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hand and foot. Every vote of the people, every act of our public men, bends to the needs and the power of the election organizations. The whole body politic is in the condition of a man whose every artery and vein are under a ligature. Wherever we try to have public work well done, whether it be a matter of railroads, or canals, or custom-houses, or carrying the mails, or the administration of justice, or of the public charities, we are met with this one overpowering pressure, which compels our public servants to use the public offices and treasuries to pay for election work. The scheme here outlined is an effort for freedom.

It may be that this scheme is not wisely conceived. Then let us devise some other; for we must do something.

But the argument here is that the system here proposed is based on sound principles, and would give us an organization under which the people's common work would be done according to the people's common will, by the hands of the people's common servants—that it would give us a People's Government.

IV. And the reason of this result would be, that we should make it for the individual interest of each man in the service to do his official work, instead of making it for the common interest of all men in the service to carry elections. But now, if a man in our public service gives himself to the simple, honest discharge of his duty to the people, he signs his political death-warrant. Drivers of ash-carts and Presidents alike, we compel them to do caucus work, or leave our service.

But even if this argument be sound, the question then comes:

How are we to accomplish the change?

Especially, since we are now in the hands of this great power, which controls so many of our public men,—which, in effect, disfranchises the people,—how can a way be devised to put the system into effect?

An attempt will be made, in the next paper, to answer this question.

PETER THE GREAT AS RULER AND REFORMER.* X.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REFORM.

DURING the nine years since the beginning of the war, Peter had been little in the capital. Whenever he had set himself seriously to work at the administration of the country, the necessities of the war had always called him away. The boyárs held, as before, their regular sessions in council, and managed the routine business of the Government, though the heads of departments were now called ministers, and the Russian name for their assembly was changed for a foreign one. Peter ordered the decisions of the council to be written out, and signed by all the ministers present; and that minutes of their decisions and important papers of all kinds should be sent to him, in whatever part of the empire he might be. In old time, the Streltsi, at Moscow, had been charged with the preservation of the public order. After the dissolution of the Streltsi, the police duties devolved chiefly on the Preobrazhénsky regiment. The business of the tribunal at Preobrazhénsky constantly increased, and included not only police matters, but crimes, and even treasonable acts.

After Peter's return from his Western journey, he established new municipal institutions. At the end of 1708, he divided the whole empire into *gubernias*, or governments. One of the duties specially enjoined upon the governors set over these was to see that the whole of the revenue was sent to the treasury. In 1709, the revenue was 3,022,128 roubles (£1,259,220, or $6,296,000), while the expenses were 3,834,418 roubles (£1,597,674, or $7,988,000).

A hospital was established at Moscow. New laws were made to protect that city from fire, and in 1703 its parish priests were obliged to keep registers of the births and deaths. A school of mathematics and navigation was established in Moscow, under Scotch professors, in which there were about two hundred pupils. In 1703, a school of a different character, where ancient and modern languages were taught, and a general education was given, was founded by Pastor Gluck, the prisoner of Marienburg and the protector of Catherine. The brothers Tessing, of Amsterdam,

under their concession, printed Russian books, which were sold at reasonable rates. In 1703, the first Russian newspaper was published at Moscow.

On the death of the Patriarch Adrian, in 1700, the election of a successor was postponed, and the principal charge of the Church was given to Stephan Yavórsky, the metropolitan of Riazán and Murom, with the title of exarch. The patriarchal chancery had, up to this time, had very great powers and jurisdiction over all questions of wills and inheritance, marriage, the settlements of complaints, not only of civilians against ecclesiastics, but of ecclesiastics against civilians. While questions of a purely theological and dogmatic character, and those of church discipline, were left to the metropolitan of Riazán, the general ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well as the care of the property and the other material interests of the Church, were placed in a new department, created for the purpose, called the Department of Monasteries, under the boyár (afterward count) Iván Alexéievitch Músin-Pushkin. Strict regulations were made and enforced against the monasteries.

On the very day of the proclamation of the war with Turkey, March 6, 1711, a decree was issued creating a Senate, intended to govern the country in the absence of the Tsar. As the council of boyárs had insensibly passed into the Privy Chancery, so now the Senate took the place of this body. It was composed of nine members. By a subsequent decree, every official, whether clerical or lay, military or civil, was instructed to obey the orders of the governing Senate, as they would those of the Tsar, under pain of severe punishment. In case the interests of any private individual were injured by the action of the Senate, the Tsar begged them to be silent during his absence, and on his return to lay before him their complaints, fortified by written proofs, when they would receive full justice, and the guilty would be punished.

CHAPTER XXX.

DISCONTENT.

GREAT dissatisfaction greeted the innovations of Peter; nevertheless, the distasteful changes continued. The war began; taxation and recruiting bore heavily on all classes, but especially on the peasants. The change in the popular feeling toward the sovereign was very perceptible. In the time of the Tsar Alexis, the people had many causes for discontent; but they threw the blame on Plestchéief, Morózof, and other boyárs and ministers of the Tsar, whom they considered to be the real causes of their troubles. Peter was no longer the demi-god, who remained quietly in his palace, or appeared only in state, ready to interpose to protect his people against the rapacity and injustice of the boyárs. The religiously disposed Russian peasantry were greatly given to apocalyptic teachings, and to explanations of the Biblical mysteries. They had seen the fulfillment of prophecies in Nikon and Alexis, and were ready to be convinced that Peter, with the changes which he had made in the sacred and established order of things, was the true Antichrist. Moscow came to be looked upon as a sinful and unholy Babylon, and all the officials of the Tsar as the servants of Antichrist.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REBELLION.

THE southern and south-eastern frontier of Russia contained a population ready, at all times, to follow the lead of agitators. The great rebellions of Russian history all broke out here. In this region, therefore, it was to be expected that the opposition to Peter's reforms and changes would take a stronger form than elsewhere. At Astrakhan, opposition began to show itself against the officials, especially against Rzhevsky, the voievode, who was hated for his cruelty and extortion. A rumor was suddenly spread in the bazaars of Astrakhan that no Russian men would be allowed to marry for seven years; but that all the girls were to be married to the Germans, who were daily expected to arrive from Kazán. The excitement was tremendous. The population resolved to frustrate these plans by marrying their children before the hated Germans arrived, and on Sunday, the 9th of August, a hundred couples were married. The wine and whisky of the wedding-feasts went to the heads of the guests, and that night a band of the populace attacked the Government buildings, and massacred several officials. The voievode was not found until the next day, when he was immediately beheaded. The insurgents organized a government for the town, in Cossack fashion, and elected Nosof, a merchant of Yaroslávl, as their hetman. It was evident that the rising did not have a merely local character.

There was great panic and commotion at Moscow when the news came of the rising. Peter, who was then at Mitau, immediately sent to Astrakhan the field-marshal Sheremétief, with several regiments. Wishing to see whether affairs could not be arranged without the use of force, Peter sent to Astrakhan Kisélnikof, a merchant of that town, to receive the complaints of the citizens, and with promises of mercy. The Tsar's promises had a good effect, and deputies were sent to Moscow from Astrakhan, to state their griefs. Their statement made a deep impression at Moscow. The deputies were sent back with a written promise of amnesty. The Tsar told Sheremétief to avoid, as much as possible, any bloodshed, and use great caution in dealing with the people.

Meanwhile, the army of Sheremétief was still advancing, and he had excepted the leaders of the insurrection from the amnesty. The violent party again got the upper hand, and treated the messenger of Sheremétief with rudeness. When Sheremétief approached the walls, the insurgents, instead of yielding, came out and attacked him. The forces of the field-marshal were too strong for them, and the resistance was short. The Tsar was greatly relieved when the rebellion was finally put down.

Early in 1705, symptoms were seen of a commotion amongst the Bashkírs; but a rebellion did not begin until 1708. Order began to be restored in the spring of 1709.

The peasants collected to cut timber and build ships at Vorónezh ran away, to escape the heavy work and the fevers which decimated them. Nothing was so hated as the forced labor at Azof, and criminals of every kind left this penal colony for the Don. The army of Sheremétief, in passing from the Volga to Kief, lost large numbers by desertion. The Government demanded from the Don Cossacks the surrender of such deserters and fugitives. Finally, Prince Dolgorúky, with a detachment of soldiers, appeared on the Don. This was an attack on the privileges of the Cossacks, and excited commotion. Dolgorúky was received with all due honor at Tcherkásk; but when he proceeded to arrest the fugitives, a band of Cossacks, under the leadership of Kondráty Bulávin, attacked him on the river Aidar, on the 20th of October, 1707. The Russians were killed, to the last man. The Cossacks who remained loyal to the Government collected, and defeated Bulávin's band. Bulávin sought refuge among the Zaporovians of the Dnieper, and soon returned with larger bands. The disorder spread toward the center of Russia. Numerous letters of Peter to his friends show his anxiety. At one time, he was on the point of starting himself for the scene of trouble. He ordered Prince Basil Dolgorúky, the brother of the general who had been killed, to march against the insurgents, and "put out the fire, once for all." Dolgorúky was for a time in great perplexity. His troops were deserting, there was great danger for Azof and Taganrog, the Zaporovians were on the march, and he was fettered by changing instructions of the Tsar. The attack on Azof was repulsed, after the Cossacks had succeeded in getting possession of the suburb inhabited by the sailors, and Dolgorúky finally succeeded in beating the Cossacks in detail—for Bulávin had the imprudence to divide his army. Bulávin, in order to escape from some Cossacks who wished to surrender him, blew his brains out.

CHAPTER XXXII.

UNCOMFORTABLE DIPLOMACY.

As we remember, the declaration of war against Sweden, in 1700, had been put off until the Tsar received news of the signature of peace at Constantinople. Prince Dimitri Galítsyn was sent to Turkey, in 1701, with the ratification of this treaty, and with instructions to try again where Ukráintsef had failed, in getting permission from the Sultan for Russian ships to navigate the Black Sea. But the Minister of Foreign Affairs declared again that the Sultan would sooner open his harem to the Russians than open the Black Sea. The Patriarch of Jerusalem counseled Galítsyn to desist, as he might prevent the ratification of the peace. He explained to him how much the Turks feared the Russian fleet that was building, and what projects they had for blocking the entrance to the Sea of Azof, and building strong fortifications at the straits. By insisting, he would only frighten the Turks more, and the result might be disastrous; whereas, when a strong Russian fleet was finally built, the Tsar could open the Black Sea whenever he pleased, without any permission of the Sultan.

Toward the end of 1701, Peter Andréievitch Tolstói was sent as permanent embassador to the Sultan, Mustapha III., who at that time resided at Adrianople. Tolstói

was instructed to send home frequent and exact information as to the foreign relations of Turkey; the internal politics; the character of the men in power, or likely to obtain it; the military and naval strength and preparations; as to the strength of the Turkish fortresses on the Black Sea; whether there was really any intention of constructing fortifications at the Straits of Kertch, and especially as to the condition and value of the trade with Persia.

The arrival of Tolstói disturbed the Turks. There had never been a permanent Muscovite embassador before. Other embassadors were there, nominally to supervise the commercial affairs of their nations; but the Russians had no commerce. There must be, they thought, some hidden purpose at the bottom of it.

Vizier succeeded vizier. Some were more amiable to Tolstói than others; but his position was always uncomfortable. In 1702, Daltaban Mustapha became vizier. He was bent on a war with Russia, and when the Sultan refused the demands of the Crim Tartars, and even changed the Khan, the vizier privately encouraged them, and urged them to revolt, promising to go to the Crimea with an army, under the pretext of putting them down, when he would join them, and lead them against the Russians. Tolstói, by a liberal use of bribes, succeeded in bringing the intrigues of the vizier to the knowledge of the Sultan's mother. Daltaban was deposed and beheaded, and Rami Mohammed, the former minister of foreign affairs, was appointed in his place. The new vizier treated Tolstói with great courtesy, but two Janizaries still stood at the door of his embassy, and prevented the freedom of his movements.

In August, 1703, Mustapha was dethroned by a rebellion, and replaced by his brother, Ahmed III. Internal troubles made the Turks peacefully inclined. Tolstói was treated with consideration and kindness. But soon, Ahmed III. changed his grand vizier. Tolstói complained: "The new vizier is very ill-disposed toward me, and my wretched situation, my troubles and fears, are worse than before. Again no one dares to come to me, and I can go nowhere. It is with great trouble that I can send this letter. This is the sixth vizier in my time, and he is the worst of all."

Again he writes: "They ill-treat me in a frightful way, and they shut us all up in our house, and allow no one either to go out or to come in. We have been seven days almost without food, because they let no one out to buy bread, and it was with difficulty that I succeeded, by great presents, in getting permission for one man to go out to buy food." Tolstói asked permission to resign such an uncomfortable post. But his services were necessary, and Peter wrote him an autograph letter, begging him to remain for a while longer, so flattering to his vanity that it drove all ideas of resignation out of his head.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WAR WITH TURKEY.

DIFFICULTIES in the Kuban, between Cossacks and Tartars, excited a hostile feeling at the Porte, in the summer and autumn of 1706. At this time, any inimical manifestation of Turkey was exceedingly dangerous, and the Russians again began to think whether they could not occupy Turkey by exciting her to war against Austria. Tolstói proposed to act in conjunction with the French embassador, but he speedily found that the French embassador was exciting the Turks, not only against Austria, but against Russia as well. The Turkish Government was, however, not so easily roused to action, and the French schemes fell to the ground. Agents were sent to Constantinople by King Stanislas, but the Polish propositions had no more effect than the French, on the Turks.

The rebellion on the Don, the petition of the Cossacks to the Sultan, and the invasion of Russia by the Swedes, all made the Tsar very nervous about his relations with Turkey. Orders were given to search out any Turkish and Tartar prisoners that had not yet been freed, and give them their liberty. This measure was not approved by Tolstói, as he thought more was to be gained by a firm and threatening attitude than by a yielding one. He had had some difficulty with the authorities about the arrest of certain Russian merchants who had been selling religious pictures, and thought that no prisoners should be freed in Russia till these men had been set at liberty.

In the spring of 1709, Tolstói was able to assure his Government that, for that year, there was no danger of war. Indeed, while Peter was fearing for his fleet at Azof, the Turks were apprehending an expedition of these very ships from Azof. On the 21st of July, Tolstói, who as yet knew nothing of the battle of Poltáva, wrote that the pres-

A RUSSIAN FRONTIER VILLAGE.

ence of the Tsar at Azof had led to the belief that he was about to begin a war, and that this rumor had created the utmost excitement at Constantinople. Many Turks went over into Asia, people cried out in the streets and bazaars that the Muscovite fleet had already entered the Bosphorus, and a rebellion nearly broke out against the Sultan.

The arrival of Charles XII. at Otchakóf threw the Turks into great perplexity. They would have been glad to be rid of him immediately, but their religion and their traditions forbade them to deliver him up to Russia. The violation of the Moldavian frontier by Kropótof, and the capture of Gyllenkrook and of nearly all the Swedes that remained to the King, made the Turks angry, but they had no wish to fight. At the same time, they feared an attack from the Russians, after Polish affairs had been completely arranged. They began strengthening the fortresses, and moved large bodies of troops toward the frontier.

Tolstói succeeded in getting from the Turks the long-delayed ratification of the treaty of 1700, and in making an arrangement with the grand vizier, Ali Pasha, by which the Cossacks should be delivered up, and the King should be accompanied to the frontier by a guard of five hundred Janizaries, where he would be received by a Russian guard, which would conduct him through Poland to the Swedish frontier, keeping him from all communication with the party of Stanislas. Charles, indignant at finding that he was to be intrusted to Russian guards, succeeded in getting a letter into the hands of the Sultan, accusing Ali Pasha of treason. This had its effect. The grand vizier was removed, and Numan Köprülü was appointed in his stead. The new vizier furnished Charles with four hundred thousand thalers, as a loan without interest, but even he was unwilling to break with Russia, and suggested to the King a safer way out of Turkey, by the way of Austria.

The rumors of war which had been circulated throughout Constantinople began to work, and the Janizaries demanded to be led against Russia. The grand vizier was removed, and replaced by one of more warlike cast, Baltadji Mohammed. At the same time, the Tsar became more pressing in his demand for the exact fulfillment of the new arrangement, complained that the Swedes were still allowed to remain, and that Orlik had been named hetman of the Cossacks, in place of Mazeppa. In October, 1710, he demanded a categorical reply about the expulsion of Charles, but the couriers who brought the Tsar's letter were

COUNT TOLSTOI.

arrested on the frontier. On the 1st of December, 1710, war was decided upon in a solemn session of the Divan, and Tolstói, with his suite, was immediately imprisoned in the Seven Towers. It was decided that the grand vizier, with a large army, should begin the campaign in the following spring.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH—1711.

As soon as Peter received news of the rupture of peace by the Turks, he ordered Prince Michael Galítsyn to move toward the Moldavian frontier with ten regiments of dragoons, and watch for any movement of the Turks or Tartars. Sheremétief was sent thither from Livonia with twenty-two regiments of infantry, Prince Michael Ramodanófsky advanced to Putivl with the regiments of the nobility, and Prince Michael Galítsyn was intrusted with the supervision of the Zaporovians. On the 8th of March, 1711, the "war against the enemies of Christ" was solemnly proclaimed to the people, in the Cathedral of the Assumption, at Moscow.

On the 17th of March, Peter left Moscow for the Polish frontier. In Yavrov, near Lemberg, where the Tsar remained during the month of May, he received news that the Tartars who had attacked the Ukraine had been repulsed with heavy loss, that the country beyond the Dniester had been reduced to submission, that the poor Christians in Turkey were eagerly turning to him, and that the Turks were in trouble. While at Yavrov, Peter signed the treaty, so long in negotiation, for the marriage of his son Alexis to the Princess Charlotte of Wolfenbüttel.

In the little town of Yaroslav, Peter had an interview with King Augustus, and concluded a treaty with him for action against the Swedish troops in Pomerania. As the success of the Turks might give hopes to the party of Stanislas, he obtained from Augustus the promise that a force of Poles should be ready to coöperate with him.

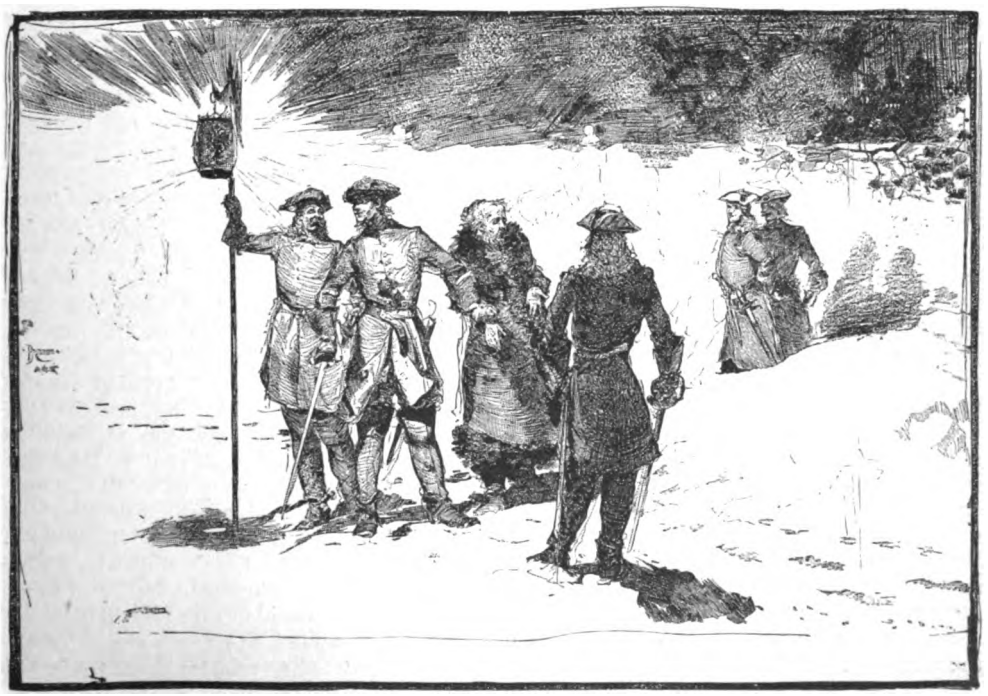
The Tsar, however, did not expect so much assistance from the Poles as from the Moldavians. The relations of Brancovano, hospodar of Wallachia, to Peter were known at Constantinople, and it was desired to remove him; but, as he was rich, and had troops at his disposition, it was necessary to proceed cautiously. Demetrius Cantemir, who had been educated from childhood at Constantinople, who was known to be a personal enemy of Brancovano, and who was thought to be devoted to the Turks, was, in December, 1710, made hospodar of Moldavia, with the promise that, if he succeeded in seizing Brancovano, he should be rewarded with the sovereignty of Wallachia as well.

Cantemir no sooner reached Jassy than he formed other plans, and began to enter into negotiations with the Tsar. On April 24th, he concluded a secret treaty with the Russians, by which he agreed to furnish ten thousand troops during the campaign. By the terms of this treaty, Moldavia was to be an independent state, under Russian protection. The Tsar promised to conclude no peace with Turkey by which Moldavia should be returned under Turkish rule, and agreed that, in case of an unfortunate issue of the campaign, Cantemir should receive refuge and property in Russia. The Tsar wrote again and again to Sheremétief, urging him to hasten his march, because, if he could prevent the Turks from crossing the Danube, much would be gained, and the Bulgarians and Serbians would rise. Cantemir begged Sheremétief to send him four thousand men. When he knew that these, under the command of Kropótof, were already on the Pruth, he called his more faithful boyárs, and informed them that he had invited the Russians into Moldavia. "The boyárs," says Neculce, "were beside themselves with joy at this news."

Sheremétief crossed the Dniester, near Soroki, on the 10th of June, and on the 16th, in spite of the difficulty of the march, was on the Pruth, near Jassy. The grand vizier, with the Turkish troops, had arrived on the Danube at Isaktcha, but hearing of the invasion of Moldavia by the Russians, he hesitated to cross. He had not yet heard of the treachery of Cantemir, and, in order to guarantee his rear, sent him word immediately to arrest Brancovano. When he learned the true state of things, his rage had no bounds.

Peter's plan had been for Sheremétief to march southward to the Danube, and Sheremétief, in yielding to the request of Cantemir, and going to Jassy, had changed this. He excused himself on the ground that, owing to the heat and want of forage, the march to the Danube, on the east side of the Pruth, would have been difficult, and he could not have reached there before the Turks had crossed, whereas Moldavia would have been entirely given up to the Turks. In order to keep the troops together, it was necessary for the Tsar to accept this change, and follow in the footsteps of Sheremétief. He reached the Pruth on the 5th of July, and, leaving his troops there, went to Jassy. Here he was met by two leading Wallachians—one, George Castriota, the accredited envoy of the hospodar, with propositions of peace from the grand vizier; the other, General Thomas Cantacuzene, with accusations of treachery against Brancovano. The propositions of peace, which even hinted at the possibility of a cession of Turkish territory, were unfortunately rejected by the Tsar, who did not feel sure of their authenticity, and who feared to encourage the enemy by a willingness to treat.

When Brancovano found the grand vizier approaching rapidly with a large Turkish army, he began to waver. He sent some boyárs to Peter, reminding him of certain articles of their treaty, and begging him to send troops as soon as possible into Wallachia. Encouraged by the reported alarm of the grand vizier, and influenced by Cantemir and Cantacuzene, Peter felt strong enough to refuse Brancovano's request for troops, and to order him to carry out the stipulations of the treaty. Brancovano was so offended at the tone of Peter's letter and the credit which he seemed to give to his enemies, that he sent word that he no longer considered himself bound by the treaty, should cease all relations with him, and made terms with the Turks. As soon as the grand vizier entered Moldavia, he



THE ARREST OF A SPY.

AN ENCAMPMENT ON THE PRUTH.

went to meet him, and delivered to the Turks all the provisions which he had prepared for the Russians. The treachery of Brancovano had a great influence upon the fortunes of the campaign. The Moldavians had prepared no stores of provisions and forage, and, unfortunately, that summer the whole face of the country was eaten up by grasshoppers.

Provisions being scarce, and a report having come that the Turks had already crossed the Danube, it was decided to cross the Pruth, march over the western branch of the river to Faltchi, and then to Seret, where it was said that quantities of provisions, collected for the Turks, lay without guard. General Rönne, with twelve thousand cavalry, was sent to capture Braïla and destroy the bridge over the Danube. Rönne and Cantacuzene set out on the 11th of July, while the main army crossed the Pruth and began its march, in three divisions, on the 18th. That evening, General Janus, who had been instructed to destroy a bridge a few miles down the river, sent word to the Tsar that it was too late, that the grand vizier was already on the western side of the Pruth, and that his army was crossing. It was necessary to concentrate, but the march was so difficult that it was easier for Janus to retreat than for the rest to advance. This he accomplished, without loss, during the night. The Turks had at first been frightened, and had stopped their crossing with the thought of retreating, but the next morning they began the pursuit. The Tsar had taken up a position along a marsh on the little river Prutets, and during the whole of this Sunday he had to defend himself against repeated attacks of the Turks. The Moldavians under Cantemir, in spite of their inexperience and their bad arms, did good service. Peter was alarmed by the non-appearance of Répnin's troops, which could get no farther than Stanilesti. Another council of war was held that evening, and in view of the lack of provisions, the absence of cavalry,—for all had been sent to Braïla,—and the overwhelming forces of the enemy, which were estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand Turks and seventy thousand Tartars, while the Russians had only thirty-eight thousand two hundred and forty-six men, it was decided that retreat was imperative. Neculce, the commander of the Moldavian troops, relates that the Tsar asked him to convoy Catherine and him-

CATHERINE I., EMPRESS OF RUSSIA, WIFE OF PETER. (AFTER THE ENGRAVING BY HOUBRAKEN.)

self to the Hungarian frontier, but that he refused, on the ground that the whole of Upper Moldavia was already occupied by the Tartars, and in case of an unfortunate result he did not wish to bring down upon his head the curses of all Russia. There is nothing improbable in this. It shows to what straits the Tsar was reduced—how severe a blow he felt it would be to Russia if he were taken prisoner with his army. The loss of the army could be repaired if his energy should still have free play. Besides this, the danger, though great, was not inevitable. The cattle for food might be sent down from Jassy, Rönne and his cavalry might return, and he might hurry up the Polish auxiliaries through Czernowitz.* Indeed, Neculce says that he intended to order Sheremétief and Cantemir to hold out in Moldavia till he could bring fresh troops. The circumstances were similar to those which caused Peter's hurried departure from his troops before the first battle of Narva.

The retreat was begun during the night, but it was late the next afternoon, Monday, July 20th, before all the Russian forces, after losing part of their baggage and treasure, were united at Stanilesti, where they hastily intrenched themselves. The Turks had followed them closely, greatly harassing their rear-guard, and, when the grand vizier came up, they made a terrific onset on the still unfinished camp. The Janizaries were beaten back with considerable loss, and in their turn began to throw up an intrenched line, in which they placed over three hundred guns, around the Russian camp. The Tartars, who had long been watching the Russians, together with the Poles and Cossacks, completely guarded the other side of the river. The position of

* The pretended letter of Peter to the Senate, urging them to pay no attention to his orders in case he were taken prisoner, but to choose the worthiest of their number as his successor, has been proved to be a forgery.

the Russians then became most perilous. They were completely surrounded, worn-out by the battle and by the heat, with a very small quantity of provisions, and with no chance of aid. There was no supply of water, and the soldiers were driven back from the river by the firing of the Tartars. The earth-works were unfinished,—one whole side was protected only with dead bodies and *chevaux-de-frise*. The women were protected by baggage-wagons and slight earth-works, in the center, but their clamor and weeping caused confusion.

On Tuesday morning, July 21st, there was a sharp cannonade, with so little effect that the Moldavian Costin said: "Great as a man is, he seems a small point to aim at in a battle." The Janizaries, who had greatly suffered the night before, could not be brought to attack the Russian camp, but the Russians made a sortie with great effect. After an hour's sharp fighting, in which General Weidemann was killed and Prince Volkonsky wounded, they were driven back. Hearing from a prisoner of the disinclination of the Turkish troops for further fighting, and thinking that possibly reasonable terms might be obtained, Peter, urged by Catherine and opposed by Cantemir, sent a trumpeter to the Turkish camp with a letter from Sheremétief to the grand vizier, suggesting that, as the war had been brought about, not by the desire either of the Turks or of the Russians, but wholly by the intrigues of other parties, it would be well to stop further bloodshed and make peace, with an allusion to the proposition made through Brancovano and the negotiations of the English and Dutch embassadors. No answer came, and Sheremétief then sent a second letter to the same effect, but adding that he was quite prepared to recommence the attack. It had been agreed that, in case of refusal, a last attempt should be made to break through the Turkish lines. The answer was delayed, and the Russian troops began to advance. Immediately Tcherkess Mehemed Pasha, the *amrokhor* of the grand vizier, came to the Russian camp, saying that the grand vizier was not averse to a good peace, and requesting the Tsar to send somebody with power for negotiation. The grand vizier had heard of what the Tsar was still ignorant—the capture of Braïla by General Rönne.

The vice-chancellor Shafírof, accompanied by Savva Raguzínsky, was sent to the Turkish camp with full powers, in the evident belief that the treaty would include the settlement of all disputes with Sweden as well as with Turkey. Peter was willing to give back all places captured from the Turks, to give up to the Swedes Livonia, and even little by little to cede everything he had taken in the war except Ingria and St. Petersburg; he would instead give up Pskof, and if that were not sufficient, other provinces, which it would be better not to name, but to leave to the discretion of the Sultan. He was ready to recognize Stanislas as King of Poland. In general, Shafírof was ordered to make concessions to the Sultan rather than to the Swedes. He was allowed also, if necessary, to promise the vizier and other influential persons large sums of money—one hundred and fifty thousand rubles to the vizier, sixty thousand to his *kehaya*, ten thousand to the *tchaush-bashi*, ten thousand to the *aga* of the Janizaries, etc. Such offers, which included all the conquests and the successes of Peter's reign, showed the desperation to which he was reduced. Shafírof sent back word that, although the Turks were ready enough for peace, they were wasting time. To this Peter replied the next morning, telling him to use his discretion, to agree to everything the Turks asked except slavery, but by all means to give him an answer that day, so that they might begin their desperate march, or attack the Turkish trenches. The same day, July 22d, Shafírof returned to the camp with the following conditions: 1. To surrender Azof in the same state in which it was taken, and to destroy Taganrog and the other newly established fortresses on the Turkish border. 2. Not to interfere in Polish affairs or trouble the Cossacks. 3. To allow the merchants of both sides to trade freely, but not to keep an envoy at Constantinople. 4. To allow the King of Sweden a free passage back to his dominions, and conclude a peace with him if an agreement could be reached. 5. No loss to be occasioned to the subjects of either country. 6. That all former hostile acts should be forgotten, and the troops of the Tsar have free passage to their country. It was demanded that Shafírof and the son of Sheremétief should remain with the Turks as hostages. Shafírof was at once sent back to the Turkish camp, with orders to conclude peace immediately on these conditions. The treaty was signed and ratified on the 23d of July, and Sheremétief informed Peter that the Russian army could retreat at once without opposition.

The Russian loss in these two terrible days had been seven hundred and fifty-two killed, one thousand three hundred and eighty-eight wounded, and seven hundred and thirty-two missing—a total of two thousand eight hundred and seventy-two. The Turkish loss was stated, in the official reports of the Austrian embassy at Constantinople, as two thousand killed. The Russian loss during the whole campaign was about fifteen thousand.

The treaty was obtained without very great difficulty, though the vizier at first insisted on the surrender of the Russian arms, the delivery of Cantemir, the renewal of the tribute to the Tartar khan, and a large sum for the payment of the expenses of the war. This last condition was given upon the promise of a large sum of ready money. The money, however, was never paid, for when it arrived at the Turkish camp the grand vizier refused to receive it—at first out of fear of the Tartar khan, and subsequently on account of the calumnies spread by the agents of Charles XII., that he had been bribed by the Russians.*

CHAPTER XXXV.

DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS.

Apráxin was the first to be informed of the treaty. "Although I never wished," said Peter, "to write to you about such a matter as I am now compelled to do, yet God has thus willed, for the sins of Christians have not allowed otherwise. On the 19th of this month we met the Turks, and from that time up to noon of the 21st we were under very great fire, not only by day but by night, and, indeed, never since I have been in the service have we been in such desperation, for we had neither cavalry nor provisions. However, the Lord God so encouraged our men that, although the enemy exceeded us in numbers by a hundred thousand, yet they were always repulsed, so that they were compelled to throw up intrenchments, and to attack our weak defenses with approaches, like a fortress; and afterward, when they had had enough of our treatment, an armistice was made, and a peace concluded, by which we agreed to give up all the towns taken from the Turks, and destroy those which have been newly built. Thus finished this feast of death. The matter stands thus. Although it is not without grief that we are deprived of those places where so much labor and money have been expended, yet I hope by this very deprivation we shall greatly strengthen ourselves on the other side, which is incomparably of greater gain to us."

The Swedish king was one of the greatest obstacles to the fulfillment of the conditions of peace. Shafírof pressed the grand vizier to send him at once out of the country, and the vizier replied: "I wish the devil would take him, because I now see that he is king only in name, that he has no sense in him, and is like a beast. I will try to get rid of him, somehow or other, without dispute." Charles refused to go. Meanwhile, the Tsar refused to surrender Azof and Taganrog until the Swedish king was sent out of Turkey. As these places were not given up, war was declared against Russia, and Shafírof and his companions were sent to join Tolstói in the Seven Towers. Azof and Taganrog were finally surrendered in the winter of 1712, and in April a new treaty was concluded for a peace of twenty-five years. By this the Russians were to offer no opposition to the return of the King of Sweden through either Russian or Polish dominions. Nothing but Kíef and the surrounding districts were to remain to Russia on the western bank of the Dnieper. No new fortresses were to be built between Azof and Tcherkask.

On the 10th of December the Sultan went to Adrianople, after declaring war for the third time, and issuing orders for the mustering of the troops. "But the war," Shafírof wrote to Golófkin, "is disliked by the whole Turkish people, and is begun by the sole will of the Sultan." The Tsar had again two wars on his hands—in the north and in the south. As most of his troops were in Pomerania, it was decided, this time, to carry on a strictly defensive war in the south, the center of resistance being Kíef and the Ukraine. The Russian envoys, in their prison in the Seven Towers, began, in the early part of the year 1713, to hear rumors that the Sultan was not on good terms with the Swedish king. The Sultan and his advisers had begun to reflect. No one came from Russia to subscribe to the terms of peace which they were willing to offer; no one came even to ask for better terms. They began to think that perhaps the Tsar was stronger than

* The legend that Catherine gave her jewels, and went through the ranks of the army collecting money to bribe the grand vizier, seems absolutely without foundation.

A JANIZARY.—FROM THE PAINTING BY DECAMP. (BY PERMISSION OF GOUPIL & CO.)

they had supposed. The Sultan ordered the pasha of Bender to persuade Charles XII. to go home, through Poland, as fast as possible. Persuasion was of no avail, threats still less, and finally came the attempt to remove the King by force, which ended in the well-known *kalabalik*, when Charles, after sustaining a siege in his own house until most of his followers were dead or wounded, and making a sortie through the ranks of the Janizaries, was finally knocked over, taken prisoner, and conveyed to the fortress of Demir-tash, near Adrianople.

Protracted negotiations were carried on between Shafírof and the Turkish authorities. At the end of June, the grand vizier called a council, and put the question whether war should be begun for two points which the Russian embassadors refused to accept. The mufti, who had been bribed by Shafírof, replied that the war would be unlawful, because the Tsar had fulfilled the conditions of the treaty. The rest agreed with the opinion of the mufti, and their decision was at last approved by the Sultan. At the end of August, 1713, Shafírof and his colleagues learned that the Tsar approved the new treaty. The grand vizier obtained the ratification by the Sultan on the 18th of October. The embassadors, nevertheless, were detained in Turkey until the final *delimitation* of the frontiers, and it was not until December, 1714, that they finally left Turkey. Sheremétief died on the road at Kíef.

ness with which he concedes to others a share of that attribute which he justly considered to be a prominent feature of his own character. One of his uncles, he used to say with pride, had predicted that he would one day govern the world, because he was an habitual liar. As an instance of the superlative degree of proficiency he had attained in this art, let us give another extract from Metternich's memoirs. The last words of Lannes, as given by Napoleon's official bulletins, have gone the rounds of history. "Farewell, sire!" he is reported to have said. "Live for the world, but think at times of your best friend, who in a few hours will be no more. * * * Would that I might live to serve you and my country!" "You have read," complacently remarked Napoleon to Metternich, "the sentence I put into Lannes's mouth—he never thought of it. When the marshal pronounced my name, they came to tell me, and immediately I declared he must be dead. Lannes hated me cordially. He spoke my name as atheists do the name of God when they come to die. Lannes having called for me, I looked upon his case as hopeless."

Surely, it is not strange that such a man should himself predict that the world would relieve itself of an "*Ouf!*" upon hearing of his death.

It is with no intention of belittling the importance of these memoirs of Metternich and Madame de Rémusat that we say that their greatest value, in our eyes, consists in the fact that they so strikingly confirm and supplement the judgment pronounced by Lanfrey. His study of Napoleon's character and methods was so profound that he has, without the aid of these new sources, and by the simple process of deduction, anticipated the result of the disclosures that they make. Yet, if their appearance should effect no other good than to enlarge the circle of Lanfrey's readers, and to silence those critics who have sought to weaken the effect of his verdict by pronouncing it exaggerated and unjust, the world would still owe a hearty vote of thanks to their authors. It is Lanfrey who has given us the real picture of Napoleon. Others may add touches here and there, but the great central figure, with its bold outlines and gigantic proportions, will always remain his work.

PETER THE GREAT AS RULER AND REFORMER.* XII.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE END OF THE WAR, 1718–1721.

WHEN the Tsar returned to Holland from Paris, in August, 1717, he had an interview with Görtz in the château of Loo, and a proposal was made and agreed to, which Charles XII. subsequently accepted, for a peace congress to be held in the Aland Isles. This congress began its sessions in May, 1718, with Bruce and Ostermann as the plenipotentiaries on the Russian, and Görtz and Gyllenborg on the Swedish, side. Negotiating was difficult. The Russians offered to give up Finland, with the exception of Viborg, but nothing more. It was even hard to conciliate the interests of Russia with those of the allies, who were suspicious, although the Tsar had promised to deal openly and uprightly with them. All wanted more than the Swedes were willing to grant. Görtz went to the King, and after a month's absence came back with his consent to cede Livonia, provided he got an equivalent in Denmark. Neither the Swedes nor the Russians wished to abandon Kexholm. Twice more Görtz went back to Sweden, twice Ostermann traveled to St. Petersburg for instructions from the Tsar. It was seen that Görtz, as a foreigner, favored though he was by the King, did not enjoy the confidence of the Swedish Government. At the same time the Swedes hesitated to give concessions, because they were expecting almost daily the outbreak of a vast insurrection in Russia. Ostermann finally came to the conclusion that an invasion was necessary to bring Sweden

* By request of Mr. Schuyler, we desire to state to readers of "Peter the Great" that it was found necessary, on account of the late arrival of the MS., to publish the August installment in a condensed form. The September and October installments were condensed by Mr. Schuyler himself. All three parts will be considerably amplified in the preparation of the book, which Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons will publish as soon as possible after the issue of this number of the magazine.—ED. S. M.

to terms, and expressed the hope that the fool-hardy King would either be shot or soon break his own neck. After the Russian plenipotentiaries had decisively repelled the Swedish proposition that the Tsar should join King Charles in a war against Denmark, Görtz went again to Sweden. This was in November, 1718. He was expected back in four weeks, but instead of him came the news of the death of his master, Charles XII., and of his own arrest and execution. The King was then occupied with a war in Norway, then belonging to the Danish crown, and on the 11th of December was struck in the head by a bullet from the fortress of Fredriksten.*

The accession of Charles's sister, Ulrica Eleonora, made a great difference in the state of affairs. The Brigadier Lefort was sent by the Tsar to congratulate her, and both sides expressed a wish for peace. But still the negotiations made no progress. Finally, in July, 1719, a Russian fleet attacked the Swedish coasts in the neighborhood of Stockholm, and burnt two cities, one hundred and thirty villages, forty mills, and many iron-works. Apráxin came to within a few miles of Stockholm, and laid waste the neighborhood. The Swedish loss was estimated at twelve millions of thalers. Ostermann was then sent to Stockholm, but his reception was cool, and he was asked how the Russians could, at the same time, negotiate for peace and permit the devastation of the country. The Russian plenipotentiaries were instructed to present an ultimatum that, within two weeks, the Russian propositions must be accepted or the negotiations broken off. The Swedes thereupon retired. Sweden had thrown herself into the hands of England, who, by her intrigues, gradually succeeded in alienating all of the allies of Russia. In November, 1719, Sweden concluded a treaty with George I. as King of England and Elector of Brunswick-Luneburg, by which the duchies of Bremen and Verden were ceded to him on condition of the payment of a million of rix dollars. In January, 1720, preliminaries were signed at Stockholm between Sweden and Poland, confirming the peace of Oliva and the independence of Poland, and recognizing Augustus II., though Stanislas was to preserve the title of king during his life-time, and to receive, once for all, a million of rix dollars. On the 1st of February, at Stockholm, peace was also signed between Sweden and Prussia, through the mediation of France and Great Britain. By this, Stettin and the district between the Oder and the Peene, including the islands of Usedom and Wollin, were ceded to Prussia. Even Denmark was at last induced to make peace, on the 14th of June, 1720. She gave up Stralsund, Wismar, and the island of Rügen, and contented herself with the cession of the small district of Bahus, together with the guarantee of her rights to Sleswig by England and France. Russia was thus left entirely alone, and, in view of these intrigues and changes, was preparing an alliance with Spain—then a by no means despicable ally—a project, however, which came to an end with the fall of Alberoni. England feared that the Tsar would support the party of the Pretender, and kept her fleet, under Admiral Norris, in the Baltic. It appeared there again in 1720, and the Tsar received information from London that Admiral Norris had come to protect the Swedish coasts and to assist in the conclusion of peace. Without allowing himself to be intimidated, he ordered all his officers to refuse to receive any communication whatever from the English admiral, and when a letter came to the commandant at Reval, it was sent back to Norris, and Apráxin asked him peremptorily the cause of the appearance of the English fleet. Norris spoke about mediation, and received the reply that in such case it would be better for the English to send a minister to St. Petersburg. At the same time, Russian troops again landed in Sweden and burnt several towns and villages, without the slightest opposition being offered by the English fleet, which gave an excellent subject of laughter to the opposition in Parliament. Again, in 1721, the English squadron appeared. Again the Russian fleet sailed to Sweden, and, in the presence of the English, engaged the Swedish fleet and beat it. Kurákin reported from The Hague about a letter from the King of England to Queen Ulrica, advising her to make peace, as these naval demonstrations were expensive, and were only carried through in the King's council by a small majority.

* In August, 1859, in the presence of King Charles XV. and of his brother Oscar (the present King of Sweden, who has published a description of the circumstances), the coffin of King Charles XII. was opened. An examination of the head proved beyond a doubt that the wound which caused the King's death came from the bullet of an enemy, and that he was not murdered by one of his own men, as had often been maintained.

Finally, through the aid of the French envoy, Campredon, who offered the mediation of France, Bruce and Ostermann were sent, in April, 1721, to Nystadt, where they met Count Lilienstedt and Baron Stroenfeld, on the part of Sweden. In spite of the operations in the Baltic, discussion went on, and on the 10th of September, 1721, a peace was signed on the conditions on which Peter had insisted. He kept Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, part of Kurland with the district of Viborg, surrendered the rest of Finland, and paid two millions of thalers.

In a letter to Prince Basil Dolgorúky, at Paris, Peter said: "All students of science end their course in seven years, but our school has lasted three times as long—twenty-one years. However, thanks to God, it has finished so well that it could not have been better." He was on his way to Viborg to examine the boundary in dispute, when he received the news. He immediately returned to St. Petersburg, and the salutes and music from his boats announced to the inhabitants the end of the war. Immediately upon landing he went to church to give thanks, and his friends surrounded him and begged him, in commemoration of the event, to take the rank of admiral. Casks of brandy were brought out on the place in front of the church, the Tsar mounted a platform, and in a few words told the crowd of the happy event, seized a glass, and drank it off to the prosperity of the people. Cannons were fired from the fortress, and muskets by the regiments drawn up on the place. Twelve dragoons, with white heralds' wands, with banners and laurel crowns in their hands, rode through the city, and with blasts of trumpets announced the peace everywhere. On the 21st of October a great masquerade began, which lasted several days. Peter was like a child, and danced on the table and sang songs. On the last day of October, the Tsar announced to the Senate a general amnesty, and on the same day the Senate begged him to accept the appellation of Father of his country, the title of Emperor,* and the surname of The Great.

* Prussia and Holland immediately recognized the imperial title. Other countries, though some of them had previously translated Tsar by Emperor, made delays and difficulties, chiefly to please the German Emperor. The new title was formally recognized by Sweden in 1723, by Turkey in 1739, by England and the German Emperor in 1742, by France and Spain in 1745, and by Poland not until 1764.

CHAPTER XL.

CHANGE BREEDS DISCONTENT.

THE earlier changes made by Peter in the Government were rather of form than of substance. The names of some departments and of some officials were changed, but their duties and the method of fulfilling them remained nearly the same. The old official hierarchy gradually died out. Its members were not renewed. Instead of boyárs, voievodes, and diaks, Peter appointed ministers, governors, and secretaries. But when the brunt of the war was over, and the Tsar could turn his attention more to internal affairs, he planned changes which affected every branch of the administration, and entered into almost every detail of daily life. Without reviewing the particulars of all these changes, it is sufficient to say that they were made in imitation of foreign models—some German, some Polish, and many Swedish,—for after the war Peter was seized with admiration for the Swedish form of government,—that they were made without the slightest regard to the habits and usages of the Russian people, and that they were enforced by the most severe and tyrannical measures. Although in certain cases the elective principle was recognized, the tendency of all the changes introduced by Peter was to strengthen the central and autocratic government at the expense of local institutions. What little had still remained of self-government was entirely swept away. The result of Peter's reign was to strengthen despotism, and to give it a force which has enabled it to last even to the present day. Peter and his assistants had so little belief in the necessity of progressive development, and so little knowledge of the needs of the country, that his innovations were in many cases only tentative, and in the course of a few years his measures received many changes of form and principle. However useful his institutions were to carrying out his plans for a powerful empire, in many cases they were injudicious, and have been detrimental to the interests and progress of the country. To take but one or two instances, such were the passport system, the poll-tax on the peasantry, and the scale of official ranks. The aim of the great reforms made in Russia since Peter's day has been to get rid of institutions introduced by Peter or strengthened by his measures.

The old council of boyárs gradually gave place to the council of ministers,

and this, in turn, was absorbed by the Senate, an institution established in 1711, on the very day of the proclamation of the war against Turkey—to supply the place of the Tsar and act in his stead when he was absent from the seat of government. It was composed at first of nine members, and it had in every respect full power of government and administration, though one of its chief attributes was to collect as much money as possible, for, as Peter said, "Money is the artery of war." In 1717, all of the ministries or departments were re-organized and turned, on the Swedish plan, into boards or commissions called colleges. The old system of sending voievodes with great powers to govern the provinces was given up, and the whole country was divided into nine governments, and these into provinces, the governors of which reported directly to the Senate. This institution did much for centralization and to break down local self-government. In order to reduce the influence of the old nobility, which had been always more or less hostile to the new institutions, Peter made service to the state obligatory, and invented that "table of ranks" which made honors and titles dependent on good and efficient service. In the church, there were changes of great importance. When the Patriarch Adrian died, no man could be found whose views exactly suited those of the Tsar, and the place was therefore left unfilled for a time, and the management of ecclesiastical affairs was placed in the hands of Stephen Yavórsky, Bishop of Riazán. Subsequently Peter found that, with the opposition which existed everywhere to the changes which he had made, to appoint a new Patriarch, who by custom and law had a power in some respects almost equal to that of the Tsar, would be to give a rallying point to all his enemies, especially to the clergy. He therefore abolished the patriarchal office, and substituted therefor the Holy Synod. The numerous monasteries with which Russia was endowed were placed under the strictest regulations. Their immense property was practically confiscated and applied to charitable uses, small sums being granted for the support of the monks and nuns, who were greatly hindered in accepting novices, and who were confined more strictly to their monasteries.

The greatest need which Peter had was money. For his fleet, for his army, for the war, for the carrying out of his system of re-organization, large sums were necessary, and to increase the revenue he desired to increase the wealth of the country. He interested himself in manufactures and trade, though little in agriculture, but such was the want of knowledge of that time that scarcely anything was touched that was not harmed. The constant interference with the regular channels of trade, the diversion of men from their regular work to building towns and digging canals, the attempts to create new industries, all had an injurious effect. The newly invented "revenue-providers" indeed discovered many new subjects of taxation, but the result was the oppression and impoverishment of the people. With the heavy taxes, with the forced labor, with the recruiting, the peasant and merchant scarcely knew how to gain their daily bread. Yet Peter succeeded in bringing the revenue of Russia at one time to ten millions of rubles. This was by no means all that was collected from the people. There was great exaction and extortion of all kinds, and much of the money paid in stuck to the pockets of the officials on its way to the central treasury. One of the great wants of Peter was men who would carry out faithfully what he ordered. The prevailing dishonesty distressed him, and he devised a system of fiscal agents who in reality were nothing more than spies, and even to this day, in the parlance of the common people, a spy is called a "fiscal." These were insufficient, and other spies had to be sent to watch them. The practice of denunciations of all kinds was encouraged to such a degree that it seemed that the aim of the Government was to make every individual a spy upon his neighbor. Yet, in spite of this, men who were favorites of the Tsar, most intimate in his councils, and most active in carrying out his plans, were sometimes the worst in this respect. Menshikóf fell several times into disgrace, but such was his power over his friend that by the sacrifice of a large amount of money he obtained pardon. Not so with others. Prince Gagárin, the governor of Siberia, in spite of the great service which he had rendered to the Government, was hanged at St. Petersburg for peculation. Kurbátof, one of the most zealous revenue agents of the Tsar, fell into disgrace for the same cause, and died before his case was decided. The vice-chancellor Shaffrof—partly, indeed, through the hatred of Menshikóf—was brought to trial for illegal acts, and was condemned to death, but received a commutation of sentence

when he had already placed his head upon the block. Even Nesterof, the Ober-fiscal, the man who for so many years had punished others for corruption, was himself found guilty of the same crime and executed in 1724. Peter, who loved such spectacles, stood at the window of one of the ministries. The old Nesterof, seeing him, bowed, confessed his guilt, and begged for mercy. But the Tsar was inexorable. Nesterof had first his legs and arms broken on the wheel, his head was then struck off and exposed on a stake, and his body placed on a wheel for days.

One new institution came into being, one which has left an impress on Russian life not yet effaced—the Secret Chancery of Preobrazhénsky. In the old time, the Streltsi at Moscow had been charged with the preservation of the public order. They were the police of the city. After the dissolution of the Streltsi, the police duties devolved chiefly on the Preobrazhénsky regiment, and drunkards and other disturbers of the peace were arrested and taken to the post in the square of the Kremlin, or to the headquarters at Preobrazhénsky. The procedure was usually simple. After hearing the prisoner's statement and what little evidence the soldiers who arrested him could produce, Prince Ramodanófsky either imprisoned him for further investigation, had him stripped and beaten, or dismissed him at once if innocent—on payment, however, of a sum of money as expenses for his arrest. The business of the tribunal at Preobrazhénsky constantly increased, and included not only police matters, but crimes, and even treasonable acts. By a decree of October, 1702, this tribunal was legalized, and it was ordered that any person who cried out "word and deed" * should be sent before it. These terrible words brought about the arrest of all persons present or concerned, and the application of the most fearful torture. The Secret Chancery of Preobrazhénsky was subsequently transferred to St. Petersburg, and continued to have exclusive charge of the secret police of the state. In that way, it was the lineal ancestor of what was subsequently known as the Third Section of His Imperial Majesty's Chancery. It is pleasant to know that the numerous pages of its blood-stained records during Peter's reign show but few cases of real crime against the Tsar, and sad to see what numbers of men and women were tortured for chance and sometimes ill-understood words and expressions, or on the denunciation of some personal enemy.

We remember what dissatisfaction greeted the first innovations of Peter. Nevertheless, the distasteful changes continued. The war began; taxation and recruiting bore heavily on all classes, but especially on the peasants. After the Streltsi had been crushed, there was nothing about which an organized opposition could be grouped; there were no natural leaders or parties who could take up the cause of the people. The protests against the despotism of Peter took the form either of dissent or of rioting and brigandage. The Cossacks and half-wild people on the southern and eastern frontiers received accessions of strength in many men animated by fanaticism and embittered by persecution. In the more central districts of Russia, the discontent showed itself in violent and "unseemly" speech, in rumors and predictions, which, though comparatively harmless, were pursued and punished. What sort of "unseemly" talk was current, we can learn from the abundant records of the tribunal of Preobrazhénsky. Every denunciation was followed by a rigid investigation, and every investigation, whether it showed guilt or innocence, was attended by inhuman tortures. A peasant, for example, groaned out: "Since God has sent him to be the Tsar, we have no happy days. The village is weighed down with furnishing rubles and half-rubles, and horses and carts, and there is no rest for us peasants." A boyár's son complained: "What sort of a Tsar is he? He has forced us all into the service, he has seized upon our people and peasants for recruits. Nowhere can you get away from him. Every one is lost. He even goes into the service himself, and yet no one kills him. If they only killed him, the service would stop, and it would be easier for the people." Some peasant women and soldiers' wives cried out: "What sort of a Tsar is he? He has completely ruined the peasants, carried off our husbands to be soldiers, and left us and our children orphans, to pass all our lives in weeping." A serf said: "If he lives long he will ruin all of us. I am astonished that people have not put him out of the way before now. He rides about early and late at night, with few

* "Word and deed of the Tsar" was the accepted term for denouncing high treason, even before the compilation of the code of the Tsar Alexis, but its origin is unknown.

people and alone. It is not a good time for the Germans now, because his father-in-law Lefort is dead. What sort of a Tsar is he? He is the deadly enemy of the peasants, and if he rides long enough about Moscow he will lose his head one of these days." A beggar said: "The Germans have got the better of him. One hour strikes, all is well. Another strikes, there is groaning and weeping. Now he has even attacked God—he has taken the bells out of the churches."

The change in the popular feeling toward the sovereign was very perceptible. In the time of the Tsar Alexis the people had many causes for discontent, but they threw the blame on Plestchéief, Morózof, and other boyárs and ministers of the Tsar, whom they considered to be the real causes of their troubles. Peter was no longer the demi-god who remained quietly in his palace or appeared only in state, ready to interfere to protect his people against the rapacity and the injustice of the boyárs. He had too often been seen in the streets and neighborhood of Moscow consorting with foreigners. He had shown his personal will too often during the executions of the Streltsi, at Vorónezh and elsewhere, for the people not to understand that the government was different, that the Tsar was the life and soul of it. Their blame, then, was directed against him alone. The popular mind needed some explanation of this strange phenomenon, and the first was ready to hand: "The Germans had got around him—had bewitched him." Following German fashions, he had ordered them to cut off their beards. He would probably go still farther. "The Tsar had traveled beyond the sea, and had fallen in love with the German faith. He was going to compel the monks to drink milk on Wednesdays and Fridays." But the explanation of German influence did not seem sufficient. The popular imagination embroidered on this, and began to inquire whether, after all, Peter was the real Tsar, the son of Alexis. In 1701, Prince Basil Sontsef was executed for two murders and two robberies. Surely his crimes were enough, but he had committed even a greater one. He had said that the Princess Sophia had called Peter "son of a Strelets." But this accusation explained nothing. At last the popular fancy hit on what seemed sufficient. Peter was the son of a German, and a changeling. The real child of the Tsaritsa Natalia was a girl, and as she greatly wished an heir to the throne, the midwives had changed the infant for a boy from the German suburb—even for the son of Lefort. But the legend did not stop here. The Tsar had gone abroad, rumors had come of the unpleasantness at Riga. It was said that the foreigners had killed him, and sent one of their own men back to Russia to take his place, and to turn all the orthodox away from Christianity. This fancy took the form of a fairy tale:

"When the Tsar and his companions were beyond the sea, he went into the German lands, and was in Stekólme, the realm of glass [Stockholm]. Now the realm of glass in the German land is ruled by a woman, and that woman made mock at the Tsar, and put him on a hot frying-pan, and then, taking him out of the frying-pan, had him thrown into prison. When it was the name's-day of that woman, her princes and boyárs asked her for the sake of this feast to let out the Tsar. She answered:

"'Go and look; if he is still turning around, I will let him out at your request.'

"The princes and boyárs went and looked at the Tsar, and said:

"'He is weak, O mistress!'

"Then she said:

"'Since he is weak, bring him out.'

"So they brought him out and set him free. Then he came to our boyárs, and our boyárs crossed themselves, made a cask and nailed it full of nails, and wished to put him into that cask; but one of the Streltsi found it out, and, running up to the Tsar's bed, said:

"'O lord Tsar, get up and go away! You know nothing of what is to be done with you.'

"And the Tsar got up and went away, and that Strelets lay on the bed in his place, and the boyárs came, and, dragging that Strelets from the bed, put him into that cask, and rolled him into the sea."

This story leaves it uncertain what became of Peter, but evil tongues set afloat a rumor that he had been killed abroad. "This is not our lord—he is a German. Our Tsar was nailed up in a cask by the Germans and thrown into the sea."

The opponents of the innovations went still farther. The Dissenters, and, in general, the religiously disposed Russian peasantry, were greatly given to apocalyptic teachings and to explanations of the Biblical mysteries. They had seen the fulfillment of prophecies in Nikon and Alexis, and were ready to be convinced that Peter, with the changes which he had made in the sacred and established order of things, was the true Antichrist.

The fate of one expounder of the doctrine of Antichrist created much sympathy. In the year 1700, information had been given to the tribunal of Preobrazhénsky that a scribe named Gregory Talítsky had used all sorts of injurious and unseemly epithets

about the Tsar, and was engraving some boards in order to print a pamphlet and distribute it among the people. He fled, but was soon caught. On the application of torture, he confessed to having written a letter to the effect that the last times had now arrived, that Antichrist was come, and to having advised the people to refuse to obey the Tsar, who was Antichrist, or pay the taxes, and to having recommended them to search for Prince Tcherkásky, who wished good to the people. Among his accomplices were Ignatius, Bishop of Tambóf, who had encouraged him to write and print pamphlets, and Prince Iván Havánsky, who blamed himself for having taken part in one of the revels of the court where sport had been made of religion, and where he himself had acted the part of a metropolitan. Talítsky and his most faithful supporter were slowly burned, or rather smoked to death, as Vockerodt tells us. Others were knouted and sent to Siberia, and the Bishop of Tambóf was degraded and imprisoned for life in the Solovétsky monastery. Prince Havánsky died from his tortures before the end of the trial. Stephen Yavórsky tried to refute the teachings of Talítsky in a pamphlet called "The Signs of the Coming of Antichrist"; but, as usually happens, his arguments—which Vockerodt calls very weak—were read only by those who had no need of being convinced. The Government circulated the story that Talítsky had recanted at the stake, but the belief of many ignorant men was not shaken. The fame of Talítsky as a martyr, added to the reputation which he was said to have gained, during the torture, in a dispute with the Bishop of Riazán, spread among the people. Persons of higher rank, even Peter's son Alexis, were interested in him, and in after years Peter's daughter Elisabeth collected documents with regard to this affair.

Menshikóf, as Peter's special favorite, was said to have abandoned Christianity and to be surrounded by swarms of devils. The little cross pricked into the left-hand of the recruits to mark them was everywhere called the seal of Antichrist. The inhabitants of whole villages fled to the wastes of the north, east, and south-east, and lived in the woods and on the steppes to avoid contact with unholiness.

A curious specimen of the apocalyptic teachings of the Dissenters of this time is to be found in an old manuscript from the Solovétsky monastery, preserved at Kazán:

"The Apostle says, first comes a falling away, then is revealed the man of sin, the son of perdition, the Antichrist. First came the falling away from the holy faith by the Tsar Alexis in the year 666,* the number of the beast, thus fulfilling the prophecy. And after him there reigned on the throne his first-born son Peter, from his second and unlawful marriage. He was consecrated to the throne of all the Russias by the Jewish laws from head to foot, showing that he is the false Messiah and the false Christ, as the Sibyl prophesied about him that a Jewish Tsar will reign. And that false Christ began to set himself up and be called God by all, persecuting and torturing all orthodox Christians, destroying their memory from the face of the earth, spreading his new Jewish faith throughout all Russia. In the year 1700, to the accomplishment of his wickedness, and on the festival of the circumcision of Christ, he called together a heathenish court and erected a temple to the heathen god Janus, and before all the people practiced all sorts of magic rites, and all called out, '*Vivat! vivat!* the new year!' and he sent to all parts of the realm the command to feast for the new year, thus breaking the laws of the Fathers, who in the first Œcumenical Council commanded the feast of the new year to be on the 1st of September. In the year 1721 he took upon himself the patriarchal title, calling himself Father of the country, Head of the Russian Church, and Autocrat, having no one on an equality with himself, taking craftily to himself not only the power of the Tsar, but also the authority of God, and claiming to be an autocratic pastor, a headless head over all opponents of Christ—Antichrist. Therefore must we conceal ourselves in the deserts, just as the Prophet Jeremiah ordered the children of God to flee from Babylon. The years of the Lord have passed; the years of Satan have come."

CHAPTER XLI.

THE LAST YEARS, 1722–1725.

It would seem as if the internal affairs of the Empire, and the great changes which he was trying to effect in the organization of the Government, were insufficient for Peter's active nature. The ink on the peace of Nystadt was hardly dry when the Tsar turned his attention to Asiatic affairs, and intervened in the Persian difficulties. Hussein IV. was one of those weak, negligent Asiatic despots, addicted to the pleasures of the harem, who by some fatality of the East seem destined to succeed the fierce, vigorous conquerors who established empires. Already Candahar had fallen away from his sway, and the ruler of Afghanistan had founded an independent monarchy. The

* It is very common in old Russian books to find the first figure of dates omitted. The year 666 meant the year 1666, the date of the Council of Moscow, and of the armed attack on the Solovétsky monastery.

BEARING THE BODY OF CHARLES XII. (AFTER A PAINTING BY CEDERSTRÖM.)

country was a prey to internal dissension. Profiting by this, the new ruler of Afghanistan, the Emir Mahmud, compelled Hussein to accept him as grand vizier and actual ruler of Persia. Humiliated in this way, Hussein abdicated in favor of his youthful son, Tohmas Mirza. Daud Bek, the ruler of the Lesghians, a tribe in the Caucasus, who paid a yearly tribute to Persia, followed the example of the Afghans. He took Shemakha, robbed the Russians who traded there, and utterly ruined Yeoréinof, a very wealthy and at that time well-known Russian merchant. At the same time Vakhtan, the Prince of Georgia, who not long before had become a Mussulman to please the Shah, tried now to free himself from the Persian yoke, and for that sought support from Russia. He applied to Volynsky, the governor of Astrakhan, expressed his willingness to return to the Christian faith, and offered forty thousand troops to act against Persia. Moved by the representations of Volynsky, who shortly before had made a journey of observation through Persia, and fearing that the Turks might use this opportunity to establish their supremacy in the Caucasus, and perhaps on the Caspian, the Tsar resolved on an expedition to the Caspian, and on giving unasked-for support to the young Shah of Persia. In the beginning of 1722 he went to Moscow, ordered ships to be prepared on the Volga, and in May, together with Catherine, set out by water to Astrakhan, stopping from time to time along the Volga, and entertained by the wealthy Russian manufacturing family of Stróganof at Nijni-Novgorod. In spite of strong representations from the Porte, Peter sailed from Astrakhan to Derbent on the 29th of July, with twenty-two thousand infantry and five thousand sailors. His cavalry, to the number of nine thousand, besides forty thousand Cossacks and Kalmuks and thirty thousand Tartars, marched by land. Tarku surrendered, but it was necessary to attack and destroy Utamysh, whose ruler offered opposition, and on the 3d of September the Tsar arrived at Derbent, and received its keys from the commandant. Peter remained here a month.

Autumn drew on, it became difficult to supply his army, and therefore, leaving a garrison in Derbent, he returned to Astrakhan and thence to Moscow, where, on the 24th of December, he made a triumphal entry

into the old capital. The usual praise for his victories was heightened by the fact that he had captured a town founded, as the legend went, by Alexander of Macedonia. He remained in Moscow until spring, and, on the eve of his departure to St. Petersburg, set fire with his own hands to his old wooden palace at Preobrazhénsky, saying to the young Duke of Holstein: "Here I first thought of war against Sweden. May every thought of enmity disappear with this house! May Sweden be the truest ally of my empire!"

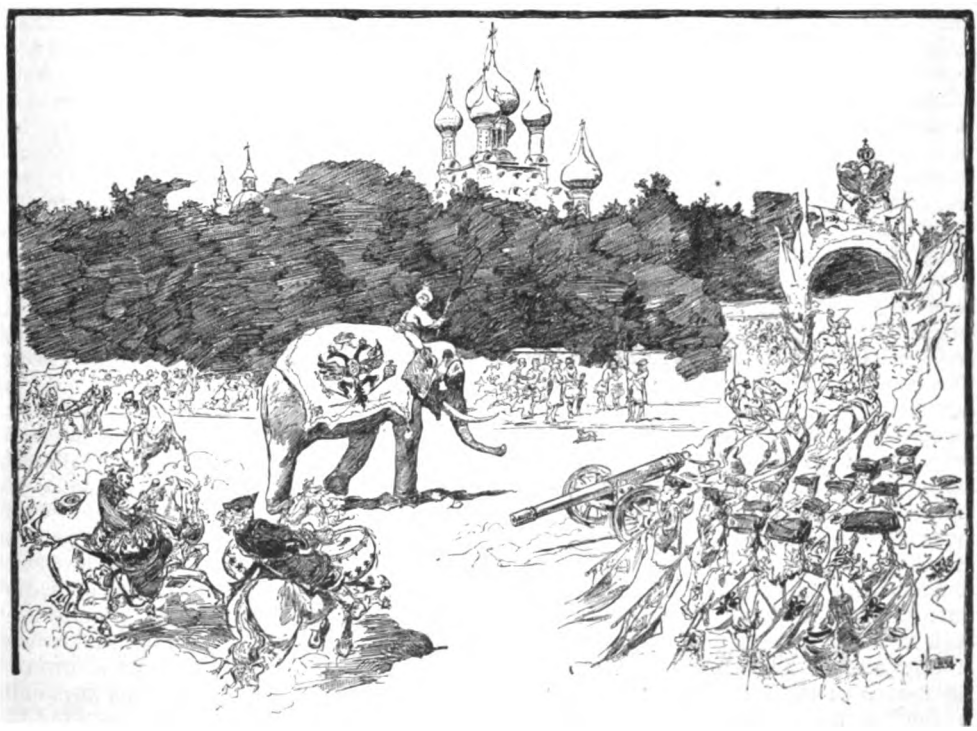
The troops which Peter left behind him did their work well. Shipof established himself at Resht, in spite of the ill-will of the inhabitants and of the Persian authorities, who objected to this unasked-for assistance, and Matiushkin, being refused admittance to Baku in the summer of 1723, was obliged to take that town. These actions, however, were of little importance, for at the end of September, 1723, a treaty was made with an envoy sent by Tohmas Shah to St. Petersburg, by which Russia agreed to protect the Shah against rebels, and the Shah in return promised to provide for the auxiliary troops sent, ceded to Russia the towns of Derbent and Baku, together with the whole of the coast of the Caspian, including the provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad. In this way, almost without a war, Russia succeeded in obtaining a strip of territory in Asia which was to be of great consequence to its future, for although portions of this were subsequently returned to Persia, its occupation led to the annexation of the whole of the Caucasus. The efforts to settle the country with Armenians from the Turkish possessions brought about disputes with the Porte, and in January, 1724, matters had come to such a point that there was imminent danger of war. The mediation of the French embassador was accepted, and resulted entirely in the favor of Russia. The Armenian emigration was allowed, but Vakhtan, the Georgian prince who had returned to Christianity, was oppressed both by Turks and Persians, and was finally obliged to give up his throne to a rival prince, and to seek refuge in Russia.

The most important event in the relations of Russia with the Western powers was the conclusion of a defensive alliance with Sweden, in February, 1724; the two states after their long war had entered into a firm friendship. Both powers agreed to prevent internal disorders in Poland and to uphold its ancient liberties and elective government. These stipulations confirmed the policy of the neighboring states toward Poland, for it was well seen that the maintenance of the old Polish liberties would sooner or later bring about the ruin of the Republic and give possibilities of profiting by its dismemberment. Ever since his visit to Paris, Peter had been in the best of relations with the French court, and he had at one time the design even of marrying one of his daughters, Elisabeth, to the young Louis XV. Fate brought about that, instead of the daughter of Peter, the French King married the daughter of his old enemy Stanislas. The good understanding with France assisted in keeping up friendly relations with the Stuarts. Peter supported the Pretender because he had for a long time been on bad terms with King George I. But this support did not lead Russia to any active undertakings on his behalf. When the French became reconciled to England, Peter was ready to follow their example, but that did not come about in his life-time.

The health of Peter had become much more broken. He was subject to frequent attacks of fever and weakness, and now every summer went for a while to the iron springs which had been discovered in the government of Olonetz. He evidently felt that his end might come soon; and in 1722 published a decree about the succession, by which all rights of inheritance were abolished. The permission was given to every sovereign of Russia to name his successor as he thought best, without regard to relationship or rank. His sons were all dead, and he did not seem favorably disposed toward the claims of his grandson, the child of Alexis. Yet he had not named a successor. It appears that he had the idea in his mind of leaving the throne to his wife Catherine. It is nowhere plainly expressed, and can be deduced only from circumstances. In the spring of 1724, he resolved on the coronation of Catherine. She was already called Empress, but only as his wife. He now desired to give her this title independently of him, and in a proclamation addressed to his people he recounted all her services to him and to the state, laying especial stress on what she had done during the campaign on the Pruth. The coronation took place on the 18th of May, 1724, in the Cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow, for Moscow still remained the center of the national unity. The ceremony was conducted by the Met-

ropolitan of Novgorod, and Theophán Procópovitch, Bishop of Pskof, preached the sermon, but Peter himself placed the crown on the head of his wife. Such an event had never been known in Russian history, except when Maria Muishek, the wife of Demetrius, had been publicly crowned. Feasts, masquerades, and balls, together with popular festivities, lasted for days, and as if to show that he had prepared for Catherine a power equal to his own, he allowed her to create Peter Tolstói a count.

While feasts and merriment prevailed at court, the condition of Russia was by no means happy. Everywhere there were complaints of misery. The recent bad harvests had made provisions dear. The grain store-houses which the Emperor long ago commanded to be built everywhere throughout Russia, existed only on paper. Crowds of poverty-stricken wretches wandered through the streets and along the high-roads, though Peter had often ordered that there should be no beggars in his empire, and under pain of penalties had forbidden his subjects to give alms. The hungry peasants turned to robbery and murder, and even in the neighborhood of St. Petersburg there were bands of marauders. The deficiencies in the taxes became greater and greater; the Boards of War and Marine had not enough money to keep up the army and the fleet. Still the burdens of the people did not diminish. The colonization of Russian peasants to the detested St. Petersburg was continued, and many debtors to the treasury were sent to hard labor at Cronstadt and Rogerwik (now Baltic Port) —a new port laid out by Peter near Reval. While the courtiers were amusing themselves at masquerades, loud curses were heard among the people, for which many unfortunate persons were dragged to the privy chancery and given over to barbarous tortures. After the return of the court to St. Petersburg, preparations were made for new festivities to celebrate the marriage of the young Duke of Holstein, nephew of Charles XII., with the Princess Anna, the daughter of Peter and Catherine. The character of Peter had in some respects changed. Sometimes he was indefatigable in work; at others he desired solitude, and was so morose that no one dared speak to him, even about business. At times he would indulge in long conversations with his chaplain; at others he would send for his doctor, and perhaps immediately afterward give himself up to drinking and feasting. At the end of August, he took part in the

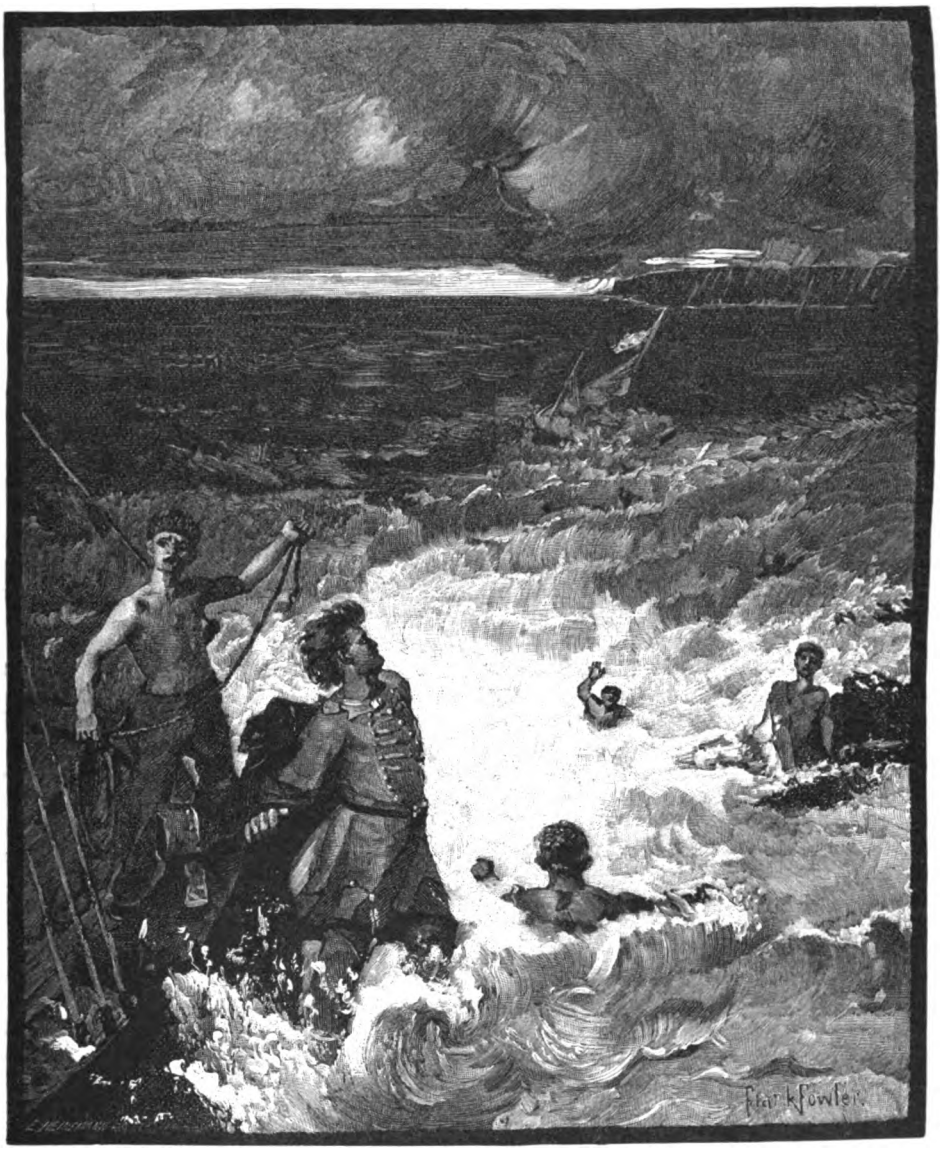


THE PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE PERSIAN EMBASSADORS.

LIFE OF A PEASANT—HOLIDAY. (FROM PHOTOGRAPH BY VELTEN OF PAINTING BY P. SOKOLOFF.)

consecration of a church at his new country palace of Tsarskoe-Selo. The festivities continued for several days, and as many as three thousand bottles of wine were drunk. The consequence was an illness which kept Peter in bed for a week, but he had no sooner got up again than he went off to Schlüsselburg, and there had a new debauch on the anniversary of the capture of the fort. From Schlüsselburg Peter went to the iron-works of Olónetz, hammered out with his own hands a sheet of iron weighing more than a hundred pounds; then went to Novgorod, and from Novgorod to Staraya-Rus, to examine the salt-works. After this came a visit to the Ladóga canal, which, under the directions of Münnich, was making great progress. During the previous five years, hardly twelve versts had been dug by twenty thousand men, while Münnich had succeeded in cutting five versts in a single year, hoped before winter to dig seven more, and employed only twenty-nine hundred soldiers and five thousand free workmen. The cost of working, too, was much less than before. In the early part of November Peter returned to St. Petersburg by water, and immediately started for Systerbeck to examine the iron-works there. As he approached the village of Lakhta, near the mouth of the Neva, he saw a boat full of soldiers and sailors carried in every direction by the wind and storm, which finally grounded before his eyes. Peter impatiently ordered his men to sail up to it, jumped into the water up to his waist, and aided in dragging the boat off the shoal. Several of his own crew were drowned in assisting him, but Peter worked the whole night in the water, and succeeded in saving the lives of twenty men. The next day he felt an attack of fever, put off his cruise to Systerbeck, and sailed back to St. Petersburg.

While Peter was still suffering with fever, a series of events occurred which greatly affected him morally. Catherine had a secretary who stood high in her favor and had charge of her property—William Mons, a brother of the Anna Mons who had been Peter's mistress before he made Catherine's acquaintance. Another sister, Metrena Balk, was a lady of honor. They profited by their position and the confidence placed in them to take bribes for the influence of the Empress. More than this, Peter, who had grown strangely suspicious, began to be jealous of Mons, and suspected his relations toward the Empress. Soon after the return of the Emperor to St. Petersburg, Mons was arrested one evening at his own house by the director of the secret chancery, who demanded his sword and his keys and sealed up all his papers. The next day he



PETER SAVING THE SAILORS AT THE MOUTH OF THE NEVA.

was subjected to an interrogatory in the presence of the Emperor, which so unnerved him that he fainted, and it was necessary to bleed him. The next day, he was again questioned and was threatened with torture. To save himself from this, Mons confessed that he had turned to his own use the revenues of several estates of the Empress, and that he had taken a bribe from a peasant with the promise of making him a groom of the Empress. He was sent to the fortress, and subsequently, on the 25th of November, was condemned to death. Catherine had the courage to ask Peter for the pardon both of Mons and his accomplices, at which the Emperor flew into such a passion that he smashed with his fist a handsome Venetian mirror. "Thus," he said, "I can annihilate the most beautiful adornment of my palace." Catherine could not but understand that in these words there was a hint at her own position, but calmly replied: "And have you made the palace any the more beautiful by doing so?" Peter then

calmed, but refused to listen to his wife's prayers. On the 27th of November, at ten o'clock in the morning, Mons and his sister were taken in sledges to the place of execution. Mons calmly bowed whenever he noticed his acquaintances in the crowd of people standing about; with a show of courage he ascended the scaffold, took off his fur coat, listened to the sentence of death for receiving bribes, bowed once more, and placed his head on the block. His sister, Metrena Balk, was punished with eleven blows of the knout, and sent to Tobolsk. Two others were whipped and sent to hard labor at Rogerwik. After the execution, Peter drove out with Catherine and passed close by the stake on which the head of Mons was exposed. He forced his wife to look at this bloody trophy, and it is reported that, looking the Emperor straight in the eyes, she said: "How sad it is that there should be such corruption even at court!"

Next came disclosures about Makórof, the secretary of the cabinet, who was accused of taking bribes for the reports which he made to his master, and about Menshikóf, who had before on two occasions been pardoned for his corruption and extortion, and who, on this new accusation, was removed from his position as president of the War Board. Meanwhile, on the 5th of December, the name's-day of the Empress, Peter celebrated the betrothal of his daughter Anna with the Duke of Holstein. In accordance with the decree by which Peter reserved to the sovereign the right of appointing his own successor, the Princess was obliged to renounce for herself and her posterity all claims to the Russian throne. A strange destiny made this renunciation of no effect, for the son of Anna, as Peter III., was the founder of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, now reigning in Russia.

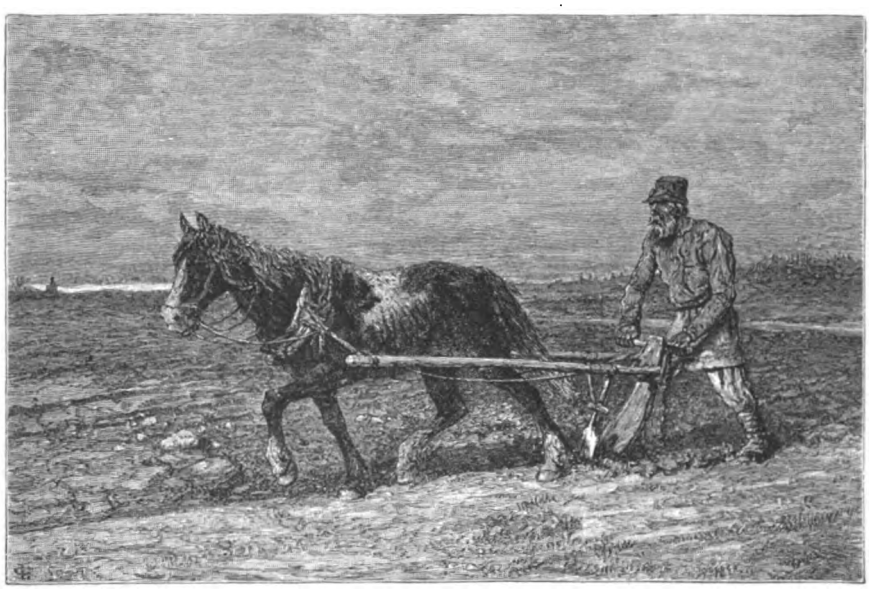
Peter's health, instead of improving, grew every day worse, and he developed aggravated symptoms of a disease of the bladder. Nevertheless he controlled himself, attended to public affairs, and even indulged in some of his favorite occupations. At the end of December he took part in one of those coarse farces which seemed to satisfy a certain side of his nature, but which, as he grew older, seemed so incongruous with his character and his position. He proceeded to elect a new "prince-pope," the head of his college of fools, in place of Buturlín, who had died some months before in consequence of his drunkenness and gluttony. In a hall in Buturlín's house a throne was erected, covered with striped material, on which Bacchus presided, seated on a cask. In the next room, where the "conclave" assembled, fourteen boxes were constructed, while in the midst was a table with representations of a bear and a monkey, a cask of wine, and dishes of food. After a solemn procession, the Emperor shut up the "cardinals" in the room of the conclave, and put his seal on the door. No one was allowed to come out until a new "pope" had been chosen, and every quarter of an hour the members of the conclave were obliged to swallow a large spoonful of whisky. The next morning, at six o'clock, Peter let them out. They had disputed among themselves for a long time, and as they could not decide on a pope, had been obliged to ballot for him. The lot fell on an officer of the commissariat, who was then placed upon the throne, and all were obliged to kiss his slipper. In the evening which followed, the guests were served with meat of wolves, foxes, bears, cats, and rats.

On the 27th of January, Peter, who had again caught cold at the blessing of the Neva, was forced to take to his bed, under the care of Doctor Blümentrost. On the 2d of February he confessed and received the sacrament. On the 6th, he signed a proclamation freeing all persons who had been exiled to hard labor, and pardoned all criminals except those who were condemned for murder and for heinous offenses. Catherine, by her entreaties, obtained the pardon of Menshikóf. The next day he expressed a wish to write out his intentions with regard to the succession to the throne. The paper was given to him, but he succeeded in writing only two words—"Give all," when the pen dropped from his hand. He called for his daughter Anna, in order to dictate to her, but when she appeared he was no longer able to pronounce a single word. The next day, the 8th of February, at six o'clock in the morning, he expired.

When it became known that the state of the Emperor was hopeless, the senators and other magnates assembled in one of the halls of the palace, to take measures for the succession. Many of them still clung to the old feeling in favor of hereditary succession, and declared themselves on the side of the little son of Alexis. Others, and the more influential, felt that this would be a dangerous risk for them. Tolstói knew that the nation hated him and accused him

of being the murderer of the Tsarévitch; Yaduzhínsky owed everything to Peter and Catherine; Menshikóf was sure that if Catherine ascended the throne he could manage affairs at his pleasure, and he had taken the precaution to surround the palace with two regiments of guards, after having previously assured himself of their fidelity. The dispute was long and bitter, and Prince Repnin, the field-marshal in command of the army, stood out long for the young prince. At last he yielded to the view of Tolstói that, in the absence of any written or oral declaration of his will by the Emperor, the oath given by them to Catherine on her coronation should be considered binding. The Senate therefore decided that, when Peter died, they would recognize Catherine as Empress. When this was done, they all went into the next room, where the dying Emperor lay, and remained there until all was over. They then withdrew, and a little after, Catherine, leaning on the arm of the Duke of Holstein, came in and besought them to protect and defend her. When she had finished speaking, Apráxin threw himself on his knees before her and announced the decision of the Senate. The hall resounded with cries of acclamation, which were repeated in the streets by the guards, and the announcement of the accession of Catherine was spread through the city as soon as that of the death of Peter. The oath of allegiance to the Empress was not administered everywhere without protest, but the terror and awe inspired by Peter's name were still too great for any decided opposition. On the 10th of February the embalmed body was placed in one of the smaller halls in the palace, on a bed of state, covered with robes given by Louis XV. on Peter's visit to Paris, and the people were admitted to view it. On the 24th of February, the coffin of Peter was transferred to another *salon*, which had been decorated as a hall of mourning, and not long afterward there was placed beside it another coffin, containing the body of his little daughter Natalia. On the 19th of March, with imposing ceremonies, the coffin was transferred to the Cathedral of Ss. Peter and Paul in the fortress, and after the liturgy a sermon was preached by Theophán Procópovitch. The body was sprinkled with earth according to the Russian rite, the coffin was closed, the imperial mantle was thrown over it, and it remained on the *catafalco*, under a canopy in the center of the church, until the 1st of June, 1731, in the reign of the Empress Anna, when it was consigned to the vault where it now reposes.

People breathed more freely in the West when the news came that Peter was dead. Rudakofsky wrote from Poland in February, addressed to Peter himself, that his enemies had spread the news of his death. "The dead flies," he says, "have begun to raise their noses again, and think that now the Russian Empire is going to destruction.



LIFE OF A PEASANT—WORK. (FROM PHOTOGRAPH BY VELTEN OF PAINTING BY P. SOKOLOFF.)

LIFE OF A PEASANT—THE END. (FROM PHOTOGRAPH BY VELTEN OF PAINTING BY P. SOKOLOFF.)

There is everywhere the greatest joy, everywhere firing of musketry and banqueting." The Russian minister at Stockholm wrote that he had seen that the King and his partisans were greatly delighted, and that there was everywhere the conviction that there would be the greatest disturbances in Russia. Bestuzhef wrote from Copenhagen that, at the news of Peter's death, "all, even the first at court as well as the common people, got drunk from delight." The Queen sent a thousand ducats to the poor, ostensibly on account of the convalescence of the King, but really, it was said, to express her joy at Peter's death. The King, he added, was, however, very angry at such manifestations, but that people in general expected there would be anarchy in Russia. King Frederick William I. of Prussia was an exception. He shed tears when Golófkin gave him the news, wore mourning, even in Potsdam, and ordered the official signs of grief to be continued for three months, as if he himself had died.

We have seen the feeling of the Russian people toward Peter. Since that time he has passed into legend. His severity has not been forgotten, but the awe is tempered with admiration, and in the popular imagination he is a hero like Iván the Terrible.

Among the higher classes it is the fashion to speak of him as a demi-god, and writers scarcely mention his name without adding "that man of genius." Even those who blame the way in which he forcibly warped the current of Russian history render homage to his great qualities. As Kostomárof says: "He loved Russia, loved the Russian people—loved it not in the sense of the mass of Russians contemporary with and subject to him, but in the sense of that ideal to which he wished to bring the people. For that reason, this love constitutes that great quality in him which causes us, even against our will, to love him personally, leaving out of view his bloody tribunals and all his demoralizing despotism, which has exercised a baneful influence even on posterity. For the love of Peter to the ideal of the Russian people, a Russian will love Peter as long as he does not lose himself this national ideal, and for this love will pardon in him all that lies with such heavy weight on his memory."