 1812.

Although Peter the Great, in 1703, transferred his residence to St Petersburg, Moscow, owing to its antiquity, has always been inhabited and frequented by the wealthiest and most ancient families of Russia, who live there in great splendour, and venerated by the people as the ancient seat of Russian greatness.

The city of Riga, founded in 1200, is surrounded with bastions and ramparts,

and has a strong citadel. As a seaport, it is of some importance. The streets of Riga are narrow, but remarkably clean. A magnificent column, with a colossal bronze statue of Victory, erected in honour of the Emperor Alexander, occupies a commanding position in the centre of the city. The population of Riga amounts to 71,200.

Odessa, the great emporium of the south of Russia, is comparatively a new city, founded by Catherine II. so late as 1790. Situated on a fine bay of the Black Sea, it has become the most flourishing seaport of Russia. All the houses are built of stone, and the streets are either macadamised or paved with granite. It has a cathedral, a college, several educational establishments, bazaars, handsome hotels, a theatre, and

public baths; besides open boulevards, a botanic garden, and several public gardens. Through gratitude for services in improving the city, the inhabitants erected on the quay a bronze statue of the Duke de Richelieu.

The import as well as export trade of Odessa is, or at least was, considerable. Its population amounts to 71,000.

On the 1st of May 1854, authentic intelligence reached England of the bombardment of Odessa by the fleet under the command of Admiral Dundas.

Cronstadt is the principal station of the Russian navy, about 20 miles west of St Petersburg. It commands the approach to the city, and, from the apparent efficiency and strength of its fortifications, is considered by the Russians as impregnable. It has extensive docks and ship-building yards, and was, after Archangel, before the present war, the principal emporium of the northern commerce of Russia. Its population is estimated at 45,000.

Archangel, on the Lower Dwina, about 40 miles from the White Sea, is the oldest seaport of Russia. The English, in 1533, endeavouring to find out a north-east passage to the East Indies, Chancellor, captain of one of the ships fitted out for this expedition, discovered the port of Archangel, and describes it at that time as a desert place, with only one convent, and a small church dedicated to St Michael the archangel; from which it takes its name. At present it contains many

public institutions, hospitals, dockyards, &c., and has a population of 24.000.

Between St Petersburg and Smolensk lies Novogrod, considered the most ancient city of Russia, and also the first settlement of the Slavi, or Slavonians. The town has an imposing appearance from a distance; but upon approaching and entering it, the pleasing impression ceases, and scattered groups of mean wooden houses meet the eve. On a steep hill on the north side of the river Volchen stands a fortress, while the commercial town is on the opposite side, connected with the fortress by a somewhat handsome stone bridge. Population about 10,000.

Westward of Moscow is Smolensk, part of the ancient Sarmatia,—remarkable, in a historical point of view, for having alternately been in possession of the ancient Great Dukes of Russia, of the Great Duke of Lithuania, and occupied in 1611 by Sigismund III., King of Poland. The father of Peter I., Czar Alexis, recovered it in 1654; and since then, as the capital of White Russia, it has always constituted part of the Russian empire.

Kasan, on the banks of the Volga, is a well-built town, containing many splendid buildings, including a university, 41 Greek churches, and 8 places for Tartar worship. It also has several manufactures, with a population of 57,000.

Sevastopol has lately been so often described, illustrated, and otherwise noticed, that it becomes almost unnecessary to mention, that it was, until the late hostilities, the principal Russian naval station in the Black Sea, with an excellent harbour and extensive shipbuilding. It has, or had, also large and commodious docks. Its population was estimated at 30,000.

Revel, on the south side of the Gulf of Finland, was built by the Danes in the thirteenth century, and is a place of considerable commerce, with a population of 13,000.

The capital city of the ancient provinces called Lesser Russia, Red Russia, or the Ukrajna, is Kiev, or Kiev, on the right bank of the Dnieper, and was built by the Emperors of Constantinople. Here are still to be seen Greek inscriptions upwards of 1200 years old. Here it was that the Great Dukes of Yol. II.

Russia held their residence in the eleventh century, before the sway of the Tartars. In Russian annals it is called the Venerable or Sacred City, and abounds in convents and churches. Annual pilgrimages are made to this ancient city. Its population amounts to 50,000.

Tobolsk, the second town of Siberia, is situated on the left bank of the Irtish, built on the flat summit of a hill, and has a very imposing appearance. The surrounding country is subject to inundations, so that the citizens have frequently to approach their homes by means of boats. Population 20,000.

Irkutsk is the next important town of Siberia. It is situated on the banks of the Angara, in a beautiful plain, about 1200 feet above the level of the sea. Besides having a citadel, it is

strongly fortified. In it are numerous churches and other buildings. Its commerce and manufactures are considerable. Population 18,000.

Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, on the north side of the Gulf of Finland, is, or rather was, a flourishing commercial town, and the seat of an university. Near it stands the fortress of Sveaborg, on seven islands, which enclose a magnificent and safe harbour, and a naval arsenal. This fortress mounts 800 guns, and contains, or contained, a garrison of 12,000 men, with a population of 16,000.

To the westward of Helsingfors is the ancient capital of Finland, Abo. In 1827 this city was almost totally destroyed by fire, although it is now rebuilt; and ship-building was carried on there very extensively. Its population amounted, before 1854, to 12,000.

Warsaw, although, properly speaking, not a Russian town, may still, as the capital of Poland, merit here to be noticed. It is situated on the left bank of the Vistula, and connected with its suburb, Prague, on the opposite side of the river, by a bridge, formerly of boats. It has numerous public buildings, and is altogether a fine city. Since 1832 the former station of the Russian army has been considerably increased, and this charming city much altered. Population stated at 154,000.

These geographical details, however imperfect and superficial they in reality are, have been given here solely with the view to illustrate what has been said at the beginning concerning the variety of the domestic life, the manners, &c., of Russia; which obviously not only there, but everywhere else, must be influenced by the geographical and topographical position of the country.

II. THE MONGOLS.

The Mongols occupying so conspicuous a place in the ancient history of Russia, and merely a very superficial notice having been taken of them in the preceding pages, it may perhaps not be out of place to add a few lines concerning that peculiar race of people, the traces of whom have not yet disappeared in some parts of Russia. Their home was in the eastern portion of central Asia, on an elevated plain,

then barren and desolate. Diendiis-Khan, their chief, had already subjugated the greater portion of Asia, when a part of his army penetrated beyond the Caspian Sea in 1223, (amongst others, in 1224,) into the country of the Polowzianje, who applied for assistance to the Russians. At the battle of Kalka, now called Koloja, on the Sea of Azof, May 31, 1224, the allies, however, were defeated. The Mongols then contented themselves with this victory, and retired from Russia; but in 1237 Djendjis-Khan's successor, Oktaj, despatched his nephew, Batho, or Bathu, at the head of 300,000 warriors, to conquer Russia; internal dissensions among the Russians in the meantime facilitating the purpose of the Mongols. In vain did single bands oppose the progress of the enemy: many strong places were captured,

burnt, and the inhabitants speared. Thus fell Kijov in 1240. Although in 1242 the Mongols guitted Russia, they soon returned, and established on the banks of the Volga the Khanate of Kaptschak, known as the "Golden Horde." Their ferocity and ravages became most fearful, and Novogrod was the only city not destroyed, owing its preservation solely to the interference of its young Prince, Alexander Jaroslavitch, who with his brother Andreas visited the Golden Horde, and gained the good-will and favour of the Khan. The latter granted him Kijov, with the whole of Southern Russia, while Andreas received the principality of Vladimir.

Jaroslav Jaroslavitch, the successor of Alexander, reigned from 1263 to 1272, and was succeeded by Vasili until 1276. After Vasili feuds among brothere increased the already existing misfortunes of the country. The Princes, instead of endeavouring to settle their differences between themselves, did not disdain to summon to their assistance the Mongols; who, instead of embracing the cause of those whom they apparently intended to defend, committed new ravages.

Michael Jaroslavitch, who reigned from 1304 to 1319, declared war against Prince George of Moscow; and having defeated the latter, he was summoned into the camp of the Khan, to exculpate himself for this hostile expedition, and was immediately put to death; the Khan in the meantime appointing George Danilovitch of Moscow as ruler during his reign. The first rubles appeared in 1231, being nothing more than rough pieces hewn from bars of silver, without

any figure or superscription. With the view to close the entrance of Lake Ladoga against the Swedes, Prince George founded, in 1323, with the assistance of the Novogrodians, the fortress of Orachov at the embouchure of the Neva. In the year following, George was murdered among the followers of the Khan, by his nephew Dmitri; whose brother Alexander was proclaimed as ruler; and the Mongols found an opportunity to make new incursions. After Alexander, reigned Ivan Danilovitch, from 1338 to 1340. He constituted Moscow the capital of the kingdom, restored the Kremlin, which had been destroyed by fire, fortified the city, regained ascendency over Tver, and endeavoured to put an end to the disastrous intestine troubles of the country.

His son Simeon, who reigned from 1340 to 1353, gained a victory over the Swedes; and under him the arts made considerable progress. Amongst other improvements, paper came in use instead of parchment. During his time also a plague made fearful ravages, not only in his dominions, but in the whole of Asia and part of Europe,—from Pekin to the shores of the Euphrates, and from thence to Lake Ladoga.

The influence and power of the Khans appears to have reached its climax in 1353, and the kingdom of Kaptschak began to give indications of its near dissolution, and exactly from similar circumstances and causes as those which contributed to its foundation. After Simeon's death, the Khan chose Ivan II. as supreme ruler, from 1353 to 1359.

Dmitri III. succeeded from 1359 to 1362, and under Dmitri certain dissensions which had already manifested themselves under Ivan, in the kingdom of Kaptschak, assumed a more serious character. Dmitri IV., who ruled from 1363 to 1389, in the meantime fortified Moscow anew; and in 1367 constructed the Kremlin of stone. In the year following Olgero, Prince of Lithuania, invaded and rayaged Russia. And scarcely was this calamity past, when the Khan Mamai prepared for an incursion into Russia; Dmitri, however, succeeded in pacifying the Khan. In 1374 Mamai sent ambassadors to Moscow. Their offensive behaviour causing their assassination, Mamai swore to revenge himself on the Slavonians. In 1380, therefore, he approached the Russian

frontiers with an immense army; but Dmitri was not unprepared, and never had a stronger Russian army marched against the Mongols. On the 6th September 1380, the Russians approaching the Don, Dmitri assembled his generals, and prepared for battle. The victory was brilliant; Mamai fled, and more than 200,000 Mongols fell during this action. In 1381 a new enemy appeared in Russia, Tochtarmysh, a descendant of Djendjis-Khan, and a friend of Tamerlane. He announced himself as heir of Bathu, and summoned Dmitri to appear with all the Russian princes in the Horde, His commands being disregarded, Tochtarmysh marched against Moscow. Dmitri, as well as the Metropolitan fled, and the inhabitants found themselves abandoned, when, August

23, 1381, the Mongols appeared before the city, which was carried. Part of the town was reduced to ashes; and on his return Dmitri beheld a fearful devastation, and found 24,000 of his subjects slain. Dmitri himself died in 1389. His son Vasili reigned until 1425.

Vasili directed all his energies towards the repression of the Mongols, the prevention of the inroads of the Lithuanians, and the annexation of the smaller sovereignties to his dominion. In the midst of these efforts, Tamerlane, or Timur, the conqueror of Asia, appeared on the frontiers with 400,000 Mongols; but, although apparently determined to advance on Moscow, he suddenly retired from the kingdom.

The successor of Vasili II. was his son, Vasili III., who reigned until 1462.

In 1451, the Tartars once more penetrated to Moscow, and burnt the suburbs; but in the year following they suffered severe defeats from the Russians, and the internal dissensions and external oppression of Russia at last ceased, although her complete emancipation from the voke of her oppressors and invaders did not take place until during the reign of Ivan Vasilievitch, when the Khan Achmet sent ambassadors to Russia to demand tribute. This Ivan not only refused to pay, but led in person a splendid army against the Golden Horde. All Russia looked with mingled fear and hope to the issue of this expedition. The Tartars fled without giving battle; Achmet himself was slain during the retreat; and thus ended, in 1480, the dominion of the

Mongols, which had caused so many disasters to Russia, and at one time had even menaced the fate of all Europe.

Reviewing the period during which the Mongols first broke into Russia, their success and ravages; considering, besides, that the dissensions amongst the then reigning Russian and Slavic princes so materially assisted these hordes in their aggression; and more than all, contemplating that they succeeded to establish a kingdom of their own, with an army of 600,000 warriors; it becomes, indeed, a matter of surprise that they should not have entirely destroyed every germ and trace of Russian nationality during a most oppressive rule of nearly 250 years. But such appears to be the mysterious and irresistible fate of those, and especially of savages like the Mongols, who, by mere violence, ferocity, or brutality, conquer or subdue other nations; or who, for no other purpose but for the satisfaction of a morbid thirst for rapine, invade other countries,—that the very circumstances which favoured such conquests react in lapse of time upon the aggressors themselves.

Applying this to the Mongols, history records that not only Russia, or the races which then inhabited that country, suffered from their barbarities, but Europe trembled, at a moment when the power of those barbarians had reached its summit, and when, in the meantime, their downfall was not imminent. The Khans, through a strange oversight, leniency, or moderation, appointed Russian princes, chosen

by themselves, as rulers over those provinces which had not been exclusively and directly annexed to their own kingdom, merely imposing tributes;—unable, probably, themselves to control the whole, without dispersing their forces, and thus, by weakening them, becoming vulnerable.

The establishment of a camp of 600,000 warriors on the Volga is sufficient to corroborate this. Their strategy, however, as the ultimate denoument proves, could only succeed as long as there existed discord among the numerous Russian dukes, princes, and other rulers. In the same measure, therefore, as the number of the latter gradually diminished, in the same degree the power of the Khans apparently increased; but, on the other

hand, the entente, accord, and union of the Russians extended. From the very beginning of the invasion of the Mongols, they had no other aim, no other motive of action, but to gratify a sort of excited or brutal desire for destruction, descending, as they did, from a barren country. A stay, however, in a more cultivated and congenial land, during nearly two centuries and a-half, subdued their original ardour; resulted in a partial amalgamation with the inhabitants of the invaded country; and, as a natural consequence, produced dissensions amongst themselves, which caused the ultimate breaking down of their energy, and a dissolution of their rule.

History is the great school. Upon the application of the lessons which it conveys, the fate of nations in times to come to a great extent depends.

III. THE CONSPIRACY OF 1825.

The history of all nations or countries offers certain analogies, which enable to establish a comparison. Thus, in remote times, England appears divided into several kingdoms, principalities, or states, the chiefs or rulers of which made war upon each other. The aid of foreign troops even was called in at one period; and these mercenaries, trusting to their numbers, turned their arms against those whose cause to defend they had been summoned. From time to time the dissatisfaction of the

bulk of the nation manifested itself in violent clamour, or even revolt; at another period mere words were interpreted as high treason. How different is Great Britain at present, when the free utterance of thought no longer exposes to persecution, or leads to the Tower and scaffold!

The history of Russia, only under a different aspect, as will have been seen, exhibits similar features, without as yet the same results.

An eminent British statesman lately remarked, in the House of Parliament, with great acuteness and remarkable propriety, that when a nation shows indifference to its fate, when all patriotic manifestation appears to be extinct, then its downfall may be apprehended.

The necessity of a revolutionary movement is more or less to be regretted; yet it would indeed become a great misfortune to any nation striving for
or proud of independence, if there were
no one amongst them watching over its
welfare, and ready to make sacrifices for
it, unmindful even of personal danger.

The relations of Russia with France had introduced, after 1815, into the former, and especially amongst the army, principles termed by the Emperor Alexander the "French plague." In 1818, therefore, great severity was exercised against the press. The shadow of a kingdom of Poland, created by Alexander himself in 1815, was visited with espionage and suspicion, and the semblance of its independence almost obliterated.

At certain times a nation may be kept in a sort of servile subjection; but the national spirit manifests itself, first by subdued complaints, and ultimately by excesses of vengeance,—sometimes formidable. In 1825 Russia was on the point of such a crisis. During the last years of Alexander's reign secret societies had formed themselves. It was contemplated to join in one bond Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia

Colonel Count Pestal and Baron Bestouzeff, the leaders in their plans, overlooked unity of purpose; much was said at their assemblies, propositions were made, but nothing of importance was decided. Nothing, in fact, had been fixed when the news of the death of Alexander at Taganrog arrived. The neglect of Alexander, or his indifference for the orthodox faith, was to serve as one of the principal arguments of the conspirators to excite the masses. This unexpected death deprived them of this pretext. Every one felt that the moment for action had arrived, and that this moment, if not taken advantage of, was an opportunity lost. In this dilemma Prince Serge Troubetzkoj, owing to his distinguished title, was elected chief of the conspiracy.

The 25th December had been announced as the day of Czar Nicholas' ascension; the Senate had received instructions to that effect, and on the next morning a manifesto was to appear. The conspirators had no time to lose. During the night, therefore, preceding

the oath of the Emperor, at the house of Rylieff, assembled Prince Troubetzkoj, the brothers Bestouzeff, Prince Obalonskoj, Arbouzoff, Prince Alexander Odojeffskoj, Poustchine, Battenkoff, Repine, Konovnitzin, and several others of the leaders. The meeting was most tumultuous; the solemnity of the occasion exciting the enthusiasm of some, and the approaching danger discouraging others. Their sole hope was based upon the marine guards, some companies of the Finland and Moscow regiments, and chance. Messengers were despatched to the adherents to be in readiness, and to appear the next morning on a certain named place. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the day fixed, as before observed for the installation of the new Government, Michael and Alexander Bestouzeff, with Prince Stshepine Rostovsky, went to the barracks of the Regiment of Moscow, and addressing the companies whom they knew to be devoted to the Grand Duke Constantine, assured the soldiers that they were duped; that Constantine, instead of having renounced his rights to the throne, had been thrown into prison, in consequence of his obstinacy in maintaining them; and that he had found means to despatch Alexander Bestouzeff with the intimation to protest against the violation of those sacred rights. At this news the companies became deeply affected, charged their arms, provided themselves with cartridges, and began to exclaim, " Vive Constantine! down VOL. II.

with Nicholas!" A similar scene was going on in the barracks of the Marine Guards, where Nicholas, Bestouzeff, and Arbouzoff resorted to arguments of the same kind as those used by the other conspirators. The Marines hesitated, when suddenly several reports of fire-arms were heard.

"This is the signal for the murder of your comrades," exclaimed the conspirators. "Let us hasten to avenge them!"

These words, pronounced with enthusiasm, overcame all further hesitation, and the entire battalion followed the conspirators. The reports of fire-arms alluded to, proceeded from the barracks of the Regiment of Moscow, visited, as before stated, by the brothers Michael and Alexander Bestouzeff, and Prince Stshepine. Although they had succeeded in exciting several companies, yet the Grenadiers appeared determined to resist: Michael Bestouzeff, therefore, gave orders to use force against them. Several pistol-shots were fired in the interior of the barracks, and General Fredericks was mortally wounded. Astonished at so much audacity, the Grenadiers joined the revolted troops, and without further opposition, proceeded to the Place of the Senate, the general rendezvous. In an instant this magnificent place was occupied by revolted troops, with cries, " Vive Constantine, and his wife, the Constitution!" -the soldiers, in their ignorance, explaining the word constitution as the feminine of Constantine, and consequently as the consort of the Grand Duke. During this occurrence, Nicholas, whose energy had not yet triumphed over his timidity, remained unresolved in his palace. The boldness and number of the insurgents in the meantime increased. Had the revolt been directed by a person of more determination than Prince Troubetzkoj, its purpose might have been gained. Time, however, was consumed in vain deliberations, and instead of conducting the soldiers to the combat, they were made to drink above measure, with the hope more to excite them. Amidst the repeated cries of "Down with Nicholas! vive Constantine and his wife Constitution!" Nicholas began to understand the imminent danger, and gained sufficient courage to face the insurgents. Accompanied only by Count Miroladovitch, he leaves his palace, and proceeds to the Admiralty Place. There he mounts a horse, and precipitates himself into the midst of the danger. Miroladovitch, in endeavouring to address the revolted troops, is shot at, and falls wounded before Nicholas; for whom, probably, the shot was intended.

All attempt at pacification becoming useless, cannon are brought to play upon the insurgents, and a general fusilade begins. A great number of the Grenadier corps, as well as of the Regiment of Moscow, and the Marine Guards, are killed, and the remainder disperse themselves in all directions. The revolt was suppressed, and Nicholas was Emperor. But desirous, probably, to obliterate this sanguinary day,

his accession was ordered to be dated from the demise of Alexander.

The conspiracy had extensive ramifications. News, however, from the provinces arrived, that all attempts at revolution had failed. Moscow, for instance, had not moved, although the hopes of the conspirators were much based upon this southern capital. Pestal had been arrested, as well as the two Muravieffs.

Prince Troubetzkoj, the leader of the revolt in St Petersburg, had taken refuge in the house of the Austrian Ambassador, and found there, as he thought, an inviolable asylum. Diplomacy, however, interfered, and through the mediation of Count Nesselrode, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Troubetzkoj was given up the very night after the combat. Nicholas had ordered that the chief of the insurgents should be brought before him, as soon as he might be arrested. Troubetzkoj was thus immediately conducted before the Emperor. He at first denied, yet, unfortunately, he had committed the great imprudence to leave at his residence papers which offered irresistible proofs against him. To persist in a further denial was useless, and Troubetzkoj not only avowed his own guilt, but betrayed his partisans, under the cowardly condition of having his life spared. The Emperor merely exclaimed, "If life has any charms for you, after what you have done, you may live."

A few months thereafter the Prince left for Siberia, followed by the malediction of those whom he had betrayed, and accompanied into his awful exile by his generous and devoted wife, who, not having been successful in saving the Prince, renounced the brilliant and charming life which her rank and riches assured her at St Petersburg.

In the meantime a commission had been named to pronounce on the accused. It was composed of persons mostly inveterate political enemies of the accused, and who most materially had assisted Nicholas in attaining the imperial sceptre. Its president was Count Orloff. No person was more feared than the latter, even by the Emperor himself. This impression was produced not only through the functions he fulfilled, but through the personal character of the Count. "No

one," it was then current at St Petersburg, "is endowed with more organic brutality, which frightens his inferiors and irritates his superiors; he is the only person in the empire who may boast of being more insolent than Prince Menschikoff, Minister of Marine." From these remarks it may be inferred with what heinous activity the commission entered upon its task, and what the accused had to expect. Six months elapsed before judgment was pronounced, and a faint hope was entertained for the accused. It was generally thought that, after so long a time, the Emperor's resentment might have given way before calm reflection, and that clemency would appear to him more polific than a useless and sanguinary vengeance; moreover, taking into account that, through his tergiversation, three weeks elapsed before the day of his inauguration was announced, which ought to have taken place immediately after the demise of Alexander,—thus allowing time to the conspirators, not exactly to mature their plans, but to precipitate designs in, through circumstances, an excited state of mind

At last, on the 2d July 1826, appeared the report of the commission, followed by the terrible sentence, which condemned five of the accused to be quartered alive, thirty-one to be hanged, and the remainder, to the number of more than two hundred, to various punishments,—such as their banishment to Siberia, with loss of their titles and fortunes, and even their

names. Others, less severely treated, were enrolled as private soldiers in distant garrisons. The rigour of the commission furnished to Nicholas an opportunity to display the semblance of clemency;—he modified the sentence, in virtue of his supreme power. The sentence of the five to be quartered was commuted into suspension by the rope, and the thirty-one to undergo this punishment were banished to Siberia, after public degradation.

Without entering into further details, and especially without describing the mournful spectacle of the execution of the five, it may suffice to remark, that the mode of suspension, being unknown until then in Russia, two persons versed in this unenviable process were brought over from Germany, and this caused a delay in the execution, which took place on the 25th July 1826. A remarkable occurrence is to be noticed. The five condemned were all to be suspended at the same time, at a given signal, when two of the ropes broke, and the victims thereon fell to the ground. One had one of his legs broken; the other, Colonel Pestal. one of his arms. The latter, in spite of the agony which he must have undergone during the short time requisite for the readjustment of another rope. had the almost superhuman presence of mind to exclaim, in a tone of utmost contempt, "Poor country, where they do not know even how to hang a man for

The mind reels under the contem-

plation of all that these words express. Feelings of the deepest regret and the highest admiration, mingled with compassion, lead to the sorrowful thought how it should be possible for such horrors ever to darken the pages of the history of any nation. It is reported that the Emperor, on hearing of the occurrence, burst out in a violent fit of anger at not having been made acquainted with it when it happened. The Czar offered to the father of Pestal fifty thousand rubles; which, as some state, to his disgrace he accepted. Terror, however, may have prompted him, rather than an absence of parental feeling. Impartially summing up the whole of the abortive insurrection, it may be said that from its beginning it

was adventurous. The conspirators imagined that to give a constitution to Russia, it was sufficient to introduce a compound of the principles of monarchical England, of aristocratic Venice, and of democratic America, in forgetfulness that in order to found a constitution, it required a nation capable of understanding and appreciating it :- and certainly sixty millions of slaves do not form a nation. Nevertheless, they knew how to combat as courageous and brave men, and to die as heroes; and this is enough to admire, to regret, and to pity them.

With regard to the influence which the conspiracy of 1825 exercised on the policy of the Emperor Nicholas, it produced within him the conviction that rigour was the only way to govern Russia; and of this he has given abundant proofs. The Czar so far overlooked the age in which he was living, and the pretension of Russia to a European power, that he embraced for his system of government Asiatic despotism; -according to which all means appeared to him serviceable which led to the consolidation of his rule; and thus, ruse, subtleties, and force, were alternately used. On his accession, he promised to his subjects that he would devote himself to the entire development of the policy of Alexander; to the Poles he guaranteed respect for their privileges; to Europe he assured to restrict himself to the system of pacification of his late brother.

How far these promises were performed, Poland, the Ottoman Empire, and Europe in general, are there to testify, by pointing to the treaties which were violated without hesitation, as soon as they impeded the Czar's designs!

END OF VOL. II.







