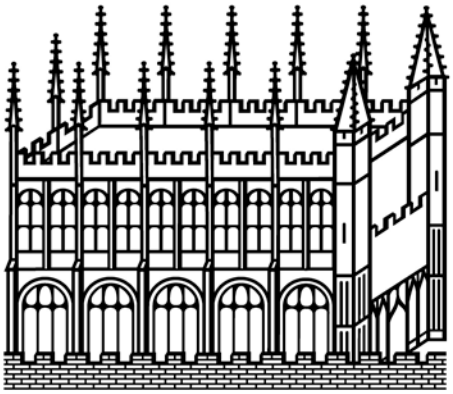

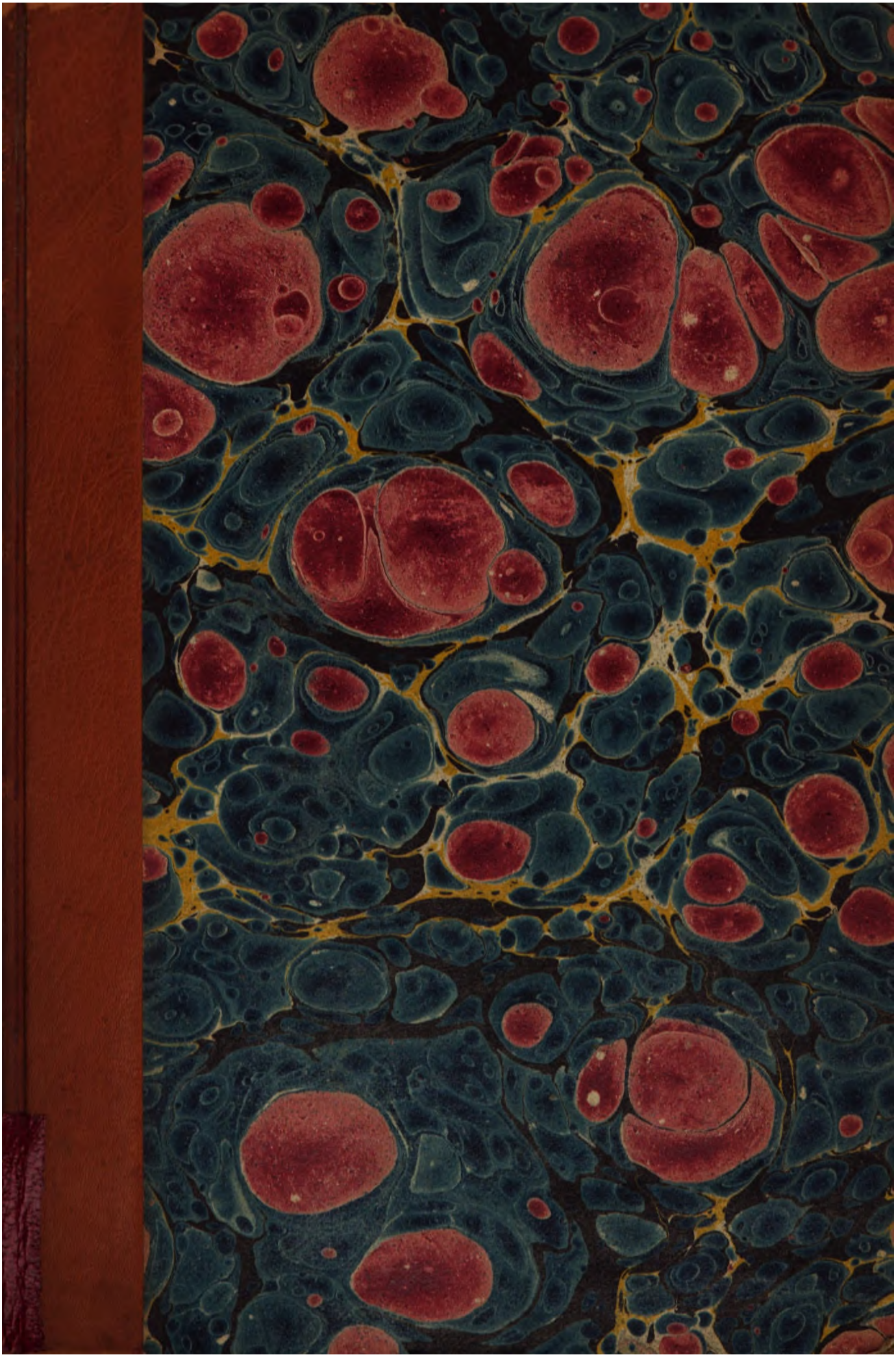

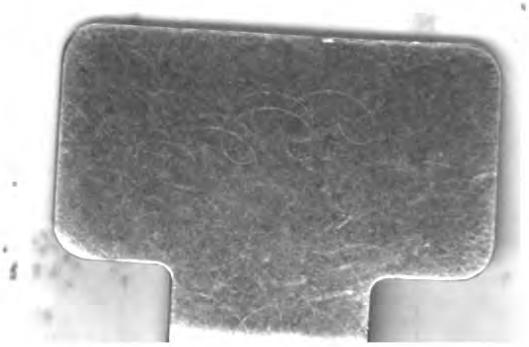

AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE REIGN OF THE

EMPEROR NIKOLÁI I.

Translated from the Russian

OF

USTRIÁLOFF.

BY

WILLIAM ROBERTS.

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THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

HAVING recently met with "An Historical Review of the Reign of the Emperor Nikolái I.," and been not a little interested by its contents, the idea struck me that its appearance in an English garb might not be unacceptable to my countrymen at the present moment.

With respect to Russian history:—The name of Karamzin is neither unknown nor unappreciated in England. The labours, however, of that admired writer, whose History of Russia has been translated into most European languages, did not extend so far as to touch upon the Imperial dynasty. The celebrated Púshkin, who had entered upon the laborious task of compilation, was preparing to add, what would doubtless have been regarded as an inestimable boon to Russian literature—

"A History of Peter the Great"—when, by a lamentable circumstance, which is but too well known to need repetition here—he was shorn of life but not of glory.

That great desideratum—"A History of Peter the Great"—from the pen of a Russian, to whom all the archives of the state are accessible, is now being supplied by Ustriáloff, the present Professor of Russian History, at the University of St. Petersburg, and author of the following "Historical Review of the Reign of the Emperor Nikolái I." Independently of his other writings, the Professor's "Abridgment of the whole History of Russia" —a perfectly original work—brought down to the close of the Emperor Alexander's reign, has stamped his reputation as an historian.

The orthography and accentuation of Russian proper names introduced into the original Historical Review, have been studiously adhered to in the translation. And this is merely following a precedent which all English writers of Russian History have respected, consistently with their knowledge of the Russian tongue. Thus: no modern historian writes John for Iván or Ioánn, or Bernard for Boris. Hence, independently of its Greek origin, instead of the English baptismal name,

Nicholas, or Nicolas, the Russian name Nikolái, showing, not only its source, but its just orthography and pronunciation, has been preserved in the accompanying work.

The same observation extends to the names Mikhaíl, Astrakhán, Kazák, &c. Polish names ending in *cky* should be pronounced as if written *tsky;* e. g. Chlopicky is pronounced Chlopitsky.

Where a patronymic follows a baptismal name, the latter, however familiar to us, has been invariably rendered as in the original, *e. g.*, Elisavéta Alexéevna, instead of Elizabeth Alexéevna.

The title *Tsesar*évitch should not be confounded with that of Tsarévitch; the latter signifying any son of a Tsar; the former, introduced by the sovereign, Paul, indicating the title of the eldest son of the Caesar—in Russia, Késar, or Imperátor—the heir to the imperial throne.

On the subject-matter of the present work, the translator abstains from offering any remark, as he recognises the propriety of not anticipating the judgment of others. It were vain in any one to expect the award of general approbation to be accorded to so delicate and

difficult a work, however brief, as an Historical Review of a contemporary reign. He, however, trusts that it may obtain favour in the eyes of those of its readers whose temperate view of things enables them calmly to judge, and uprightly to decide on the merits or demerits of what is before them; who, in fact, are ever ready, nay, prompt —despite insinuation, and prejudice, and reproach—to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; to acknowledge true valour, intelligence, and greatness of soul under all phases, individually and collectively, wherever they exist, and with whomsoever they may be found.

W. ROBERTS.

St. Petersburg.

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REIGN OF THE EMPEROR NIKOLÁI I.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

The Accession, 1825.

DECEASE OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER I.—CONSPIRACY DISCOVERED.—OATH TO THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.—ABDICATION OF THE TSESARÉVITCH.—THE EMPEROR NIKOLAI I. ASCENDS THE THRONE.—REVOLT OF THE 14TH OF DECEMBER.—NATURE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

In the latter years of his reign the Emperor Alexander repeatedly undertook extensive journeys for the purpose of inspecting the remote regions of his spacious empire. He also visited the solitary forests of Kaiánia, the luxuriant shores of the Volga, even the precious sand districts, and the Ural Chain, and, in 1825, the province of New Russia, being accompanied thither by his consort the Empress Elisavéta Alexéevna, who was repairing to Taganrog by the advice of her physicians, as they considered its warm climate conducive to the restoration of her health. Having arranged all things necessary to the comfort of the empress at Taganrog, his majesty set out for the Crimea. Until then, he had always enjoyed good health, not having experienced any kind of indisposition, except from head-ache and a former wound in the leg from a contusion which had produced erysipelas; but, during his journey to the Crimea,

he contracted a cold, and now, indisposed, returned to Taganrog. At the commencement of the malady no danger was apparent; so that the emperor, confiding in the strength of his constitution, disregarded the advice of the faculty, shortly afterwards kept his bed and never rose again. Neither the tender solicitude of his consort—never absent from his sick couch—nor the efforts of medical science, nor the prayers of his subjects, could save Alexander. He breathed his last on the 19th day of November, 1825. The Empress Elisavéta Alexéevna, with extraordinary fortitude, received his latest sigh, with her own hands closed his eyes, and—in an autograph letter—informed her majesty the Empress Maria Féodorovna of their irreparable loss. But the shadow of death was already mantling her own bosom; and shortly Elizabeth also was no more.

The later days of the life of the Emperor Alexander were signalized by a discovery which lay heavy at his heart. It had been known to him for some years, that a handful of weak-minded men thought, in their daring folly, to change the government of the state, in imitation of the monsters of France at the end of the eighteenth century; but the heart of the emperor ever preferring clemency to severity, regarded this pernicious beginning with a merciful eye, supposing that time would work out its own cure amongst the people—of whom many, through education and the exercise of their reasoning faculties, might yet be of utility to the state. The sovereign suffered it to proceed, preserving what was known to himself and a very few confidential persons, in the profoundest secresy, but diligently tracking their proceedings. At length it was made known to him, that the time had arrived for putting an end to his generosity; and being apprised of his intended assassination, and that the insolence of the conspirators was becoming more and more contagious,

the sovereign ordered the principal leaders, then known, to be apprehended. This was his last command; and Russia is indebted to him for the prevention of those pernicious designs, which were made evident in a few local disturbances at the close of the year 1825.

On the death of the sovereign, those who were near him—General Dibitch, chief of the principal staff; Adjutant-General Prince Nolkóvskii, and Adjutant-General Tchernischéff—considered themselves under the absolute necessity of immediately transmitting a declaration of this important secret to the new sovereign; and therefore, in ignorance of where the Emperor Constantine might be, they sent off two despatches, one to Warsaw, the other to St. Petersburg, with injunctions that, if the Emperor Constantine were not yet in the capital, the despatch—in consideration of its great importance—should be delivered into the hands of the Grand Duke Nikolái Pávlovitch.

And so it turned out. On receiving the packet addressed to the emperor, the Grand Duke was altogether irresolved what to do (notwithstanding the declaration of the courier)—should he or should he not open the packet? Reasoning, however, that a subject ought always to sacrifice himself, when indispensably necessary to the public good, he resolved to open the despatch, and be ready to offer himself an oblation to the just anger of the Emperor Constantine, should his conduct be deemed unjustifiable in the eyes of his sovereign. But what was the horror of the Grand Duke, when he saw that the despatch contained not only the development of a vast conspiracy, with an indication of the conspirators, but that many of them were in the very capital! Not having any authority, the Grand Duke was obliged either to conceal the matter until orders from the emperor, or to announce it to Count Milorádovitch, the military governor-general, who alone,

in the capital, during the absence of the sovereign, could act with full power. The latter course was adopted: Count Milorádovitch took such measures as were possible under the circumstances, by which it was discovered, that the greater part of the persons named were, at that time, absent, under different pretexts; they were immediately sent after: the affair remaining a secret between the count and the grand duke.

The fatal news of the decease of the Emperor Alexander reached St. Petersburgh in eight days, at the very moment when in the chapel of the winter palace, the Empress Maria Féodorovna, with the imperial family, was offering up her ardent prayers to the Almighty for the health of her august son. At the time of prayer, Count Milorádovitch called the Grand Duke Nikolái Pávlovitch out of the chapel and acquainted him with the news which had just been received. They both then entered the sacristy where the Empress Maria Féodorovna was, and communicated to her majesty the heart-rending intelligence. Leaving the bereaved mother in the arms of his wife—the Grand Duchess Alexándra Féodorovna—the Grand Duke immediately repaired to the inner piquet then on duty at the palace, which had been drawn from the Preobrajénskoi reigment of life guards, and announced to it, that Russia was deprived of her common father; that now, all were bound by oath to the lawful sovereign, Constantine, and that he himself was about to take the oath of allegiance to him. He made a similar declaration to two other inner corps de garde, from the chevalier and the horse guards, and, intrusting to Adjutant-General Potápoff—the Dejúrnui-General at that time*—to communicate the same to the principal corps de garde of the palace, and receive its oath, went, together

* The word *Dejurnui*, of French extraction, signifies—on service for the day; but, *the* Dejurnui-General, is the title of the sixth in rank on the principal staff. His duties in peace and war are very important.

with Count Milorádovitch and the adjutant-generals who were there at that time, to the great church of the palace, where he took the oath to the Emperor Constantine, and signed the allegiance-roll with all who were present. All the military and civil functionaries then at the palace followed his example.

Immediately after that, and conformably to the command of the late emperor in an extraordinary assembly of the council of state, was opened a packet, which had been officially shown to it in the year 1823, sealed with the imperial signet, and superscribed with the autograph of Alexander :—" To be preserved until further orders ; but, in case of my death, to be opened before all other acts of government in an extraordinary assembly." This packet contained, first—a letter from the Tsesarévitch Constantine to the late sovereign of the 14th of January, 1822, concerning his voluntary renouncement of the throne, to which, by his birth, he might one day have a right, with a prayer to have his resolution confirmed by the imperial authority and the consent of the Empress Maria Féodorovna. Second—the answer of Alexander of the 2nd of February, of the same year, containing the mutual consent of the emperor and the empress to the prayer of the Tsesarévitch. Third—a manifesto of the 16th of August, 1823, which confirmed the Grand Duke Nikolái Pávlovitch in his right to the throne, on the exact principles of the act of succession, in case of the voluntary renouncement of the tsesarévitch. From the manifesto, it was ascertained, that similar acts, with a corresponding superscription, were preserved in the directing senate, in the Most Holy Synod—and at Moscow, in the cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

The grand duke, to whom all these acts had been entirely unknown, not wishing, and not counting himself in possession of the right to recognise the abdication of the tsesarévitch as irrevocable, it not having as yet been published, and, conse-

quently, not having the force of law, insisted on the immediate bringing of the whole empire to take the oath to his elder brother Constantine Pávlovitch, in order to preserve the radical law of succession intact, to banish the very shadow of a doubt in the purity of his motives, and to defend the country from the least, even momentary, incertitude, concerning its lawful sovereign. In consequence of this, and by order of the directing senate, Russia took the oath to the Emperor Constantine, and the minister of justice informed him, in a report, of what had taken place.

Meanwhile, the news of the decease of Alexander had arrived at Warsaw, direct from Taganrog, two days earlier than at St. Petersburg. The tsesarévitch remained firm in his resolution; and, in a letter of the 26th of November, again ceding all right to the throne to his brother Nickolái Pávlovitch, requested to be the first to take the oath of allegiance to him.

Positive as were all these acts, and although the abdication of the tsesarévitch was firmly and irrevocably represented in them, yet, the Grand Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch would not proclaim himself emperor, until the final declaration and the pleasure of his elder brother, concerning the oath already taken to him by the whole empire should be known. The tsesarévitch did not delay to confirm his resolution. He sent back the report of the minister of justice unopened. At length then, the manifesto of the 12th of December was published of the accession to the throne of the Emperor Nikolái I. Russia heard, with deep emotion, of the generous contention, unexampled in history, of two brothers resigning, the one for the other, the right to the most brilliant crown in the world. All the estates of the empire—all the ecclesiastical, military, and civil functionaries—the people—the troops—with the liveliest zeal, took the oath of fidelity to the youthful

monarch, with so clear a conscience seated on the throne of his ancestors; and, in the churches of the Most High, they invoked the benediction of Heaven upon his reign.

In those sacred moments, the national joy was marred by an event as afflicting as it was unexpected. On the 14th of December, the day of the publication of the manifesto at St. Petersburg, a handful of rebels presumed to resist the general oath, the law authority, and military discipline. Two companies of the Moscow regiment of the Life Guards, at the instigation of evil-designing persons, were led to doubt in the genuineness of the abdication of the tsesarévitch; and, thinking to remain faithful to the Emperor Constantine, they refused to take the oath to their lawful Sovereign, seized the colours, wounded their commanders, and, with ungovernable fury, rushed forward to the Petróvskii Square, where they were shortly joined by some crowds of the Grenadier regiment of Life Guards, and of the naval battalion of the Guards—similarly imposed upon. The rebels took up their position in front of the Senate, shouting,—"Hurrah, Constantine!"

On the first intelligence of the revolt, the emperor began to suspect that the oath was a mere *pretext;* but that the root or purpose was connected with the conspiracy previously alluded to. His majesty, therefore, had the first battalion of the Preobrajénskoi regiment called out, marched at their head to the Petróvskii Square, and appeared before the infuriated troops. Presently, Count Milorádovitch fell by the hand of an assassin. This still more strongly confirmed the emperor in the truth of his suspicion. On the order being given by him, the guard regiments—foot and horse—entered the square, one after the other, and there impatiently awaited the imperial command—to wash out, in the blood of the authors, the stain cast by them upon the Russian name. The sovereign long restrained the ardour of his faithful defenders—in the hope of

bringing the refractory to reason by means of kindness and persuasion, until, the efforts of the Metropolitan to mitigate their gradually increasing fury by his pastoral exhortations being in vain, they forced His Majesty into the melancholy necessity of having recourse to other means. Order was now given to the horse and the chevalier guards to move forward to attack the insurgents. This measure had, in no sense, the desired effect—the rebels, profiting by their advantageous position, stood firm, and persevered in their folly. An order was issued for the artillery to act. Four guns were advanced; and, after two volleys of canister-shot, the infuriated crowds were dispersed. The greater part of the privates returned to their barracks, deeply regretting their fatal error; the rest of the participators in the revolt were seized, and quietly, on the same day, lodged in the citadel.

How sad soever such an unexpected event must have been, yet Providence manifested therein a new proof of those mysterious ways by which out of evil springs forth good. By this partial declaration of a rebellion, the designs of the seditious were effectually thwarted. At the first investigation it was made evident, that the mass of the insurgents was composed of two sorts of persons: the one—erring, but not participating in the design; the other—the evil-disposed, who had led them into error. The former, that is, the privates of the Moscow regiment of Life Grenadier Guards, and of the naval battalion of the Guards, had been desirous only of showing their fidelity to the oath taken by them to the Emperor Constantine. Having been persuaded, by every species of artifice, that they were defending the throne, and that other troops would join them, they did not lay down their arms until the treachery was made apparent to them; and, bitterly regretting their folly, and ingenuously repenting their behaviour, they obtained their sovereign's pardon. The latter wished,

and endeavoured—taking advantage of a propitious moment—to execute their long-concocted, long-matured machinations, viz., to overthrow the monarchy and the laws of the country; to change the order of the state; to introduce anarchy, and seize the helm of government. The diligent investigation of the commission appointed for that purpose, led to the most ample discovery of their criminal designs; and the principal offenders, to the number of 121, were, according to the decision of the High Criminal Court, sentenced to undergo well-merited punishment. Russia, on the one hand, with horror and detestation, received intelligence of the undertaking as pernicious as it was rash; on the other, she rejoiced that the design, concocted by a handful of monsters, had corrupted only their own immediate circle—the depraved at heart, or the daring visionary—and that the efforts of evil-minded men, which had been maturing for the last ten years, had extended no further—the heart of Russia was inaccessible to them.

The first address of the Emperor Nikolái I., contained the following promise:—"To live solely for his beloved country; to reign as Alexander of blessed memory had reigned, in order to accomplish all that he had wished for the happiness of Russia; and, following his example, to obtain the blessing of God, and the love of the people."

The comprehensive phrase, "to live solely for his beloved country," indicated what system of policy the successor of Alexander was resolved to pursue. The events of twenty years have fully developed it. Basing it on the principles of unblenching equity, moderation, and disinterested magnanimity, our sovereign upholds the political balance of Russia with honour and dignity—at the right moment, takes an active part in all great European events; and, by his powerful influence and formidable position, with a glance, so to say, without drawing the sword, annihilates the designs that are matured

to shake the general peace of Europe; but he does not mix himself up with the petty and endless disorders of the West—so annoying to his predecessor—but replies with disdainful silence to the furious vociferations of demagogues, impotent to disturb the general repose, and because they are unworthy of his attention. On the other hand, under no consideration, under no title whatsoever, does he tolerate or permit foreign interference in the affairs of his empire, in its relations with foreign states, in its disputes or alliances; and woe to him who shall dare offend the dignity of Russia, or presume to disturb her tranquillity.

CHAPTER II.

The Convention of Akkerman, 1826.

MISUNDERSTANDING WITH TURKEY.—MISSION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.—TREATY OF ST. PETERSBURG, 23RD OF MARCH, 1826.—NEGOTIATIONS AT AKKERMAN.—CONCLUSION OF THE CONVENTION.

THE Emperor Alexander, at his demise, left his empire in the most friendly relations with all the Western Powers, but in evident disagreement with the Ottoman Porte, which had excited the just indignation of our court by its repeated infractions of the treaty of Bucharest. Having engaged itself to grant a general amnesty to the Servians—to bestow several advantages on the Moldavians and Wallachians—to open a free passage to our commerce through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles—to renounce all claims to several fortresses, indispensable to the security of our Asiatic frontiers, the

Porte, under different pretexts, had not fulfilled even one of those stipulations. At the time when Alexander was exerting all his efforts for the delivery of Europe from the yoke of Napoleon, the Turkish troops made a forcible entry into Servia, signalizing their descent by pillage and massacre: the Moldavians and the Wallachians, contrary to the treaty, were overwhelmed by imposts, and ruined; many of our merchant vessels were subjected to arbitrary inspection, and to repeated exactions; and disputes on account of the frontier fortresses were still kept up. But to crown all, the Turkish government secretly assisted the mountaineers that were hostile to Russia, supplying them with arms and ammunition.

The proceedings of the Porte the three first years after the conclusion of the peace of Bucharest, were so inimical and mortifying to the dignity of Russia, that only the fear of troubling the repose, scarcely yet established in Europe, withheld Alexander from a rupture with it. Not losing the hope of restoring a good understanding by means of pacific explanations, our cabinet entered into negotiations with the Porte, the principal aim of which was, to ensure the fulfilment of mutual obligations. The affair lingered on for full five years, and even then the principal points were not settled, when the rising of the Greeks excited in the Turkish government and nation, a blind hatred against all Christians in vassallage to the Porte, without distinguishing the innocent from the guilty; and, at the same time, armed Turkey against Russia. In vain did Alexander exert himself to disabuse the mind of Mahmoud of such unfounded suspicions, and propose a sure remedy for the restoration of peace in his empire: the Sultan, turning a deaf ear to the voice of prudence, lighted the torch of religious war, irritated the Greeks, and invaded Moldavia and Wallachia; so that the Russian ambassador, after having made known the just indignation of his

court at the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, quitted Constantinople.

The cabinets of Europe hastened to turn aside the dangers that threatened Turkey, and proposed their co-operation for reconciling it with Russia. Animated by a sincere desire for tranquillity, Alexander accepted the mediation of the allies; and, through the English Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, renewed with it the interrupted negotiations. But the Sultan, being deceived as to the real motives of the Russian Emperor's pacific intentions, entered upon the negotiations merely for appearance' sake; in the meanwhile, he neither fulfilled one of the stipulations of our court, nor opened the Bosphorus to Russian ships, nor withdrew his troops from Moldavia and Wallachia, but menaced the Servians, although they were tranquil and faithful to their obligations, and indefatigably exterminated the Greeks. Such obstinate enmity exhausted the patience of Alexander: not long before his death, he declared his fixed resolution to compel the Porte into a respect for the rights and dignity of his empire.

The European cabinets, not yet knowing the views and intentions of Alexander's successor, regarded with the most lively apprehension the affairs of the East. They thought that the new Emperor, being seated on the throne in the flower of years and strength, would not suffer a favourable occasion to escape him, of signalizing the beginning of his reign by some indubitably brilliant achievement, for which, indeed, the Russian army was now thirsting. Hence, they trembled for Turkey, for the political balance; and the government of Great Britain —then under the leadership of the celebrated Canning—more active than the rest, hastened to send the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg, with instructions to ascertain the intentions of our court, and engage the Emperor into an alliance to the advantage of the Greeks: to that, however, his majesty did

not consent, but agreed to send a squadron, in order, reciprocally with the English and the French, to put an end to the massacres in Greece.

In this manner, inflexibly faithful to the principles of a moderate and generous policy, yet, at the same time, strenuously firm in the defence of the rights and dignity of his empire, the Emperor did not refuse to conclude an alliance with the King of Great Britain for the terminating, by their combined efforts, of the butchery in Greece—a country, the future state of which was still a grave problem to all Europe—but resolutely refused any interference, on the part of England, in the private disputes of his empire with the Ottoman Porte, which might arise in consequence of infractions by the Turks of the treaty of Bucharest. The Duke of Wellington signed the protocol of the 23rd of March, 1826, on the affairs of Greece, not, however, without reliance on the generosity and moderation of the Russian Emperor, who had given his word not to have recourse to arms, until all means to obtain a reconciliation with the Sultan should be exhausted. The English parliament did not coincide with the hope of the noble Duke, estimating him as more experienced in the field than in the cabinet. The illustrious captain, however, was not deceived.

Previously to his arrival at St. Petersburg, the Russian minister made known to the Ottoman Porte, that the Emperor consented to renew the interrupted negotiations, in the absence of all foreign mediation, on condition, however, that the Sultan should previously engage that, in the course of six weeks, he would withdraw his troops from Moldavia and Wallachia, restore the rights of the Servians, and send his plenipotentiaries to one of the towns of New Russia, to conclude a convention, as a supplement to the treaty of Bucharest. The resolute tone of our cabinet made the haughtiness of the

Turks tremble: the Sultan delivered the Servian deputies out of prison, gave his word to confirm the former privileges of the Moldavians and Wallachians, and authorised two distinguished dignitaries to enter upon final negotiations in the town of Akkerman, with the adjutant-general, Count Vorontsoff, and the privy-counsellor, Ribeaupièrre.

The demands of our cabinet were very moderate and just: the exact fulfilment of the treaty of Bucharest being the principal and sole aim of all our efforts and wishes. The affair was quite clear; but the Turks, secretly fulfilling the commands of the Sultan, desired to gain time, entered into a warm dispute, and would not listen to the slightest argument, until the decision of the Russian Emperor was revealed to them,—that, if in the course of three weeks, the treaty were not concluded and signed, Russian troops—the term having elapsed—should instantly pass the Pruth, and occupy Moldavia. Alarmed at such an unexpected menace, the Turkish plenipotentiaries hastened to make it known to the Sultan, so that, with his permission, on the eve of the appointed day, they signed the convention, in accordance with the claims of our cabinet. The Sultan bound himself to fulfil all the conditions and arrangements of the Bucharest treaty, with the utmost exactness; viz., 1st. To grant to the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, not later than six months, all the rights and privileges pronounced in the hati-sheriff, of 1802, together with the important supplements indicated in detail in the convention of Akkerman. 2nd. To guarantee, also, to Servia all its former advantages—to augment them by new privileges —and, by a particular hati-sheriff, to define in detail all the rights of the Servians, according to a mutual agreement with the Russian court, on the principles explained in the convention of Akkerman. 3rd. The claims of Russian subjects on the Turkish government to be satisfied. 4th. To accord

to Russian commerce, in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, the most perfect liberty; under no pretence whatever impeding the navigation of merchantmen sailing under the Russian flag on the waters of the Ottoman empire, or hindering the vessels of the powers in alliance with Russia from entering the Black Sea. 5th. The Asiatic boundary between both empires to remain exactly in the same state as it was at the conclusion of the convention; and that Turkey should abstain from all pretension to the different forts conquered by us beyond the Caucasus in the former war, about which the Sultan had disputed for full ten years.

In the meanwhile, whilst the firm and resolute policy of our court was humbling the pride of one enemy, the Russian arms were chastising the perfidy of another. During the time of the negotiations at Akkerman, Persia, contrary to all expectation, and without any reason, provoked Russia into a war.

CHAPTER III.

The Persian War, 1826—1828.

BOUNDARY DISPUTE WITH PERSIA.—MISSION OF PRINCE MENSHIKOFF.—IRRUPTION OF THE PERSIANS.—BEGINNING OF THE WAR.—DEFENCE OF SHUSHA.—BATTLE OF ELISAVÉTPOL.—REDUCTION OF ERIVAN.—OCCUPATION OF TAURIS.—MOVEMENT UPON TEHERAN.—PEACE OF TURKMANTCHAI.

By the treaty of Gúlistan, which reconciled Russia with Persia, in 1813, after an obstinate war, signalised by the brilliant exploits of our troops beyond the Caucasus, Fet-Ali-Shah, bound himself to acknowledge, as the frontier

of the two empires, that very line which the Russian army was occupying at the conclusion of the peace. Contrary, however, to the express design of the contract, the Persians, on the cessation of hostilities, seized that part of the Khanat of Karabakh which lies between the rivers Kapanáktchai and Tehudúr. In order to guarantee our right to that territory, we surrounded the northern shore of Lake Goktchi, in the Khanat of Erivan, with military detachments. Hence the origin of the dispute on the question of the border provinces. Negotiations and explanations continued till the end of the year, 1825, without, however, any particular disagreement. The Emperor Alexander, with regard to Persia, was guided by those pacific and benevolent principles, which had always actuated his cabinet in European affairs. To his ambassadors and commissioners at the court of Teherán, he gave instructions to, on all occasions, assure the Shah that Russia, having no ambitious designs, was desirous solely of tranquillity, and the fulfilment of conditions confirmed by treaties; and to our governors in Georgia, he enjoined that they should adopt the most active measures for keeping up a good understanding with the Persian government; and, for preventing all cause of complaint or suspicion. Without ceasing to acknowledge the title of the Shah to the shore of Lake Goktchi, occupied by us, his majesty proposed either to restore it as soon as the district appertaining to Russia should be given up, or to make an exchange of the disputed lands—although the sterile shores of Goktchi could not be compared, either for extent or utility, with the portion which we were willing to cede. In conformity with this, the projects for the regulation of the boundary were communicated by our cabinet to the court of Teheran, in the month of March, 1825. The Shah agreed to the exchange, and Abbas Mirza, heir to the Persian throne, had already announced the same to General Yermolof,

commander-in-chief of the Caucasus, when fate abridged the days of Alexander.

The successor of his policy and principles hastened to perfect the restoration of a good understanding with Persia. In January, 1826, Major-General, now Admiral Prince Ménshikoff, was sent to Teheran on a special mission. The Emperor, informing the Shah and Abbas Mirza of his advent to the throne, announced to them his desire, couched in the most friendly terms, to consolidate a peace, and to have its duration ensured by a rigid observance, on both sides, of the treaty of Gúlistan. For the more speedy cessation of hostilities, and for the better assurance to the Shah of the good will of the Russian sovereign, Prince Ménshikoff was permitted to add to the district already ceded by us, part of the Khanat of Talúichin. Our envoy was received with every mark of particular esteem. Overloaded with caresses and honours, and convinced of the undoubted pacific intentions of the Persian government, he set forward to have an interview with the Shah.

At that very time, a general commotion was suddenly effected throughout Persia. In the mosques, the Seids and Mollahs called upon the people to make war against Russia: a numerous army was assembled on the Araxes; our ambassador was deprived of all means of informing General Yermóloff of the danger that was threatening our Trans-Caucasian borders; and, in the middle of July, 1826, the Persians crossed the Araxes to make a descent upon our frontier.

Two persons were the authors of the war: the heir himself of the Persian throne, Abbas Mirza, and the Shah's chief minister, Alaiár-Khan. Each was actuated by a different impulse. The former—a man of rare intellect—of a determined and ambitious character—thinking to raise Persia to

that pinnacle of greatness which she had attained under Shah Nadir—and having already succeeded in gaining some victories over the Turks, sought a favourable opportunity to avenge himself upon Russia, for the frequent defeats inflicted on the Persian army by Prince Tsitsiánoff, Count Gudóvitch, Tormásoff, and Kotliarévskii; and being, moreover, anxious to blot out the memory of his reverses, he hastened to take advantage of the supposed dissensions of Russia on the death of Alexander. The latter, dreaming neither of glory nor of vengeance, was desirous of a war, no matter with whom, from interested motives, with the sole aim of embarassing his sovereign, in order to divert his attention from the pillage of his treasury, and other flagitious acts. Instigated, as well by the heir of his throne as by his principal minister, Fet-Ali-Shah armed his people, and moved forward a numerous army to the Trans-Caucasian border.

For almost a whole month after the first intelligence of the sudden irruption of the enemy from beyond the Araxes, our government would not believe that the Persian Shah, in the midst of peace, confirmed by mutual oaths, and during the continuance of amicable negotiations, having neither motive for a serious rupture, nor pretext for complaint—and without previous intimation being given—should come to the resolution of ordering his troops to enter upon our confines, and there spread all the horrors of war and rebellion. The Emperor, at the suggestion of a peaceful and indulgent disposition, from the first, imputed the inimical demonstrations on the Trans-Caucasian border, to the semi-barbarous tribes in our neighbourhood, or to the wild Khans subject to the Shah, but who not unfrequently evinced their disobedience to him. At length, ascertaining the true character and intent of the invasion, in justifiable indignation at such evident insult—at such unheard-of forgetfulness of all engagements—his majesty

declared that he would not lay down his arms until entirely assured of the security of the frontier of his empire, and seeing that she was indemnified for her losses, and for the exertions made for the establishment of a solid peace, conformable to the dignity and advantage of the empire.

At the beginning of the war the Trans-Caucasian province was in a most embarrassing condition, being almost without any means of defence. Not doubting the pacific intentions of the Shah, and being anxious only on account of the affairs of Turkey, our government had concentrated its whole strength near the confines of Moldavia: whilst beyond the Caucasus were maintained merely a few troops, divided into small detachments for garrisoning the forts. The Mussulman population under our sway was ready to raise the standard of revolt. Georgia trembled: even in Tiflis, terror prevailed. The wealthy buried their treasures in the earth, to save them from Persian pillage; the people remembered the irruption of Mohamed Aga, and abandoned themselves to despair. Under these circumstances, General Yermolof sent a report to the Emperor, that he did not feel himself capable, at such a juncture, of commanding the troops, and requested that a confidential person might be sent to him. The sovereign, in consequence, sent Adjutant-General Paskévitch, and, subsequently, Adjutant-General Dibitch, the chief of the principal staff.

In the meantime, having crossed the Araxes, with an army of 35,000 men, the half of which was composed of regular infantry, with a considerable artillery, Abbas Mirza, with the co-operation of Alexander, the former Tsarévitch of Georgia, stirred up the Khanats of Karabakh, Shirvan, Bakon, and Shekii, and rapidly moved forward to Elisavétpol, in order that, uniting there with the Sardar of Erivan, they might make a forcible entry into Georgia, and take possession of Tiflis.

On his road to Karabakh lay the fortress of Shusha, defended only by six companies of the 42nd regiment of chasseurs, with four guns; their gallant commander, Colonel Reutt, fulfilling the orders of the commander-in-chief, resolved to defend the place to the very last extremity; and rather to bury himself, with all the detachment, under the ruins of the fortress, than surrender to the enemy. Abbas Mirza, not daring to leave Shusha in his rear, besieged it with his whole army, in the undoubted hope of soon crushing its little number of defenders with so immense a force; but detached his eldest son, Mahmet Mirza, for the occupation of Elisavétpol. Mahmet Mirza took Elisavétpol, and, co-operating with the Sardar of Erivan, moved forward to the banks of the Kur, for an irruption into Kakhétia. But Shusha did not surrender. Neither the immense numbers of the enemy, nor the exhaustion of the garrison, standing day and night on the walls, with even a deficiency of food and military stores—nothing could daunt the intrepidity of Reutt: he repeatedly repulsed the assaults of the enemy; held the main army of Abbas Mirza for more than six weeks under the walls of the fortress, and gave time to the commander-in-chief to conduct several battalions to Tiflis from the Caucasian line.

Having concentrated his forces, Yermoloff ordered Prince Madáloff to disperse the advanced troops and the Persians that were rushing forward upon Kakhétia, and open a communication with Shusha. The detachment destined for this service was incomparably weaker than the enemy; but Madátoff, who was well acquainted with Asiatic warfare, with the greatest impetuosity, fell upon the enemy near the river Shamkhora, and so terribly defeated them, that Mahmet Mirza, with his scattered troops, being put to flight, retreated at full speed past Elisavétpol, and left it in the hands of the Russians.

Abbas Mirza, promptly raising the siege of Shusha, made a rapid movement forward, in order to check Madátoff, and blot out the remembrance of his son's defeat at Shamkhora; the confidence of the various tribes, stirred up by him, in the power of the Persian arms being evidently shaken. But it was too late: under the walls of Elisavétpol awaited him the leader, whom fate had predestined to be, in our days, the terror of Russia's foes, in Asia and in Europe—a chief worthy of the Russian army—there met him Paskévitch. Arriving only a few days before that, at the Caucasus, to co-operate with the commander-in-chief, and being intrusted with the extraordinary confidence of the emperor, he immediately, at the desire of General Yermóloff, took the command of the troops destined against the Persians; and, in his first action, entirely defeated an army of ten times his force, under the personal command of Abbas Mirza, at seven versts from Elisavétpol. Completely broken, the Persians fled with terror across the Araxes. The Trans-Caucasian province was delivered from the invasion of the enemy; and the Mussulman population of the Khanats, subject to us, which had been excited to rebel, were, one after another, reduced to submission.

Notwithstanding all this, the Shah would not listen to peace. It was necessary to conduct the war to the very frontiers of Persia. The sovereign reinforced the Trans-Caucasian army with fresh troops, and, appointing General Paskévitch to the chief command, instead of General Yermóloff—recalled at his own desire—ordered hostilities to be immediately commenced, by subduing the Khanats of Eriván and Nakhitchevan, in order, first of all, to clear the whole left bank of the Araxes of the Persians.

The campaign was opened in the spring of 1847. The way from Tiflis to Eriván lies across two mountain-chains, still covered with snow, and scarcely accessible to man. The

Russian soldiers opened roads, made temporary bridges, transported the besieging trains and baggage-waggons; and, to the consternation of the enemy, they made their appearance under the walls of Eriván with a numerous artillery, for the want of which, all the previous efforts of Tsitsiánoff and Gúdovitch to subdue its forts, so celebrated throughout the East, had been in vain. Abbas Mirza, regarding Eriván as the bulwark of Persia, concentrated all his forces, and exercised all his military tact and extraordinary activity to save it from the Russians, but to no purpose: vanquished by Paskévitch on the right bank of the Araxes, and beaten out of the monastry of Etchmiádzin by the brave Krasóvskii, he fled to Tauris, almost without troops. The celebrated Eriván fell, battered to the dust by the Russian guns. The way to Persia lay open.

Without giving the enemy time to recover from the terror with which the fall of Eriván had inspired them, Paskévitch crossed the Araxes, and made a movement direct upon Tauris, whence Abbas Mirza hastily withdrew. The Persians were so overcome with fear, that nowhere did they offer any resistance, but submissively received their triumphant victor. Alaiár Khan alone, the instigator of the war, thought to make a defence in Tauris; but he was made prisoner. Reduced to extremity, Abbas Mirza persuaded the Shah to listen to peace: and, in an interview with the Russian commanders, at sixty versts from Tauris, consented to the principal articles of a treaty.

The business of reconciliation was soon brought to a close, and the treaty only remained to be signed, when the inimical proceedings of Turkey against Russia excited in the Shah a hope that the war might take a more favourable turn. Having agreed, from the commencement, to all that his son had promised; and even sent from Teherán part of the stipulated

contribution; he, at the same time, caused Paskévitch to be informed, that Abbas Mirza had no right to take upon himself any obligations humiliating to Persia; and that he himself would send plenipotentiaries extraordinary to Tauris, for the purpose of negotiating. The object of the Shah being to gain time, did not escape the penetration of our commander. Paskévitch announced the rupture of pacific relations with the Persian government; and the Russian troops made a movement towards Teherán. Shortly after, one of our separate detachments took the very important and densely populated town of Ardebil.

Alarmed by the threatening movement of the Russian army, the Shah was convinced of the absolute necessity of making peace with the powerful Russian Emperor. Abbas Mirza, for the second time, entered the Russian camp; and in his presence, at the village of Turkmantchái, on the road to Teherán, the 10th day of February, 1828, a treaty of peace, on the conditions already alluded to, was signed by the plenipotentiaries on both sides. Fet-Ali-Shah engaging to cede to Russia the Khanats of Eriván and Nakhitsheván, to pay a contribution of twenty millions of silver rubles, and to grant important privileges to Russian subjects travelling in Persia on commercial business.

The compact of Turkmantchái belongs to a class of treaties of the greatest advantage to us. By it, firm and secure frontiers were guaranteed to Russia beyond the Caucasus; her sacrifices were sufficiently indemnified, the protection of Russian merchants in Persia was secured, and a termination put to an onerous war, at the very time when Russia was entering into a quarrel with the Porte. The grateful monarch recompensed the toils and exploits of the Trans-caucasian hero in a a worthy manner; his majesty raised Paskévitch to the dignity of a count, with the glorious surname of Erivánskii, and

presented him, besides, with a million of rubles from the Persian contribution.

CHAPTER IV.

The Turkish War, 1828-1829.

THE GREEK CAUSE.—TREATY OF LONDON, 24TH OF JUNE, 1827.—BATTLE OF NAVARINO.—RUPTURE OF RUSSIA WITH TURKEY.—OBJECT AND PLAN OF THE WAR.—CAMPAIGN OF 1828 IN EUROPE.—PASSAGE OF THE DANUBE.—MOVEMENT TOWARDS SHUMLA.—CONQUEST OF VARNA.—CAMPAIGN OF 1828 IN ASIA—REDUCTION OF KARS.—MOVEMENT UPON AKHALTSIK.—TAKING OF AKHALTSIK.—EXTERMINATION OF THE RUSSIAN MISSION AT TEHERAN.—OBSTINACY OF THE SULTAN.—CAMPAIGN OF 1829 IN EUROPE.—BATTLE OF KULÉVTCH.—PASSAGE OF THE BALKAN.—OCCUPATION OF ADRIANOPLE.—CAMPAIGN OF 1829 IN ASIA.—DEFEAT OF THE SERASKIER OF ARZRUM.—CONQUEST OF ARZRUM.—PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE.—KINGDOM OF GREECE.

THE convention of Akkerman, restoring the force of the Bucharest treaty, put an end to the partial quarrel between Russia and Turkey, but, at the same time, did not remove another and not less serious subject of dispute: the question of the Greeks remained undecided, not a word having been said about them at Akkerman.

The Emperor looked upon their ferocious struggle with the Turks as an affair that concerned all Europe; and, refusing any separate and immediate participation in it, was the more firmly resolved, in harmony with the cabinets, to put an end to the sanguinary war that was threatening the extermination of an unhappy people, of the same faith as ourselves. On the con-

clusion of the convention at Akkerman, the privy-counsellor, Ribeaupièrre, was sent to Constantinople, where, together with the English ambassador, he proposed to the Divan, in accordance with the protocol of the 23rd of March, 1826, the mediation of Russia and England, for reconciling the Porte with the Greeks, on conditions equally advantageous to both parties. Greece, remaining under the supreme rule of the Sultan, was to pay him a yearly tribute; but to have left to her the right of self-government, by dignitaries chosen by the people, and confirmed by the Porte. The demands of England and Russia were likewise supported by the French ambassador, in consequence of instructions from his court, which had also set its hand to the protocol of St. Petersburg.

The ferocity of the Greeks, who were firmly resolved to rather perish with arms in their hands than to return to their former state, under an irresponsible yoke, obliged the Sultan to thank the European cabinets for taking upon themselves the labour of bringing to obedience to the Porte a people, whom it evidently had not the capability of governing by gentle means. Mahmoud, however, would not hear of a mediation, but, declaring that in him lay the power to punish or pardon the disobedient slaves, gave orders to his Turkish and Egyptian troops to totally lay waste the Morea, and the islands of the Archipelago. Bloodshed was renewed with incredible atrocity. Ibrahim, son of Mahomed Ali Pasha, of Egypt, the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman forces, spared neither age nor sex; he burnt towns and villages, devastated the fields, and even rooted-up the very olive trees. To all appearance, Greece must inevitably become a depopulated waste. But the allied courts, on the proposition of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, delayed not to take their measures. By a treaty concluded in London, on the 24th of June (6th of July) 1827, between Russia, England, and France, it was resolved;

to again propose to the Porte the mediation of the three powers for its reconciliation with the Greeks, on the principles of the protocol of St. Petersburg, with an understanding, that if the Turks or the Greeks, in the course of one month, had not ceased hostilities amongst themselves, to compel them to it, by all the means available to the allied powers.

Communicating the tenour of the treaty of London to the Divan, the ambassadors of the three powers frankly declared to it,—that, in the case of a refusal on the one side or the other, the allied fleet would be obliged to put a stop to the continuance of the war, which, from its nature, was equally adverse to the security of the seas, to the exigences of commerce, and to the moral feeling of European nations. The Sultan was alike deaf to menace and persuasion, and the ferocious Ibrahim did not put a stop to bloodshed in unhappy Greece. A numerous army was carrying fire and sword into the Morea; whilst a powerful fleet, composed of Turkish and Egyptian ships, was raking the islands.

At that time, the three allied squadrons, English, French, and Russian, under the respective commands of Codrington, Rigny, and Count Heyden, were stationed on the waters of the Archipelago. The admirals, fulfilling the orders of their cabinets, agreed not to suffer the Turco-Egyptian fleet to proceed further in the devastation of the islands, and compelled it to pass into the bay of Navarino. Ibrahim had an interview with them; and, in consequence of determined remonstrances, gave his word to suspend hostilities for three weeks, until the receipt of fresh instructions from Constantinople. Very soon, however, he broke his promise in the most perfidious manner: numerous detachments of foot, of the Turco-Egyptian army, were dispersed over the western parts of the Morea, with the wicked design of accomplishing its desolation.

The allied admirals, seeing from their ships, the reflection

on the sky of distant fires, hastened to send off to Navarino a letter, individually signed by them, addressed to Ibrahim, in which they reminded him, in strong terms, of the conclusion of the stipulations, and demanded an immediate answer—whether he meant to keep his word or not. The letter was not received, under pretext of the absence of the commander-in-chief, and of their ignorance of where he was to be found. His evident intention to gain time for the accomplishment of his wicked design, instigated the admirals to have recourse to resolute measures: they unanimously agreed to enter the bay of Navarino, in order, by menacing hostilities, to compel him to withdraw his troops from the Morea.

The Ottoman fleet, to the number of 66 men-of-war, with 2,200 guns, and 23,000 men, occupied a position in the form of a horse-shoe, with its flanks under cover of the batteries, which were at the entrance of the gulf. They were commanded by two admirals, a Turk and an Egyptian. Ibrahim was on shore. The allied fleet consisted of 27 men-of-war—of which 8 were Russian—with 1,300 guns, and 13,000 men.

Admiral Codrington, as senior in rank, took the chief command; and on the 8th of October, 1827, led it into the bay in two columns—the right being composed of English and French ships; the left, of Russian. Both columns were ordered to advance in parallel lines, and form, in order of battle, in front of the Ottoman fleet. The right column, being nearer the gulf, outstripped the left, entered the bay under all sail, and cast anchor before the Turkish ships. To explain the cause of this proceeding, Codrington sent an officer to the Turkish admiral. The officer was received with musket-shot, and fell, pierced with balls. Another officer was sent—he shared the same fate. On this, a gun was fired from an Egyptian corvette on a French frigate, which answered it with a broadside. The battle now began to rage; and, shortly,

a cannonading was opened from all the ships: more than two thousand guns kept up an uninterrupted discharge; the ships were hidden in clouds of smoke, and the sun was darkened.

At that very moment, in the midst of impenetrable obscurity, and under a cross-fire from the shore-batteries erected at the entrance of the gulf, the Russian squadron majestically, and in perfect order, entered the bay. Advancing, in terrible silence, under a storm of balls, it took its place on the left side, and, forming within pistol-shot of the enemy's line, opened upon it a murderous fire. The Azoff, the admiral's ship—Count Heyden's—under the command of the brave Captain Lázarett, grappled with three frigates, and, in a few hours, completely destroyed them. Similar success was achieved by the other ships. In four hours all was over—the Ottoman fleet was annihilated, as it had previously been at Tchesmé. Of all the ships which composed it, one only, a frigate, with a few small vessels, was undamaged; the others had foundered under the fire, were stranded, or had struck to the vanquishers. The enemy's force was nearly double in ships, in guns, and in men. The allies triumphed by their extraordinary bravery, skill, and perfect unanimity. The Russians, the English, and the French emulated each other in the daring of their exploits. Our sailors punctually fulfilled the command of their sovereign; who, on the departure of the squadron from Cronstadt, said, "I hope, should there be any hostilities, you'll give it them like Russians."

Mahmoud, hearing of the extermination of his naval force at Navarino, became more ferocious than ever; so that the ambassadors of the allied powers, losing all hope of inclining him to accept the treaty of London, quitted Constantinople. Immediately upon that a hati-sheriff was published in all the mosques of the Ottoman empire for a universal arming in defence of religion and the country. The sultan proclaimed,

that Russia was the eternal and irreconcilable enemy of the Mussulman; that she meditated the destruction of Turkey; that the rising of the Greeks was her act; that she was the bonâ fide author of the London treaty, fatal to the Ottoman empire; and that the Porte, in its last negotiations with her, had only been assiduous to gain time, and concentrate its forces, having early resolved on the non-fulfilment of the Akkerman treaty.

To such hostile provocation, our court replied by a profound silence; and, for full four months, delayed the declaration of a rupture, still not losing the hope that the sultan would reflect on the imminent consequences to him of a war with Russia, and agree to a peace. It was a vain hope. He provoked Russia to war; not by words only, but by deeds; he insulted our flag, detained our ships, did not open the Bosphorus, by which all movement in the Black Sea was fettered. Nor was this all: at the precise moment when a good understanding between Russia and Persia was about to be effected, the Porte, by an expeditious arming of its troops, and a secret powerful assistance, caused the court of Teherán to vacillate in its predisposition to peace.

Compelled to draw the sword in defence of the dignity and honour of Russia, and in support of the rights of his people—acquired by victories and treaties—the emperor declared, for general information, that, contrary to the promulgation of the sultan, he neither dreamt of ruining the Ottoman empire, nor of extending his own dominions; and that he would immediately put an end to the war as soon as the Porte should satisfy Russia in her just demands, already detailed in the treaty of Akkerman, and insure for the future by a solid guarantee, the validity and punctual fulfilment of former treaties, and enter into the conditions of the treaty of London. So moderate an answer to the Turkish declaration, teeming with malice and

hatred, disarmed and appeased even those who were most distrustful and envious of our political ascendancy. The European cabinets could not but confess that it was impossible to proceed more nobly and generously than the Russian emperor had done. And God blessed the good cause.

The war of Russia with Turkey began in the spring of the year 1828. On our side a vast plan of military operations was projected, calculated to strike terror into Turkey, from different points; and, by the united attacks of our land and sea forces in Europe and in Asia, on the Black Sea, and in the Mediterranean, to convince the Porte of the futility of a struggle with Russia. The principal army was confided to Field-Marshal Count Wittgenstein, to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, cross the Danube, and on the plains of Bulgaria or Rumelia to give the enemy a decisive blow. Count Paskévitch Erivanskii was ordered to fall, with the corps of the Caucasus, upon the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, in order to draw her forces out of Europe; Prince Menshikoff, with a separate detachment, to capture Anàpa; Admiral Greig, with the Black Sea fleet, to co-operate in the subjection of the maritime fortresses in Bulgaria, Rumelia, and on the eastern shore of the Black Sea; and Admiral Heyden, with a squadron, to enter the Archipelago and lock up the Dardanelles, for the prevention of the transport of provisions from Egypt to Constantinople.

The main army, consisting of 115,000 men, crossed the frontiers of the empire—the river Pruth—towards the end of April, in three columns: the right, almost without a shot, subdued Jassy, Bucharest, Brailoff, took possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, and, by a rapid movement, saved both these principalities from the malevolence of the Turks, who had resolved to utterly destroy them. The Moldavians and the Wallachians received the Russians as their liberators. The

middle column, intrusted to the chief command of the Grand Duke Mikhail Pávlovitch, returned to Brailoff and besieged it, in order, by occupying its fortress—important from its strategecal position in the line of our operations — to secure the rear of the army on the other side of the Danube. Lower down than Brailoff, facing Isaktchy, were concentrated the troops of the left column, more numerous than the others, ready for the passage of the Danube. Here a laborious undertaking lay before the Russians. From an extraordinary inundation of the spring-floods, the Danube had quitted its bed and submerged the surrounding country to a vast extent. The left, or low land, was converted into an impassable morass; so that, to join the bank of the river, and throw a bridge across it, it was necessary to construct a causeway somewhat similar to those gigantic works which form such astounding relics of Roman grandeur. The troops, animated by the presence of the Emperor, who shared with them the hardships of the campaign, took zealously to the work, and made a causeway of five versts in extent. The Turks, in like manner, did not remain inactive. In proportion, as we raised the causeway, they erected batteries, which threatened, by a cross-fire, to render all our efforts abortive to construct a bridge.

A favourable event facilitated to us the means of clearing the right bank of the enemy. The Zaporójskii Kazáks, who, for a long period had dwelt near the mouth of the Danube, under the protection of the Porte, but in the stedfast faith of their forefathers, hearing that the Emperor himself was in the Russian camp, declared a wish to make their obeisance to the orthodox Tsar; and, being highly gratified with his condescension, they agreed together to return to the bosom of their ancient country. The whole settlement, with their officers and Ataman, passed over to the left shore. Hundreds of light boats were now at our disposal. Two regiments of

chasseurs dropped into the Zaporójskii skiffs, crossed the Danube, stormed the Turkish batteries, and planted the Russian flag on the right bank. Immediately after this, all the troops destined for offensive operations in Bulgaria, passed over in perfect order. The Emperor himself, directing the passage of the troops, crossed the Danube in a Zaporójskii skiff, with the Ataman at the helm.

The Turks, on the other side of the river, not venturing to encounter us in the open field, had shut themselves up in the fortresses which had served the Porte as a kind of bulwark in its former wars with Russia. The principal points defended by them, with the exception of Brailoff, were Silistria, Rushtshuk, Varna, and Shumla. Each of the fortresses had a numerous garrison, powerful fortifications, and experienced generals. At Shumla, were concentrated 40,000 men of the best Turkish troops, under the command of the gallant Seraskiar Hussein Pasha. Beyond the Balkan was stationed the Vizier, with a reserve army, for the defence of Constantinople.

At our head-quarters it was resolved to march direct against Shumla, in order to try if we could force the Seraskier to an engagement, and, by defeating his troops, open a way across the Balkan. The small Trans-Danubian fortresses—Isaktcha, Tultcha, Matchin, Hersova, and Kistendji—lying on our route could not hinder us: they were taken one after another by separate detachments. But the stubborn defence of Brailoff, on the left bank of the Danube, in the rear of the Russian army, obliged it to remain for a short time near the intrenchments of Trajan. In expectation of the fall of Brailoff, the troops again moved forward: they proceeded in the midst of insufferable heat, through a country sterile and desolated to such a degree that they were compelled to transport the smallest things themselves, even the charcoal. The unwholesome water generated diseases; the horses and bullocks perished by thousands for want of forage. Our intrepid

warriors, however, surmounted all difficulties, drove out the enemy's troops from Bazártchik, and arrived at Shumla.

Our hopes of a battle were not realised. Hussein remained immoveable. To take Shumla by assault, or by regular siege, was difficult; at least, it would be necessary to guard against merciless blood-shedding, and, in case of success, to cross the Danube again. To surround it on all sides, for preventing the transport of provisions, appeared equally impossible, on account of the paucity of troops; and yet, to avoid Shumla, and go direct across the Balkan, would be to leave in our rear the whole army, which could fall upon us from behind, in the defiles of those mountains, at the same time that the Vizier attacked us in front.

The emperor, renouncing all uncertain projects, ordered Field-Marshal Wittgenstein to remain under Shumla, to watch Hussein's movements, at the same time that Prince Ménshikoff's detachment, which had already crushed Anápa, should, with the co-operation of the fleet in the Black Sea, make themselves master of Varna; and the corps under Prince Shtsherbátoff take possession of Silistria. The reduction of the former fortress ensured subsistence to the troops, by the transporting of provisions by sea from Odessa. The fall of the second was considered absolutely necessary, for the security of the winter-quarters of our army beyond the Danube.

The siege of Varna lasted two months and a half. Prince Ménshikoff's small detachment appeared too ineffective for the reduction of a fortress of the first-class, defended, in an advantageous position, by forts which had always repelled all our efforts in the former war, and was now garrisoned by 20,000 men, under the command of the brave Capuḍan Pasha, the Sultan's favourite. In vain the Black Sea fleet, animated by the presence of the emperor, threatened Varna from the

sea: it did not surrender. The arrival, however, of the Russian guards to the aid of the besiegers, gave another turn to affairs. For now, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the garrison, our works were rapidly advanced to the very walls of the fortress; and all the energies of the Turkish general, Omir Vrioni, to save it from falling to the besiegers on the side of the Balkan, were futile: driven off by Prince Eugene of Wurtemburg, and by the gallant Bistrom, he was compelled to flee to the mountains. Varna fell before the Russian Emperor. Its reduction secured subsistence to the Russian troops in Bulgaria, at the same time that it deprived Shumla of its former strategical importance. The way to Rumelia, across the Balkan, was opened on the sea-side, and nothing but the approach of winter obliged us to delay the execution of what had been decided upon, till the ensuing campaign. Count Wittgenstein re-crossed the Danube, having placed strong detachments in Varna, Bazartchik, and Pravódui.

In the meanwhile, surprising, indeed incredible, exploits were being achieved beyond the Caucasus. There, fortresses which had hitherto been regarded as impregnable, fell before a handful of brave fellows; and a numerous enemy was destroyed. Acting on the defensive in Europe, the Sultan thought to inflict a heavy blow upon us in Asia, and, at the commencement of the war, gave orders to the Seraskier of Arzrúm, with 40,000 men, to force his way, at different points, into our Trans-Caucasian provinces; and this in the most sanguine hope of success. In fact, the state of our affairs in that country was anything but a flattering one. The mass of the Russian army had already crossed the Danube, and the Trans-Caucasian division had but just returned from the Persian campaign; and so attenuated was it by war and sickness, that its ranks numbered no more than 12,000 men. The com-

missiariat was nearly exhausted of food and military stores; the transports and artillery-parks could scarcely be served. The Mussulman provinces under our rule, agitated by the summons of the Sultan, awaited only the presence of their co-religionist Turks to rise upon us to a man. The Princess of Gúria, meditating treason, conferred with the enemy; in the villages of the mountaineers general agitation reigned. It required great intellect, experience, and a powerful mind, to ward off the dangers that were threatening the Trans-Caucasian country. Paskévitch did more: the thunder of his victories stunned the enemy, and compelled the Sultan to tremble in his very capital.

Knowing that only a rapid and daring blow could arrest the threatened irruption of the enemy into the Trans-Caucasian provinces, Paskévitch resolved on a bold exploit: with a body of 20,000 men, he advanced to the frontiers of Asiatic Turkey, and contrary to all expectation of the enemy, appeared under the walls of Kars, a fortress renowned in the Turkish annals. Men had not forgotten that it repulsed Shah Nadir, who had besieged it without success during full four months, and with a force of 90,000 men. Vain also had been our efforts to subjugate it in the year 1807. Count Paskévitch did not even remain four days under Kars. He took it by storm. The Turkish troops sent by the Seraskier to make an irruption into Georgia, on the Kars side, retreated to Arzrúm.

Meanwhile a serious danger menaced our frontiers from the other side: two distinguished Pashas were pushing forward, at the head of 30,000 Turks, to the limits of Gúria, on the road to Akháltsik. Paskévitch hastened to come up with them under the very walls of Akháltsik, but an unanticipated obstacle detained him. The plague had declared itself in the army; and scarcely a regiment escaped infection. To save his brave comrades from destruction, the commander-in-chief

remained for three whole weeks in one place. At length, prudent and resolute measures recompensed him with wished-for success: the plague was stayed. The army moved rapidly on to the confines of Gúria. On the way, it reduced the important fortress of Akhalkaláki, and afterwards that of Gertvis; accomplished an incredibly difficult passage across the lofty mountain-chain, hitherto deemed impassable; surmounted the insufferable heat, and arrived at Akháltsik. At that very time, the two Pashas, coming from Arzrúm, with an army of 30,000 men, made their appearance under its walls. Paskévitch fell upon them, totally defeated them both, chased them into the forests, took possession of four fortified camps and all their artillery, and turned the guns taken from the enemy against Akháltsik.

Founded by bold Caucasians in the hollows of the mountain, on rocks and precipices, Akháltsik served as a haunt for outlaws of various tribes and religions, who found therein a sure asylum, and it was celebrated throughout all Anatolia for the warlike spirit of its inhabitants. It carried on an active commerce with Arzrúm, Erivan, Tiflis, Trebisond, contained within its walls about 50,000 inhabitants, and ever since it had fallen under the power of the Turks—some three hundred years ago—had never seen a foreign standard planted upon its walls. Tormásoff could not take it, nor was that astonishing: remarkable forts and lofty palisades, surrounded the whole town, the main fortress jutting over steep rocks, a triple tier of numerous artillery, houses constructed in the form of castles, together with the approved valour of its inhabitants—each of whom was a warrior—served to defend it.

Confident in his strength, the Pasha of Akháltsik to all proposals of surrender answered proudly, that the sabre should decide the business. A three weeks' fire from our batteries did not shake his stubbornness. Meantime our provisions began

to run low. It remained therefore, either to retreat or take the town by storm. In the former case it was necessary to guard against an unfavourable impression of us in the minds of our open and of our secret enemies. In the latter it would be no difficult matter to lose all our men in a contest with an enemy of five times our strength. The bold leader of the Russians resolved on the latter alternative. On the 15th of August, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the storming column, led by Colonel Boródin, went forward to the assault; and, after incredible efforts, forced their way into the town; but here a desperate struggle awaited it: it was necessary to storm each house, and dearly to pay for every inch of ground. The combat endured the whole night in the midst of fires which broke out in every part of the town.

There were times when our numerous foe had the advantage. The commander-in-chief, with rare tact, sustained the sinking strength of his columns, sent in regiment after regiment, led all his army into action, and triumphed: in the morning of the 16th of August, the standard of St. George was waving over the fortress of Akháltsik. The victor hastened to put a stop to bloodshed, granted pardon and protection, established an order of administration in accordance with their customs, and, restoring the shattered fortress of Akháltsik, turned it into a strong bulwark of Georgia on the side of Asiatic Turkey. The conquest of Baiazíd at the foot of Ararat by a separate detachment, secured also the province of Eriván. In this manner, in less than two months, and with very limited means, the wish of the Emperor was accomplished: the hostile army, which had threatened the Trans-caucasian country with a destructive invasion, was scattered; and the pashaliks of Kars and Akháltsik were in our hands.

The success of the Russian arms in 1828, in Europe and in Asia by land and sea, the occupation of two principalities, the

greater half of Bulgaria, a considerable part of Anatolia, the reduction of 14 fortresses, the capture of 30,000 prisoners with 9 pashas, 400 standards and 1,200 guns,—all this might, one would have thought, have convinced the Sultan of the absolute necessity of making peace with the powerful Emperor of Russia; Mahmoud, however, remained as inflexible in his hostility as before, and, rejecting the propositions of peace, prepared for a renewal of the war.

An unexpected event confirmed the Sultan in his resolution to continue the war with Russia. Towards the end of January 1829, our ambassador at Teherán, the counseller of state Griboiédoff, was massacred, with the greater part of his suite, by the infuriated populace; at the same time was brought to light the inimical disposition of the Shah, who had already begun to concentrate his troops near our frontiers on the Araxes. The Sultan hastened to establish negotiations with the court of Teherán, not at all doubting of a rupture between Persia and Russia. He was deceived in his expectations. Count Paskévitch prevented a war. He gave Abbas Mirza, the heir to the throne, to understand that the destruction of the imperial mission at Teherán threatened Persia with the most terrible consequences, that a new war with Russia might even eject the dynasty of Kadjar from the throne; and that no other means remained, of repairing the deplorable loss and turning away the storm, than that one of the princes of Persia should entreat the pardon of the Russian Emperor for the unheard-of proceedings of the Teherán mob. How repulsive soever to the pride of an Oriental such a proposition must have been, Abbas Mirza persuaded the Shah to consent to it; and the eldest son of Abbas, Kozrew Mirza, at a solemn audience, in the presence of all the court and the diplomatic corps, and at the foot of the Russian throne, entreated the Emperor to bury in eternal oblivion a transaction which was equal mortifying to the court of

Persia and to that of Russia. "The heart of the Shah was alarmed," said the prince, "at the mere idea that a handful of wicked men might have broken his alliance with the great monarch of Russia." Better recompense we could not desire: it was declared to the prince that his mission had dispersed every shadow which could have obscured the mutual relations of Russia and Persia.

Deprived of co-operation of the Shah, the Sultan did not abandon the hope of indemnifying himself for the losses of the last campaign by his own efforts, but prepared all his strength for a struggle with Russia. His army, concentrated at Shumla, was augmented by some thousands of regular troops sent from Constantinople; and to the new Vizier the active and brave Reshid-Pasha, order was given, at whatever cost, to wrest Varna from the Russians and drive them out of Bulgaria. At Arzrúm also a new Seraskier was appointed, with unlimited power, to whose assistance was send Hagki Pasha, a general of known experience and bravery: to him was confided the equipment in Anatolia of 200,000 men, to reconquer Kars and Akháltsik and to threaten our Trans-caucasian provinces.

The emperor, on his side, reinforcing the army stationed on the Danube intrusted it, on account of the indisposition of Fieldmarshal Wittgenstein, to the chief command of Count Dibitch. To the corps of Count Paskévitch, also, an augmentation of force was appointed. Both generals were ordered to act with the greatest possible decision. They executed the command of their sovereign in the most brilliant manner.

Having crossed the Danube, with the principal army, in the spring of 1829, Count Dibitch surrounded Silistria, which we had not succeeded in taking the past year, on account of the early setting-in of winter. The commander in chief returned thither, as well because the conquest of Silistria was

indispensably necessary to the security of our operations beyond the Danube, as with the design of drawing the Vizier out of Shumla. It was scarcely possible to doubt that the active commander of the Turks, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the main Russian army would not suffer our detachments, stationed at Pravodui and Bazártchik, to remain in a state of repose, but would turn upon them with the greater part of his forces. The supposition of our sagacious leader was very shortly verified.

In the middle of May, the Vizier marched out of Shumla with 40,000 of his best troops, and besieged Pravódui occupied by General Kupriánoff under the chief command of General Roth, who, whilst embarrassing him with an obstinate defence, gave information to the commander-in-chief of the departure of the enemy from his impregnable position. Count Dibitch had only waited for this: confiding the siege of Silistria to General Krasóvskii, he himself hastily advanced upon the Balkan with the greater part of his army, marched on without repose, cleverly concealed his movement, and, in five days, stood in the rear of Reshid, cutting him off, by this means, from Shumla; the Vizier, not at all suspecting the danger which threatened him, was quietly occupied with the siege of Pravódui. Learning the truth at length, by the appearance of the Russians in his rear, and taking them for a weak detachment General Roth's corps, that had presumed to cut off his route to Shumla, he turned his army for the destruction of, in his opinion, an inconsiderable enemy. Contrary to all expectation, Dibitch himself encountered him in the defiles of Kulévtch. Reshid comprehended all the danger of his situation; but, not losing courage, he determined to cut his way through the Russian army. Rapid and daring, he ordered an attack upon all points, and, everywhere, met with the most terrible resistance. In vain the Turks threw themselves with frantic despair upon our well-disciplined columns

dashed at the infantry and precipitated themselves upon the cavalry. Russian courage was unshaken. The combat continued till both armies were overpowered with fatigue; so that, about mid-day, the battle, as if of its own accord, ceased. Taking advantage of the moment, Dibitch reinforced his weary warriors with fresh regiments, and, in his turn fell upon the enemy. The battle was renewed with a dreadful cannonading from both sides. Victory was not long doubtful: by an intense fire from our batteries, under the direction of the chief of the staff himself, General Toll, the enemy's guns were silenced; the foe trembled. At this very moment Count Dibitch advanced with his incomparable infantry, the threatening colums charging them with the bayonet. The regularity and rapidity of the general attack threw the Turks into a state of trepidation: they were put to flight, and dispersed to the mountains, leaving on the field of battle 5000 men, all their baggage, artillery and standards. The Vizier, scarcely saving himself by the celerity of his horse from being taken prisoner, with great difficulty arrived at Shumla, whither not even the half of his army returned. The conqueror encamped in view of the enemy.

The victory at Kulévtch had very important consequences. Thoroughly defeated, and trembling for Shumlah itself, the vizier, for its protection, recalled some detachments that were defending the road to the mountains, by which he opened the passes of the Balkan. The coast line was also weakened. Count Dibitch determined to avail himself of the negligence of the enemy; and only awaited the downfall of Silistria to make the passage of the Balkan. That fortress, at length, fell, reduced, by the activity and superior tact of Krasóvskii, to the impossibility of continuing its defence. The commander-in-chief immediately ordered the corps which had besieged Silistria, under Shumla, and, intrusting to Krasóvskii to confine the vizier to its fortresses, with the rest of the troops moved

rapidly on, to the mountains. The advanced corps, under Roth and Rüdiger, cleared the road of the enemy; chased them out of every place where they attempted to remain; gained, by a battle the fords of the Kamtchik, and entered the valleys of Rumelia—Dibitch followed in their track.

Meanwhile, Krasóvskii had been carrying on operations under Shumla with such ability, that Reshid-pacha, for a few days, took his corps for the whole Russian army, and only then heard of the movement of the main body over the Balkan when it had already cleared the dangerous defiles. In vain he struggled hard to strike it in the rear: the gallant Krasóvskii himself defeated him, and shut him up in Shumla.

During all this, our naval forces in the Black Sea and the Archipelago, according to the arrangement of the Emperor himself, regulating their operations by those of the commander-in-chief, reduced the maritime fortresses in Rumelia, Inada, and Enos, and entered into communication with the land forces.

The march of Dibitch in the fertile valleys of Rumelia, resembled a triumphal entry: the inconsiderable detachments of the Turkish troops were not of sufficient force to detain him; the towns, one after another, surrendered, almost without opposition; the Russian army maintained its severe discipline; and the inhabitants of Rumelia, assured that their property and persons would be respected, voluntarily submitted to the generous conqueror. Thus Dibitch advanced to Adrianople—the second city of the Turkish empire: the parties in command were desirous of making a defence, and got their forces together; but numerous crowds of the people, dreading bloodshed, went out of the town, with demonstrations of joy, to meet our warriors; and the thickly-populated Adrianople was taken possession of without a battle.

Dibitch gained a firm footing in Adrianople—his right flank being supported by the squadron in the Archipelago, and his left, by the fleet in the Black Sea.

An equally disastrous blow was also experienced by the enemy in Asia. Fulfilling the command of his sovereign, who required the most determined operations, Count Paskévitch, in the spring of 1829, concentrated, in the outskirts of Kars, the whole of his corps, comprising about 18,000 men; in which number were also Mussulmans, enrolled in the provinces, which, not long previously, had been subdued by our arms. The daring leader of the Russians meditated an exploit worthy of his renown: to conquer the capital of Anatolia—the rich and densely-populated Arzrúm.

The Seraskier of Arzrúm, on his side, assembled an army of 50,000 men, with the determination to recover from us the conquests of the last year, and force an entry into our territories. With this intent he sent his comrade, Hagki-pasha, with half the army, to Kars; the other half he himself led on to his assistance. Count Paskévitch hastened to defeat them, one after another, before they should succeed in uniting, crossed the lofty Saganlúng-chain, covered with snow, and came up with Hagki-pasha, who was encamped in a fortified and impregnable position. At ten versts from him was the Seraskier. The commander-in-chief fell upon the latter; and, after a brief combat, dispersed his army. He then turned upon Hagki-pasha, and took him prisoner. Two hostile camps, their baggage and artillery, were trophies of this remarkable victory.

Not giving the enemy time to recover from their fright, Paskévitch made a rapid movement forward; and, in the course of a few days, appeared under the walls of Arzrúm. The Seraskier sought to make a defence, but the inhabitants, from the repeated proofs which had been given, confiding in the generosity of the conqueror, that their property should be left intact and their laws respected, were not willing to experience the fate of Akháltsik, and, therefore, voluntarily

submitted. The Seraskier surrendered himself prisoner of war. The Turkish army had ceased to exist. In vain the new Seraskier sent by the sultan assembled the scattered troops, with the view of driving the Russians out of Arzrúm. Paskévitch defeated him within the walls of Baibúrt; and had even resolved to penetrate into the interior of Anatolia, when the news of peace arrested his triumphal career.

The terrible blows inflicted on the Turkish empire by the Russian arms in Europe and in Asia, compelled the Sultan at length to sue for pardon. His plenipotentiaries arrived at Adrianople; and, after a short dispute, signed the conditions of peace proposed to them. Those very principles of generous moderation and justice which were laid down by our cabinet at the beginning of the war served for its basis. Eschewing the spirit of territorial acquisition, the emperor wished only to restore the force of former treaties, to guarantee the commercial advantages of his subjects on the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, to secure the confines of his empire in Asia, and to confirm the prosperity of our co-religionists—the inhabitants of Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and Greece, who were under the protection of Russia. In consequence of this, of all his conquests, His Majesty only retained for himself Anápa, Porti, Akhalkalâki, and Akhaltsik, fortresses positively indispensable to the security of our Trans-caucasian region. The Sultan, on his part, agreed to leave the Russian subjects full and perfect liberty of commerce through all the Ottoman empire by land and sea, not infringing their rights in any way or under any pretext whatsoever: the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to be opened, without exception, to all merchant ships of powers friendly with the Porte; Russian merchants to be indemnified by a considerable sum for the losses they had sustained from 1806, resulting from the oppressive measures of the Porte; moreover, to grant to Molda-

via, Wallachia, and Servia, all the rights, promised by hati-sheriffs, by the treaty of Bucharest, and by the convention of Akkerman; and to augment them by several important privileges; and, in fine, to conditionally acknowledge the decision of the three powers, with regard to the future fate of Greece.

In this manner, not making, for his own empire, any demand that had not been admitted by the Porte in former treaties, with the exception of a few fortresses in Asia Minor, the monarch of Russia turned the victories gained by her arms to the advantage of those unhappy nations, which, until then, had suffered under the cruel yoke of the Turks. He guaranteed for ever the welfare of Moldavia, Walachia, and Servia, obliging the Turkish government, in the most positive and solemn manner, not to intermeddle in the affairs of their internal administration, nor arbitrarily to put down the Hospodars, nor overwhelm the people with any kind of imposts, nor fetter their industry and civilisation; but to be contented only a moderate tribute. The victories of the Emperor Nicolai resuscitated even Greece to an existence at once substantial and independent.

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. With this aim, on the annihilation of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, and the expulsion of the Egyptian troops from the Morea on the 10th of March, 1829, it was resolved to leave Greece in subjection to the Sultan, on condition that she should pay him a yearly tribute of 1,500,000 piastres, but should enjoy the right of self-government, the chief of which to be a prince with hereditary power. According to this, the lands long since peopled by Greeks—the Morea, Sevadia, and the islands of the Archi-

pelago—were to form part of it. The decision of the allied powers was then presented to the Ottoman Porte; the sultan did not receive it, agreeing only to grant the Greeks such rights as the Moldavians enjoyed; but when Dibitch had crossed the Balkan and captured Adrianople, the affrighted Mahmoud hastened to declare—that he, unconditionally, consented to all the measures that might be taken by the allied powers relative to Greece. In pursuance of this declaration, and having in view that, at the general most ardent wish of the Greeks to be delivered from Turkish domination, it would be difficult to establish tranquillity in the East, should they be left under the power of the Porte, the plenipotentiaries, representing Russia, England, and France, in a protocol, signed in London on the 22nd of January, 1830, resolved to recognise Greece as an independent kingdom, under the protection of the three powers, on the limits defined in the protocol of the 10th of March, with the exception of Acarnania, a part of Ætolia, and some islands, which were restored to the sultan, in lieu of the tribute previously assigned to him, the government of Greece to be monarchial and hereditary; to grant to its sovereign the title of king; and to raise to that dignity one of the princes of Europe, at the choice of the allied powers; but with this condition—that he be not of kin to any one of them. The election fell at first upon Leopold of Saxe Coburg; but that prince declining it, a young Bavarian prince was chosen, who ascended the throne of Greece in the month of May, 1832, under the title of Otho the First.

CHAPTER V.

Egyptian Affairs, 1831—1840.

RELATIONS OF RUSSIA WITH TURKEY AFTER THE WAR.—MEHEMED ALI.—HIS REBELLION.—RECALL OF THE RUSSIAN CONSUL FROM ALEXANDRIA.—MISSION OF GENERAL MURAVIÉFF.—APPEARANCE OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET OFF CONSTANTINOPLE.—COUNT ORLOFF.—TREATY OF UNKIAR SKELESSI.—CONVENTION OF LONDON, 3RD OF JULY, 1840.—SUBMISSION OF THE PASHA.

The Sultan did not oppose the decision of the allied cabinets with regard to Greece, but recognised its independence. The other articles of the Adrianople treaty were likewise punctually fulfilled by him: the indemnification promised to the body of Russian merchants was forthcoming at the appointed time; the war contribution was liquidated at the period determined upon; the rights and privileges of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia were granted; and, lastly, the freedom of navigation secured by the treaty of Adrianople for all flags, without distinction, was sacredly respected; by which the credit of commerce in the Black Sea, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the southern region of the empire, was confirmed. In a word, in proportion as formerly Turkey had manifested enmity towards us, so now it demonstrated its friendly disposition. Russia, in security, was reaping the fruits of the glorious peace of Adrianople.

At that time, the Sultan of the Turks was reduced to the most deplorable position: his army, distracted by seditious subjects, menaced him in his capital with the danger of being made a prisoner; and on the ruins of the Ottoman Porte, prepared to call into existence a new and unlawful power. That revolution was meditated by Mehemed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt.

The son of a poor inhabitant of Rumelia, left an orphan in infancy, and afterwards, for a long time, engaged in the traffic of tobacco, Mehemed Ali enlisted into a detachment of Rumeliots, which was sent, with other troops, into Egypt, to co-operate with the Vizier for the expulsion of the French, who had been left there by Buonaparte. Endowed with rare courage, a strong character, and a tact for intrigue, he very soon distinguished himself from the crowd; gained an influence over the minds of the Sheiks, Mamelukes, and Albanians, of whom the principal army in Egypt was composed; upheld or changed the governors appointed by the Porte; in fine, took upon himself the state of Pasha of Egypt—sent his son Ibrahim to Constantinople as hostage for his fidelity—forwarded a tribute such as the Porte had never yet received—and was confirmed by the Sultan, in 1805, in the dignity which he had usurped.

Egypt very shortly put on another aspect. Mehemed Ali, who, till advanced in years, could neither read nor write, with his vigorous mind comprehending all the advantages of European civilisation—traces of which remained after Buonaparte's expedition—surrounded himself with French, English and Italians, established a regular army, constructed a powerful fleet, raised fortresses, called into being several kinds of industry, and even founded many schools. Beneath his strong rule, internal enemies were appeased: the old Mamelukes, always lacerating Egypt by their dissensions, were

extirpated in the most inhuman manner. The mutinous crowds of Albanians were incorporated into the regular army. Foreign enemies trembled: the most dangerous of them—the Wahabees, inhabitants of Arabia—were weakened by the repeated victories of Mehemed's valiant son, Ibrahim, who, seizing Mecca and Medina out of their hands, gave security to commerce on the Red Sea. Nubia was conquered; Abyssinia likewise. The battle of Navarino annhilated the Egyptian fleet. Mehemed Ali, with astonishing activity, constructed another; but, as an indemnification for his efforts to subjugate the Greeks, he received from the Sultan the island of Candia. In 1830, he had more than 30 men-of-war, in which number were 11 line of battle ships; and a regular army of 130,000 men.

Feeling his strength, and observing the feebleness of the Ottoman Porte—weakened by conspiracies at home, and wars abroad—Mehemed Ali conceived the criminal resolution of emancipating himself from the authority of his lawful sovereign. Under different pretexts, he ceased to pay tribute to the Sultan, and refused to assist him in the last war with Russia. In the year 1831, he openly revolted: the powerful Egyptian army, under the conduct of Ibrahim, entered Syria—a country subject to the Porte. Mehemed Ali declared that Abdallah, the Pasha of Syria, was his personal enemy; and that, not finding protection from the powerless Porte, he resolved with his own sabre to seek redress. In vain, the Sultan proposed his arbitrement: Ibrahim advanced without halting—conquered the Syrian towns one after another—took, at length, the strong Acre—made Abdallah prisoner—and subdued all Syria—a rich and densely populated country, abounding in ship-timber, and most advantageously situated for commerce. Avoiding a war with his formidable vassal, Mahmoud declared

his revolt alike treasonable to his sovereign and the prophet. That measure, efficacious in former times, now remained without consequence; Mehemed Ali was not to be intimidated by threats: he even proclaimed the Sultan himself an apostate from the faith of Mahomet. It remained to subdue him by force of arms. A considerable Turkish army now advanced from Asia Minor to the confines of Syria, and was thoroughly defeated in the fastnesses of Mount Tauris. Mahmoud sent yet another army, stronger than the former, under the command of his best general, the Grand Vizier Reshid Pasha. Ibrahim gave him battle near Konia, in Asia Minor, and after a sanguinary contest, obtained a complete victory; the Turkish troops were dispersed, and the Vizier himself, severely wounded, was made prisoner. The Sultan was now without an army; the road to Constantinople lay open. The advanced troops of Ibrahim occupied Smyrna, and subsequently appeared in the outskirts of Brussa.

Even at the beginning of the war, the sultan, as if prescient of the threatening calamity, requested, for the subduing of his revolted subject, the co-operation of those European powers who, as one of the prominent maxims of their policy, always proclaimed the independence of the Ottoman Porte. More than all, he trusted to England and France: he trusted in vain. Neither the one nor the other power took any precautionary measures for the defence of the sultan. Satisfied with affording mere assurances of friendship, they both entered into fruitless negotiations with Mehemed Ali, even inclining to his side. Russia proceeded differently.

On the first intelligence of the rising in Egypt, the Emperor ordered the Russian consul to immediately quit Alexandria. So amicable a disposition on the part of our cabinet towards the Ottoman Porte was received by the sultan with the most

lively gratitude; and it excited in him the idea in case of necessity, of having recourse to the assistance of Russia. The emperor, indicating his readiness to aid his faithful ally, thought that Russia, to essentially assist the sultan, should express its solemn disapprobation of the Egytian revolt; and with that intent, General Muraviéff was sent to Alexandria. At the same time an order was issued to the fleet in the Black Sea, to immediately set sail for the defence of Constantinople on the first demand of our ambassador at the Porte. General Muraviéff was received at Alexandria with distinguished honour. Mehemed Ali gave a promise to submit to the sultan; and, in the presence of our general, sent off an order to Ibrahim to put an end to hostilities. Meanwhile, the sultan, not having any knowledge of the success of Muraviéff's mission, and alarmed by the threatening movement of Ibrahim to Brussa, had recourse to our ambassador, Buténieff, with the most urgent request that he would hasten the arrival of the auxiliary troops from Russia. His wish was complied with. The squadron of Rear-Admiral Lázareff weighed anchor at Sevastopol, and bore up, under all sail, for the Bosphorus. It was already at sea when General Muraviéff transmitted to Constantinople the consoling news of the agreement of the pasha to submit to his sovereign. At that very time, also, Ibrahim communicated to the Porte that, in consequence of an order from his father, he had put a stop to the advance of the Egyptian army, and was halting at Kutákia. The sultan could not find words to express his gratitude to the Russian emperor for his disinterestedly and generously sympathising with the misfortunes of Turkey, as well as for his beneficial influence in arresting the march of the Egyptian army. The business, however, was not yet an end.

In accordance with the wish of the Porte, the order had

already been sent by our ambassador to Rear-Admiral Lázareff to return with the squadron to Sevastopol; when the sultan obtained information that Ibrahim, contrary to the promise given by his father, and his own assurance, had recommenced hostilities in Asia Minor, subdued Magnesia, and overthrown the Turkish authorities in Smyrna; and that Mehemed Ali was collecting fresh troops to reinforce his son. Fortunately, Rear-Admiral Lázareff did not meet the courier sent by Butenieff, but arrived, with the squadron of five line-of-battle ships, and four frigates, and cast anchor in view of Constantinople. The appearance of our squadron under the walls of Stamboul at such a precarious moment, alarmed its inhabitants, and threw the divan itself into a state of consternation; and even the French ambassador, Admiral Roussin, threatened the sultan with a rupture with France if the Russian ships were not withdrawn from the Bosphorus. But Mahmoud, regarding neither the murmurs of the people, nor the apprehensions of his divan, nor yet the threats of the French ambassador, did not hesitate to unconditionally confide in the disinterestedness and generosity of the Russian emperor. Our squadron remained before Constantinople, and was even strengthened at the sultan's request. Twenty Russian ships, under the chief command of Adjutant-General Orlóff, anchored off Buyukdere; and 10,000 foot encamped on the Asiatic shore, at Unkiar Skelessi, under the command of General Muraviéff, ready to meet and defeat the hitherto victorious Ibrahim.

But that was not all: when the news of the appearance of the Russians before the very gates of Constantinople, now utterly defenceless, was alarming all minds in England and France, and public opinion in both countries, accusing ministers, through negligence, of betraying Turkey to the mercy of Russia, boldly demanded from them the most determined measures for the

withdrawal of our troops from the Bosphorus, the Emperor announced to Europe, "that his fleet and army should remain in the positions they had already taken up, until the Egyptian army, on its return home, had crossed Mount Tauris."

So resolute a manifestation of the will of the powerful Sovereign of Russia disarmed those envious of our renown, and saved Turkey. Mehemed Ali recalled his army out of Asia Minor. A Russian officer escorted Ibrahim to the confines of Syria, and, as soon as the Egyptian army had crossed Mount Tauris, Count Orlóff ordered the detachments of Muraviéff on board, and the fleet returned to Sevastopol. The grateful Sultan, in proof of his sincere friendship for the Russian Sovereign, concluded with him a defensive treaty at Unkiar Skelessi by which he bound himself, amongst other things, to close the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles against the fleets of all foreign powers.

Having been invited for the sole purpose of saving Turkey from a terrible conqueror, Russia was obliged to restrict herself to the limits, which the nature of circumstances prescribed, and could not therefore participate in the conditions of treaty which led to the pacification of the Sultan with the Pasha of Egypt. Our mediation was not required, and we did not propose it. The treaty was concluded under the influence of England and France. Mehemed Ali not only remained Pasha of Egypt, but even received, besides, the government of Syria, with Damascus and Aleppo; whilst to his son Ibrahim, were left the revenues of the district of Adána, in Asia Minor.

Tranquillity in the East, established on such a basis, could not long endure. The Sultan, compelled to cede an important part of his Empire to a rebellious subject, sought, more than ever, an opportunity to crush him. Mehemed Ali, on his part, not doubting of the co-operation of France, meditated the

design of throwing off even the mere shadow of the domination of the Porte. His disobedience, openly manifested, obliged the Sultan once more to try the fortune of arms. It again betrayed him. His army was dispersed and annihilated by the brilliant victory of Ibrahim near Nizibis, on the banks of the Euphrates. The unfortunate Mahmoud was not capable of supporting so cruel a blow, and died. Immediately upon this, the whole Turkish fleet, which had been sent to Alexandria, deserted to the enemy through the treachery of the Capudan Pasha. Turkey was now without an army and without a fleet. The victorious Mehemed demanded of the young successor of Mahmoud, the Sultan Abdul Medjid, the removal of his enemy, the Grand Vizier, and the hereditary power over Egypt, Syria, Adana and Candia, threatening, in case of refusal, to take possession of Constantinople.

All Europe, with the exception of France alone, was convinced, conformably to the policy of our court, of the absolute necessity, of taking resolute measures for curbing the dangerous ambition of the man who was threatening to shake the general peace of Europe. The ambassadors of the principal powers at Constantinople declared to the Porte that their cabinets had harmoniously concurred to finally arrange the affairs of the East; and therefore proposed to the Sultan, that, without entering into any communication with Mehemed Ali, he should leave the whole business to the impartial judgment of the European powers. The Sultan accepted the proposition with joy. In consequence of this, a conference was held in London of the ministers plenipotentiary of the five powers;—Russia, England, Austria, France and Prussia. The representative of Russia was Baron Brúnoff.

At the very commencement of the negotiations, England agreed with Russia in the fundamental idea of settling the

Eastern question. Austria and Prussia likewise participated. But the stubborn inclination of the French government to the side of Mehemed Ali long impeded the successful progress of affairs. At length the plenipotentaries of Russia, England, Austria and Prussia resolved to sign the protocol without the participation of the French ambassador, and proposed to leave Mehemed Ali hereditary power in Egypt; moreover to give up to him, personally, the southern part of Syria, on the condition, however, that he, without prevarication, acknowledged the sovereign authority of the Sultan and paid tribute to the Porte, all the other places not entering into the Pashalik of Egypt, —the northern part of Syria, Adana and Candia,—he was to restore to the Porte, as well as its fleet, in the course of ten days. In case of his refusal, it was resolved not to enter into any conditions with him, but to subdue him by force of arms: for this purpose to leave to the combined Anglo-Austrian fleet the blockading of the shores of Syria and Egypt; but to the Russian squadron, to confide the defence of Constantinople, in case of an invasion by Ibrahim. Mehemed Ali rejected the proposition of the allied cabinets, in full reliance on the assistance of France, indignant at her estrangement at so critical a conjuncture. The promptitude of the allies warded off from Europe the miseries of a general war. The combined Anglo-Austrian fleet rapidly reduced the maritime fortresses of Syria —Beyrout, Sidon, Tyre and Acre—and, threatening to demolish Alexandria itself, compelled the Pasha to consent to an unconditional submission to the Sultan, who, only at the intercession of the allied powers, left him the hereditary government of Egypt alone. Mehemed Ali, on his side, bound himself, in the most positive manner, to recognise over himself the sovereignity of the Porte and to pay tribute to it like other Pashas. France, after some opposition, was obliged to consent

to the measures taken by Russia and her allies. The just and straight-forward policy of our cabinet triumphed over all artifices, and, having established a solid peace in the East, confirmed the universal tranquillity of European nations.

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR NIKOLAI I.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

The Suppression of the Polish Rebellion. 1830—1831.

ANNEXATION OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND TO RUSSIA.—CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER.—INGRATITUDE OF THE POLES.—PROSPERITY OF POLAND.—CRIMINAL DESIGNS.—REVOLT OF WARSAW.—CHLOPICKY.—ARRIVAL OF PRINCE LUBÉCKY AND COUNT YEZÉRSKY AT ST. PETERSBURG.—GENEROSITY OF THE SOVEREIGN.—FOLLY OF THE DIET.—ENTRY OF THE RUSSIAN TROOPS INTO POLAND.—BATTLE OF GROKHOFF.—RETREAT TO SIÉDLETZ.—BATTLE OF OSTROLÉNKA.—DEATH OF COUNT DIBITCH.—PASKÉVITCH.—PASSAGE OF THE VISTULA.—FRENZY OF THE REVOLTERS.—STORMING OF WARSAW.—EXPULSION OF THE REVOLTED ARMY.—MISERY OF POLAND.—RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER.

In the days of Russia's triumphs over foreign enemies, when the transcendent victories on the Danube and beyond the Caucasus might have seemed likely to secure her tranquillity for a long period, contrary to all expectation, there appeared in her own bosom an internal foe, that was daring to mortify her

dignity in the most perfidious manner. In November 1830, burst forth a rebellion in Poland.

The Duchy of Warsaw, created by Napoleon out of the Polish provinces, which had been wrested by him from Prussia in 1807, and from Austria in 1809, was, with the exception of the provinces of Posen, Galicia and the town of Cracow, annexed to Russia for ever by a resolution of the congress of Vienna. According to the exact spirit of the act of the Vienna-Congress, it entered into the inseparable composition of the empire; and to her sovereign was left the absolute right of establishing in Poland such an order of things as he should deem of greatest utility and most conformable to the well-being of his empire. It was in the power of Alexander to subject the Polish kingdom to the general laws of the empire, and no one would presume to dispute it: the sole condition imposed upon him by the congress of Vienna—a condition exact and defined—consisted in the inseparable union of the kingdom with the empire. The Poles themselves, delivered over to the rule of Russia by the fortune of war, did not presume even to dream of putting any kind of restriction upon their conqueror. Alexander, at his own instigation, without any foreign influence, in the hope of attaching his new subjects to his throne by bonds of eternal gratitude, granted them a peculiar form of government defined by the constitutional charter of the 12th of December, 1815.

Confirming by it the fundamental principle taken by the congress of Vienna, of the inseparable union of the kingdom with the empire, and concentrating in his person, as Emperor and Tsar, all the right of sovereign authority, his Majesty convoked, to participate in the legislation, two chambers established by him, under the titles of the Senate and the Diet, and confided the administration of the affairs of the kingdom to a directing council. The senate, composed of

bishops, voivods and castellains, appointed by the sovereign for life, formed the upper chamber; the lower represented the Diet, which it was in contemplation to convoke in the Tsar's name, about every two years, for one month, of deputies from the nobles and the commonalty. Each new law was only to come into force, when approved of by a majority of voices in both chambers, and also confirmed by the sovereign; moreover to the chambers was given the right to inspect the budgets of the revenue and the disbursements. The directing council was composed, under the presidency of the Tsar's lieutenant, of five ministers appointed by the sovereign; they were the executors of his pleasure, gave movement to the whole progress of affairs, introduced projects of new laws for the examinations of the chambers, and were responsible in case of any departure from the charter. A separate Polish army was established; the revenues of the kingdom were set apart exclusively for its benefit; the nobles were permitted to choose marshals to protect their interests before the throne of tho Tsar; municipal administration was introduced into the towns, and the press was declared free.

As a proof of the purity of his intentions, Alexander confided the administration of the affairs of the kingdom to such persons as it was impossible to suspect of any indifference to the interests of Poland; for his lieutenant, he appointed General Zaióntchek—an old enemy of Russia—who had grown grey in warfare for his country, from Kosciusko to Napoleon; but of a noble soul, and one who appreciated the generosity of the sovereign. The ministers were also chosen out of the number of the most zealous Poles. The interests of Russia were defended only by two persons—the Tsesarévitch Constantine Pávlovitch and the Privy Counsellor Novosíltsoff: the Tsesarévitch commanded the Polish army; Novosíltsoff had a voice in the directing council, with the title of imperial commissioner.

On the publication of the constitutional charter, the Poles were literally beside themselves for transport, and found no words for the expression of their unbounded gratitude to the Russian sovereign, sensibly feeling that his incomparable generosity alone had saved their national existence. They very soon, however, proved that the feeling of lasting gratitude was not in the list of their virtues; not even three years had elapsed ere those very Poles began arrogantly to think that Alexander was *obliged* to give them a constitution; and that, consequently, the power of the constitutional charter was somethiug superior to his. Hence, in the very first diet, insolent pretensions arose. Having permission to petition the sovereign concerning the necessities and wishes of Poland, the diet launched out into ill-timed dissertations on the rights of the monarch; and the people, without any foundation, accused the ministers of the Tsar, and demanded various incompatible laws. The sovereign expressed his displeasure, and, at the opening of the second diet, gave them to understand, that he firmly resolved to uphold the charter granted by him; but that the Poles, on their side, should rigorously fulfil their obligations, not addicting themselves to superfluous reasonings, and that they should co-operate with the government in its laudable efforts for the maintenance of order, tranquillity, and public prosperity. In defiance of this admonition, the diet openly entered into a dispute with the government; without any reason rejected various projects of laws proposed by the ministers, in which number was one on criminal law, and reiterated those demands which the first diet had presumed to make. A spirit of opposition was also exhibited in a resistance to the payment of taxes; hence, an extraordinary deficit in the revenue. The sovereign, irritated, declared, that if the Polish kingdom were not in a condition to satisfy its own expenditure, it would be necessary to arrange it otherwise; and that having been pre-

viously ready to augment the privileges which he had granted them, he now saw the absolute necessity of abolishing some articles of the constitutional charter, as a guarantee for general tranquillity. The most important measure taken, was the prohibiting the public from hearing the debates in the diet, where a number of vain speakers excited the people by their dangerous declamation; moreover, measures were taken against the abuse of the freedom of the press. At the opening of the third diet in 1825, Alexander said, positively, that he had not altered his determination to uphold the charter, but that on the Poles themselevs, on their attachment to the throne and readiness to co-operate with the government, the fate of the Polish kingdom would depend. The threat implied in those memorable words, brought the Poles to their senses. The diet passed all the laws which the ministers had proposed.

Meanwhile, under the beneficent sceptre of Alexander, Poland, in the course of ten years, had attained to such a degree of national welfare that, without undoubted historical facts, it would be difficult to believe to what point an attentive government may conduct those under its rule. We will not compare that time with the period of its elective government, when Pospolit Rietch (the national assembly), with its *golden liberty*, was the mere victim of the unbridled absolutism of the magnates, of religious controversies, of irreconcilable party-hatred, of sanguinary internal broils, of the avarice of Jews, disorderly at home and abroad. What was Poland during its so-called regeneration by Napoleon? The Duchy of Warsaw served him for a war-depòt, whence he drew soldiers to replenish his legions to perish in Austria, Spain, and Russia .The people groaned under the burden of taxes, forced supplies, conscriptions. The war contributions ruined the towns and the villages, none paid the slightest attention to the general wants and misery.

much less to the amelioration of the towns, or the improvement of roads and ways of communication. There was not one branch of industry that might be said to flourish; there was no commerce; there was no credit. The invasion of Russia by Napoleon in 1812, thoroughly ruined Poland; the flower of her population perished on the confines of our country.

Alexander both conquered and resuscitated Poland. He received under his dominion a country, covered with sands and marshes, cultivated here and there by the labour of the husbandman; with scarcely passable roads; with poor, scattered huts; with towns resembling villages; where Jews nestled, or tattered nobles sauntered about: whilst her wealthy magnates were squandering millions in Paris and London, utterly regardless of their own country. That miserable country, under the sceptre of Alexander, was transformed into a well-regulated, powerful, and flourishing state. His generous solicitude invigorated every branch of national industry; fields, drained by canals, were covered with luxuriant herbage; villages were constructed; the towns were embellished; and excellent roads intersected Poland in every direction. Manufactories sprung up; Polish cloths, and other home-produce, appeared in Russia in vast quantities; a tariff, advantageous to Poland, favoured the sale of her productions throughout the empire. Warsaw, until now a nonentity in the commercial world, began to draw upon itself the attention of Europe. The finances of Poland, exhausted by Napoleon, were brought into a flourishing condition by the care and generosity of Alexander, who gave up the crown-lands, transforming them into the property of the public; and ordained that all the country's revenues should be appropriated exclusively to the benefit of the kingdom. The Polish debt was guaranteed—credit was restored. A national bank was established, which, receiving vast funds

from the munificent sovereign, co-operated in causing an extensive development of every branch of industry. By the care of the Tsesarévitch, Constantine Pávlovitch, an excellent army was created; the arsenals were stored with such immense quantities of arms, that there appeared, in consequence, sufficient for the arming of 100,000 men. Civilization rapidly advanced; a university was established at Warsaw; chairs for the highest sciences, until then unknown in Poland, were formed; experienced professors were invited from abroad; the best students were sent to Berlin, Paris, and London, at the expense of the government. In the provincial towns, gymnasia and district schools were opened; institutions for the education of young ladies; and military schools sprang up. The laws granted by Alexander, and carefully protected by him, established order, justice, inviolability to the person, and security to property. Abundance and contentment everywhere prevailed. In ten years the population had nearly doubled. The national proverb, "Polska nierzadem stoi" (Poland lives by anarchy), was forgotten.

With similar solicitude, and with equal generosity, did the successor of Alexander watch over the welfare of the Polish kingdom. At his accession to the throne, confirming the constitutional charter, he sacredly respected the advantages granted by it. He required from Poland neither treasure nor troops—he required tranquillity only; the punctual fulfilment of the laws, and attachment towards the throne. It was left to her to bless her own destiny, and to transmit to her remotest posterity a feeling of the liveliest gratitude to the monarchs of Russia. The Poles acted otherwise. Their benefactor himself, the Emperor Alexander, they outraged by their ingratitude—even in his time, a secret conspiracy was concocted—against his successor they presumed to take up arms.

The mass of the people—all hard-working, industrious

persons, husbandmen, manufacturers, and the more intelligent of the land-owners—were content on their part, and did not desire any kind of change; but, at that time, visionaries abounded, such as one frequently meets with in Poland—men of impossible expectations, who are pusillanimous in adversity, arrogant in prosperity, and thoroughly ungrateful.

Not satisfied with the welfare of their country—unexampled in their history—under the sceptre of the Russian emperors, they presumed on the possibility of forming, out of the kingdom of Poland, a separate, independent state, which should include in its composition the western governments of Russia; and, consequently, on seizing the Polish provinces from Austria and Russia, and resuscitating their Pospolit Rietch, with its tumultuous diets. So thought many weak-minded nobles: remembering, with pleasure and pride, the golden time when the magnates were in the ascendant, and young men of the new generation, inexperienced youth, neither ignorant of the history of their country, nor of the true position of affairs—but blind imitators of the West. The head and leader of this so-called patriot-party was Prince Adam Czartorisky, formerly Alexander's favourite minister, and, subsequently, curator of the Vilna Education District, who flattered himself with the hope of becoming Lietenant of the Polish Kingdom. A similar party sprung up in Lithuania, under the influence of Lelevéla, a professor of the university of Vilna. Anarchist at heart, he stirred up the minds of his numerous auditors by his dazzling sophisms, and magnificent images of the former greatness of their Pospolit Riech, in the hope of reviving it.

In the spirit of the one and the other party, even so far back as the year 1818, secret societies had begun to be formed at Warsaw and Vilna, having different leaders, and various denominations, but one purpose—the casting off of Russian rule. The most absurd fables and seductive artifices were

employed to instigate a blind and irreconcilable hatred against Russia. Evil-designing efforts, by little and little, effaced from the memory of the fickle and ungrateful nation, all that the Russian government had done for it; prepared the minds of the people for agitation, and promulgated the spirit of revolt. It required but a spark to put it in a blaze. That spark was struck by a band of contemptible persons, neither remarkable for intellect nor strength of character—ordinarily the attributes of the authors of great revolutions. The first determined idea of the revolt took its birth in the brain of Wysocky, a second lieutenant in the Polish army. For this purpose, in 1828, he formed a conspiracy of several officers, irrational as himself, who subsequently admitted into their criminal designs a great part of the cadets of the military schools, students of the university, and the idle of the inferior nobles. For a few days preceding the revolt, Lelevéla became the soul and conductor of the conspiracy; but all the secret direction was in the invisible hand of Czartorisky.

The revolt burst forth in the evening of the 17th of November, 1830. The conspirators were divided into several parties: some forced an entrance into the Belvidere palace, with the intention of seizing the person of the Tsesarévitch Constantine Pavlovitch; others threw themselves into the barracks, were the Russian troops were, to the number of 7000 men, in order to disarm them; a third party hastened to seduce the Polish regiments to revolt; a fourth were scattered over the town, calling the populace to arms to defend the citizens from an attack, which they pretended the Russians were about to make upon them. Providence protected the Tsesarévitch. Taking advantage of the darkness, he saved himself from the hands of the rebels; the Russian troops succeeded in uniting—assembled near the Belvidere palace—and encircling the Grand Duke, were a hedge of defence to

him. But the Polish regiments, with the exception of the mounted voltigeurs, revolted; the insurgents seized the arsenal, armed the populace, and agitated all Warsaw. The Grand Duke, avoiding bloodshed, went out of the town with his troops, in order, by so doing, to refute the absurd report that the Russians were about to exterminate the inhabitants of the city, and to give the people time to reflect. His expectation was not realized. On his retiring, all the enemies of Russia, and of good order, united with the crowds of the populace and the soldiers. In vain persons, faithful to their duty and the throne, endeavoured to tranquillize the minds: they fell, a sacrifice to their zeal, under the blows of the rebels. So perished the minister of war, Count Hauki, Generals Potocky, Sementowsky, Bliumer, Trembicky, and many others. The directing council was abolished; its functions being performed by a temporary government, composed of Prince Czartorisky, Count Ostrowsky, Lelevéla, Niemcewicy, and other leaders of the destructive party; revolutionary clubs, by every means in their power, endeavoured to disseminate agitation throughout the whole kingdom, in which they also succeeded, through seductive artifices, calumny, and every species of craftiness. The deputies of the provincial towns, at the invitation of the temporary government, hastened to Warsaw for the organization of a diet which, by law, could not be convoked but at the pleasure of the sovereign.

Well-minded persons beheld with terror the abyss whither the fickle people, misled by interested knaves, were rapidly hastening. In the hope of saving them, General Chlopicky, who had retired from service, an enemy to revolt and anarchy, took upon himself the appellation of dictator, curbed the soldiers and the populace, put down the clubs, dispersed the infuriated rabble, and, establishing in Warsaw something of order, sent Prince Lubécky and Count Yezérsky to St. Peters-

burg, to intercede with the sovereign, that the past should be buried in oblivion. But Pole at heart, he did not wish to submit unconditionally; he even presumed to consider of the possibility of persuading the Russian Emperor, through the co-operation of the other powers, to make various concessions, flattering to the self-love of his countrymen. In consequence of this, confiding to Count Yezérsky to solicit at St. Petersburg, amongst other things, the annexation to the kingdom of the Poles of our western governments; he, in the mean time, dispatched active agents to Paris and London. to obtain the interposition of France and England.

At the first intelligence of the revolt of Warsaw, the Emperor, deeply hurt and irritated, verbally announced, on parade, to his generals and officers, the so unexpected and afflicting event, expressing, at the same time, how much the treason of the troops—branding the honour of the Polish army—distressed him. The words of their afflicted father and sovereign produced a magic effect. All present on parade rushed towards their adored monarch, and, with tears of emotion, swore to unalterable loyalty—to a readiness to shed their last drop of blood in his defence. All Russia, from her very heart, re-iterated that oath when the imperial declaration was made known, that the revolters had presumed to propose conditions of reconciliation to their lawful sovereign. "You know, Russians," said the Emperor, "we reject them with indignation."

Prince Lubécky and Count Yezérsky received permission to appear at St. Petersburg, not in the capacity of ambassadors from an unlawful power, but in quality of dignitaries of the kingdom, to report events which had taken place at Warsaw: the former, as minister of finance; the latter, as deputy from the Diet. The sovereign condescended to receive them, and attentively listened to each apart. They were both unanimous

in their description of what had occurred at Warsaw. According to their statements, the revolt broke out without any predetermined plan, without any definite aim, and was the act of a small number of young men, who had excited the troops and the populace by the propagation of false rumours, that the Russians intended to massacre the Poles. Count Yezérsky, in particular, reiterated his assurance that a great majority of the people and the troops, were not mixed up in the enterprise of the small number of giddy youths; that they were unshaken in their devotedness to the throne; and that, on the passing away of the first consternation, all were affrighted at the designs of those participating in a revolt which could ruin the whole country—imposing upon all the people the responsibility of the criminal conduct of the few. In conclusion, he supplicated his majesty for his generous oblivion of all the past. Foreigners, however, reported the matter as if the Count had persuaded the Emperor, in order to ensure permanent tranquillity, to consent to the general wish of the Poles; viz., to annex to the kingdom the western governments of Russia. Preposterous invention! Yezérsky durst never utter the like: for he *knew* his majesty.

The Emperor, in his reply, was pleased to declare, that not all the Polish nation had drawn upon itself his wrath; that he only required the punishment of the principal authors, reserving to himself the right to pardon, and resolving to profit by it with all practicable generosity; but that, first of all, the Poles must efface the criminality of the few misled people, by an immediate and unconditional restoration of lawful order. "If," added the Emperor, "the Poles dare to take up arms against Russia, and their lawful sovereign, they themselves, and their own cannon, shall lay Poland in the dust."

At that very time, when the sovereign was expressing his pleasure so mercifully and generously on the affairs of Poland,

a manifesto against Russia was composed and published at Warsaw, in opposition to all the efforts of Chlopícky, teeming with insolent expressions and extravagant pretensions. On the return of Count Yezérsky from St. Petersburg the finishing stroke was applied. Chlopícky threw off the title of dictator, observing that he did not wish to draw his countrymen into an unequal struggle with Russia, and that the Polish nation had no right whatever to violate the oath of fidelity which it had taken to the Emperor and Tsar. Unbridled demagogues now seized the helm of government, and, at a general assembly of the chambers, the illegal Diet, on the proposition of Soltuik, had the temerity to proclaim, that the house of Romanoff had ceased to reign, and that the throne of Poland was now vacant.

Such shameless forgetfulness of the most sacred obligations, such inflexible adherence to a wicked purpose, astonished all Russia. Mortified in her dignity, the whole country uttered deep murmurs, and prepared to rise, to a man, in defence of the rights and honour of her monarch. The Sovereign tranquillized the minds of his faithful subjects, announcing to them that he would restore to the country the province which for a moment had been wrested from it by rebels, would settle its future fate on durable foundations, conformable to the wants and well-being of the whole Empire, and would put an end, for ever, to the outrageous enterprises of ill-designing men. Russia believed the Imperial word, and was not disappointed.

At the close of January, 1831—in the midst of a rigorous winter—the Russian troops assembled on the western frontier, between Kóvno and Ustilug, to the number of 120,000 men, under the command of field-marshal Count Dibitch-Zabalkanskii, received orders to enter the confines of Poland for the purpose of subduing it by force of arms. They crossed the frontiers at different points; the field-marshal, with the greater part of the army, marched out of the province of Bielstok against the

principal force of the revolters, stationed, to the number of 90,000 men between Minsk and Praga. The latter were under the conduct of Prince Rádzivil. The Poles sought to arrest the progress of the Russian army, and obstinately contested its every step.

Count Dibitch, by a series of combats, drove them to the banks of the Vistula. They, however, concentrated, in sight of Warsaw, at the hamlet of Grokhoff, and there entered upon a determined battle. The forces on both sides were nearly equal; in military experience neither army yielded to the other. The Poles had all local advantages in their favour, and they fought with all the courage of despair. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Russian bravery at length triumphed over all the efforts of the adversary. The defeated revolters, in the greatest disorder, threw themselves across the Vistula, losing about 12,000 men killed and wounded; Chlopícky was in the number of the latter.

The inhabitants of Warsaw, until now not doubting of victory, with inexpressible terror went out to meet their broken army. The mass of the people was ready to entreat pardon of the conqueror; the senators and deputies of the Diet hastened to conceal themselves; many thought of flying across the frontiers; Niemcéwicz himself withdrew to Cracow, and Prince Rádzivil threw off the title of commander-in-chief. To consummate the blow, it remained to take possession of the scarcely defended fortification of Praga, in order to destroy the nest of the revolt, as Suvóroff had done in a former reign, to compel the trembling Warsaw, and with it even all Poland, to fall at the feet of the Russian Emperor. So thought also the chief of the staff, Count Toll. But the commander-in-chief ordered the victorious army to halt at the very minute when it was ready, on the heels of the flying foe, to force its way into the fortifications of Praga—into Warsaw itself—and passed some

days of inactivity on the field of Grokhoff; subsequently he retired to Minsk, in order that—awaiting the opening of the Vistula—he might cross over to its left side, and thence take Warsaw. The rebels, recovering from their fright, absolutely claimed the victory and again took up arms, and, proclaiming Colonel Skrjinécky their leader with the title of Generalissimo, sent strong detachments to the banks of the Veprj and the Narev, for the purpose of separating the forces of the Russian field-marshal.

Count Dibitch waited for the opening of the Vistula more than a month. As soon as it was free from ice, the army moved out of its quarters to the places appointed for crossing it. At that very time Skrjinécky, with all his forces, fell upon the corps of Baron Rosen, which had been left to observe Praga, chased him in the direction of Siédletz, and by that disconcerted all the field-marshal's plans: the passage of the river was deferred, the presence of revolted multitudes in Lithuania and Volhynia, cutting off all means of subsistence from it, obliged the Russian commander to draw his army nearer the confines of the Empire: he halted in the outskirts of Siédletz, where, awaiting a favourable opportunity of again falling upon the chief army of the conspirators, he occupied himself with the destruction of the separate detachments of Dwernicky, Seráwcky, Skarjinsky and Uminsky. Thus more than a month rolled on, when Skrjinécky, cleverly concealing his plan of operation, suddenly returned to the North, and, at the end of May, threw himself, with his whole army, upon the Guards—stationed between the Bug and the Narev—with the intention of destroying them in detail. The Grand Duke Mikhaíl Pávlovitch succeeded, just in time, in concentrating the regiments of the Guards, at the hamlet of Zambrowo, valiantly repulsed all the attacks of an enemy incomparably more numerous, and, in perfect order, retreated to Tuikótchina and Jeltki.

On the first information of the appearance of the principal forces of the rebels between the Bug and the Narev, Count Dibitch immediately quitted Siédletz, united with the Guards and rapidly pursued Skrjinécky, who, avoiding a pitched battle, hastily retreated to Ostrolenka. Here the field-marshal came up with him and forced him into a combat. It was as obstinate and sanguinary as that at Grokhoff.

The Poles, not being able maintain their ground at Ostrolenka, crossed the Narev, and, concentrating on its right bank, with incredible exertions, defended the bridge, in order to check the fearful impetuosity of the Russian army. But, defeated by a murderous fire from the batteries constructed by Count Toll, they very shortly covered the right bank of the Narev with their lifeless bodies. The Russian regiments, one after another, with their accustomed valour, dashed across the shattered bridge, and, at the point of the bayonet, completed the overthrow of the enemy, who took to flight in the direction of Warsaw, losing about 10,000 killed and taken prisoners.

Count Dibitch did not succeed in reaping the fruits of his victories. In about two weeks, prostrated by the cholera, he finished his career, near Pultusk. The reduction of Poland was now confided by the Emperor to him, on whom, with full confidence and in the undoubted hope of success, the eyes of all Russia were turned — to Count Paskévitch Erivánskii. With one blow he conquered the hydra of revolt.

Harassed by an incredibly difficult warfare in the enemy's country, by sanguinary battles without decisive results, especially by a want of provisions, the Russian troops received with joy the intelligence of a new and experienced leader; and, in a very brief period, rendered confident by his arrangements and certainty of subsistence, courageously moved forward to the reduction of Warsaw, which for five months had been the

principal aim of all their efforts. The revolters foresaw the storm, but knew not whence the blow would proceed. The route of the Russian army from Pultusk to Plotsk, inclined them to believe that here it was resolved to cross the Vistula. Skrjinécky hastened to concentrate his troops on the banks of the Vkrá, resolving to fall on the Russians whilst in the act of making the passage: he was, however, deceived. By an extraordinary daring and clever movement from Plotsk, lower down the Vistula, Count Paskévitch avoided unnecessary bloodshed, and crossed over close to the Prussian frontier, at the hamlet of Osiék; thence he moved rapidly up the left bank of the river, direct upon Warsaw, defeating the enemy's detachments that blocked up his way.

In vain Skrjinécky, assembling all his forcss, strove to arrest his progress on the banks of the Bzúra, near Sokhatchew. The field-marshal, by a dexterous movement against Lovitch, turned the strong position of the enemy, and forced them back to Warsaw. The rebellious diet, instigated by turbulent demagogues, accused Skrjinécky of inactivity, even of treason, and appointed Dembinsky in his stead, but proclaimed Kriukovécky chief of the so-called national government, with the authority of dictator, making the commander-in-chief subordinate to him. This revolution of affairs was performed amidst a dreadful insurrection of the populace, who, with ungovernable fury tore in pieces many innocent persons suspected of treason; amongst whom were several women and children. In the frenzy of crime and despair, the masterspirits of the revolt called all the inhabitants to arms, and proclaimed that Warsaw should be a second Saragossa. They had in view, by a long and obstinate defence, to gain time and persuade into co-operation several cabinets which were favourable to Poland; in fact, Warsaw was capable of holding out a long siege, and of exhausting the besiegers. It was

defended by three lines of fortifications, erected outside the suburbs, and mounted with guns of heavy calibre, by a number of pitfalls, lofty ramparts, deep ditches with palisades, and by the desperate valour of numerous troops. In the town itself, in the streets barricades and palisades were constructed, ditches excavated, and places undermined. The people were prepared to defend every house. Their leaders were so confident in their means of defence, that they thought it expedient to detach, from the 60,000 men assembled at Warsaw, a corps of 20,000, under the command of Romarino, to proceed on the right bank of the Vistula to the annihilation of Baron Rosen's corps, which was marching upon Praga. A crushing blow dissipated their chimeras.

Arriving at Warsaw, on the 24th of August, with 73,000 men and 390 guns, Count Paskévitch sent to the revolters the Emperor's last merciful invitation to the people to make a voluntary submission. They answered as before, insolently and with haughtiness, declaring that they took up arms to obtain national independence in those limits which had formerly separated Poland from Russia. The field-marshal, under existing circumstances, each hour being precious—gave orders to prepare for storming. In the night of the 25th of August, the troops stood under arms, and at the first break of day an incessant cannonading resounded from 200 guns. The murderous fire continued for full two hours; the artillery poured in grape shot within musket-range of the redoubts. As soon as the enemy's fire began to slacken, the storming column, gallantly and in perfect order, moved forward to the assault, the volunteers of the regiments of the guards taking the lead and singing their national songs. The Poles defended themselves with incredible fury, particularly at the principal point, the most strongly defended and most serviceable bulwark of Warsaw—the village of Vola. Vain were their efforts. The

Russians made themselves masters of Vola and the first line of the fortifications. On the following day, the anniversary of the battle of Borodino, it was proposed to storm the remaining redoubts and the town-ramparts.

The Diet, alarmed, furnished Kriukovécky with full powers to enter into negotiations with Count Paskévitch, for the return of the Polish nation to its allegiance to the Russian sovereign. Kriukovécky made his appearance in the camp, but with such presumptuous demand, that the field-marshal thought it useless to enter into further negotiations with him; but, only at his urgent request, consented to give the Diet three hours for deliberation, again reiterating, that nothing but the unconditional submission of the Poles to their lawful sovereign could save Warsaw from all the horrors of a storm. At the expiration of the term, not having received any satisfactory answer, the commander-in chief sent Prince Suvórof, a captain of cavalry, to Warsaw to announce that the assault would begin, and in about half-an-hour a fire was opened from all the batteries. The revolters, on their side, answered by a general cannonading from the separate forts and the town-ramparts. A dreadful combat continued from mid-day till mid-night. The count himself received a severe contusion on his left arm from a cannon-ball. The infuriated troops surmounted every obstacle. About mid-night, under a conflagration that enveloping the suburbs, and in the midst of a destructive discharge of artillery, the Russian bayonets began to glisten on the town-ramparts. The revolters were defeated; the victorious army was ready to force its way into the now defencelcess Warsaw. The commander-in-chief restrained it. The Poles supplicated for pardon, surrendering themselves unconditionally to the generosity of the Sovereign. Their army, by command of the field-marshal, marched to Plotsk with orders to remain peaceably there and await the decision of their fate. Immediately

after that, the imperial guard entered Warsaw in triumph. The affair, however, was not yet over.

The Polish troops, on their way to Plotsk, being instigated by the members of the ci-devant revolutionary government, again mutinied, chose Ruibínsky for their leader, and, having concentrated in the outskirts of Modlin, evinced their hostile intentions. Romarino, with his corps, refused to lay down his arms. The field-marshal hastened to advance against the principal forces of the revolters, surrounded them on three sides and chased them into Prussia, where they, to the number of 20,000 men, threw down their arms, whilst Romarino with 15,000 men escaped to the Austrian territory.

The revolt in Poland was extinguished. Its results were dreadful. The country, but lately tranquil, flourishing and rich, beheld itself on a sudden, a sacrifice to those very evils which formerly, during the course of several centuries, had lacerated its bosom. For eight long months it presented a bloody spectacle of wars, fires and devastation. The right bank of the Vistula, the principal theatre of hostilities, was positively soaked with blood and heaped up with the ashes of towns and villages. The inhabitants of the left bank were ruined by imposts and every species of taxes. Amidst these military alarms, all the fountains of national industry were dried up, which not long before had been so actively and beautifully developed. the sources of wealth were annihilated; the very means of subsistence were exhausted. But that was not all : together with the revolt there raged also a destructive plague. The finger of God was evidently weighing upon a criminal people.

Compassionating the misery of Poland, the Emperor, immediately on the cessation of the revolt, took determined measures, as well for healing the wounds of the unhappy country inflicted by her own arms, as for preventing a similar evil in time to come. In the first place, his majesty tran-

quillized the mind and consciences of the offending people, by granting his generous pardon to all persons, who had gone astray, having been drawn into the revolt by threats or by fraudulent devices. The severity of the law remained in all its force only for the chief criminals, the authors and leaders of the revolt, and for those, who persisted in their evil purposes, and would not avail themselves of the mercy of the sovereign till the allotted period was past. Immediately following this, by a sovereign decree of the 14th of February 1832, a new order of things was established in the Polish kingdom, calculated to protect Poland from all further attempts on her tranquillity, and to maintain her indissoluble union with Russia. To the inhabitants of the kingdom were left all the advantages necessary to the happiness of each individual and the welfare of the country: religious toleration and the security, both of person and property; all the avenues to industry and education were laid open; a separate administration of justice and of finance, in accordance with local demands and the customs of the inhabitants was granted; assemblies of the nobility, municipal and village assemblies and provincial coucils, with a deliberating voice, were established; and the preservation of the national tongue in all public affairs was guaranteed. Together with this was constituted a firm and vigilant government, which should have all means at its command for anticipating and crushing the enterprises of evil-designing persons. The chief direction was concentrated in a council, composed under the directors of the commissions administering in the affairs of the interior, in ecclesiastical matters, national education, justice and finance, and of other persons appointed by the sovereign. The revision of new laws, the yearly budget of the revenue and disbursements, the accounts of the separate branches of the administration, and the devising of means for the better arrangement of the country

were confided to the council of state of the Polish kingdom, in which, under the presidency of the lieutenant, sat, besides the directors of the commissions, the state councillors and other persons appointed by imperial authority. The administration of the provinces was intrusted to commissions, whose duty it was fulfil to the letter, the orders of the chief commissions; the towns were to be administered on the same principle by persons elected by the corporations. The appointment of the judges of the first two instances was left to the provincial councils; the judges of the higher instances were to be appointed by the sovereign. The Polish army was not to exist, as formerly, a separate establishment, but to be incorporated into the Russian. In the general expences of the empire, the kingdom of Poland was to participate according to its means. To Russian subjects residing in the Polish kingdom were to be granted all the rights of Polish subjects, who, in their turn, should they live in Russia, would enjoy similar advantages. The publication of opinions through the press were to be subjected to limitations, essentially necessary to ensure a proper respect for religion, the integrity of the rights of the sovereign, the purity of morals and personal honour.

Having by such means secured the peace and tranquillity of the Polish people, the Emperor confided the fulfilment of his plans to him who with equal talent had led the army to victories, and established prosperity in the midst of the nations whom he had conquered. The Prince of Warsaw, clad in the dignity of Lieutenant of the Polish kingdom, with astonishing success, in a short time, healed the deep wounds of revolt, and raised the kingdom to the highest degree of prosperity. Industry flourished as before; contentment and riches returned. For the future prosperity, however, of Poland the best pledge will be the education of the rising generation, which, to all appearance will be more rational than the old.

CHAPTER II.

The Cholera. 1830—1831.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE DISEASE.—EXTENSION IN THE SOUTH AND EAST OF RUSSIA.—PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES.—CHOLERA AT MOSCOW.—ITS VIOLENCE.—ARRIVAL OF THE SOVEREIGN AT MOSCOW.—CESSATION OF THE DISEASE.—CHOLERA IN THE WEST AND NORTH OF RUSSIA.—ITS EFFECTS IN ST. PETERSBURG.

The Polish rebellion had agitated Russia in a sad moment for her—a period of national calamity.

As far back as 1817, symptoms of an epidemic were discovered in Astrakhan—a disease until then unknown to us, which at that time was raging in India with incredible ferocity. It was the Cholera—as destructive as the plague. Having carried off some hundreds of victims in the lower regions traversed by the Volga, it penetrated no further into the interior of Russia, and passed away; but in about twelve years it made its appearance in the Orenburg-line, and in 1830 on the other side of the Caucasus—at Salian on the banks of the Kuv; thence, in the month of June, it rapidly spread to Dagestan and Georgia—devastating both town and village; at the same time it broke out again with redoubled fury, at Orenburg. From beyond the Caucasus it passed over to Kizliar and Astrakhan, the government delayed not to take determined measures for arresting the evil at the very threshold; but neither the severity of the quarantine, nor the exertions of the medical faculty, could save the Empire from its horrors.

From the shores of the Caspian, the malady, like an irresistible torrent, extended itself through Russia in two principal directions: on the one side from Astrakhan up the Volga through Saratoff, Simbírsk, Kazan, Nijnii Nóvgorod to Yaroslav; on the other down the Terek and the Kubán to the districts of the Kazaks of the Don, New Russia, Podólia and Bessarabia.

After raging in the Southern and the Eastern regions, the Cholera rapidly advanced to the very heart of Russia—to Moscow. There, all precautionary measures had been taken betimes, as well for saving the capital from the pestilence as for weakening the activity of the disease in case it should appear: a military cordon was established of six squadrons of the 4th Hussar division on the South-East frontier of the government of Moscow; on all the roads leading from infected places, the bridges were destroyed and the ferries abolished: for communication with the adjacent governments four points only were designated: at Serpúkhoff, Kolómna, Bogorodítsk and the Spasskoi Monastery; travellers to Moscow were obliged to undergo the term of fourteen days quarantine at the barriers of observation. Here also the posts and estafettes from the governments beyond Moscow were detained—the correspondence, after fumigation, being delivered over to other persons for further transmission. A council was formed in Moscow under the presidency of the military governor—General Prince Golítsuín; each member of the council took upon himself the care and superintendence of an allotted part of the town—and was obliged immediately, on the first intimation from the inspector of the quarter of an suspicious illness, to repair personally, or send his assistant with a doctor to attest the disease. There was also formed a medical board, which assembled daily to take such active measures against the epidemic as were dictated by experience. It was determined to establish in each

of the twenty quarters of the city, a hospital containing from twenty to fifty beds.

The oppressively hot summer of 1830 terminated happily; never had the health of the old capital—judging from the bills of mortality—been so favourable as at the beginning of the autumn. In the middle of September the fatal news overwhelmed Moscow: the cholera was at her walls. Inexpressible was the terror of the people. They knew that the disease spared not even the most robust constitution; that those infected by it, in a few hours, yielded up their health in excruciating torments; and that the most assiduous researches had not been able to discover by what means it was communicated: contact with the patients did not always necessarily communicate the disease; meanwhile the cholera went straight forward with all the symptoms of an epidemic; sometimes it took—as it were—a leap over a vast tract, regardless of all quarantine precautions. There remained no doubt that the mortal poison was in the very air—so that life in infected places appeared hopeless. In Moscow dreadful misfortunes were apprehended. The inhabitants locked themselves up in their houses, and, with terror, gazed on the future. All who possessed means, and had the power, hastened to be gone.

On the first report of the misery which had befallen the first capital of Russia, the Emperor, on the 24th of September, wrote to Moscow to the Governor-General: "With heartfelt "sympathy I have received your distressing news. Inform me "by estafettes of the progress of the malady. On your infor-"mation my departure will depend. I will come and partake "dangers and difficulties with you. Submission to the will of "God!" Scarcely had Prince Golítsuín succeeded in receiving this despatch—when the joyful and, at the same time, incredible news spread with the rapidity of lightning. "The sovereign is in Moscow!" Many saw, on the morning of the

29th of September—a day for Russia never to be forgotten!—His Majesty stopped at the Ivérskoi gate—an entrance to the Kreml—and prostrated himself before the image of the Holy Virgin. The people could not believe their eyes, they surrounded the sovereign and loudly prayed for his safety. "Our father," they cried on all sides, "we knew Thou wouldst be here. Where misery is there art Thou."

The imperial flag very soon waved over the palace; the cathedral churches sent forth their merry peals; and the Kreml was filled with immense crowds, who, in trembling suspense, and with emotion, beheld their common father on his way from the palace of the Tsars to the great Uspenskii Cathedral, to entreat the Almighty for the safety of his children. At the entrance to the temple, Philaret, the metropolitan of Moscow said to his majesty: "We meet thee, "O sovereign! with the cross; may resurrection and life go "forth with thee!"

Tranquillized by the presence of the emperor, Moscow recovered her spirits; and, with trust in the goodness of Providence, and implicit confidence in the government, submitted to all the measures which were considered indispensable to the dispersion of the pestilence. In that submission, in that confidence, many found "resurrection and life." The presence of the sovereign had also other beneficial results. In all classes, the liveliest eagerness was manifested to do good—an emulation in aid of suffering humanity. Infirmaries were appointed for the use of the infected, and temporary hospitals for the benefit of the poorer classes—the most subject to the epidemic—sprang up, and were completed in a very short time, as if by magic. Nobles willingly gave up their houses for lazaretti; in the number of whom it is impossible to forget Pashkoff, who, for the purpose, spared not his magnificent mansion; the rich and the poor sacrificed money and all

things necessary for the afflicted; sons of magnates aspired to the honour of being assistants to the curators, and shared their laborious duties; students of the university, and the academy, offered to serve in the infirmaries and assist the infected.

The Emperor remained in Moscow more than a week; and, having tranquillized the minds, and arranged all things absolutely indispensable to the staying of the pestilence, returned to St. Petersburg to his family, who were impatiently awaiting him. On the road to the capital his majesty was detained at Tver, where a military cordon had been established for the protection of the north of Russia from the epidemic, and there underwent the term appointed by the quarantine regulations, as an example of an unconditional and exact fulfilment of the country's laws.

By the salutary measures of the government, always under the blessing of the Almighty, the contagion, towards the end of autumn, began perceptibly to abate, and did not produce, in Moscow, that mortality which, at first, was apprehended, judging from its virulent activity in other places. At Astrakhán it destroyed a tenth part of the population—in Moscow, a sixtieth.

In the spring of 1831, the cholera made its appearance in the western governments; about the middle of May it showed itself at Riga; and, at the same time, re-appeared in the towns on the Volga; thence penetrating into the depths of the north to the White Sea. It raged with singular obstinacy during the Polish rebellion.

The northern capital of Russia, protected from the very beginning of the spring, by vigilant cordons at all points of land, and water-communication with the surrounding governments, lost not all hope of deliverance from the almost universal misery, till the middle of June. The disease had already raged through the whole extent of the empire, save

in Petersburg, which had remained inaccessible to it. At length that city also shared in the general calamity. The first indications of the cholera were discovered on the 14th of June, in a barge arriving from Vuitegra. In a fortnight the malady had rapidly spread, and attained to an alarming degree, infecting daily, with its mortal poison, from 300 to 500 persons; of whom more than the half died. For the preservation of the people, those measures which had produced such beneficial effects in Moscow, were taken in good time by the government: a central committee was formed of the highest dignitaries of the empire who enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign; curatory and experienced doctors were appointed to every part of the town; infirmaries and temporary establishments were opened for supplying the necessitous classes with food and clothing; regulations, approved of by experience, for the prevention of the pestilence, were published. The curators and doctors performed their difficult duties with exemplary zeal.

But in the meanwhile, as the epidemic was arriving at its highest pitch of virulence, evil-designing, or thoughtless persons insinuated amongst the common people—the working class—that it was not a disease, but poison, which was destroying the public; that Polish rebels, lurking in the capital, threw poison into the flour and the water; and that the doctors, in conspiracy with the police, had caused healthy persons to be forcibly placed in the hospitals, where they uselessly tormented them. The credulous and imprudent believed these absurd rumours, abandoned their work, and crowded the streets and the squares, where they stopped, searched, and insulted the passers-by, suspecting them of being poisoners. At length, in their folly, they meditated the design of delivering the patients, as though the latter were confined to the hospitals by compulsion, forced their way into

two temporary lazaretti, smashed the windows, drew out the sufferers, and got to such a pitch of disorder, that even several lives were lost. The police were not in sufficient force to check the turbulence of the multitude. Their masses assembled in the Siennói-square, in the Great Sadóvoi, the Yamskói, and in the Karétnor quarter. The doctors feared to show themselves—the police-officers likewise. Well-disposed persons were in terror. In the Gostínoi Dvor plunder was apprehended, and many dealers closed their shops. For the safety of the houses, and the re-establishment of order, military detachments were called out, and patrols were stationed in the places where the people were assembled in greatest numbers. The agitation did not subside; the precautionary measures were repulsed; and the populace abandoned themselves to inebriety.

At that time, the Emperor was at his usual summer residence in Peterhoff. Deeply afflicted by the unexpected news of the decease of the Tsesarévitch, the Grand Duke Constantine Pávlovitch, who died at Vitebsk, of cholera, after some hours suffering, the sovereign, being informed of what was passing in the capital, on the morning of the 23rd of June, appeared in his travelling carriage, accompanied by Adjutant-General Prince Ménshikoff, in the Siennói-square, then thronged with people, and stopped before the church of the Holy Saviour. The crowds surrounded his majesty on all sides. Severely regarding the beguiled multitude, he, in a few words, represented to them the whole weight of their crime, and ordered the crowd to fall upon their knees before the temple of God, to entreat forgiveness of the Almighty. The people, instantaneously coming to their senses, with contrition at heart, fell upon their faces, making the sign of the cross; and, at the departure of their sovereign, returned to their work, being ashamed of their former error. The appearance of the Emperor in the Yamskói, and the Karétnoi quarter produced a like magic effect. The

day after, the sovereign, visiting the places of the previous tumults, remarked with satisfaction that nowhere was any mob to be seen, and that every one was occupied with his own business. At the same time, His Majesty called the mayor to him, and ordered that in all parts of the city cholera infirmaries should be erected, with 100 beds to each, for which he was pleased to grant 130,000 rubles banco, out of the treasury of the state. In a few days after that, the cholera began by degrees to abate; and although it did not wholly disappear until the commencement of November, yet at the end of August but few victims had been carried off, and the joyful news of the conquest of Warsaw was received at the moment of general confidence in the goodness of the Almighty.

Much might be said of the active measures of the government for alleviating other public misfortunes—of the seasonable arrestation of the epidemic in the province of New Russia—of the generous succour afforded to those suffering from fire, famine, and other afflicting contingencies inevitable to humanity; but the details of these particular events, important to this or that province, cannot have place in a general outline. Let us look on what has been done for the welfare of the *whole* people—for the protection of internal good order, by the power of the law—for the development of the capabilities of the state—and for our education.

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS I.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

The Legislation, 1826—1845.

STATE OF THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY PREVIOUSLY TO 1826.—HIS MAJESTY'S RESCRIPT TO PRINCE LOPUKHIN.—FORMATION OF A SECOND SECTION IN THE EMPEROR'S PRIVY CHANCERY.—SPERANSKII.—PUBLICATION OF A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF THE LAWS.—COMPENDIUM.—ITS IMPORTANCE—AMELIORATION OF THE LAWS.—RE-MODELLING OF THE STATUTES.

GLORIFIED by the genius of Peter, and set in order by the minds of Catherine and Alexander, Russia so rapidly developed her capabilities, and, at the same time, experienced so many changes at home and abroad, that the Government, with unceasing activity, creating and erecting, abolishing and destroying, did not succeed in establishing a general conformity in the parts, and in giving to its ordinances the fulness and proportion so essentially necessary. The laws of the country had not been reduced to a regular system, so indispensable to order in an administration and to impartial justice; and not all the conditions of public welfare had been defined by them with the desirable accuracy; many required a better direction;

the very education of youth did not entirely correspond to the requirements of the people. An organized development of her capabilities out of her own elements, and in the forms of an education essential to her, was the prominent and substantial desideratum of Russia.

From the first day after his majesty's accession to the throne, directing all his thoughts and wishes to one object—to the consolidation of the national prosperity—the emperor turned his anxious attention, chiefly, to the main obstacle to the attainment of that object, viz.—to the melancholy state of the country's legislation.

The grand code of the Tsar Aléxex Mikhailovitch formed the basis of our positive laws now in operation, which date as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century. Karamzin said truly:—"After the election charter, by which Mikhail Romanoff was raised to the throne, the code is the most important fundamental law of our country:" by it, all the former heterogeneous laws were reduced to a perfect whole. But this code being, by the force of circumstances, composed hastily—in two months and a half—comprised within its narrow bounds merely the general and principal elements of legislation, and, for that period even, was shown to be unsatisfactory. Supplements were inevitable, and they appeared in vast numbers, under the name of newly decreed ordinances, often neither in accordance with each other, nor with the principal statutes; hence contradictions and perplexities arose.

Scarcely had half a century elapsed from the time of the publication of the code, when a new compendium appeared to be absolutely indispensable. For this purpose, Peter the Great formed in 1700, a particular chamber or commission of of boiárs and members of the council, and confided to them the composing of a compendium, which should embrace the laws published after it. The undertaking appeared so easy

that, during the same year, a manifesto was prepared concerning the publication of an augmented code; but fourteen years had passed, and the chamber of the boiárs had scarcely succeeded in examining three chapters; meanwhile, with each year, the laws were augmented and errors multiplied. In vain did Peter order the senate to annul all newly decreed ordinances which were not conformable to the code, and to add such as were consistent with it; still some years flew by in analysing these and those articles, but evidently without success. Encountering unexpected laws, Peter the Great chose another way, and the more difficult one: he proposed making a new code through the aid of foreign sources, particularly of the laws of Sweden. The code was his last design, he thought of it on his death bed as of his crowning work.

Ten reigns followed in succession after the death of Peter the Great. The principles of foreign policy and the elements of the system of internal government had undergone a change, but the idea of the necessity of a code was constant—immutable. All the suceessors of Peter endeavoured to accomplish it; and, for better success in so great an undertaking, the deputies of the whole empire were not unfrequently convened. Thus, under Peter II., deputies from the nobility were called together; under Elisavéta Petróvna, from the nobility, clergy, and merchants; under Catherine II., from all estates and conditions, from all the tribes and nations inhabiting Russia. Commissions, under different titles, for the reduction of the laws to a perfect whole, continued, without ceasing, to avail themselves of all the resources at their command for the attainment of the object: some under Peter II. and Paul I. laboured at a compendium of the national laws; others, under Anna Joánnovna and Peter III., for a code composed of Russian laws with the assistance of foreign sources; a third party, under Elisavéta Petróvna, Catherine II., and Alexander I., for a

code extracted from a theory of legislation, in accordance with the necessities of the age and spirit of the national statutes. Not regarding the diversity of the elements, all the commissioners had one purpose—to reduce to unity the different species of laws, to institute, in fact, one general correct code. Thus glided on a hundred years from the decease of Peter the Great. The government spared nothing. The mere expenses for the maintenance of the commissioners from 1754, alone, amounted to a million and a half silver rubles. The fruit of all their efforts, labours, and sacrifices, was a few projects and some chapters which did not receive the force of law.

Meanwhile, from the time of the publication of the grand code—a period of 176 years—the number of acts affecting the property, the rank, and the life of every Russian, had swelled to more than 30,000. They all—at least, the greater part—expressed the constant anxiety of the government for the national prosperity—for the security of the public and of the individual—for an upright administration of justice—for the success of industry and education—and, without a doubt, they yield not, in the goodness of their elements, to any laws in the world; but, existing in a chaotic mass, without a discriminating selection having been made, they presented, not unfrequently, astonishing contradictions, not only amongst themselves, but to the exigences of the age, in consequence of the inevitable progress of events.

From Peter the Great, to the death of the Emperor, Alexander I., Russia underwent a rapid change in every condition of society, in her manners and customs; together with them the state of the laws was changed also; hence, that enormous difference between the laws of Peter the Great, Catherine II., and Alexander I. Many government measures, clothed in the form of law in the age of Peter, were fallen into decay in that of Alexander; meanwhile, in judicial, civil,

and criminal matters, the old was confounded with the new.

There certainly existed a radical principle, that every pre-existing law should be annulled by a succeeding one, published under the same circumstances, and on the same subject; yet, it not unfrequently happened, that although the subject-matter of the old law was abolished, the details originating in it had a peculiar force of their own, in manifest opposition to the new. Independently of this—not to allude to any person in particular—the judges themselves often knew not, and could not know, which of the old laws were superseded by the new, and that for a very natural reason: not only was there no kind of compendium, there was not even a satisfactory collection of the laws in chronological order. Even the commissions occupied with examining them, and forming a compendium out of them, had but succinct and incomplete registers. The laws were preserved in the archives of the tribunals, and, according to the intentions of the judges, were either brought to light, or deservedly overlooked.

Yet even allowing conscientiousness on the part of the judge, still a discretionary power prevailed more in our tribunals than elsewhere: in other states, according to the imperfections or incertitude of the positive laws, the judges had an answer ready in the digests of Justinian, which, more or less, served as the basis of civil and criminal legislation in the west of Europe. Our legislation, however, sprang from its native elements, without any influence of the Roman law; consequently, on no such occasion could the judge seek in it for a solution of his scruples: he knew not his own laws, hence, from necessity he decided the trial by his own reason, which was not always right.

Thus our legislation, in spite of its good principles, presented a confused mass, where the mind of the most experienced

jurist was lost as in a maze; where chicanery, cupidity, and imposture, were sure of protection, and an abundant harvest; the innocent were ruined, and the most bare-faced villany triumphed.

Let us recur to that time, when the Imperial voice announced to Russia the firm and resolute determination of her sovereign to reduce the statutes of the country to order. Some of us heard that never-to-be-forgotten announcement with hope and confidence; others, not without apprehension and a dread of failure, having before their eyes a whole century of ineffectual endeavours. But we all, with devotion and liveliest gratitude, perused the lines which now appertain to history: "At the very first review of the different parts of the administration of the state, directing particular attention to the code of the laws of the country, I perceived that the labours undertaken with reference to that part, have for many years past been repeatedly interrupted; and that, therefore, up to the present time, they have not attained their object. Being desirous, as much as possible, of further insuring their successful accomplishment, I have recognised the necessity of taking them into my immediate jurisdiction. For which purpose, I have ordered a particular section to be established for them in my privy chancery."

Thus wrote the emperor to Prince Lopukhin, the president of the imperial council, about a month and a half after the publication of the manifesto of the accession of his majesty to the throne (31st of January, 1826). With the self-denial which that difficult period imposed upon him, his majesty chose for his fellow-labourer a man of rare intellect and intelligence, equally experienced in the practical knowledge of business, and in the theory of the science. This was Speránskii, a name indelibly recorded in the memory of Russia. With extensive means, with indefatigable assistants, with zeal and

inclination, Speránskii entered upon the vast undertaking—the erecting of a majestic monument, on which distant posterity should gaze with admiration. He immortalized his name.

The first and principal business was to draw out a plan on which the whole should depend. Having examined the preceeding occupations of the ten commissions, through a duration of 126 years, Speránskii requested to know the sovereign's pleasure as to what system he should follow. Should he confine himself to the primary idea of Peter the Great, of composing a compendium out of the native laws, and then correct and perfect them according to the dictates of experience—or should he enter at once upon the composition of an improved code? The sovereign, unhesitatingly, chose the former, *i. e.*, ordered a compendium of the operative laws to be formed, without any alterations. By such means the principal and most important question was decided, and a firm footing given to the whole business. To accomplish this plan, it was necessary to prepare materials—to collect the laws, in all practicable completeness, from the published grand code. It was a laborious undertaking.

The collections of laws made public to this time by the government, did not even comprise a hundredth part of them; and those published by private persons, under the names of indexes, dictionaries, and guides, could still less be of assistance, from their evident incompleteness and inaccuracy. The enactments of legislative authority were preserved in the archives of the different jurisdictions, and in the tribunals of St. Petersburg and Moscow—often without registers, and even without tables of contents. It was necessary to institute inquiries, to make registers, to take copies, to verify the copies with the text, to arrange the acts in chronological order, and to print them. With this business the second section of his

majesty's privy chancery was occupied exclusively and indefatigably during the space of four years. At length, in 1830, was published 'A Complete Collection of the Laws," in forty-five volumes, from the grand code to the death of the Emperor Alexander I., embracing 176 years, and comprising more thau 30,000 acts. After this followed a second collection, yearly augmented from the enactments which have been issued since the close of 1825.

In arranging for an edition of the above collections, it was received as a rule, to print, in chronological order, not only all the decrees of sovereign authority, or published by established courts under that authority, for general information, not distinguishing the laws annulled from those in operation, but also many temporary acts, important in an historical sense alone, as monuments of the age. Russia has now a full and faithful collection of her national statutes; and, at the same time, an inestimable treasure for her history, affording to the laborious investigator the possibility, by a sure way, of tracing the internal life of the state; the development of its moral and political capabilities; and the progress of events, so important to us, and, therefore, the more tempting to inquiry.

Thus the first design of the emperor was executed. With equal rapidity, under the immediate influence and guidance of his majesty, a second and more important was likewise accomplished. On the 31st of January, 1833, exactly seven years after Russia had been informed that her sovereign himself was labouring to reduce the statutes of the country to perfect unity—a supreme manifesto announced to her that the dearest wishes of all the monarchs of Russia, from Peter the Great to Alexander I., were at last fulfilled: "All the laws, beginning with the code of 1649, to the 1st of January, 1832, through the multiform changes of time,—having preserved till now their force and activity—being now classified and separated

from all that, by the force of succeeding decrees, have been anulled; all, with the exception of a few particular ordinances, reduced to a uniform composition, are united into a whole, and distributed in books according to the principal subjects of administrative and judicial business. All that, since the 1st of January, 1832, have been enacted, or, from the general progress of legislation may hereafter emanate, shall—according to the order of those books, and with reference to their classification—be distributed in the yearly continuation; and thus the composition of the laws, once arranged, shall be preserved for ever in its fulness and unity."

Russia received a compendium of the national statutes; and all friends of order and law, all impartial persons, comprehending the subject, accepted, with feelings of the deepest gratitude, the gift of the imperial pleasure, and of indefatigable labour, as a pledge—as a prognostic of good arrangement in future. The results have justified the hope of the good and veritable sons of Russia.

Still is that time fresh in the memory, when administrators and judges wandered about in a kind of chaos, meeting in the laws with perpetual errors, obscurities, contradictions; when chicanery had a wide field of action; when extraordinary practice was required in the searching for the laws analogous to the trial, and the trickery of the judge could complicate and obscure the most simple truth at discretion—that time, like a burdensome nightmare, is passed away. All that has the force of law that guarantees our honour and property—all is now accessible and comprehensible to each and all, being explained in the compendium with precision and clearness; and this is the result of a profoundly deliberated, and carefully executed plan, equally conformable to our radical statutes, to the aim of practical usage, and to the demands of the science.

The whole was based on the idea, that a state, comprehen-

sively regarded, consists of two parts—the state itself and civil society; from their existence, all rights and obligations, defined and protected by the laws, take their rise; hence the principal division of the laws into the law of the state and civil law. In the one, some laws define social conditions; in the other, protection is afforded them. From these principles, in a well-ordered system, a general distribution of the laws was deduced, as well as their development down to the minutest details.

Having satisfied the essential requirements of the state, by creating order in justice and the administration, the compendium laid the firm foundations of the science of Russian legislation. Till its publication, instruction in this important branch of public education was far from answering its aim; some professors, without any idea of the science, confined themselves to incoherent extracts of the laws; others addicted themselves to the theories of western jurists, deduced from the Roman or the German law, indispensable to the thorough knowledge and perfection of the one or the other, but often fruitless in the application to the Russian law, which has had its own development and its own history. It was only on the publication of the compendium, together with the complete collection of the laws, that a wide field was opened for a systematic study of them, for a clear and correct view, as well of the history of the science, as of the elements on which that science is based.

But the solicitude of the sovereign in his arrangement of the country's laws was not confined to this; even at the commencement of that vast undertaking, after having satisfied the principal and most pressing wants of the state, after having collected the laws and made a compendium out of them, his majesty entered upon the labour of gradually bringing them to perfection. Of the absolute necessity of this new and

laborious effort, the emperor was firmly convinced by the publication of the compendium; for, by an attentive examination of it, the merits of our legislation as well as its imperfections, the inevitable consequence of an historical development of the moral and political life of the people were made apparent.

In pursuance of the order of the imperial legislator, Count Speranskii, together with M. Dashkoff, the minister of justice, made a representation to his majesty to the effect that there were two expedients for the perfecting of the laws, two dissimilar modes of action—a reform of the separate and independent parts—or a systematic reform of the whole. The former method consisted in reforming, one after another, such articles of the law as were acknowledged inconvenient, and in publishing them separately. In following the latter method it would be indispensable, having considered all the decrees of the code of civil and criminal laws in their totality, to establish general principles for their improvement, and reform them all at the same time. The emperor, having in view that a separate reform would be very unsatisfactory, that the articles of the whole code of laws were strictly bound together, and that it was scarcely possible to reform one without effecting alterations in many others, recognised the principle that a positive reform would be wholly possible only in the latter, *i.e.* systematic method; at the same time, declaring his opinion that it would be fitter to begin with a reform of the criminal laws, of which the defects were peculiarly perceptible.

Inexorable death cut off Speranskii, at the very beginning of this new and important labour, and the reform of our criminal laws was accomplished in the second section of his majesty's privy chancery, under the chief inspection of Count Blúdoff. Confirmed by his majesty in their new form on the 15th of August, 1845, they were brought into operation under the title of a code of criminal and correctional laws.

Meanwhile, as, under the immediate guidance of the sovereign, the general laws of the empire were being reduced to a regular system, extraordinary committees, established by the supreme power in the ministerial and principal administrations, at the will and by an order of his majesty, reviewed, reformed, made supplements, or again composed rules, instructions, and ordinances through all the branches of the state for the advancement of the public wealth, national industry, and education. Not one branch was left without inspection; to each was granted the protection of the law, and new vigour to active development. In a general sketch, it is impossible to count even the most important changes, transformations, and improvements which, almost daily for more than twenty years, have been accomplished before our eyes; clothed in the form of law they even fill twenty immense volumes, comprising about 20,000 acts; and all this vast mass of the multifarious emanations of the legislative power presents itself, in a well-organised form, as the achievement of one great architect, embracing in his lucid mind, all the conditions of the social edifice from the very highest to the most minute, creating and producing according to a plan ripely matured and immutable.

All was based on the idea, that a people can only prosper when its government is at all times prepared to repel and chastise foreign attempts on its tranquillity and security, when in the interior of the state well-disciplined order, founded on the fear of God, predominates, the laws are sacredly fulfilled, national industry flourishes, youth is educated in a spirit of ardent faith, and in a firm reliance on the institutions of the country, and all that is peculiarly great and national enjoys general consideration. Hence our contemporary legislation, firm in its principles, regular in its direction and extensive in the circle of its operations, has revived, has renewed all the resources of our country. Enviable is the destiny in store for

the future generation; but even we also reap the fruits. As an indubitable proof of this, we have only to reflect upon the great event, which has lately been accomplished in the bosom of our church, as well as upon the contemporary development, both of the capabilities of the state and those of the public.

CHAPTER II.

The Dissolution of the Union, 1839.

ORIGIN OF THE UNION.—STATE OF THE UNIATES PREVIOUSLY TO 1828.—GREGO.—UNIATE COLLEGE.—PRELIMINARY STEPS TO A RECONCILIATION OF THE UNIATES WITH THE ORTHODOX GREEK CHURCH.—ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCIL ACT OF POLOTSK.—RETURN OF THE UNIATES TO THE ORTHODOX GREEK CHURCH.

In a historical review of ages long past, we explained in detail, by what means Russia, the inhabitants of which were of one family and one religion, extending from the western districts of the Bug to the banks of the Volga, from the White to the Black Sea, was divided, in the old time of disorder under the yoke of the Tartars into two principal parts, into the two Russian states of Moscow and Lithuania; how the former, aggrandized by the minds of native sovereigns, saved her nationality and independence and was transformed into the powerful and self-supported Tsardom of Russia; how the latter also, in her turn, attained an eminent degree of political power, sacredly and for long time preserved the statutes of the country, gave kings to Poland and, contrary to all expect-

ation: on the dissolution of the dynasty of Jagellon, succumbed to the domination of the Polish magnates experienced all the miseries of anarchy, was shaken in its fundamental principles and took the form of a Polish province. In those troublesome conjunctures, persons clothed in the dignity of pastors of the Orthodox Greek Church in the Duchy of Lithuania, a metropolitan and several bishops, from worldly and interested motions in opposition to the Pope of Rome at the end of the XVIth century, and being protected by their king, a zealous Catholic, introduced into the West of Russia the Union, *i.e.*, disavowed the œcumenical patriarchs, and acknowledged over themselves the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff, retaining, however, the doctrines and ceremonies of the ancient Orthodox faith.

Being received with the universal murmurs of the Russian nation, as a criminal act, the Union, at its commencement had but few partisans. The Polish government took its measures for a more rapid propagation of it: the Jesuits overcame the mind and conscience of the Lithuano-Russian nobility, established schools for the education of well-born youth, and insinuated themselves into the very families of the great, under pretext of being Uniate monks; so that in one century, the XVIIth, all the nobility in Western Russia (amongst whom were many descendants of St. Vladimir) were converted to the Union, although the greater part of them subsequently went over to the Roman Catholic religion. In the remaining classes, the clergy, and the inhabitants of the towns and villages, one half preserved the faith of their ancestors; whilst the other joined the schism, and the nation was divided into two parties, the Orthodox and the Uniate; each party had its metropolitan and continued to have one down to our time. Inimical to each other, both parties were equally persecuted and hunted by the Roman Catholics, were deprived of civil rights, and

were already about to sink in a harassing struggle with implacable fanaticism,—the Orthodox adopting the Union, the Uniates introducing the Catholic ceremonies into the church service, when the Empress Catherine II., put an end to their outrageous violence, and to the propagation of the heresy.

Its ancient provinces, all the western region, which had been wrested from the mother country by men of other races during the calamitous period of our history, now reverting to Russia, her majesty granted the protection of the law to all its inhabitants, without distinction of religious faith; but, at the same time, severely interdicted the conversion of her new subjects to the Union, or their passing over to the Roman Catholic faith, and permitted the Uniates fearlessly to return to the bosom of the Orthodox Greek Church. Very many of them availed themselves of that permission, particularly in Volhynia and Podolia.

Yet still about two millions remained in the Union; and in a stranger and more unnatural position than before. Russians by extraction, Russians according to the doctrines of their faith and subject to the Russian Sovereign, they at the same time acknowledged the Pope of Rome as the chief of their church to the prejudice of the unity and concord of the state. Being looked upon by their Russian brethren as no better than apostates, they were rudely separated from them; nor did they cling to the Catholics who, as formerly, continued to designate their religion, the religion of *bondsmen*, not considering that the Uniate Church, through two centuries of violence, had receded from its first principles, and, in the ceremonies of divine service, in the form of the temples, in the usage of the sacred books, had imitated the Church of Rome. The administration of the affairs of the one and the other by a spiritual college—Roman Catholic—established at the end of the

previous century—sustained the existence of the Union down to our time.

In the very beginning of his reign the Emperor, directing his provident attention to the fate of his subjects who, by the force of compulsory circumstances, cunning snares and cruel violence, had been torn from the Orthodox Greek Church, by a supreme ukaz of the 22nd of April, 1828, ordered: "that, for the Greco-Uniate Churches in Russia, there should be established, under the presidency of their Metropolitan, Josaphat Bulgak, a separate Greco-Uniate College which, having jurisdiction over all the affairs of the Church, should be obliged to carefully guard its institutions, the rite of divine service and all the order of church government, from the influence of any kind of strange innovation, contrary to the spirit of the Greek ceremonies, on the precise basis of the decree of 1595, which laid down the principles of the Union. The direct administration of the affairs of the Greco-Uniate churches was left, under the supreme influence of the college, to the two diocesan governments of White Russia and Lithuania. In both dioceses were established cathedral-chapters, consistories, seminaries, and primary schools; but at Polotsk an ecclesiastical academy was founded. For the maintenance and education of the clergy abundant funds were assigned.

Returning, through such means, to its first principles and being secured from foreign influence, the Greco-Uniate church, in the space of ten years, made its appearance in a new and splendidly metamorphosed form. The bishops and other clerical authorities, frankly acknowledging the number of innovations, which, in the progress of time, had crept into it, firmly resolved to everywhere restore the original form of the temples, and supply them with all the attributes of the ancient service. In consequence of this, instead of the erroneous church-books of different impressions, in which the sacred language was

mutilated, uniform books of a new and carefully revised edition were universally introduced; the altars obtained the correct form, organs were abolished, and divine service—according to the corrected books—was performed in the magnificent Sclavonic, by priests in proper vestments, with an observance of the ceremonies commemorative of the Church in its primitive state. The people listened with joy in the temples of God to their native tongue, and, without difficulty, entered the pale of the Orthodox Greek Church.

Meanwhile the Greco-Uniate clergy—with the exception of a few monks who had passed over to the Union from the Roman church—with exemplary unanimity co-operated with the zeal of their bishops and the spiritual authorities: the rising generation educated in the Polotsk Ecclesiastical Academy, in the two seminaries and in the twenty inferior schools, received the truly orthodox direction.

At this conjuncture, the high office of Greco-Uniate Metropolitan became vacant by the death of Josaphat Bulgak; the place of president of the College was filled by his senior member Joseph (Siemashko) bishop of Lithuania; the chief administration in the affairs of the Greco-Uniate Church was confided by the Sovereign on the 1st of January, 1838, to Count Protasoff—chief procurator of the Most Holy Synod, and the undertaking, blessed in the protection of heaven, was speedily brought to a happy termination.

In the week of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday of the great fast), the 12th of February 1839, were assembled at Polotsk all the Greco-Uniate bishops in Russia who, with the principal clergy, composed a council-act, in which, explaining in detail the true state of their church, they decreed, in accordance with a proposition of the whole Greco-Uniate clergy, in which they were justified by more than 1300 signatures to present to the Emperor the following most humble petition: "By the

wresting from Russia, in troublous times, of her Western provinces of Lithuania, and, by successive machinations, their annexation to Poland, the Russian orthodox inhabitants were subjected to severe persecution through the unwearied efforts of the Polish government and the Court of Rome, to separate them from the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church and to unite them to the Western. Persons of the highest station, their rights being in every way circumscribed, were forced to embrace the Roman faith, which was novel to them, and forgot even their own extraction and nationality. Citizen and peasant were alike forced from communion with the Eastern Church, by means of the Union which was introduced at the close of the XVIth century. From that time, this people has been separated from its mother Russia: to effect which indefatigable artifices were directed in order to alienate it from its ancient country; and the Uniates experienced, in its full sense, all the bitterness of a foreign yoke.

"On the restoration to Russia of her ancient heritage, the greater half of the Uniates were annexed to their ancestral Greco-Russian Church, and the remainder found support and protection from the over-bearing influence of the Romish priesthood. In the blessed reign of your Imperial Majesty, under your beneficent auspices, most gracious Sovereign, the greater part of them are now restored to the ancient pure rites and ordinances of the Greco-Eastern Church; the sons of their clergy receive an education responsive to their calling — an education which entitles them not only to be, but to feel themselves Russians.

"But the Greco-Uniate Church, in its separate form, in the midst of other denominations, can never wholly acquire either perfect organization, or the tranquillity indispensable to its prosperity, and the numbers appertaining to it; the inhabitants of the western governments, Russians by language and

origin, expose themselves to the danger of remaining in a position agitated by the inconstancy of circumstances, and of being somewhat estranged from the orthodox brethren.

"These reasons and, more especially, anxieties for the eternal welfare of the flock confided to us, urge us, firmly convinced of the truth of the sacred apostolic doctrines of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church, to fall at the feet of your Imperial Majesty, and most humbly to pray you, O most powerful Monarch! to consolidate the future destiny of the Uniates, by permitting them to be re-united to their ancestral Orthodox Church, the Church of All the Russias. In assurance of our conjoint agreement on this subject, we have the happiness of presenting a Council Act, composed by us, the bishops and ruling clergy of the Greco-Uniate Church, in the city of Polotsk, together with the autographical declarations of 1,305 persons of the Greco-Uniate clergy not present."

Rendering gratitude from the depth of his soul to Almighty God, who had inclined the hearts of so great a number of the Russian clergy, so long estranged, to return, together with their flock, to their true mother, the Emperor ordered Count Pratásoff to lay the aforesaid Act, and the Declarations, before the Most Holy Synod for examination, and the making of all the necessary arrangements, in conformity with the ordinances of the Church.

The Most Holy Synod decreed, according to the regulations of the holy fathers, to receive the bishops, priests, and all the flock of the Greco-Uniate Church, into a full and perfect participation of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Eastern Church, and into the indivisible constitution of the Church of All the Russias; and on this subject to present to the Emperor a most humble Report.

On the 25th day of March, the festival of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and the eve of the greatest of solemni-

ties—the Resurrection of Christ, the Report of the Synod was followed by the consent of his Majesty, in these words, "*I thank God, and accept.*"

After hearing the supreme consent read in a full assembly of the Synod, on the 30th of March, the Chief Procurator conducted the Lithuanian bishop, Joseph, into the assembly. The metropolitan of Novgorod and St Petersburg (Seraphim) then informed him of the accomplishment of the re-union, and, in the name of the Church of All the Russias, complimented him, as the representative of the re-united clergy, on so wished-for an event. Philaret, the metropolitan of Kieff and Galicia, read the synodal decree addressed to the re-united clergy; and the metropolitan of Moscow and Kolómna, the supreme confirmation of the ordinance of the Synod, changing the name of the Greco-Uniate Ecclesiastical College to that of the Lithuanian College of White Russia, and appointing for its president the Lithuanian bishop, Joseph, who was, at the same time, raised to the dignity of an archbishop. The most reverend Joseph presented the thanks of the whole re-united body; and, after mutually greeting each other with the kiss of peace, they all repaired to the synodal church, where a grateful "Te Deum" was offered up to Almighty God.

The happy spectacle and the re-union was repeated at Vitebsk, Polotsk, Velije, Suraje, Orsha, Minsk, and Vilna. Without agitation or disturbance, brother returned to brother; and, from that time, the whole of the population of the western region of the empire, with the exception of the properly so-called Lithuanians and Jmudi, is become not only Russian, but also orthodox.

CHAPTER III.

Present state of Russia.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESOURCES OF THE EMPIRE.—EXTERNAL DEFENCE.—FLEET.—ARMY.—RUSSIAN SOLDIERS.—RUSSIAN OFFICERS.—INTERNAL STRENGTH OF THE EMPIRE.—SUCCESS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.—COMPLETION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR PUBLIC ORDER.—INDUSTRY.—ENCOURAGEMENT TO TALENT.—NATIONAL EDUCATION.—STATE OF THE PUBLIC SEMINARIES PREVIOUSLY TO 1826.—THEIR INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS.—PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS FOR INSTRUCTION.—MILITARY AND OTHER ACADEMIES.—CONCLUSION.

By the dissolution of the Union, the deep wound inflicted on Russia by the artifices of men of other races was closed. After such an event equally unexpected and desired, we have a right to hope, that time, aided by the indefatigable solicitude of government, will also heal our other evils, of which some even derive their origin from the dominion of the Tartar—others from the times of Godunoff, and Nickon. Engendered by troublesome conjunctures, they are inevitably weakened, and will be compelled gradually to wholly disappear at the presence of perfect order in the state, established under the blessed influence of enlightenment. The contemporary development, both of the resources of the state and those of the public, serves to show that that period is not far off from us.

Many difficulties, many new anxieties had our government

to encounter in the business of reforming and bringing to perfection the multiform branches of our civil existence, arranging the mutual relations of the various classes, securing a rigid fulfilment of the laws, augmenting the wealth of the state and of the nation, and opening new ways and sources of industry; but what was most essential to our prosperity had been already carried out; and only near sighted people, blind and obstinate in their prejudices, or inexperienced visionaries unacquainted with the history of their country, could fail to remark the constant and, at the same time, quiet movement of Russia forward for the better.

More than ever, our security from without is guaranteed: on the confines of the empire, at the principal strategical points, by land and sea, redoubtable fortresses are erected. The war ports of the Baltic, Black and Caspian Seas, of the Northern and Eastern Oceans, are shadowed by a flag on which the maritime powers look with respect.

The Russian fleet, even in the first years after its regeneration, did not yield in intrepidity to the English or the French at Navarino. It soon threw Turkey into alarm; but subsequently saving her, covered Constantinople with her flag, and cleared the Black Sea of the pirates of the unruly Caucasus.

The Russian army is known to all Europe, which for more than a hundred years has resounded with our victories; but never did our army attain to such a pitch of discipline as it now may boast of. The military ordinances carefully revised, reduced to unity, ameliorated and augmented from the most important rules and regulations of the operative army, to the utmost minutiæ, and the management of the commissariat, have revivified and harmonised all the parts of so vast and complicated a machine the chief strength of which lies in its proper arrangement. All the obligations of service, all the

conditions of authority and responsibility have been defined with greater accuracy, and a regular audit appointed.

The soldier is guaranteed by the government in all things necessary to him, in his maintenance, nourishment, and equipment; the service is therefore his sole care—his sole object. He is submitted to a vigilant superintendence, which traces his every step, his thought, and his wish; anticipates his errors; and severely, but not cruelly, visits each omission: so that the fifteen years of a soldier's service, convert into a useful citizen, the man, who, not unfrequently before his entrance into the army, was, by his offences, a burden both to his family and the public. How much higher, much more to be admired is the moral dignity of a Russian warrior, taken from beneath the paternal roof—from the embraces of his beloved family by the lot of service. Having faithfully and truly served his sovereign and his country, he returns to his native hearth, or enters upon a calling conformable to his resources, firm in his devotedness to the throne, rigid in the fulfilment of his duties, active, prudent, and industrious.

Military promotion has, in the course of the last twenty years, taken a new direction; now a-days, it is difficult for an officer who has not received a fundamental and solid education, to obtain a commission. The guards, the army, and the fleet, are yearly replenished, for the greater part from such as have been reared in the cadet corp. The engineer and artillery schools, and other establishments for military instruction; are under vigilant inspection; therein future officers, from their youth up, become accustomed to the order of service, to the unconditional accomplishment of their duties, learn the military art experimentally and scientifically, acquire an emulation to noble ambition, and enter the world with a mind enlightened, and with a soul full of the most lively gratitude to him who cares for them as his own children.

Protected by sea and land by our own forces, we have no need to trouble ourselves about alliances; and we look with indifference on the petty intrigues of the West in its impotent envy of our immoveable strength.

Europe may envy us also in another respect: at the time when popular dissensions and religious quarrels are alarming and agitating her, and the conjunction of her parts is evidently enfeebled by the awakened animosity of races, by the obstinacy of parties, by the distrust of nations in their governments, Russia, firmly attached to the throne, is clearly strengthening herself more and more by a progressive fusing of her heterogeneous elements into a whole, into an illimitable power, where the whole submits to one Russian law, wherever the Russian language is known and wherever the Orthodox Church triumphs.

Our home-security, the order of the administration, our reputation and property, are protected by the national statutes, reduced to a perfect system, accessible to all now-a-days, to all comprehensible, and annually corrected and augmented according to the dictates of experience. Of course, the very best laws are powerless, the most prudent measures fruitless, when in the general mass there is no inward, moral persuasion of the indispensable necessity of a friendly co-operation with the government; but, thanks to the Almighty, Russia is not in such a position: with love, with confidence, she turns her regard upon her Monarch, and each estate devotedly honours his commands. The laws, as the expression of the Imperial will, are to us sacred.

There have been, are, and ever will exist, criminal violators of them, people forgetful of honour and the obligation of an oath; but in consequence of order being established in all parts of the administration, such public enemies make their appearance more and more rarely. At least, examples of abusive

power, unconscientious exaction and open injustice, are not so frequent, not so revolting as they formerly were. A rigid audit of accounts, careful revision, constant observance of the higher authorities over the lower, increase of salaries, the hope of being recompensed for the zealous fulfilment of their duties—a hope which all may share—the pensioning by the government of our superannuated officers and placemen, their widows and orphans—the dismissal from the service of the incapacitated and the trustless, and the substitution in their places of men brought up at the universities and other superior institutions—all these ameliorations have concurred to give a new aspect to the functionary class, and produce in the tribunals a beneficial change, comprehensible to every one who remembers the former order of things, some twenty years ago.

There is also none of the former fearlessness in contravening the law: a watchful eye from the height of the throne traces the secret practices of the interested judge, the arbitrariness of the government officer, the perversity of the spendthrift, the hardheartedness of the landlord; and how often have we been witnesses of the terrible downfall of people, forgetful of their obligations, eluding the grasp of the law; and yet in the moment of their thoughtless self-confidence crushed, as if by the thunder of the all seeing Providence!

But this is not all: our wants and necessities, our merits and failings clearly analysed, maturely and sagaciously deliberated upon, together with the ukaz on the subject of entail, the establishment of a class of honorary citizens, commercial tribunals, an amicable division of previously unsurveyed lands, a new order of administration of the state, with many other measures, are beyond all doubt bringing our social condition to a state of perfection.

New ways and resources are opened to the industry of the country, and new means granted for its active development.

Its every success rejoices the heart of the sovereign; and, constantly animated by his beneficent attention, it will rapidly approach that state when foreign wares will only be required to satisfy inordinate luxury.

Not one happy effort of the mind in the departments of learning and art, not one remarkable production of the literature of the country, has remained without the Imperial welcome—always indicated most graciously and with recompense. Persons of high talent, artists, literati, first-class scholars, in our country, receive such attention and respect, as may create envy in those states formerly remarkable for their patronage of the enlightened. Who is ignorant of the unexampled munificence of which Karamzín and his family were the recipients? In fine, the Púlkova observatory, the chronicles and acts published by the Archeographical commission, the results of instructive voyages, and many other monuments for the benefit of science—which could only be produced at the will of the Sovereign—will demonstrate to posterity, that in our age the most heterogeneous branches of knowledge found a patronage equally enlightened and generous.

A new direction, more comformable to the general welfare of the people, has been given to the education of the young. The time is gone by, when the children of Magnates, of landlords, distinguished or obscure, even of wealthy plebeians received their education abroad, forgot their native tongue, acquired a strange manner of looking on all about them, and returned to Russia with souls impassive to every thing that was dear and agreeable to a Russian heart. That time is gone by, when our domestic tutors were not unfrequently profoundly ignorant men, immoral adventurers, often banished from their country, and received by us, into the bosom of our families, merely to prattle in the French language. Two Imperial regulations have saved a whole generation from a moral plague:

since the year 1831, the youth of Russia have been brought up preferably in the educational institutions of the country: since 1833, Russia has been delivered from an irruption of foreign adventurers, who took alarm at the threat of a severe examination at the universities.

Never was our education so liberal, so complete and, let us boldly add, so conformable to the true necessities of the Empire, as it is now. Even in the first year after his accession to the throne, the Emperor, by repeatedly visiting the educational institutions, without any previous notice of His Majesty's intention having been given, became convinced that they stood in need of many things, of competent masters, well-regulated uniform order, of active and enlightened his section. The pupils of the gymnasia, and the district seminaries were formerly lodged in crowded rooms, and brought up without regard to cleanliness. The Petersburg university, founded not long ago with the most brilliant expectations, presented a melancholy spectacle: the lecture-rooms were deserted. The design of the founder, to make this institution the principal nursery of enlightenment in the capital of his empire, was not successful: it withered visibly under the onerous influence of people opposed to true advancement. Disorders of various kinds, indicative of a sort of debility, of a species of stupor, were not likely to attract the young to the other altars of science. Yet all was resuscitated, all re-animated, all flourished at the will of the Emperor.

The first and chief care, at the very beginning of his majety's reign, was to introduce into all the establishments uniformity and order, to provide efficient masters, to appoint a vigilant superintendence, and to train meritorious persons to perform the difficult duties of preceptors. Very soon the charters of the high, middle, and inferior educational institutions were renewed; the activity of the universities was con-

centrated in their sphere of action; the professors were exempted from many embarrassments, unconnected with their functions; and their salaries, raised to more than double the former standard, with many other privileges, placed them in a position enviable even for a foreigner. Meanwhile two institutions, the Professorial and the chief Pedagogical, were founded; the former for the educatiou of young men abroad to the degree which science had obtained amongst the learned of Germany, in order to satisfy the pressing necessity of proper candidates to fill the professors' chairs; the latter, for the preparation of zealous and efficient instructors, chiefly in the secondary educational seminaries, which were particularly in need of them; and the appointing of the most distinguished pupils, on the completion of their studies abroad, to important functions in the universities.

The gradual transformation for the better of the composition of the university body, in consequence of limiting the term of service of a learned professor to five-and-twenty years, supplying the chairs with young masters of fresh energies, but not, however, without their having taken the learned degree of doctor—arranging a course of lectures on jurisprudence, on the principles adopted at the foundation of the compendium of the laws of the Russian empire—founding faculties,—enforcing the study of sciences of general utility—creating new regulations for attaining a learned degree—and many other measures, excited remarkable activity in our universities. The instruction afforded in them acquired the character of a solid and learned elucidation of truths, according to the principal branches of learning, and conformably to the contemporary state of science in the spirit of the country's laws. Their lecture-rooms were filled with numerous auditors. The gymnasia were also remodelled, more in unison with their principal design—to prepare youth for the higher education

of the universities. Besides this, in some of them, lectures on practical science were founded, which opened to the working class the means of obtaining such technical knowledge as was indispensably necessary to it. Distinct seminaries, with each returning year, are more and more multiplied. Accessible to all conditions, they extend, primarily and generally, useful knowledge to all ranks of society.

In an equal degree, during the last twenty years, the country's other nurseries of education have flourished. The military educational institutions, from the time that the Grand Duke Mikhaíl Pávlovitch took them under his rule, have received a new form; and there is no doubt that they can bear inspection with the best in Europe. But the institutions for the education of young ladies, brought to the highest degree of perfection by the activity of the never-to-be-forgotten Empress, María Féodorovna, have not only not lost their former splendour; but, in consequence of the indefatigable care of the sovereign himself, his consort, their majesties' daughters, and daughter-in-law, fear no comparison with any in Europe.

Not satisfied with the palmy state to which all the former academical institutions have been already brought, the emperor continually presents new means of education, adapting them to the national necessities. The University of St. Vladímir, at Kieff—the military academy—the law school—the Technological Institution—the cadet corps in the governments—the institutions for young ladies through the whole extent of the empire—many special schools, both military and civil—village schools— asylums—all these establishments, in association with the former, will at length accomplish the idea of Betskii, which fascinated Catherine II. by its greatness, and astounded even her by the vastness of its design— to educate the rising generation so as to rear, as it were, *a new race of*

men, possessing all the good qualities of the old stock; but without its imperfections and prejudices.

The future is known but to God. If, however, universal and fundamental education may serve as a sure pledge of the future, of which there can scarcely be a doubt, then a happy lot is in store for Russia.

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