

ORIGINAL
ANECDOTES OF
FREDERIC
THE SECOND

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*Sir John William Lubbock
Bart*

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES

OF

FREDERIC THE SECOND.

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES

OF

FREDERIC THE SECOND,

KING OF PRUSSIA,

AND OF

HIS FAMILY, HIS COURT, HIS MINISTERS, HIS
ACADEMIES, AND HIS LITERARY FRIENDS:

COLLECTED DURING A FAMILIAR INTERCOURSE OF TWENTY YEARS
WITH THAT PRINCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

DIEUDONNÉ THIEBAULT,

PROFESSOR OF BELLES LETTRES IN THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF
BERLIN.

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ERRATA.

- Page 7, last line, for *complaint* read *complainant*.
— 58, line 12, for *inestimable* read *extraordinary*.
— 315, — 1, for *them* read *him*.
— 332, — 5 from the bottom, for *she* read *he*.
— 433, — 2, for *these* read *they*.
— 452, — 15, dele the *comma* after *preceptor*.



ORIGINAL ANECDOTES,

Éc. Éc.

PART III. CONTINUED.

FREDERIC AND HIS COURT.

EMBASSY OF FRANCE.

M. DE PONS-SAINT MAURICE.

MORE than a year and a half after the departure of M. de Guines, he was succeeded by the Marquis de Pons-Saint Maurice, who was somewhat tall in stature, and approaching to leanness; he was equal in his temper, and habitually serious; thirty years of age and upwards, and descended from an ancient family. He bore no resemblance to his predecessor either in his external qualities or in his household establishment, which was noble and convenient, but no less simple, regular, and uniform.

His suite was not remarkable for brilliancy; consisting of the Chevalier Gausson, the Abbé

Mat, the former being secretary to the legation; and in addition, M. Silvestre, under secretary.

M. Mat was an ex-jesuit advanced in years, who was possessed of an excellent memory and of more general information than philosophy. He is one of the three men I have met with who appeared to me to be perfectly versed in ancient and modern history. The two others were M. Weguelin, my colleague, and a M. Guenegaud, a traveller known by the name of *Valmont*. They once met by accident at my house, and entered into a sort of mutual defiance with respect to memory and general knowledge, which lasted nearly two hours, and was one of the most interesting conversations I remember to have heard. They entered into the minutest details respecting every nation concerning which they conversed, and no fact or anecdote was mentioned that was not equally known to both, nor less so various families and individuals. They knew, for example, precisely how many appellations such an Englishman, who lived under such a reign, had successively borne; at what epoch, and for what reason, he had quitted one of these for another; in short, M. Weguelin allowed they were as perfectly acquainted with Switzerland as he himself, who was born and had lived in that country, and the properties of which he had assiduously studied.

M. Mat was fond of displaying his knowledge; he talked much, and constantly engaged in long stories. His visits seemed to be written before they actually took place: no sooner did he enter a room, than he seized as it were upon the conversation, and determined abruptly the subject by such questions as he chose to put; he then decided, related his anecdotes, and took his leave. There was in this respect no other difference between him and the Abbé Raynal, than that the latter took more pains to ingratiate himself with women, and was more abrupt and peremptory in his intercourse with men; that he made his visits at the dinner hour, prolonged them to the utmost patience of his host, and insolently apostrophised those who were inattentive to what he said. In other respects, they were men of the same sort of pretensions: both despots, and fond of taking the lead in conversation; both intolerant of temper, and enemies to those persons whom they vainly attempted to subjugate; but, at the same time, both men of extensive information, both eloquent in speech, both addicted to the weakness of talking of the great as of the number of their intimates, and both devoted to the passion of self-interest.

M. Mat was succeeded at M. de Pons's by the Chevalier de Gaussen: he also was rather tall in

stature and robust in figure ; he was about thirty years of age, and son of a military officer, a native of Lunel. M. de Gausson was a man of great worth, and was under the special patronage of the Duke de Nivernois : his manners were extremely mild, his conduct regular, and his easy and engaging cordiality excited general partiality in his favour. During the eleven years he passed at Berlin, he had not the smallest disagreement with any one ; and when he was on the point of leaving us, in 1782, to visit Sweden, he requested each of his friends, at whose houses he visited, to indulge him with the portrait of his wife : his plan was to insert them in a volume which would always travel in his company, and thus enable him to be in some measure in their society whenever he liked. None of the husbands took his request amiss : the wives on their part consented to sit for their portraits to Carvel, who was at that time at Berlin ; and the Chevalier de Gausson took away with him the portraits of sixty ladies stuck on the blank leaves of a volume in quarto, none of whom had in the smallest degree interested his affections.

M. de Pons was a man of extensive knowledge and sound reasoning ; he spoke eloquently, and related stories in an easy, agreeable, and simple manner. Frederic shewed him considerable

attention, and this circumstance was no doubt the means of drawing on him that of the public. He effected his negotiations with regularity and great tranquillity of manner; by the consequences only was it possible to know whether he had been in or out of employment: he was circumspect in the extreme, and was never known to commit himself by any unwary proceeding. Conceiving it in the highest degree culpable to assert any thing he did not perfectly know the truth of, he had gained so general a reputation for veracity, that, toward the conclusion of the conferences respecting Teschen, at the epoch when the Prussian monarch would have decided for a battle, in which, according to his calculations, he must have sacrificed thirty thousand men in forcing the camp of the emperor and in destroying his army, and the baron de Hersberg, the better to dissuade him from the attempt, asserted that both Russia and France would march an army against the emperor, if the latter refused to admit the conditions agreed upon between his majesty and the two courts; the king, still mistrustful, replied, "I will believe it if the Marquis de Pons will answer positively for the truth of what you say." And, upon the assurance of Hersberg that this was the formal declaration of the marquis, "Well," said Frederic,

“in consequence I relinquish the battle.” From that time M. de Pons, in addition to the esteem he enjoyed, was held at Berlin in higher consideration than any other member of the diplomatic body.

A young coxcomb from Hanover, arriving at Berlin in the course of his travels, extolled with ecstasy the beauty of Mademoiselle Marshal, maid of honour to the Princess Henry. A person of low stature and extremely lean, with a complexion of the darkest hue, and eyes of so diminutive a size as scarcely to be seen, and in addition in an undress, being just arrived from the country, was pointed out to him as her father. The young man could scarcely be persuaded that a man so hideous could be the father of so beautiful a female, and amused himself with various sorts of arguments to that effect. He pretended that it was a dishonour to the young lady's mother to be coupled to such a husband. M. Marshal listened for some time with sentiments of pity to this tissue of impertinence; but at length he conceived himself in honour called upon to assume a more serious tone: he accordingly went up to the stranger, and informed him that nothing was more certain than that he was the father of the youthful maid of honour, and still more, a gentleman and a man of honour.

These words appearing to have made at the time no considerable impression, he withdrew, and the next morning sent his nephew, M. Schuck, an officer of the body-guards, to demand a simple explanation of the language used by the stranger; or, if this could not be obtained, to appoint a place of rendezvous. The Hanoverian persisting in the same tone, and even adding to its force, accordingly accepted the challenge, and appointed the rendezvous to take place early on the following morning. He reached the spot on horseback, prancing the animal with all the foppery imaginable. M. de Marshal soon followed in a close carriage. "Ah!" said the stranger with a sneer, "you come in a carriage, do you? I perceive you are a man of a provident temper!" "I am, Sir," replied M. de Marshal; "I imagined you would want a carriage, and, being a stranger, might have none in Berlin." The seconds then proceeded to lead M. de Marshal to an adjoining avenue, and to place the Hanoverian ten paces distant from him. "Whither are you conducting me?" cried the latter; "would you take me to the other end of the avenue?" "You will be still too near," said M. Marshal. . . . "Well, Sir," replied the young man, on the seconds stopping with him, "you are the complaint, pray fire." . . . "I have

certainly a right to fire first, but I yield it to you; for I desire nothing less than to take your life." The Hanoverian fired, missed his antagonist, and assuming an attitude of defiance, and striking his snuff-box before he opened it to take a pinch of snuff, "I am ready for you; fire." "Sir," rejoined his adversary, "I will not take your life; however, as you appear to me to stand much in need of a lesson, I will give it you: I shall fire at your right thigh, just above the knee." He fired; the young man fell, and was conveyed to the carriage, while M. de Marshal returned on foot, prepared for leaving the country; and in a secret interview requested M. de Pons to give him letters of introduction for Paris, to which place he intended to retire. M. de Pons offered to give him as many as he liked, and conceived in the most pressing terms, but strongly dissuaded him from executing his projected flight. "You are already in disfavour with Frederic, and, should you leave the country, you would be still more so, and that for the rest of your life. In such a case you would be, most likely, for a long time absent from your country and your private affairs, from all your friends, from your mother even now advanced in years, from your wife and children. Your existence at Paris would be dull and tedious, and

you would there be considered at best but as a man proscribed your country and without employment. Instead of such a step, I would advise you to write immediately to the king, and relate to him a plain and simple account of the whole of this unfortunate affair. Next declare to him, that being well aware of the decisions of justice in such cases, you waited in submission the verdict of the law; but, being no less assured that a king so magnanimous in his character must be prone to estimate the intentions and circumstances of the parties, you wait, with equal reliance on his clemency and justice, his majesty's determination. You will be sent to Spandaw, notwithstanding the letter; of this I have no doubt; but I know the king perfectly; he will not keep you in the fortress more than four months, and you will be restored to your family and your liberty, while your conduct will have regained you the favour of Frederic." M. de Marshal followed this advice, and, as M. de Pons had prophesied, he was liberated from Spandaw in about four months.

In the mean while the Hanoverian had received a fatal wound. M. de Marshal, who had the reputation of being the best shot in Brandenburg, who never failed to cut his ball in two when he took for his mark the blade of a knife, on this

occasion failed of his usual ability; his ball entered an inch lower than he aimed, and shattered the knee-pan of his antagonist, who expired in the greatest agonies in less than three hours.

One day, Noel, the king's chief cook, received a letter from a brother of his, who kept an inn at Perigueux, the native place of both, in which he inquired if there were any paper-mills in the King of Prussia's dominions, and if it were probable that an attempt to introduce them would be attended with success. These questions were proposed jointly by three brothers, who had lately inherited a well-established paper manufactory in Perigord, but which was not sufficiently extensive to require three partners. One of the brothers happening to converse with Noel, the inn-keeper, on the subject, the idea of forming a similar establishment in Prussia had suggested itself, and the above questions were proposed in consequence. Noel read the letter to Frederic, who, ever ready to profit by occasions, replied, first, that he would allow a pension of two thousand crowns to the proprietor of such a manufactory during the first years of the experiment, and wages in proportion to the workmen who should come with him to Prussia; secondly, that he would erect such buildings as would be necessary for the enterprise, at his own expence,

at Orangeburg, on the river Hawel, eight miles distant from Berlin; and, in addition, would provide all the utensils and machines. The paper manufacturer lost no time in accepting these magnificent proposals, and accordingly soon reached the Prussian dominions at the head of twenty workmen. He gave in his plan for the building, the expence of which was estimated by an architect at twenty thousand crowns, which Frederic ordered to be immediately disbursed by his board of works. Nothing was now wanting but to set about the building; this the poor paper-maker vainly endeavoured to obtain: the more he importuned, the less the work advanced; he at length was rendered desperate by such repeated delays, when he received an intimation that the undertaking would not fail to proceed to his wishes if he would consent to share his twenty thousand crowns with the principal directors of the works; it was also intimated that he need not make himself uneasy on account of such a misapplication of the king's money, since it would not be difficult to conceal the affair entirely from his knowledge, nor to find plausible pretences for prevailing on him to supply the deficiency. The honest paper-maker was indignant at this proposal, by the bare mention of which he thought himself disgraced: he

at once declared he was incapable of conniving at a fraud. This affair was soon made public; and the next concern of the directors was to be revenged. The buildings immediately went on; but the latter took care that different parts of the construction should be so deficient in the solidity required, as to be wholly unfit for the intended purpose. When this was complained of, they replied, they had followed his own plan with the greatest precision, and that he alone ought to sustain the consequences of his ignorance and temerity. To this first embarrassment another soon succeeded: he received notice that neither his pension nor the wages of his workmen would be paid any longer till his manufacture should be actually set in motion; he was accused of indolence and imposture, while, on the other hand, they secretly employed means to throw impediments in the way of his procuring old linen and other materials, without which he could not make a beginning. Even the poorest among the Jews refused to sell him any articles of this kind. In this cruel situation he was advised by some friends to make purchases of the articles of which he stood in need in Saxony: he hastened thither; and, on returning with his purchases, he was seized and thrown into a dungeon, under the pretext of his having made the same pro-

posals to the court of Dresden as he had before done to Frederic. During all this time, the manufacturer had been living on borrowed money. Noel had furnished him with some; and also a poor cutler, named Humblot, had lent him the small savings he had been able to put by, about two thousand crowns; and, unfortunately, he had had a further supply from a certain Jew. Noel tried every endeavour to save him: he gave in petitions, and even went so far as to conjure the king to hear the supposed culprit on his own behalf, and to declare that his majesty had been shamefully imposed upon throughout the whole transaction. Frederic, seduced by his minister, who was the dupe of the directors, refused to listen to any kind of explanation; pronounced that the man was a knave; and concluded with deriding Noel respecting the sum he had thus squandered on his countryman, and by commanding him to speak to him no more on the subject. Humblot, who lived near the prison, paid the prisoner a visit, and said to him, "You have been the means of losing for me the savings of many years, the produce of the sweat of my brow, and the only resource of my wife and children; but this is no fault of yours, and you, even more than myself, deserve compassion. You shall return the sum I lent you at some fu-

ture time, if you are able ; in the mean while, I am come to propose your partaking of my supper: I will bring it to you every evening, and will keep you company for an hour or two ; I will be content to eat only my dinner with my wife and children, and my sole regret will be the frugality of the meal I offer you." As to the Jew, when the prisoner had proved his innocence of the charge for which he was confined, he was prevailed upon by the minister to enter a detainer against him for the pitiful debt he owed him. The paper-mill, with its appurtenances, was given to a man who had been, turn by turn, an unskilful librarian, watch-maker, jeweller, and, in all probability, was a wretched paper-maker also. The twenty workmen petitioned for passports to return to France ; and obtained them rather on account of their well-known attachment to their first master, on whose behalf it was feared they might, sooner or later, gain the attention of the king, for they were loudly zealous in his cause, than from motives of a purer sort. Tassaert requested me to second him in a plan he had formed of obtaining for them a certain protection from the Marquis de Pons, who expressed the sincerest regret that he had not the power of rendering any service to these unfortunate men, whose fate he commise-

rated: he observed, that as they had quitted France in violation of the law, he could do nothing for them; but that, if they desired to make a last effort for their master, who was even more than themselves worthy of compassion, we might advise them to adjust their route so as to take Potzdam in their way, and to pass under the windows of a certain apartment in the castle, about two o'clock, at which time Frederic was generally to be seen looking over the gardens into the road that conducted to Saxony, and that, seeing so many as twenty men in a party, he would probably inquire who they were, and, unwilling to let such a number of workmen leave his dominions, he might be induced to give orders that should be more favourable to the prisoner. This advice was exactly executed, and the workmen were accordingly stopped and questioned by the guard at Potzdam; and their reply, with which we had prepared them, was as follows: "That they had engaged to work only in the service of an honourable master, whom they had long known; that this worthy person was the innocent victim of the knavery of others; and, since they could no longer work for him, they determined to return to their native country, deploring much less their own misfortune than the condition of an innocent man, a prey to the

revenge of knaves." We afterward heard from the officer on guard, that Frederic, after pausing for a moment, said to him, "Let them go on." When I quitted Berlin, the paper-maker of Perigueux was still in prison, and Humblot still continued to share his supper with him. This man, who possessed an extraordinary skill in his business, had deserted from one of our regiments in Corsica, and settled in Brandenburg, where he had married a pretty young woman, by whom he had several children. He was so industrious and regular in his conduct, as to be enabled to maintain his family in credit, lay aside a small portion of his earnings, bestow half his supper on his debtor, and send a yearly present of one hundred crowns to his father turned of eighty years of age. I have myself assisted in conveying this sum to the father who lived at Langres, not, however, without conceiving the highest esteem for the humane and generous character of the son: and I once said to him, "By reposing in me such a confidence as this, you render it impossible for me henceforward to treat you like a tradesman. In future I will employ you on every occasion at your own price." I kept my word with him to the time of my departure from Berlin.

EMBASSY OF AUSTRIA.

THE Austrian envoy to Berlin at the time of my arriving in Germany was General Nugent, a native of Scotland, and a man distinguished for his worth among the diplomatic body: he was of a character truly noble, simple, ingenuous, and sincere; he besides possessed a handsome person and a striking dignity of manners. "Prithee tell me," said he, one day in my presence, to the Baron de Stuthereim, the Saxon envoy, "how it is that you never throw off the diplomatic character? It is really a pity, for you are a kind-hearted and excellent fellow; but then you are always so close buttoned, it is impossible to lay hold of you. Come, come, do as we do; I solemnly assure you that when I leave my house to pay some social visit, I never fail to lock the ambassador from Vienna into my cabinet. I am persuaded these gentlemen (pointing to other ambassadors at the table) do the very same thing. Prithee, dear Stuthereim, imitate our example; like us, enjoy your liberty and ease. No doubt,

we must fulfil the duties reposed in us; but these accomplished, let us be jovial companions together. Chase away that wrinkled brow, my friend, and take a share in our enjoyments."

General Nugent, speaking of the rheumatic pains with which he was tormented, told me they were one of the consequences of the seven years' war, and principally of an expedition he performed during the severest cold weather: he with some of his men had gone, I know not by what route, to visit the highest mountain of Bohemia. Having reached its summit, they had no other means of descending but to sit down on the ice, one behind another, and each to embrace with his legs and arms the man who sat immediately before him; in this manner they slid down the mountain in bands of twenty or thirty together. The general had perspired profusely with the exercise he had taken on the mountain, and on reaching his tent, his shirt was so completely frozen as, when taken off, to remain without forming a single fold in the place where it was laid.

Toward the end of 1768 General Nugent was suddenly informed that Frederic had just issued orders for his army to hold themselves ready for commencing hostilities. The general of the artillery had received in the night several millions of crowns as a supply for the immediate expen-

diture. Orders were also given for calling home all the draft horses, and all the soldiery who might be on furlough, and the army was to be ready for marching in three or four days. General Nugent hastened to the residence of Count Finck-enstein, and requested him to solicit the king to grant him an audience without delay. The answer from Potzdam arrived the same evening, importing that his majesty would receive the ambassador from Vienna on the following morning. He accordingly proceeded thither in company with M. de Finck-enstein, and was conducted to the king. "What, Sir, is the nature of the object for which you required an audience of me?"... "Sire, your majesty is making preparations for the renewal of hostilities. Is your majesty tired of seeing Europe in repose? What can possibly be the motive of your majesty's determination?"... "My motive, Sir, is extremely simple: I had rather declare war than have war declared against me."... "Who, Sire, meditates war? Not a power of Europe has such a thought; at least I can answer that the house of Austria wishes for nothing more than for peace."... "How then, Sir, am I to interpret the extraordinary supply of horses you have lately procured? Four thousand at a single purchase!"... "Permit me, Sire, to recal to your

majesty's attention some circumstances you seem to have forgot. After the peace of Hubertsburg, the empress-queen proposed to your majesty to reduce the armies to the half of their existing numbers, and this with a view to the relief of the people: she at the same time declared she would obtain that the same measures should be adopted by France. Your majesty, influenced by particular and weighty reasons, did not think fit to adopt this plan; a resolution which occasioned the empress considerable disquietude: at the same time, Sire, the empress-queen, confiding in the faith of treaties, affected by the necessities of the people, and anxious to regulate the state of her finances, accomplished on her part the proposal she had made your majesty; in which respect she was imitated in a certain degree by France. Five successive years of peace and economy have fulfilled her views, at least in part. The death of the emperor, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was the means of so far augmenting her resources as to enable her to discharge such of her debts as still remained unpaid. Under these circumstances, it appeared to the queen that it was her indispensable duty to establish her army on a footing commensurate to the extent and dignity of her states, and this she has done. Your majesty will certainly allow that

from the event of the peace to the present moment the house of Austria has maintained fewer troops than suited with the population of those states, or corresponded with the troops of all the other powers of Europe. Thus, the empress-queen has done precisely what you would have done in a similar situation, even with the most pacific intentions; nor do I hesitate, Sire, to assure you as a fact, concerning which I am perfectly acquainted, and for which I am ready to pledge myself, that the sovereign on whose part I am now speaking desires nothing so much as the maintenance of the peace she has concluded with your majesty, in regard to which she every day congratulates herself."... "Her Imperial majesty, General, could not have made a more judicious choice than to bestow on you the diplomatic function: you are an excellent minister." ... "It is true, Sire, I derive from this employment the honour of appearing before your majesty, and of discussing at this moment affairs of such high importance: but, Sire, would you deign to bestow but for a moment the same permission to Nugent as you bestow on the ambassador from Vienna! Ah, Sire, deign to give me your attention as a private individual and a man of honour, to consider me as divested of my public character! Sire, it is Nugent, a Scotch-

man, who, in the fulness of that honour he will never renounce, pledges to you with his life that the empress-queen would feel the most poignant affliction to find herself compelled to renew hostilities with your majesty; that she entertains not the smallest idea of such an event; in a word, that she cherishes the peace she still supposes to exist, and is anxious to preserve it to the utmost of her power! If I had not the most absolute certainty of what I now advance, I should confine myself to the fulfilling the painful duty devolved upon me by my office: I would not thus have made a man of honour become security for a minister. No, there is no power, no consideration, that should have prevailed upon me thus to commit myself! But, Sire, receive the oath by which I now engage myself to lay my head at your feet if you find I have advanced any thing contrary to the exact truth." . . . "May I really believe you, General?" . . . "Alas! Sire, in whom would you believe if not in him who values truth and honour more than life? Ah! Sire, suffer the man whose admiration and respect toward you cannot be exceeded, suffer him to tell you all the truth! Yes, Sire, none so much as yourself has adorned humanity by the rarest and most noble qualities of the soul! No one has exemplified in so high a degree the

characteristics of genius, heroism, and virtue! But by what fatality is it that, notwithstanding this, you, as well as other men, must pay the debt of nature? I hope I shall not by the plainness of my speech have incurred your majesty's displeasure. You will pardon me, I trust, in favour of the natural frankness of my temper, and the circumstance in which I find myself. Yes, Sire, you have a defect that proves a dire misfortune to mankind! You are of a mistrustful temper!".... "I will give you a proof, General, of your mistake," replied the king with a smile; "for I repose perfect confidence in you. What greater proof can be given than that of confiding in a minister of Austria?".... "It is in Nugent, Sire, you place your confidence; and it shall not be betrayed.".... "Come, come, let us say no more on the subject. We will remain at peace."

General Nugent had no sooner reached Berlin than all the money that had been allotted for the preparations was again returned to the treasury. Thus the probity of an individual on this occasion saved Europe! It will not appear surprising that the esteem and consideration in which he had previously been held was now augmented to their utmost bounds. Unfortunately, his health, which had long been declining, rendering his

attendance at court absolutely impossible, he soon after determined to demand his recal; and his departure was universally felt as a calamity. He was appointed governor of Prague, where his disorder grew so considerably worse, as soon to deprive him of the use of his legs; and it was a source of the deepest affliction to the court of Berlin to see him in this condition, when some years after he went thither for the purpose of once more embracing his old friends. Frederic, who heard of his arrival, desired to be included in the number. "But, Sire," said the persons around him, "he cannot move a step, nor even stand upright; he is carried to his chair, and never leaves it but to be lifted into his bed.".... "And cannot he be brought to Potzdam as well as elsewhere? Inform him, I request to be placed in the list of his friends, and to be permitted to assure him in person of the sentiments I entertain toward him." The general was accordingly conveyed to Potzdam; and the king received him with every possible mark of interest, esteem, and friendship. On returning to Berlin, he could not speak of the kindness of the king without bursting into tears.

The embassy from Vienna was next filled by Van Swithen, son of the first physician, and librarian to the empress-queen. He was a man of

low stature, and more remarkable for his understanding and easy carriage than for dignity of manner. He was extremely desirous to become acquainted with the academicians, and began with inviting nine or ten of them to dine with him. During the dinner, the conversation turned on the slight-of-hand tricks performed by Comus: he informed us, that when he was at Paris he had paid him a sum of money for shewing him the secret of his most remarkable tricks, which he proposed to exhibit to us as soon as the cloth should be removed. He accordingly kept his word, and played his tricks with a dexterity that proved the attention he had bestowed on learning them. M. Formey could not at this moment resist his unlucky star: as Merian, myself, and some others, were thanking the ambassador for the trouble he had taken, "Yes," said Formey, "the tricks are so extremely curious, that your excellency is really to blame to shew them for nothing; they are worth being paid for; and at even three-pence per head you would gain enough to give us a second dinner, besides repaying yourself the sum it cost you to learn them." This inconsiderate raillery produced in the ambassador every mark of displeasure and mortification, and was even the cause of his coming to the determination to have no further

acquaintance with academicians from that very day. To attribute the fault of a single man to a whole body of men was certainly unjust. Many other ambassadors to the court of Berlin fulfilled their vocation without forming with us the smallest acquaintance, but these had at least nothing to reproach themselves with, on the score of injustice or inconsistency of conduct.

Upon the whole, M. Van Swithen excited at Berlin but a small degree of curiosity or notice ; nor was he in the least calculated to make us forget the virtues of his predecessor : he was accordingly but little esteemed either at court or in the town. It was, however, this ambassador who negotiated for Austria the first partition of Poland, on which occasion he had several conferences with the king.

EMBASSY OF ENGLAND.

SIR Andrew Mitchel, knight of the order of the Garter*, had been for several years the English ambassador to Berlin when I first arrived there; some time, however, elapsed from this time before I had the least acquaintance with him, not only because it was little to be expected that Englishmen should be desirous of the society of Frenchmen, but also because Sir Andrew Mitchel was of the number of those meritorious characters who stand in no need of perpetual society to his existence, and have the philosophy to prefer being occasionally alone. When he first arrived at Berlin, he had caused the persons who necessarily invited him to their houses considerable perplexity; for he played at no game of cards, so that his hosts constantly said to each other, "What shall we do with this Englishman who never plays at cards?" In a

* The translator supposes it should have been the order of the Bath.

few days, however, the contest was, who should withhold himself from the card-table and have the advantage of conversing with a man in whom they had discovered every requisite to afford the highest pleasure in colloquial intercourse. In reality, his understanding was no less admirable than the virtues of his character. Of this I cannot give a more substantial proof than by observing, he was united by the strictest bonds of friendship with the author of *L'Esprit des Loix*.

A variety of bons-mots of his have been repeated; but those which do him the greatest honour have been overlooked; those for example that explained rather his principles than his understanding. On one occasion, that the English mail had three times following failed of arriving, the king said to him, in one of his levees, "Have you not the *spleen*, Mr. Mitchel, when the mail is thus delayed?" "No, Sire, not when it is delayed, but often enough when it arrives duly." During the seven years' war, in which Sir Andrew constantly served immediately under Frederic, the English had promised the latter to send a fleet to the Baltic, for the protection of commerce and to keep off the Swedes and Russians: this fleet never made its appearance, and in consequence the Swedes transported their army without interruption to Pomerania, together with

all the necessaries for its support ; while the Russians, on their part, did not lose so good an opportunity of conveying provisions for their troops by sea, and laid siege to Colberg, to say nothing of the injury sustained by the king and the commerce of his subjects. This breach of promise on the part of England could not fail of giving umbrage to Frederic ; and accordingly he incessantly complained of their proceedings to Sir Andrew Mitchel, who found himself embarrassed what reply to make him. At length the ambassador, who had before been daily invited to dine with the king, received no longer this mark of attention: the generals meeting him about the king's hour of dinner, said to him, " It is dinner-time, M. Mitchel." " Ah, Gentlemen," replied he, " no fleet, no dinner !" This was repeated to Frederic, and the invitations were renewed.

After the affair of Port Mahon, the king said to him, " You have made a bad beginning, M. Mitchel ! What ! your fleet beaten, and Port Mahon taken in your first campaign ! The trial in which you are proceeding against your Admiral Byng is a bad plaister for the malady ! You have made a pitiful campaign of it ; this is certain." " Sire, we hope, with God's assistance, to make a better next year." " With

God's assistance, say you, Sir? I did not know you had such an ally." "We rely much upon him, though he costs us less than our other allies." "Spare no expence with him; you shall see he will give you money's worth for your money!"

The ambassador was truly the friend and partisan of philosophy and virtue. During the seven years' war, when Frederic was least satisfied with England, the cabinet of London sent Sir Andrew Mitchel a long and circumstantial letter, in which they severely reproached him for omitting to communicate to them the numerous and bitter sarcasms which they could not doubt escaped Frederic concerning them. Sir Andrew, who himself related to me this anecdote, replied, that in accepting his mission he considered himself as intrusted with the care of maintaining and strengthening the ties that existed between his country and a valuable ally; that his desire had been to prove a minister of peace and union; that if it were intended to make of him a minister of hatred, pitiful bickerings, and despicable tale-bearings, he wished nothing more than that they would name him a successor immediately, as he should never be prevailed upon to play a part so unworthy of his sentiments and character; that it was not on this account to be believed he was less devoted to his country than the persons

they might appoint to succeed him ; that he knew perfectly well how to distinguish between what was of a nature to be injurious, and what was merely indifferent; that if any change should happen in the dispositions of his Prussian majesty, this he could not fail to be informed of, and would have lost not a moment in his communications to the court of London ; but he begged them to consider that all the circumstances they had particularized in their letter, and with which he was perfectly acquainted at the time, were nothing more than the first impulses of a man possessed of no less irritability of temper and sensibility than of genius ; that they might even have been nothing more than simple pleasantries, brought forward either with the intention of deceiving some of his hearers, or to put them off their guard as to what they might themselves have to conceal ; that, in a word, it was his duty to remind them, that to judge accurately respecting a man so extraordinary, or even of what he says, it was doing little indeed to collect the mere words he uttered, if to these were not added a knowledge of the time in which they were pronounced, under what circumstances, and with what views. . “ Well,” added he, “ my remonstrance produced the effect I desired. I never was ignorant of all the bitter sarcasms and little epigram-

mic raillery that issued from the king against whoever fell in his way ; but I carefully avoided mentioning them in my official dispatches : I was never afterward solicited on this point, and I kept my post. I should blush for the vocation I fill, if I were compelled to descend to such disgraceful meddling." I am much mistaken, or this trait proves the minister to have possessed an elevated soul, and that he ennobled the vocation he held.

After the death of Sir Andrew Mitchel, England sent us for an ambassador a M. Elliot, a man of strong and acute understanding : he was in addition handsome in his person, and both animated and pleasing in his manners ; original too, it cannot be doubted ; without this he could not well be an Englishman.

About this time the war with America broke out. The king conversed with him on the subject in a public audience : " So, Sir," said the king, " you are at war with your colonies !" " Sire, we entertain hopes that the difference will be made up." " I hope it, Sir, sincerely ; but war is a terrible mode of adjusting differences." " Sire, we are assured that the war will end both soon and happily." " I have, Sir, unfortunately had so many occasions of perfecting myself in the science of war, that I may

be allowed to have formed a decided opinion on the subject. It is a terrible thing to be obliged to make war, even with a neighbouring enemy: an army has so many necessities, all of which must be instantly supplied at the risk of losing every thing, as to be with difficulty provided for, even where one's resources are near at hand; but if one's army is at the other end of the world, ah! Sir, rely on the experience of a veteran, to provide such an army with all it may require is the summit of human prudence and sagacity."

It frequently happened in society to converse with M. Elliot on the subject of the war; and for the persons who wished to ingratiate themselves in his favour to appear to sympathize with his countrymen in the apprehension of its consequences, particularly after the French had declared themselves for America. But he constantly replied, in a tone of perfect security: "The worst that can happen to us," said he, "is that, instead of being the first nation in the world, we must content ourselves with being only the second."

About this time he believed himself afflicted with a singular kind of disease, and accordingly obtained leave of absence for going to England and France, for the purpose of consulting the

most able physicians. He passed two months at Paris. On his return to Berlin, and appearing at court, the queen inquired if, considering the existing war, he had not been apprehensive of being arrested at Paris? "Oh! Madam," replied he, "both the French and English have long been civilized nations." This reply had somewhat the appearance of malignity and sarcasm: it was much talked of, and every where with considerable dissatisfaction.

There had arrived at Berlin two Americans, who were reported to have been sent thither by the United States, to negotiate with Frederic for a purchase of arms and other necessaries. M. Elliot affected to treat them like countrymen, and did all in his power to be considered by them as a friend: he was scarcely ever seen out of their society; he was absolutely their shadow. One evening, soon after leaving their residence to pay a visit, a desk was stolen out of the house that contained their money, jewels, bills, and also their official letters; and on the following morning the whole was returned to them, with the exception of the letters. The public considered M. Elliot as the author of the theft. The cry against him was universal, and the more so as he took no step whatever to exculpate himself, and even feigned ignorance of being

suspected. Every one expected the thunder of Frederic, upon hearing of so gross and perfidious a violation of the property of others in his very court and under his eye. In this the public were mistaken: no notice was taken of the affair; not a word was cited as having come from the lips of the king. What could the political consideration be, which was so powerful as thus to restrain a man like Frederic, so tenacious of every observance of respect? There were persons, it is true, who believed that, notwithstanding his apparent silence, he had not failed to complain to the court of London; that he had demanded Elliot's recal; and that, in consequence, the successor of Sir Andrew Mitchel was some time after sent to Copenhagen.

M. Elliot had fallen desperately in love with Mademoiselle de Krauth, and had married her when she was no more than sixteen years of age, he himself being little more than thirty. This lady, the only daughter of Madame de Werels, was unquestionably the handsomest young person in the country. Thus, happy in the marriage state himself, his first care was to render his wife happy also, and to this end he had recourse to all the means his fortune could command: he procured her every possible amusement, and selected, or varied by turns, a society calculated to accom-

plish this end; he at the same time sought to prevail on her to cultivate her understanding and the qualities of her heart. Unfortunately, however, the young bride was illiterate, capricious, obstinate, and vain, no less than she was beautiful. Lessons fatigued her, however short their duration. She would read nothing but the most frivolous productions; and at length received, with ill-humour and unkindness, the most delicate remonstrances of her husband. In the mean while she became pregnant, and in due time was brought to bed of a daughter, a short time previous to the epoch when her husband was to set out for Denmark.

M. Elliot, with his accustomed tenderness, promised his wife, on taking leave of her, to prepare a house for her in every respect suitable to her wishes, and then to return to Berlin to conduct her to it in safety. He accordingly contemplated with pleasure the moment of executing this promise; but he observed with concern, that in her answers to his letters she manifested no desire for the projected reunion; and when at length he announced a certain time for her leaving Berlin, her answer consisted of proposed delays, to which she fixed no term, but contented herself with alleging for a pretext an ill state of health, and other reasons respecting

which a skilful member of the diplomatic body could scarcely be deceived. All these circumstances, so completely calculated to excite uneasiness in the mind of M. Elliot, induced him to write her a letter, in which he peremptorily fixed a day for her departure; to which the lady replied, she had come to a resolution never to leave her country.

This reply, conceived in a tone of haughtiness and resentment, was long and evidently premeditated. M. Elliot, knowing his wife to be incapable of expressing herself in a style of so much method and ability, was immediately convinced she had received some assistance. This conviction occasioned him to set out instantly with a single servant for Berlin, where he arrived early one evening; and, after assuming a false name, and passing himself at the gates for a merchant of Hamburg, he was set down at the house of M. Belitz his friend, who was an English physician established many years in Brandenburg. He obtained secret information that his wife was that evening at a pic-nic party, at the house of Michelis, at the Park, and would not go home till past midnight. Upon this he hastened to her residence, assembled all the servants in one room, and locked them into it; he then proceeded to his wife's bed-room, broke

open her writing-desk, and examined all the papers, among which he found the rough draft of the letter he had received, written in the hand of the handsome Kniphausen, who belonged to the household of Prince Henry, and was cousin to his wife: his next step was to proceed to the apartment of his child, and order the nurse to collect her own apparel and that of the child and follow him; he then sent to the principal post-house, and ordered horses to be ready for *Elliot, ambassador to his Majesty the King of England at the court of Denmark, who was setting out with his child and a certain number of servants for Copenhagen*. He next went down to his stable, and sword in hand compelled the coachman, who at first refused, to put the horses to the carriage, and convey them to the post-house without the city gates, where he had ordered horses to be ready; and in this manner left Berlin, after leaving the above declaration with the guard as he passed the city gate.

The rumours occasioned by this adventure may easily be imagined: every one heard with admiration the precautions the injured husband had taken to insure the possession of his child, and to prove her identity in case of future dispute. On arriving at Copenhagen, Elliot wrote a letter to Kniphausen, demanding an explanation of the

rough draft he held in his possession. This Kniphausen, to whom an extraordinary degree of personal beauty was with justice ascribed, was also a man of haughty temper, extremely vain and foppish: he answered Elliot's letter with dauntless effrontery; in consequence, the latter instantly left Copenhagen for Berlin, attended by a secretary and two servants, and assuming his real name. In the mean while Prince Henry, having been informed of what was passing, and feeling an interest in the welfare of the daughter of Madame de Werels, who had enjoyed his friendship, paid her a visit at her country house, to which she had retired upon the event of her late disgrace, and which was situated a short distance from Rheinsberg, where he used every endeavour to bring the culpable Madame Elliot to a proper sense of her conduct and of her duty. His expostulations, however, were in vain: the insensate woman answered in the most impassioned tone, that she loved her cousin, and would be his wife in spite of the universe; or, if she could not be his wife, she would be his mistress, or even his servant: that she would cohabit with him when she liked, as she declared she had already done. The prince perceiving nothing could be done with a woman of principles so shameless and unblushing, returned

to Berlin, and sent for Kniphausen, in whom he hoped to have found more prudence and docility. In this too he was mistaken: Kniphausen even dared to ask him what right he had to meddle with other people's affairs; and so far forgot himself as to tell him that all princes were tyrants who, not content with the slavery in which they held their immediate dependents, allowed themselves the privilege of extending the yoke of their despotism into the very bosoms of private families. The prince ordered him to withdraw to his apartment, whither he sent him notice he was dismissed his service; to leave the castle the same evening, and never to make his appearance in it again.

Kniphausen accordingly left the castle, and in less than two hours after Elliot arrived at it, and getting out of his carriage, proceeded to the apartment of M. de Kaphensk, aid-de-camp of the prince's cavalry: "My dear Kaphensk," said Elliot, "can you tell me where to find Kniphausen?".... "All I can tell you," replied the other, "is, that not two hours ago he was irrevocably and deservedly dismissed the castle and service of the prince.".... "But whither is he gone?".... "This I will inquire into. But let me tell you, your manner surprises me: I thought you a man of the present age, but I see you are of the old

school! What! you have made no further advances in philosophy than this? My dear Elliot, you were worthy of a wife who would have constituted your happiness: you have unfortunately married a silly young creature, and for this would you fight a duel with a coxcomb? Does our honour, my good friend, depend on beings of this description?"...."You would be right, my friend, if Kniphausen were no more than the seducer of my wife; but he is also the author of these letters: read them; you know his writing?".... "Oh, I did not know this! If he has written, or caused to be written, such letters as these, I am far from blaming you; I even offer myself to be your second, if you like to accept of me!"

They discovered that Kniphausen had taken the road to Mecklenburg, no doubt to evade pursuit. Elliot lost no time in following him; and arrived, about three in the afternoon, at a small town in which there was only a single inn that afforded tolerable accommodations. Our ambassador, who could not refrain from every where making inquiries, asked if he could have a bed in this inn? He was answered, that a traveller who had come in before him had secured their best room. Elliot did not doubt he had overtaken his man. In this persuasion, he arms himself with his sword, pistols, and cane, runs up stairs, rushes

into the room, locks the door, and proposes a challenge, which Kniphausen refused. Elliot upon this, no longer able to contain himself, lays his cane on the shoulders of Kniphausen till he consented to accept his challenge. Proceeding together to a field, Kniphausen maintained that it was too dark, and that the business should be deferred till the following morning: Elliot, on the contrary, maintained that it was light enough for a man who felt his honour wounded and thirsted for revenge. Kniphausen talked so loud that it was impossible the persons who passed them should not understand that a duel was in agitation. They were accordingly followed, and by the time they reached the outlet of the town, the numbers around them amounted to two or three hundred persons. Elliot soon perceived, but not without the deepest regret, that it was impossible to proceed in the duel in the midst of such a crowd; he therefore consented to defer the meeting till the following morning at break of day: they then returned to their inn.

The Englishman hastened to bed, being much in want of rest; but on rising at day-break, he learned that his noble adversary had made his escape in the middle of the night. Being unable to trace his steps or gain any intelligence concerning him, he determined on proceeding to

Berlin, where he did not fail to relate to every one what had passed both at Rheinsberg and at Mecklenburg. The handsome Kniphausen had also repaired to that capital, in the hope of meeting with some friend, or at least with a safe asylum ; but one of his cousins, named M. Keith, a man of extensive learning, and of a philosophical temper, hearing what had happened, came to Kniphausen, and said : “ I was your friend, but in consequence of the infamous conduct you have adopted, I am so no longer. You are, however, my relation, and on that account I am involved in some degree in your disgrace. I will not support the dishonour of any one : you shall meet Elliot in the field, or perish at my hands. Take your choice.”

Kniphausen, who was well acquainted with the inflexible character of his relation, concluded that the least dangerous resolution he could form would be to fight the duel. Keith was accordingly the bearer of a challenge to Elliot, with whom he was to fix the place and time of the meeting and the sort of arms to be used. The combatants set out at the time agreed on for Baruth, a small town in Saxony about six miles distant from Berlin, each taking with him a second and a pair of good pistols. A reconciliation was mentioned ; upon which Elliot drew a paper

from his pocket, which contained a declaration he had previously drawn up of the terms on which alone he would dispense with the duel, which he required should be copied word by word in the hand writing of Kniphausen himself, and signed with his name. In this declaration he formally acknowledged Elliot to be a man of honour, and free from every kind of reproach, blame, or offence; and further, that the two letters in his possession contained only false and calumnious assertions, and that whoever wrote or dictated them was unquestionably, and to his certain knowledge, an infamous forger of lies. Kniphausen having read this writing, declared he would never put his name to it: the seconds proceeded therefore to place the two combatants. Elliot offered the advantage of firing first to his antagonist, which was accepted: his fire having missed, an adjustment was again proposed. Kniphausen required only that certain words in the declaration should be changed or suppressed: *not a single letter*, replied Elliot. They then resumed their posts: Elliot fired; a lucky motion of Kniphausen's head left room for the ball to pass him, and it accordingly penetrated the tree against which he stood. The seconds then reloaded the pistols, and Kniphausen fired: his ball slightly grazed Elliot's hip, but was wholly disregarded by him. At this mo-

ment the fears of his antagonist were all prevailing: he copied and signed every thing; and Elliot returned hastily to Berlin, to put himself under medical treatment for a feverish complaint, attended with diarrhœa, under which he had laboured fourteen days before, but which he had studiously avoided mentioning. He at the same time made the necessary preparations for a divorce, and in a few days set out for Copenhagen.

The handsome Kniphausen having staid to take some repose at Baruth, was taken into custody by the magistrates and put under confinement. When the divorce was established, he married his beautiful cousin, and retired with her to the country, their previous friends and acquaintance having unequivocally rejected their society. They soon became tired of the seclusion to which they were condemned, and mutually reproached each other, and to these reproaches succeeded the most disgraceful quarrels. They both died in the course of a few years after their marriage, and were regretted by no one. The delightful country house in which they had ended their existence, together with the adjacent lands, was the joint possession of the two Bredøws, brothers to Madame de Werels, who were lunatics, and on that account had been confined for thirty years in one wing of the mansion. This estate, of which

Mademoiselle de Krauth was the sole heir, was her whole fortune, and consequently devolved to Madame Elliot. It was said that the two lunatics were shamefully neglected, and if M. and Madame de Krauth were really deserving of this reproach, they met a rigorous punishment in the misconduct and misfortunes of their daughter.

M. Elliot was replaced at Berlin by M. Harris, who has since been ambassador to Holland, and succeeded to the title of Lord Malmesbury: his mission to Prussia was the first experiment of his political career. I know not whether it was that his first care was to form his conduct upon some model, or whether it had been recommended to him to adopt a plan of greater circumspection than his predecessor; but he was little communicative, and excited scarcely any attention.

EMBASSY OF SAXONY.

THE ambassadors from Saxony are certainly not those to whom I am most indebted on the score of consideration and attention, yet they never failed in shewing me a uniform politeness during the twenty years I resided in Brandenburg; nor in all that time were there more than two ambassadors from that country: one of them, the Baron de Stuthereim, and the other the Count de Zinzendorff. I have already had occasion to mention the first, and what I have said is sufficient to give an idea of his personal character, the only distinct features of which were a prudent reserve of manners, and a native and uniform rectitude of sentiment. I dined with him one day at the Russian ambassador's: the celebrated Princess d'Achkoff was one of the company, and having named a foreign minister, who was at that time at Dresden, M. de Stuthereim pronounced his eulogium with an earnestness that might naturally be expected to leave a peculiarly favourable impression of his character in

the mind of the lady, if she had been a female of an ordinary stamp. "How can you venture to commend so emphatically a man like this," said she. "I am by no means severe, for I know well enough how to estimate your sex's worth: you are all alike, weak, full of pretensions, proud, unjust, and invariably tyrants; yes, the worth of all is pretty much the same. But, though women endure so much at your hands, and have so much to pardon in your conduct, this merit I at least allow you, that whatever implies an absolute defect of sentiment is never tolerated even among your sex: let me therefore ask you if the conduct of this ambassador toward his wife does not denote the want of sentiment I allude to? She is ugly, I allow; but this he knew when he married her. If the ugliness of her person justifies his want of personal affection for her*, does it also justify his having conducted her to France to ruin and abandon her; and, after squandering her fortune on mistresses, and other extravagances, to send her back to her country alone and reduced to beggary? Well, this is trifling to what is to follow. The poor wife, destitute of support, sought an asylum under the roof of her brother; the bro-

* It should be observed that the Princess d'Achhoff was herself extremely ugly.

ther died without children, and she became his heir, he, like herself, having been the possessor of a splendid fortune. What on this occasion is the conduct of the husband, who led the same dissipated life, though destitute of resources? He repairs to the town where she resides, and endeavours to bring about a reconciliation, or rather to get her fortune into his own hands, and once more effect her ruin. Fortunately, she acted with a becoming spirit. On arriving at her residence he enters with familiarity; the wife was in her dressing-room: she received him with the easy unrestraint one shews a common acquaintance, inquiring, as she continued dressing herself, if he intended to make any stay in the country, where he lodged, and if he would favour her with his company *on that day* to dinner? These questions, and the manner which accompanied them, convinced him he had no chance of success, and he accordingly took his leave immediately. I imagine it impossible to pardon in him the flagrant want of all honest sentiment that made him seek a reconciliation with a woman he did not love, a woman he had ruined and so cruelly abandoned; to seek a reconciliation because she was become opulent! His withdrawing hastily was the only part of his conduct that exhibited the least decency or sentiment."

....“ But,” resumed M. de Stuthereim, “ it is affirmed that his relations rather than himself it was who were to blame in the latter affair, they having forced him in a manner to the conduct he pursued. As to the first injuries she experienced from him, they were the faults of a young man, for which he is the first to condemn himself. At all events, the commendation I have expressed relates to what we know of him in his present capacity, which in every respect appears worthy of the most perfect esteem.” The princess replied, for she is not a woman to temporize: but the baron said no more. The Princess d’Ach-koff, then addressing herself to me, said, “ You manage matters admirably in France! You make a bankrupt of all Europe: while oppression, poverty, and ruin, are every where prevalent, you throw your thirty millions out at window for the marriage of your dauphin! It is true, that by means of the defects of the police you boast of so much, your festivals are somewhat infested with pickpockets. Eighteen hundred persons perish at an exhibition of fireworks; but what of this? Bankruptey, prodigality, assassination! Oh! Sir, this is noble! This is really fine! We have a sovereign in Russia, whose conduct is quite different: she contracts no debts; she pays with the greatest exactitude; one hears of no

assassinations. If a private banking-house happens to become bankrupt, though the empress should have no concern with it, it is sufficient that she permitted its establishment, she makes up the *deficit*. What, think you, will posterity conclude in the comparison?"

As I was the visitor of the Russian ambassador, for whom I entertained, with great justice, a strong personal attachment, and who was necessarily disposed to treat with distinguished delicacy the friend of Catherine the Second, I did not venture to reply. I however afterward related the whole conversation to the French chargé-d'affaires, with whom I was in company the next evening at a grand supper given by Count Finck-enstein, and who, on seeing this terrible princess enter, said to some ladies who formed a group around him, "Ah! ladies, we must take care of ourselves; stand before me, I entreat you, and do not leave me! This lady is perhaps come hither on purpose to strangle me, as if I were Peter the Third! Alas! she would think it a mere amusement! Depend upon it, we had better get away as fast as we can; no one is safe in this place! See! she is putting her hand into her pocket! She takes out her pocket-handkerchief! Our fate is sealed! You know the handkerchief is her favourite weapon." The evening was

passed in such conversation as this; and it was with the greatest difficulty the princess could keep up her part of seeming not to hear what was said, for the persons near her laughed immoderately at different times.

The health of Baron de Stuthereim altered extremely for the worse during his stay at Berlin. The sandy soil of Brandenburg was no more favourable to him than it had proved to me and other persons. He was liable to obstructions, and inclined to the hypochondriacal: he on this account demanded his recal, and returned to Dresden, when he was named minister for foreign affairs; in which vocation he continued till his death, which happened some years after.

When I quitted Berlin to return to France, I left there the Count de Zinzendorff, who had succeeded to M. de Stuthereim in his diplomatic capacity; a minister of no less talent, prudence, and refinement, than his predecessor, but who possessed the advantage of a more ingenuous physiognomy, joined to manners that were at once firm, easy, and engaging. M. de Zinzendorff is worthy of a name so illustrious and revered in every part of the empire. In this light he was considered throughout the court of Frederic.

EMBASSY OF RUSSIA.

ON the day on which I was received into the academy of Berlin, the 15th of April 1765, after having delivered my discourse, and M. Formey had replied to it, I observed a person of middling stature, somewhat corpulent and plainly dressed, approaching me: he introduced himself to me by expressing the pleasure my discourse had afforded him, and gave me an invitation to dine with him on the following day, adding, that if I would call on M. Formey on my way, he would conduct me to his residence. I accepted this invitation with the embarrassment one commonly feels on having to acknowledge civilities from an unknown person. We withdrew, and M. Formey informed me he was Prince Dolgorouki, ambassador from Russia to the court of Berlin. When dinner was over on the following day, the prince came near me, and begged me to consider myself invited to his house as often as I had leisure or inclination to visit him. From this time I received from him the most constant and uniform marks of friendship. He frequently

sent me invitations in the customary form when he gave dinners of ceremony; and if I remained a week or fortnight without calling on him, he generally paid me a morning visit, to inquire, as he said, if we had fallen out. In short, his conduct to me was constantly the same during the twenty years I passed with him in that country; nor was he influenced either by great political events, or the more frivolous causes of party spirit in private societies, to change it for a moment.

The following anecdote will give the reader an idea of the calm philosophic temper of this prince, and of the sort of resignation with which he encountered the different events of human life. During the seven years' war, he embarked as an officer of engineers on board the fleet destined to lay siege to Colberg. Having been somewhat affected with sea-sickness, he fell into a profound sleep, when a terrible storm arose that by the bravest of the ship's company was considered as the signal of their inevitable destruction. An officer, at this crisis, ran to awake the prince, calling out, "How can you sleep; we are on the brink of perishing! "If this be true," replied he "what occasion is there for awaking me? I would rather advise you to follow my example." He then went again to sleep.

I do not recollect in what year it was that Prince

Dolgorouki wished to intrust me with a charge of considerable confidence, respecting which he conceived himself bound, on the score of benevolence and probity, to use the greatest zeal. He drew me aside, and informed me that three persons from my country had just arrived at his house: a young man of modest manners; his sister, a young woman of great beauty; and another who was their cousin, and, though not so handsome as the latter, was yet extremely pleasing; and all belonged to a family of some consideration: that a relation of his, being on his travels, had formed an acquaintance with them in France, and had proposed their accompanying him, at the same time offering to pay the expence of their journey, and to procure them an establishment worthy their acceptance in Russia: that on their arriving all together in the town of Leipsic, their conductor had got to the end of his pecuniary resources, and had privately left the town without them: that the young persons had sold some of the effects they had with them, to enable them to pursue their way to Berlin, and throw themselves on the bounty of the prince; and that, as a Russian and a relation of the person who had so shamefully deceived them, he thought it a duty incumbent on him to administer his assistance. He observed, that it would cost as much to send them

back to France as to forward them to Petersburg; that the first of these expedients would be attended with serious inconvenience and mortification to the young travellers, while the second presented hopes of a consolatory nature, his relation being a man of too good principles ultimately to refuse them his assistance, while their personal qualifications were such as to create a prejudice in their favour, under the circumstance of their soliciting a place, especially seconded as they would be by letters of recommendation from himself. He added, however, that a variety of private considerations rendered it improper for him to take any steps directly in the affair, but in his capacity of public minister; that he was in some measure obliged to conceal the earnest desire he felt to serve the parties; and that, in consequence, he wished to prevail on me to constitute myself their ostensible patron, to which end I might concert with Madame de Kameke, who was already apprized of the circumstance, as to the best measures to be pursued for their proceeding to Petersburg.

I accepted this charge: a consultation was accordingly held at Madame de Kameke's, at which Madame de Blumenthal, some other ladies, and myself, were present. The first proposition that resulted from this conference was, that of send-

ing the young persons back to their country from one Russian ambassador to another; a proposition I immediately opposed, representing that it could not but be mortifying to one of the parties and dishonourable to the other. At length a plan was agreed on; and every one having contributed something for the expences, and resolved on demanding a handsome addition from Prince Dolgorouki, I found myself enabled to set them on their journey: I accordingly procured them a hired carriage to take them to Dantzic, and gave them instructions in writing how to proceed from thence to Petersburg. At the moment of setting out, they recollected that it was unfortunately the first Friday of the month. To enter upon their expedition upon such a day was in the eyes of the two ladies an omen of infallible misfortune. It was in vain I rallied them on this frivolous kind of apprehension; I could not vanquish their fears, though I prevailed on them to undertake the journey. This miserable superstition had not the influence that by weak minds would be imagined, their journey having proved extremely fortunate; for I have since learned that each of the three were soon provided with proper situations, and that the beautiful sister had married a merchant sufficiently affluent to afford her all the comforts of life.

In proposing to treat of the persons of the prince's household, I shall say but a few words concerning his secretaries: one of them, named Berezin, was cousin-german to Prince Potemkin, with whose whole history he made me acquainted. The reader, I imagine, will peruse with satisfaction a few traits relating to it, which I consider the most worthy of engaging his attention.

Potemkin was not only not handsome, but his face was altogether hideous and disgusting: he squinted, and was also bandy-legged; but his height and strength were both inestimable; to which advantages he joined that of having the finest hair of any man in all the Russias. His custom was to give audience while his hair was dressing; accordingly, he stood commonly behind a sort of balustrade, on which he leaned, and from thence observed all the nobility of the empire, who respectfully watched the moment of his casting on them the slightest look, or his pronouncing merely, *Good day*. If he wished to speak to any individual among them, he apostrophised him by his name, with the addition of *Padi-proche*; *padi-souda*: (*Come here; leave me.*) These words were the utmost extent of his politeness, and were sure to obtain a prompt obedience, accompanied by so low a bending of the body that the hands almost touched the ground. This

man, who never paid his debts, commanded in the spirit of a despot. No one could have been more calculated to awaken regret for the loss of Prince Orlov, who had used every endeavour to render the high favour he enjoyed obnoxious to no one, and, confining himself solely to his true sphere, had uniformly refused to interfere in affairs that belonged to the administration of other persons: he made promises but seldom, and these he faithfully accomplished; lastly, he succeeded in palliating by his politeness the refusals to which he found himself compelled.

Potemkin was an orphan from his earliest age, extremely indigent, and wholly destitute of resources, if we except a dependance on his uncle, Colonel Berezin, who at this time took him under his protection, and provided for all his necessities: this officer, who, in consequence of several wounds, had been obliged to quit the service, was not affluent, for in the reign of Peter the Great government took from him a possession of immense extent, an equivalent for which was promised him, but never granted. The uncle, now advanced in years, on receiving the intelligence of the elevated situation of his nephew, came to Petersburg, from the furthest extremity of Muscovy, in the hope of at length obtaining

reparation for the injury he had sustained: his nephew, however, received him with coldness, asked him what was his business in Petersburg, and declared the present was not a time to think of the requisition he had in view; he next gave orders that the colonel should be no more admitted to his cabinet.

Berezin, indignant and agonized with a sense of his humiliation, would have left Petersburg that very moment, but that he was prevailed on by Prince Nariskin, an old friend of his and master of the horse to Potemkin, to wait the result of further importunity and perseverance, from which he himself expected the most favourable effects. Accordingly, the respectable old man was every day to be seen an humble and despairing dependant in the audience-chamber of his unnatural and ungrateful nephew. At length Prince Nariskin, whose long services in the court had obtained him the privilege of speaking with sincerity, ventured to say to Potemkin, "Do you know that your uncle, my old friend, passes every morning in your audience-chamber, a prey to disappointment, hope, and solicitude? Will you do nothing for him? It is really necessary to bring this affair to a conclusion." . . . "Let him go about his business! I have been plagued with him long enough! I have more than once had a mind

to put it out of his power to continue the obtrusive part he is playing. Let him go about his business! I beg you will tell him so; and that, should he persevere, I shall find a way to make him repent his importunity." "But he is your uncle." "He may thank his stars for this circumstance; but let him take care of himself." The old colonel accordingly left Petersburg to conceal his shame, and indulge his grief and resentment in the solitude he had left.

Pierre Lafosse, so celebrated for his skill in the veterinary art, and also in that of riding, and for his treatises on the former subject, received during his residence at Vienna, from the Russian ambassador at that court, such pressing solicitations and positive promises, that he repaired to Petersburg charged with letters for the ministers, and with dispatches for Prince Potemkin, containing urgent recommendations in his favour. Lafosse could not have arrived more opportunely for Prince Orlov's successor. This fortunate successor had just at the time a diseased horse, which no Russian could cure: the horse was perhaps the finest in the empire, and had been presented to the great, fat, and gigantic favourite by Joseph the Second. It will easily be imagined Pierre Lafosse was a welcome visitor, and that he was always sure of the most courteous recep-

tion ; that the horse was shewn to him and committed to his care ; that Pierre Lafosse had a stable built on purpose that he might treat so rare an animal with every possible degree of attention ; that in a few months he effected a cure ; that he was then thanked with all the exaggeration of false gratitude, but that he received no remuneration for his disbursements, none for the time and care he had bestowed ; that his egress to the prince was afterward prohibited, as if he had been his old uncle ; that, in a word, nothing was done for him, and that he left Russia as he would have escaped from the den of a lion or a leopard. This may serve as an instance of the civilization that obtains in courts, and penetrates even to favourites.

Pierre Lafosse arrived at Berlin, where he delivered me some letters with which he had been intrusted ; and as he stayed some time in this capital, I took every opportunity of cultivating his acquaintance. I swore to entertain, for the rest of my life, the most sovereign contempt for all the persons who, living in courts, should have too little morality not to fear the effects of their contagion, and should on the contrary aspire to nothing better than receiving as his aliment this fatal poison.

Not a single Russian passed through Berlin,

nor a single foreigner on his way either to or from Petersburg visited that city during the twenty years I was its inhabitant, whom I did not find means to see and interrogate as far as decency would allow: accordingly, it was frequently supposed I had travelled in Russia. I saw Falconet on his way thither; I saw him also on his return: I was of the number of persons to whom he gave pieces of the granite stone, of which the pedestal of Peter the Great is formed, and which was generally in request for making into sleeve-buttons.

The reader will probably derive some pleasure from my inserting in this work such facts as have come to my knowledge on the subject of the Orlovs. What I have to relate respecting them may be reduced to three points. First, their family; secondly, the part they took in the death of Peter the Third; and, thirdly, the private character of him among them who was known by the name of *The Scarred (Le Balafre)*. But it appears to me I ought first to relate two anecdotes of a curious nature respecting Catherine the Second, that I believe are but little notorious.

It is well known this princess was born and educated at Custrin, where her father, a general in the service of Prussia, was governor. The Baroness de Printzen, who being unmarried had

been maid of honour in this humble court, has frequently conversed with me concerning both this young personage and her family, neither of whom at this time imagined she would one day become the sovereign of a great empire. "I was present at her birth," said she: "I witnessed the education she received, and the progress she made in her studies; I even assisted in packing the apparel which had been prepared for her nuptials. She placed in me sufficient confidence to enable me to flatter myself I knew her better than any other person. Well, I confess, I never supposed she would have merited the reputation she has since acquired. In the whole course of her early years I uniformly observed in her a considerate, cold, and serious temper, no less foreign to every kind of sally than to caprice, thoughtlessness, and error. In a word, I was convinced she would be a woman who would not exceed mediocrity of talents. Judge, therefore, of my surprise on viewing her the heroine of such striking adventures."

While the empress was grand-duchess, she was attacked by a dangerous disease, from which she was rescued by the skill of a French surgeon, who some time after returned to his native country. When she became in reality the sovereign, she recollected the service this person had

rendered her, and sent him a brevet for a pension of ten thousand livres. "As I have the misfortune," said she, "to be without the power of being of service to the authors of my existence, at least let me serve the man who preserved that existence." What gave occasion to this observation was, that the princess her mother, who died a short time previous to her accession to the throne, had lived in circumstances below mediocrity at Paris, whither she retired, and in which place she occupied a small hotel at the back of the Luxemburg. I make no mention of the brother of Catherine, he having lived and died in an obscure station.

What will most excite the envy of amateurs in regard to this princess is the construction of her library. To procure a book standing on such a slider, nothing more was necessary than to press the finger on a button marked with the corresponding number; the slider instantly advanced, and brought down the book to the height convenient for reading: to return it to its place she had only to draw out the button which had before been pressed back as far as it would go. It is unnecessary to add, that the mechanism requisite for this operation was hid in the frame, and not visible to the naked eye.

The Orlovs were five brothers: the eldest,

who would accept of no place, was of no profession, and was denominated the Philosopher; the second, who was made a prince; the third, who was the Scarred, or Balafre; and two others, who being considerably younger, attracted no observation. All five were of a stature and strength superior to what is commonly found, at least in Europe. The second was the handsomest of the brothers, and the third the most athletic: the scar he had in his face was occasioned by a wager he had laid when he was a young man, that he would fight I know not how many grenadiers at a time, in which attempt he came off conqueror, though not without his receiving a wound in his face, the mark of which he retained ever after. With respect to their origin, I have but a single fact to relate; for the truth of which I no further pledge myself than by assuring the public that it is here recorded in the same terms in which I met with it in print.

I went one day to a sale of books at Berlin; it was in the afternoon. On entering the auction-room I perceived M. de la Gr*** already seated near the table: I obtained a chair near him, and we proceeded to examine the books laid on the table before us. M. de la Gr*** took up a pamphlet covered with blue paper, and containing

about fifty pages; it was an account of the events that took place in Russia at the time of the death of Peter the Third, and was written by an officer. My companion turning over its leaves, was struck with a passage which he shewed me, and we read it together in a low voice: it stated, that Peter the Great having condemned all the Strelitzer rebels to be beheaded, and, to shorten the labour, caused a block to be placed before him, on which he dispatched the culprits with an axe, it happened that in a short time a spirit of emulation arose among these rebels for the honour of being beheaded by the hand of the anointed of the Lord; an emulation that was carried so far, that a remarkably tall and handsome man, coming up to the block just as another had taken his place upon it, laid down his head also, that he might be beheaded by a chance blow: that Peter the First, struck with this excess of devotion to him, granted the man a pardon, who afterward proved the grandfather of the Orlovs, through whose means Peter the Third, descendant and successor to Peter the First, was deprived of life. What would Peter the Great have said, adds the author, if any person then present had prophesied that this act of mercy toward a common soldier would become the death-warrant of his posterity? We could not continue our reading, for

our pamphlet, worth about one penny, was put up and knocked down at the enormous price of a ducat, and would have fetched still more if it had been known that the purchaser was a person employed by the Russian ambassador, with orders to buy every copy that could be met with at any price.

The public has been presented with numerous accounts of the particulars of the death of Peter the Third. I will relate that which was communicated to me by a young Russian, who being under the particular patronage of the minister for foreign affairs in Russia, had been allowed access to all the official papers preserved in the archives of the state, who assured me he had extracted the following particulars from some original articles:

Peter the Third had resolved to shut up his wife in a convent at the furthest extremity of Muscovy. This intelligence was published by the Princess d'Achkoff, who had wormed the secret from her sister, Mademoiselle de Woronzoff, mistress to Peter the Third. A council was held, to which the Princess d'Achkoff, Gregory Orlow who was afterward made a prince, and some other persons of confidence, were admitted: among others, Alexis Orlow the Scarred, Count Panin, and Prince Repnin. In this council it was decided,

that the regiments of guards should be gained, while Peter the Third remained at his country residence, a short distance from Petersburg. The guards were immediately gained, so faithful to their trust were the emissaries they employed; and this at the expence of a single rouble to each soldier to purchase some brandy. Peter hearing of the event, consulted with Marshal de Munich, an officer of considerable celebrity, and at this time turned of eighty years of age; he filled an office near the person of the emperor. The marshal replied, that one thing only could be done; which was for Peter to repair instantly to Petersburg at the head of his Holstein guards, and present himself in person to the regiments of Russian guards, before any of the steps agreed on should be in a state of forwardness. Peter had not the necessary courage for this proceeding, and Munich in consequence left him, saying, "You thus connive at your own inevitable ruin; from this moment I can do you no service, I will therefore bury myself in solitude. Adieu." Peter, who had now no resource but in himself, and in the lamentations of his mistress, began to try the effect of a negotiation. Message followed message; and after different propositions had been made, the emperor determined to make his escape to Germany. He accordingly reached Cronstadt,

but he was too late : the governor of that town shut the gates, and declared he and his attendants would be fired upon if they did not leave the spot. He therefore was compelled to return to his country residence, where his next step was to propose making a solemn abdication of his empire in favour of his son, whose regent and preceptress should be Catherine. He at the same time proposed to retire to the duchy of Holstein, which should be his only possession.

This proposal was at first received by Catherine with satisfaction ; but the Orlovs and others objected, saying, “ It is natural that, at the moment, you should perceive only real advantages in the project in question. In fact, you would by this means hold the reins of government without opposition, without contention, and without delay. But let us examine the future. Peter will retire to Holstein. Should he hereafter regret the empire he will have lost, he will have no means of himself to endeavour to regain it ; it is not therefore him we have to consider, but we should strictly watch the operations of the different cabinets of Europe in consequence of this event. In which of them will it not be believed, that could its interference be the means of reconciliation between you and your husband, it would hence derive unlimited credit at our court? Must

not the sovereign who should effect this reconciliation, on the part of the emperor from motives of gratitude, and on yours from those of decorum, be considered as our nearest ally? This reconciliation therefore, depend on it, will be the object and aim of every power of Europe. To this effect they will all labour in concert with a kind of pertinacious rivalship. In this case, Madam, shall you be able to refuse yourself to their exertions? Shall you be able to resist the effects of such a combination, especially should it be favoured by circumstances that oblige you to employ the most conciliatory measures with the intercessors? Resist the solicitations of all Europe! But to suppose this possible, would be the extreme of folly! You must then, sooner or later, be reconciled; and thus, sooner or later, must we too, who are now arduously engaged in serving you, be in some way or other made your victims. With our blood will this reconciliation be sealed; our heads will be the price of the emperor's return. Humiliations, ruin, proscription, general execration, the scaffold or poison, these will be the recompence of our zeal. In matters like these, Madam, nothing is to be done by halves: he who takes the first step should never yield to obstacles or fears."

Catherine had nothing to reply to these power-

ful reasons. She began to weep, and her coadjutors advanced in their proceedings, without even asking her consent. She was in no other way the accomplice of the death of Peter than by observing the silence to which she found herself reduced.

Three men, the most robust that had been known at Petersburg; Orlov the Scarred; a major, who by some was said to be Prince Barastinski or his brother; and a grenadier; set out together and surrounded the person of Peter, under the pretext of being the bearers of the answer of the empress. The two first advanced with Peter toward the window, to deliver, as they said, their message to his privacy; while the grenadier, who was posted at the door as if to guard it from intrusion, followed quietly behind them. When he was near enough, Orlov and the major suddenly seized Peter by the arms: the grenadier instantly threw his sash round his neck, and gave him the hemorrhoidal cholic, of which he died. The emperor struggled more violently than was expected, but he was much too weak to disengage himself from three men of such strength.

Such were the principal circumstances I heard related. I was also told some others, but they were of too small importance to claim the attention of the reader.

Though Prince Orlow was not so strong as his brother, yet his strength must have been considerable, if another circumstance I have heard related be true. I have been assured that, when the oath of allegiance to the empress was administered to the regiments of the guards, Prince Orlow, who was captain of a company whose uniform was in the Roman costume, having given orders to his men to this effect, an officer extremely athletic in his make stepped forward, exclaiming that he had taken that oath to the emperor, and consequently could take it to no other person. On this Orlow, laying hold of him across the breast, hurled him out of the ranks with so much force, that he fell to the ground at a considerable distance: at the same time Orlow turning partly round to his company, in an imperious tone pronounced the word *March*; he was instantly obeyed without even a reply, so completely were his troops subdued by the resolute act he had performed.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial reporting and auditing. The text notes that incomplete or inconsistent records can lead to misunderstandings, disputes, and potential legal consequences.

2. The second section focuses on the role of internal controls and risk management. It highlights how robust internal control systems can help organizations identify and mitigate risks before they become significant issues. This includes implementing strong policies, procedures, and monitoring mechanisms across all levels of the organization. The text also mentions that regular audits and reviews are crucial for ensuring the effectiveness of these controls.

3. The third part of the document addresses the importance of communication and collaboration. It states that clear communication channels and a collaborative work environment are vital for the success of any project or organization. This involves regular meetings, open lines of communication, and a shared understanding of goals and objectives. The text suggests that fostering a culture of transparency and teamwork can lead to more efficient operations and better outcomes.

4. The final section discusses the need for continuous improvement and learning. It notes that organizations should not be satisfied with the status quo but should actively seek ways to enhance their processes and performance. This can be achieved through regular training, professional development, and the implementation of new technologies and best practices. The text concludes by emphasizing that a commitment to learning and growth is essential for long-term success in a rapidly changing business environment.

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&c. &c.

PART IV.

FREDERIC AND HIS GOVERNMENT, CIVIL AND MILITARY.

THE above title would furnish matter for a well-filled volume, were I to undertake to enter into the detail of the government of a sovereign, who more than any other has laboured in his vocation, or at least has infused into his labours a more perfect spirit of order and regularity. It is impossible to recollect without astonishment all the achievements of this monarch during the forty-six years of his reign. Let us examine every branch of his government successively, numerous as they are, and we shall see not only that no one of them did he neglect, but that there is no one of them that did not appear to be the sole object of his care, and in which he did not execute an infinite number of grand enterprises, which would

have required the whole life of an ordinary man, however assiduous or laborious. But I have already many times observed, that I am not writing the history of Frederic the Great; I confine myself to the relating of the most interesting anecdotes of his reign, with as much accuracy as my memory will allow of. In this place, I shall present the reader with two kinds of anecdotes, extremely different from each other; that is, with some that relate to his civil government, and others that concern only his military government.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF FREDERIC.

FREDERIC in his civil administration was, of all the sovereigns who actually govern by themselves, or of whom history has transmitted the conduct and actions, the most moderate and indulgent. This will be fully demonstrated in the anecdotes I am about to relate. The only exceptions that should be made from this assertion are, first, certain impulses of passion, most frequently excited by powerful considerations; and, secondly, the faults connected with the secret of his transactions with foreign states or the department of his finances; and, lastly, what related to his military discipline, which will be treated of hereafter. With these exceptions, it may be affirmed that he had laid it down as a principle to pardon to the full extent his regard for public order would be found to allow of. It is not hence to be inferred he was indifferent to good and evil. The persons over whom he had thrown the mantle of indulgence were at the same time no less the objects of his contempt: he no longer receiv-

ed them if they happened to be persons he had formerly admitted to his society, or, if he received them, it was to overwhelm them with marks of his contempt; he no longer employed them if it were possible to do without their services, but, in a word, punished them neither by the act of the law, nor his own direct authority, when such punishment could be avoided.

I ought to add, and it will hereafter plainly appear, that when he found it impossible to ward off the blow of vindictive justice, he at least endeavoured to mitigate the punishment to the utmost in his power. During the twenty years I passed in his capital, I do not recollect the execution of any other criminals than that of soldiers convicted of homicide. Will it be urged that this lenity was calculated to multiply delinquencies, and endanger public safety? This would be to deduce a consequence absolutely contrary to the truth. The firm character of Frederic, his well-known principles, his uniform vigilance, which he also required of every man who held a public office, exhibited his conduct in this particular in its true point of view. It should also be observed, that the lenity he exercised toward the guilty did not in reality amount to impunity: the laws were severe, and no individual ventured to promise himself that he would be prevailed upon

to mitigate their rigour. Frederic did like the senate of Venice, which took care to excite the utmost dread in its subjects, and maintain in this respect its ancient reputation; and which by these means succeeded in being compelled to execute sentence of death on only one culprit in the course of a century. We have already seen proofs of this, and to these I will add some others.

The grand secret of Frederic, in pardoning continually without producing pernicious consequences either to the public or his own authority, was, that on two or three occasions it was apparent of what firmness he was capable: it was, that he took care to maintain the reputation he had acquired of an absolute inflexibility of character; it was, that no one was ignorant of the excess of his vigilance, and of the certainty that no one fact escaped his knowledge; it was, too, that he loved and was the advocate of the administration of justice; in a word, it was, that the good he sought to dispense gained him the love of his people, while the greatness of his character imposed awe on the most daring among them. This no doubt is a secret worthy our admiration; but it can be known only to elevated minds.

The reader will find himself mistaken if he

imagines, judging from what has gone before, that in the succeeding anecdotes nothing will meet his eye that is not deserving of the same applause. The man we are contemplating is one of the greatest that has existed, but not a perfect man; or, if I may be allowed the expression, he was a chimera. Frederic exerted all his powers for the discovery of truth, and did not always succeed. To produce good, he sometimes had recourse to evil means. That he might give due encouragement to intelligent and zealous subjects, he was not unfrequently the patron of hypocrites; and to promote the empire of justice, he was himself more than once guilty of injustice. But in celebrating his memory we would represent him only as less imperfect than other men, his personal glory being less the objects we have in view than the triumph of public usefulness and truth.

We feel it incumbent on us, while entering upon the detail of certain anecdotes, to take also a transient sketch of the principal branches of the Prussian government. This government has a form peculiar to itself, which on that account alone claims our attention, though it is perhaps a government less known than those of the remotest countries. The French, for instance, are less acquainted with the Prussian government, though bordering on their territories, than with

that of China, in which they are infinitely less concerned. Yet it is by its internal government particularly that Prussia has raised herself to a degree of prosperity that astonishes all Europe, and in which she still finds means to sustain herself.

OF LAWS.


THE Frederician code has been the subject of the warmest eulogium, and it is true that it was a favourite object with Frederic to create a code, and that he had been occupied by such a project during his whole life. In the early part of his reign he pursued his scheme with ardour: he conferred incessantly with M. de Coccei, his chancellor, on the subject, who gave him regularly an account of the exertions of his fellow labourers in this undertaking. The principal of these was M. de Jarriges, magistrate of Berlin, perpetual secretary to the academy before the time of M. Formey, and chancellor after that of M. de Coccei. The fruit of these first labours was a volume in folio, which M. Formey translated into French, under the title of *Code de Frederic*, in three volumes octavo. This publication contains nothing more than the practical rules of proceeding. M. de Jarriges, on being appointed chancellor, ceased employing himself in what still remained to be done. M. de Furst, his successor, did not

even think of pursuing the undertaking. In short, M. de Crammer, successor to M. de Furst, resumed the Herculean task, and accomplished in reality a new code of laws, with which, however, the public were but little satisfied. I have been present when the severest criticisms have been passed on many important articles of this code by different lawyers of acknowledged talents, and when they have stated their objections even to Frederic himself. It is, however, this very code that is at present the oracle of Prussia, at least in a very considerable degree. Frederic has adopted it, convinced that a wise man should seek perfection, but not hope to reach it. He was aware that M.M. de Coccei, de Jarriges, and de Crammer, had proved themselves no less skilful than laborious, and that it was from time alone he could expect a work more perfect than theirs. It should also be observed that he never failed to distinguish these three persons with marks of the highest consideration; particularly the first, whose name is still held in esteem throughout the country.

Independently of the tribunals for the particular departments of the decisions of the directory, of those of particular branches of the administration, and of the French tribunal of justice for the refugees, &c. there are three main

*And Fred. prohibited lecturing on his Code
in the universities, so that simple justice
and common sense should conti-
nue to*

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prevail
F.L.
principles of justice observed. The seductions of oratory are every where prohibited; it is forbidden to advocates to employ their eloquence, or rather there are, strictly speaking, no advocates in these courts. There are only referendaries and notaries, who perform the offices of advocates and attorneys. The cause is first stated to the court with simplicity; the judges then proceed to examine the different pleas of the parties, and afterward deliberate and pronounce judgment. The referendaries or reporters are young students who aspire to the function of judges: theirs is an intermediate situation, in which they must have laboured many years before they can be appointed to a superior office.

Notwithstanding this simplicity, and all the precautions devised by Frederic and his chancellors, it must be confessed that chicanery finds its way into law proceedings no less in this country than in the other countries of Europe. I had but two affairs of this kind to discuss with men of the robe at Berlin, and they were terminated without the least delay, because they would not venture to impose upon a man honoured with the favour of the royal family.

The first of these related to some costs which had been incurred in a proceeding against a bankrupt, who, to say the truth, was a sum of

money in my debt, but against whom I had not presented the smallest claim. As I did not pay the portion of the costs they thought proper to allot me, at the end of a year a demand was made upon me for it, with the addition of a fine for my neglect. In another year I was again applied to, and now another fine was added. I could not on this occasion keep my temper; I swore to the tipstaff who was the bearer of the claim, that the first time he should dare to repeat his visit on the same errand, I would punish his impertinence. This declaration produced the desired effect.

The second affair concerned one of my friends, who, on leaving Berlin, had confided to my care the music of seventy French comic operas, all of which were cast in their proper divisions and fit for immediate performance. The Baron d'Aruhimi, who filled the office of director of the theatres, had called on me, and represented that so valuable a store would be extremely useful to him, and that accordingly he was disposed to purchase the whole. Upon this, I offered to send him some of the pieces for a short time. The term I had fixed however elapsed, and I heard nothing from M. d'Aruhimi; but I received intelligence that the pieces I had vainly requested to have returned were in the hands of several persons, for the purpose of being copied. President de Robeur re-

commended me to a gentleman of the law, who, previous to commencing the cause, had an interview with the baron, and found means to excite in him apprehensions that prevailed on him to return the music the same day.

I need not remark that in Prussia the king is the sole legislator: at the same time there are, however, established forms for distinguishing the law from the spontaneous or accidental will of the sovereign; but these forms are recurred to and employed agreeably to his commands. Never did Frederic enact a law without first consulting his most able ministers and law officers: but this precaution was with him an act of wisdom, zeal, and prudence; it was not a measure rendered necessary by the very basis and nature of the government. For all this we may be certain he was not over fond of such impediments; his active, firm, and fertile genius submitted to them with repugnance: "I do not like your parliaments," said he frequently to the Frenchmen with whom he conversed; "these people crouch and kiss your feet, only that they may tie your hands; they take a servile posture, only to arrive with the greater certainty at a despotism over the whole body; all with them is either hypocrisy or derision. I do not like that people should seek to deceive me, nor to be the object of derision.

Besides, they often do more harm by the delays and perplexities they occasion, than they do good by the wisdom of their councils, or all the pathos of their most humble or most insolent remonstrances."

A story that has been often cited, is that of the catholic soldier in garrison in one of the towns of Silesia, in which there was a chapel celebrated for the extraordinary devotion paid in it to the Virgin. Her statue which adorned the altar was ornamented with the gifts of her votaries, many of which consisted of the most valuable jewels. This soldier, when he was not under arms, passed whole days in one of the corners of this chapel, edifying his spectators by his self-collectedness, his earnestness, and his devotion. By degrees, people were accustomed to seeing him, and would have thought it a sort of crime to watch his motions; so that finding himself at length for the most part without witnesses, he robbed the statue of every thing valuable about it. When the theft was discovered, every one was suspected; not even the pious soldier escaped. He was examined, and one of the most costly of the stones was found in his possession.

He was immediately brought to trial, and the false devotee was found guilty of robbery and sacrilege, notwithstanding his persisting to de-

clare that the kind and holy Virgin, touched with his zeal, had miraculously made him a present of the diamond. The sentence was laid before the king to be signed previous to its execution. Frederic assembled the most celebrated catholic theologians of Silesia, to pronounce upon the following question: "Is it possible, according to the doctrine of the catholic christians, that the Virgin should miraculously have given away what had been made a present to herself?" The theologians, though they laid great stress upon the improbability of such a miracle, in reality so little agreeable to the spirit of the church, could not, however, prevail on themselves, considering the question in a general point of view, to withhold their affirmative: on this, Frederic annulled the sentence; but added, that as he had no power to forbid the Virgin from giving away what belonged to her, he should forbid his soldiers, on pain of death, to receive any thing she might in future offer them.

One of his ministers of state having presented him with the schedule of the last year's administration of Brandenburg, observing it was not without extreme repugnance he demanded the attention of his majesty to a particular fact, but that he conceived himself called upon, both by

duty and the office he held, to make his request: "What is it?" said the king; "speak freely." "Sire, there is in your capital a man who allows himself, in speaking of your majesty, the most unwarrantable liberties: this he does on all occasions, and in all kinds of company, with a perseverance no less criminal than the propositions he advances: it is a public scandal not to be tolerated." "But what does he say?" "Sire, I dare not repeat what he says to your majesty." "But I must know what he says, before I can determine on the steps to be taken. Repeat to me, without fear, the propositions you have been told he has advanced. Repeat what you yourself know of this kind." ... "Sire, he does not speak of your majesty as of a great king, nor even as of his king: the terms he uses are those of *tyrant*, *despot*, or others of the same meaning. Every word he utters is inspired by hatred." "And what is the condition of this man?" "His name is ***." "I do not inquire his name; it is of little importance." "He is a citizen of Berlin." "This is of no more use than his name: what I want to know is the state of his fortune. What resources has he? Can he raise an army of two hundred thousand men?" "No, Sire, he is a private individual, whose whole fortune amounts to a few

millions of crowns, the interest of which he lives upon.".... "Ah, you have set my heart at ease! It appears this man is no friend of mine; and you may conceive that if he had the power of raising an army, I must have thought of some means for defending myself: but since he can do nothing of this kind, I bestow on him my contempt. If, however, he should go great lengths, an assembly of his family may be called, and we shall thus find means to silence him, or we may, perhaps, confine him in a madhouse."

No one is ignorant of the adventure of the mill at Sans Souci. Frederic having resolved on building the new Sans Souci about a league distant from the old castle of the same name, formed the design of constructing a superb and spacious walk that should reach from the one to the other. It happened that a mill stood midway on the ground that was to be thus appropriated: this the king offered to purchase at a much higher price than its intrinsic value. The miller refused every condition that was offered him, declaring he would persist in keeping his mill, because it had been in the possession of his forefathers, and that he desired no other fortune for himself and his children. The king determined to speak with this man on the subject in the course of a morning walk. Being somewhat

irritated by the obstinacy with which he persisted in his refusal, the king said to him, " But do you not know that I may take the mill from you if I like it?" " Oh!" replied the miller with composure, " while we have courts of justice at Berlin I am not afraid of that." This answer gave the king so much pleasure in every point of view, that from that moment he renounced his project, and the mill stood in its accustomed place.

We may observe, that if the gardens of the new Sans Souci have not been laid out as at first intended, it was not to this honourable impediment the change should be ascribed; it was owing to another obstacle, as stated to me by Frederic himself: to some I shall probably occasion offence by mentioning it, while others will refuse their belief..... One evening the king being warmly engaged in proving to me that pure mathematics was of but little use to any but nations who have a navy, he told me he had invited the great and celebrated Euler to pay him a visit at Sans Souci; that having demanded of him, as the greatest favour, that he would descend for a moment from the heavens to the earth, for the purpose of doing him a slight service, he himself conducted him to the place, concerning which he wished to consult with him; here he ob-

served to him, that an avenue nearly a league in length would be extremely tiresome, if not varied and relieved by different resting-places and ornaments, and then proceeded to inform him that, agreeably to this idea, he had been considering what ornament he could place midway in this long avenue, and that he could think of nothing better than a handsome marble fountain with a water-spout, and a double colonnade filled with seats around it, but that, before he realized this plan, it appeared to him necessary to ascertain if water from the river at Potsdam could be conducted to the spot, and also what would be the expence of such an operation; that he should be much obliged to him to compute the two levels, measure the distances, and make the necessary calculations for furnishing him beforehand with the lights he was desirous to obtain: that M. Euler had, accordingly, employed himself several days in the proposed investigation, and delivered in his instructions in writing, which had been scrupulously adhered to, without having been the means of conducting a single drop of water to the spot desired. I had not much difficulty in persuading Frederic that such an undertaking, which more belonged to an hydraulical engine-maker, or even to a land-surveyor, might fail of success in the hands

of M. Euler, without detracting in the smallest degree from his reputation and genius ; he did not, however, relinquish his argument respecting the practicability of the plan he had conceived. I shall conclude this anecdote with observing, that a short time previous to my leaving the country, the above undertaking was, to all appearance, permanently abandoned.

I shall next relate a second adventure concerning a miller, which is still more celebrated than the first.

In one of Frederic's accustomed yearly expeditions, for the purpose of reviewing his troops, a miller, whose name was Arnold, and whose establishment was in a small village of Pomerania, delivered him a petition, in which were these words: " I pay you three hundred rix-dollars per annum (fifty pounds) for the mill in this village ; but Count N. has turned the course of the water which enabled me to work the mill, so that I have no longer the means of paying you my rent, or of providing for my subsistence." Frederic sent the petition to his chancellor, with the following postscript: " Let justice be done to the miller." The cause was tried, and the miller, Arnold, was cast.

The year following the miller delivered another petition, importing, that he had lost his

cause, though the facts were precisely such as he had represented to his majesty. The king sent this petition also to his chancellor, and again added a postscript: "Let this cause be carried to the second court, and let the greatest care be taken that justice be dispensed to this man." The miller was once more cast; and a third petition was delivered to the king, in which despair had succeeded to complaint. This the king carefully preserved, in the intention of proving the facts it affirmed on the very spot.

To this effect his first step was to send an old officer, who was a man of great probity, into the canton under a specious pretext, but whose orders were to gain the exactest information of all the particulars concerning the said mill, and the use made by Count N. of the water of which he had deprived it. The result of his inquiries was to be communicated to the king alone. This officer having possessions in the neighbourhood, fulfilled his charge without exciting the smallest suspicion; and his report to Frederic imported, that having strictly examined the business, he could affirm that the mill had been stopped for want of water, and that the ruin of the miller had been occasioned by the expedient employed by the count of turning the course of the stream.

The king had not confined himself to the in-

vestigation of a single person ; but, after the departure of the officer, had secretly commissioned two other persons of integrity on the same errand, whose statements coincided perfectly with those of the former. On the first day of his visiting Berlin, after receiving those accounts, Frederic, indignant, sent for Baron de Furst, his chancellor, and the three magistrates who had presided over the cause: he received them with a severity of manner expressive of the displeasure he felt, scarcely allowing them to urge a word in their defence; and in his answers gave them the appellation of rascals and pervertors of the law. He took a pen, and with his left hand (for he had the gout in his right) wrote a sentence that condemned Count N. to restore the water to its former course; to pay all the costs of the two law-suits; and, lastly, to pay such a sum of money to the miller as should make reparation for the injury he and his family had sustained.

When he had finished his task, which to a man in a fit of the gout could not but be extremely painful, he resumed his angry tone; he sent Baron de Furst *to the devil*, declaring he no longer stood in need of his service, and the three judges to Spandaw, kicking them with indignation out of the room.

At the same moment that he thus dispatched

his chancellor and the judges at one door of his apartment, he received me at another, for the purpose of passing the rest of the evening in conversing on subjects of literature and philosophy. I was far from suspecting the scene that had taken place, which I was not informed of till six o'clock on the following evening ; I was ignorant that he had seen any one before I made my appearance.

I found him seated in his easy chair, his hat on his head, his right arm wrapped round with a stuffing of down which descended some inches lower than his fingers, and the arm hung in a sling. I should here observe, that from a refinement of etiquette, and that he might shew me a civility without seeming to do so, his ordinary habit was to take off his hat at the moment of my entering the room, to lay it down, and after the first three or four phrases to resume it. On this occasion, however, either because he was ill, or still irritated, I did not obtain this dissembled politeness. We began our conversation with inquiring what could be the reason children were not taught to write with the left hand as well as with the right ?

I replied that, generally speaking, I considered the received practice of condemning the left hand to inaction and impotence as extremely

irrational and injurious ; but as relating to the art of writing, I confessed I had some doubts, which I submitted to his majesty : that it appeared to me that in exercising both hands in this employment, we might create serious inconveniences and irregularities, which in the sequel it might be found difficult to eradicate.

Frederic contented himself with observing, that the privation could not but be a misfortune, inasmuch as we could lose no one of the benefits we derive from nature, without experiencing the unhappy consequences : that this was precisely his own case ; in his old age he beheld himself thrown back to the state of a mere school-boy.

Not knowing how to reply to the necessity he stated himself to have been under to write with his left hand, a necessity, I confess, I did not conceive of, I contented myself with replying, that it was to be regretted his majesty could not have had recourse to the expedient of dictation. I had no sooner uttered the word, than his whole countenance changed, and erecting his head, he replied in a tone the most imperious and decisive : . . . *Sir, it was necessary.* . . . Perceiving I was on dangerous ground, my only answer was assuming a modest and respectful attitude.

Our conversation afterward turned on the de-

pravity of mankind. We first considered this subject in a general point of view, and next confined our observations to the vices peculiar to different conditions; and, lastly, extended them to that kind of knavery vulgarly denominated tricks of trade (*tours de baton*). He now became more good-humoured: he pretended there was no condition, rank, or profession, that had not its particular and characteristic *tricks of trade*, which conferred dishonour only on those who executed them unskilfully. In support of his opinion, he took a survey of a certain number of such callings or professions as were known in Europe, and pointed out, as he went on, the *tricks of trade* practised in each of them. In this manner he passed in review, merchants, exploring not only the bales of merchandise they export, but their warehouses also; manufacturers, both in their workshops and their places of sale; artists, as well in relation to the model from which they copy, as their most perfect productions; priests, in their functions, and in the bosoms of families, &c. But what was most remarkable in this enumeration, considering the circumstances that had just occurred, was, that he avoided mentioning the profession of the law. In vain did his thoughts hover about the subject; not a syllable escaped his lips.

The whole of this conversation has been the

more indelibly impressed on my memory, from the striking proof it afforded of the empire Frederic was capable of exercising over himself, and of the extreme attention he habitually paid to the most trivial occurrences. On the following day I did not fail to learn the excess of passion he had given way to about half past four, that is, the moment previous to my entering his apartment: I now plainly enough understood the animation which had influenced him to such a degree as to inspire him with the resolution of writing with his own hand the decree that was to annul that passed by his judges, and the awful tone with which he pronounced the words, *It was necessary*; why his thoughts through the whole evening had turned to the ordinary vices of mankind; and why, perpetually occupied with the idea of his judges, he had avoided even the very mention of their calling.

It will easily be imagined that this affair, which at the time made a great noise in Europe, did not fail to be a common topic of conversation at Berlin. Notwithstanding the habitual forbearance and circumspection of the German character, nothing for some days was talked of but the miller Arnold, of the anger of the king, the humiliating dismissal of the chancellor, and the imprisonment of the judges at Spandaw.

M. de Robeur, president of the court of appeal, a magistrate whose character was held in high esteem, no less on account of his talents than that of his extraordinary ingenuousness and energy of temper, did not scruple to affirm, in all companies, that it was impossible the chancellor could have been to blame in the affair, or even at the time have known of its existence; that the three magistrates in confinement were equally innocent; and that if any one deserved punishment, it was he himself, who had been sole judge in the cause, and had dictated the sentence. The ministers de Zeidlitz and Munchausen openly declared themselves of the same opinion. . . . All this was mere waste of words, which Frederic feigned even not to hear! It was not by such rumours and propositions as these he was to be shaken in his resolution.

Six months after, however, M. Linguet, who at the time was at Brussels composing his *Annales Politiques*, having gained the minutest knowledge of the whole transaction, stated it in his work, with all its details, in so clear a manner, that it could be no longer doubtful to every reader that the miller had been cast with perfect justice. According to this statement, which was found to be consistent with the truth, the stream of water did not reach the grounds of

Count N. till it had passed the mill. It is a received maxim in jurisprudence, that he to whom the stream comes may use it to his own advantage, to its utmost extent, as long as it runs through his land, provided he does not divert its course from any one who naturally would afterward receive it. It accordingly follows that the miller receiving the stream before Count N. might employ it as he pleased, while the count had in his turn the same right. The latter, therefore, had in no way violated the law by making drains, which drawing off the water to his lower grounds, had so considerably diminished the volume of the stream, even above his lands, as to render it insufficient for working the mill during a certain portion of the year. Further, the drains were the more unfortunate, as the lands of the count joined to the mill, which was the side on which they had been made.

Frederic read Linguet's *Annales*, and recognized his error: but he said not a word to any one; he kept the secret to himself. The count had not yet paid any thing into court; and now orders were given to receive no money from him on account of the aforesaid sentence. The three magistrates were liberated, and afterward restored to their places. The loss of the miller was repaired, but in a different way; and all this

in the quietest manner imaginable, and without the least publicity. No one remained in disgrace but Baron de Furst. The Countess-dowager de Kameke observing to me one day, on this subject, how painful a circumstance it was to persons who had the glory of Prussia at heart, to see that his majesty was partial in his distributions of justice, and exercised that partiality against one of the most gallant and upright of mankind; I answered, I was aware that the cause of Baron de Furst was warmly espoused by the whole body of the nobility, because no nobleman had ever requested of him an interview without obtaining it, or ever failed to be received by him with the most obliging amenity, and this without his taking any interest in their concern, while the same chancellor had not a moment to bestow on a simple citizen. . . . "You were ignorant, Madam," continued I, "that to vulgar beings like us he was inaccessible, but of this the king was not ignorant. Now the code of his majesty is, that justice should be impartially dispensed; he therefore, on a just occasion, does not spare from punishment a minister so culpable of violating his intentions."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

I SAW but one minister for foreign affairs in Prussia; this was Count Fink-enstein, son of Field-marshal de Fink-enstein: he had been minister in Sweden, when he was no more than twenty years of age, and on leaving that country succeeded Count de Podewils. Count Fink-enstein lived to a great age, and preserved his post to the last. Frederic, however, at a certain time gave him M. de Hertzberg for a coadjutor, who was less so in title than in reality. M. de Fink-enstein was extremely well qualified for the functions confided to him: in representing he succeeded to admiration; an advantage for which he was equally indebted to an agreeable countenance, extreme politeness, a subtleness of physiognomy, to an acute and ready wit, a character uniformly temperate and equable; in short, to a loftiness of manner, from which he on no occasion was known to depart. He sometimes, however, fell into a humour of levity that somewhat inclined to the sarcastic; different epigrams of his com-

position, in which the ingredient of satire was not sparingly used, are well known.

M. de Hertzberg was a man of learning and laborious habits; a true patriot, and whose exterior was no less remarkable for its seriousness than for its simplicity. His country house, situated a short distance from Berlin, was consecrated to the cultivation of mulberry-trees and silk-worms, and at the same time afforded an excellent dairy. All his coats that were made of silk were produced from the cods of his own silk-worms, and a dairy-maid sat every day at a stall before his door, selling the milk of his cows by the pint. "M. de Hertzberg would be a perfect character," said the Marquis de Pons to me, "if in his youth he had visited different parts of Europe; but his ignorance of other countries makes him believe nothing can be comparable to the sands that surround him, nor to the usages and manners of his countrymen."

I recollect a remarkable fact, which demonstrates the extreme prudence, reserve, and attention employed by Frederic in his diplomatic functions. . . . At the time that the question of the succession of Bavaria was in agitation, Baron de Hertzberg composed a memorial against the house of Austria, in which he urged a very close dilemma, by saying to Joseph the Second, on

the subject of Bohemia, "This kingdom was elective; the last elected king left two daughters: you are descended from the youngest; the kings of Prussia are descended from the eldest. If at the present time this kingdom is become hereditary, it belongs rather to the house of Brandenburg than to you. If you maintain that it is still elective, where is your act of election? This act has never taken place, you therefore cannot possibly have a title to Bohemia." Frederic had no sooner read the passage, than he instantly drew a pen across it, and fell into a great rage against his minister, representing to him the impolicy of thus gratuitously introducing an argument to which it would be imprudent to draw the attention of the public. "I would not have it mentioned," said he, "even in any treaty."

No cabinet could be more secret than was that of Frederic; nor has any been known more attentive, vigilant, wary, or skilful; more active in reality, nor in appearance more tranquil. He penetrated the secrets of others, but by none were his secrets penetrated. All his political operations are evidences of these truths. It was to little purpose to bear in mind his subtlety and the necessity of mistrusting his intentions, for no prudence could keep pace with a skill so match-

less. The first partition of Poland is a specimen of this! He set out with spreading a report that the plague had broke out in that kingdom; and to preserve his states from such a scourge, he had stationed a line of troops along the frontiers: this succeeded; every one, at least in Berlin, believed in the disaster; and accordingly every inhabitant had armed himself against infection with the vinegar of the four thieves. The surprise was excessive when the pretended line of troops became an army which, after a march of two days, took possession of the division allotted to Prussia in the partition. Prince Louis de Rohan, the French ambassador to Vienna, in a letter, expressed his belief that the pretended partition was a fable; the Duke d'Aiguillon, minister for foreign affairs at Versailles, maintained the same assertion till the partition was absolutely consummated, and official accounts of the intelligence had actually reached the latter place.

A singular circumstance is, that having had the map of Poland incessantly under his eye at the time of his meditating the partition, his atlas remained open at the same leaf and on the same desk in his library to the time of his death; at least I saw it as I have described on the eve of my departure from the country; and on it were traced, either with a pencil or a pen, the lines he

intended as the limits of the portion he was to take for himself, and also that he would prescribe to Russia and Austria. Was this opened at once the omen of a second partition of that country, or was it the mark of an operation absolutely terminated and no longer calculated to excite interest? However that may be, this circumstance, and no less a thousand others, proves how little uneasiness Frederic experienced concerning public opinion where the question at issue was consummately important. But what best characterizes his political genius, is the justness of his plans, the wisdom of his conceptions, and the prudence he exercised in all his proceedings: I may affirm, without exaggeration, that there are few men who present us with such grand and inestimable lessons in the study of politics.

It will not be hence concluded that the department of foreign affairs was a source of considerable expence to him. There were but few clerks in the government offices at Berlin, because these few really executed some employment. On the other hand, the ministers not unfrequently took copies of letters themselves, and always wrote their own letters. The envoys or plenipotentiaries he maintained at foreign courts had small stipends; and Frederic never failed to recommend to them *not to be sparing of*

soups. This was his expression for intimating that they should give frequent dinners. "But," said Baron d'Hamon, who had been his ambassador to Paris and the Hague, "he does not allow us sufficient to give good dinners." In fact, to the ambassadors he sent to Paris, Vienna, London, and Petersburg, he gave a stipend of only six thousand rix-dollars: other ambassadors had only four thousand. In my time, at Berlin, Frederic proposed sending Baron Kniphausen to Vienna; but he refused, observing, "I have had the honour, Sire, of being your servant at Paris and at London; in the first of these missions I expended the value of one of my estates, and of a second in the other: I have now but one left for my support; allow me to preserve it. Your majesty may easily find persons who will acquit themselves of the office, while they spend no more than the six thousand rix-dollars allowed them; but this is a secret I have yet to learn. I should either ill accomplish my mission, or ruin my fortune.".... "Well," said the king, who, though well aware of Kniphausen's ability, at the same time wished to seem desirous principally to oblige him, "let us consider of some other office for you, for you should not be left without employment; think of it yourself, and let me know how I can serve you."

The baron took care not to solicit the place of minister: he only asked to be appointed director-general of commerce to the grand directory; and this he obtained.

I know of no Prussian who, being employed on foreign missions, did not more or less injure his private fortune. I might cite as examples Colonel Coccei, ambassador to Sweden; M. de Goltz, to Paris; a M. de Rœderer, to Copenhagen; Count de Nostitz, to Madrid; and many others. I except from the above remark only M. de Borck, who was at Dresden when Frederic saved Saxony from the most horrible famine, by furnishing the country with supplies of corn from his own granaries.

Baron de Kniphausen had in the sequel many imitators: every one dreaded and endeavoured to evade the brilliant and honourable office of minister to foreign courts; and Frederic was more than once obliged to have recourse to foreigners; in which case he gave the preference to Italians, because he considered them the best versed in matters of economy, and because their country being divided into small sovereignties of different kinds, he judged them to be less exclusively attached to their native soil, or to a particular form of government: in addition, the aptitude of the Italians in every branch of *politics* and *the diplo-*

matic department is well known. Baron d'Hamon had observed certainly the most rigid economy in his office, but then he had not avoided the extreme of meanness, and had been too unskilful to conceal the frugality he was obliged to practise; for this reason he was recalled. "They boast so much of the fowls of Paris," said he one day to the king; "but I can assure your majesty that I never ate a good fowl in that place.".... "I can easily believe you," replied the king; "but it was because you would not pay the price of the best. You took care to buy the starved fowls: I know you well."

THE GRAND DIRECTORY.



THE minister for foreign affairs, the chancellor, and the ministers of the courts of law, exercise their several functions independently of any authority but that of the king. But this is not the case with the other ministers, that is, with those charged with what is properly denominated *the interior administration*, or the *government of the country*. The last-mentioned ministers form a body, or, what is called in that country, a college; and this is named *the Grand Directory*. In this directory every minister gives an account of the affairs of his department; he is himself, in reality, no more than the reporter of such affairs, at least as far as the introduction of any new dispositions are concerned. But this reporter is further charged with seeing all the orders executed which issue from the grand directory. I believe no country has so great a number of ministers as Prussia. Every province has one to itself, and there are in addition, in the directory, the minister for the war department, the minister

for religious worship, the minister for post-horses, and the minister of finances. It is by means of the directory that the unity and consonance of the measures to be adopted are established. Each minister knows precisely what has been prescribed on occasions similar to that of which he is to speak : every one must be sensible of the infinite advantages of this mode of government.

The decisions of the directory are always conducted in the name of the king ; no one speaks but the king, as though he were really present. The different affairs are examined and prepared in distinct offices, which are called *chambers* : thus there is the chamber of the works, relating either to the constructing or repairs of such buildings as belong to the king ; the chamber of domains for business relative to royal manors, canals, &c. ; the chamber of finance ; the chamber of the colonies, of commerce, of manufactures, &c. All these chambers, besides their ministers, have privy counsellors and other persons of different ranks, under I know not how many various titles, and for a diversity of functions extremely multiplied ; for in Prussia no man's place is a *sinecure*. The chambers of finance that exist in the provinces are also subordinate to this grand directory. These take cognizance of all taxes, of agriculture, forests, post-

ing, the colonies, the royal manors, which latter comprehend nearly a third part of the Prussian dominions, and the produce of which constitutes the greatest portion of the revenues of the state.

A certain number of counsellors go yearly to the villages, and examine if every inhabitant keeps the portion of soil he rents in proper cultivation; each being obliged to cultivate yearly such a number of acres out of the total in his possession. By this means, the whole being subject to a certain vigilance, is maintained in good order, while all that, properly speaking, belongs to administration centres in the grand directory.

The arrangements for post-horses is not on the same footing in Prussia as in France; with the exception of a few inconsiderable towns, it is here a concern of the king's alone. The post-master is not the proprietor of a single horse; he merely keeps a list of the horses to be had of different inhabitants in the town he lives in, which, on the arrival of travellers, he sends for in their regular turn. The hire of the horses is paid to the post-master, who is responsible to the king; no other profit accrues to the inhabitants but accidental perquisites and a present made them at the end of the year, by the chamber of finance or domains, in proportion to the number of

horses they have furnished and the journeys they have made. In other respects, particularly that of the inconvenience thus brought upon them, they consider it as a duty they owe to the king, or as a kind of tax. The post-masters are generally superannuated military officers, on whom the favour is conferred as a sort of recompence for their service.

Persons employed by the state to take a journey obtain an order from the grand directory for being furnished gratis with horses throughout the route; an order that is communicated to every post-master within his circuit: so that such persons find horses every where ready for their use, and proceed with much greater expedition than other travellers, though the expence they incur for that article amounts to no more than the customary perquisite. This arrangement is the means of considerable saving to government. There is another still more essential, at least for private families and the traffic of books: it is that books and articles for food are conveyed at a very low rate by public carts: a salmon, for example, that should weigh forty pounds, and be transported to the distance of forty leagues, would cost for the carriage no more than forty-eight sous. The consequence of this order of things

is, that holders of country landed property, residing at a court or in cities, may enjoy its produce at a trifling expence.

The chambers of finance grant nine years' leases of the royal lands, with right of sporting and fishing in any part of the tenure; the game-keepers have the right of killing game in any part of the forests intrusted to their care: but both these are obliged to send such a supply of game to such a prince or princess, or to the king's kitchen, on such a day, so that the cooks in the royal kitchens know beforehand what they shall receive of this kind in such a week and in such a season of the year. Hence it follows that, independently of the saving in the royal expenture, the persons to whom this obligation attaches, takes particular care to encourage the breed of the different kinds of game.

The royal kitchen is then supplied in this manner, without expence, not only with game, but with wood for fuel, and butter, which comes from a dairy established on a prodigious scale by William on the Hawel in Holland.

Every thing in this country is on a plan of economy, the details of which would be infinite. As to sporting, it was the object of Frederic's abhorrence. Any gentleman known to be addicted to this passion would wholly have lost his

esteem. His nephew, to procure himself the pleasures of the field only once or twice a year, did so with every possible precaution, that the intelligence might not reach the ears of Frederic. "The butcher," said this monarch, "even the butcher does not kill animals for his pleasure; he does it for the necessities of *man*: but the sportsman kills for pleasure; this is odious! The sportsman therefore should be placed below the butcher in the order of society."

From what has preceded, it is apparent that the general regulations of the police fall naturally within the sphere of the grand directory; which, however, did not prevent Frederic from having at Berlin, at least, a distinct minister, under the title of lieutenant of police, who seldom received orders but from himself; besides this, there are also many articles specially confided to another public officer, called *the fiscal general*. I shall not interrupt the natural course of my undertaking to state in what points, or to what degree, their functions are similar, but shall simply remark, that those of the latter are principally connected with the administration of justice, and, those of the former with the order and tranquillity, or security, of the citizens.

Whatever the nature of the circumstances in which Frederic found himself, he never deviated

from the principles he had embraced. On the contrary, he took advantage of difficult situations, to manifest the more signally how inflexible he would be in their observance. This remark is particularly applicable to the vigilance he exercised over the distribution of the laws; not only those relating to property, but those relating to the police.

After the first campaign for the succession of Bavaria, France and Russia at length agreed to march fifty thousand men respectively against Joseph the Second, should the latter refuse to accede to their proposals. The fifty thousand Russians were already in Poland, so that a few months only were necessary to throw them into action, should this be requisite. This army was to be commanded by Prince Repnin, who was then at the court of Prussia in quality of a negotiator. Prince Repnin, however, was not to be intrusted with the detail of the military operations; but, under his orders, the celebrated Suwarrow, with whom I was afterward several times in company, and who one day, at Prince Dolgorouki's, related to us the following anecdote:

“What a singular man is your king!” said he. “No man that breathes is so consummately untractable! No means can move his obduracy.

I have just had with him a remarkable adventure, which had nearly tried me to the utmost. At my departure from Petersburg the empress intrusted to my care some dispatches for Frederic, which I knew were no less pressing than important. I was requested to execute my journey with all possible diligence; and the object of my mission was of itself sufficient to prevent my admitting the least delay. It is easy to conceive what I had to endure from the inactivity of the Prussian post-boys. I paid them handsomely, and incessantly repeated that I required the utmost speed. Well, all this procured me no one advantage; I might as well have spoken to so many automatons.

“ When I was in Pomerania the evil was at its height, and this precisely when my stock of patience was exhausted. Such was my situation when I fell in with a post-boy more completely inactive than those that had preceded: in vain did I entreat, in vain did I reason with him, in vain promise him a handsome recompence, or threaten him with my vengeance; he took but the longer time for lighting his pipe, and rested his horses but still oftener, and became too absolutely insolent in his answers. No longer able to contain myself, I applied half a dozen strokes of my cane across his shoulders, which I assured

him I would repeat if he did not proceed faster. This means succeeded, and the fellow at length mended his pace; but on reaching the next stage, he preferred a complaint against me to the magistrates of the town, who gave me notice that, conformable to the laws, they were bound to take me into custody, to stand my trial in consequence of the said deposition against me; those laws strictly prohibiting, under heavy penalties, that any traveller should strike a post-boy, against whom his only resource was an application to the magistrates. I observed, that if they detained me, they became answerable for the serious consequences of my detention. I shewed them my dispatches bearing the Imperial seal, and addressed to their sovereign; and they remarked the order with which I was decorated. All this served to intimidate them, and they suffered me to leave the town.

“It was natural for me to foresee that they would acquaint the king with the whole affair. But as I had the advantage of starting first, I determined to profit by it, by relating the adventure to his majesty myself, in the first audience I should obtain.

“No sooner was I arrived at Breslaw than I was sent for, and obtained a perfectly gracious reception. The most engaging expression of coun-

tenance, the most courteous attentions, the most lively indications of genuine interest, the sincerest joy at seeing me; these were the demonstrations on which I relied: to his question, *Have you had an agreeable journey?* I briefly related that the post-boys, particularly in Pomerania, had exhausted my patience, and that the insolence of one of them had compelled me to strike him, though the blows I gave him were rather calculated to excite his fears than to do him harm; that the magistrates of the first town in which we afterward changed horses, understanding the urgent necessity for my proceeding to receive and execute the commands of his majesty, had decided on allowing me to continue my journey.

“From the first sentence I pronounced on the subject, I had before me a man of an exterior perfectly different. The whistle one hears at the opera does not occasion a more complete and instant a change of decoration. From that moment he was the most serious, the most severe, and coldest of men: in this spirit he heard me to the end, and when I had finished my relation, he pronounced, in a tone that might have chilled me with apprehension, *General, you may think yourself fortunate.* He then hastened to talk on other subjects, and consequently to resume

the urbanity with which our interview commenced.

“ I declare to you, Gentlemen, I never before so fully understood what a sovereign is, and what he ought to be, to govern his people well ; to be unremittingly penetrated with the sense of his various duties, and ready to protect public order and the laws. His establishments for posting are organized in such a manner as to make the most patient traveller desperate ; but till this order of things undergoes a change, it is indisputably his duty to protect the post-boys, who are not the authors of the evil. Reform your laws if this be necessary, and if it be practicable so to do, but in the mean time consider them as sacred. I am ignorant what answer he sent to the magistrate ; for I heard no more of the affair.”

This M. de Suwarrow, at the time I am speaking (about the year 1779), was more than forty years of age: he was short and thick in stature, but well built; one might say he was sapless rather than lean, and perpetually in motion. I never saw any thing so rapid as his looks, his speech, his repartees, and all his actions. He seemed to desire to do a thousand things at once, and often passed like lightning from one idea or undertaking to another. For

my part, I was tempted to consider him as a sort of madman ; and the Russians themselves agreed with me that he possessed a most extraordinary singularity of manners, though they persisted in representing him, in other respects, as a general of the greatest worth and consummate skill now existing. I felt no surprise on hearing subsequently, either that he ordered twelve thousand Poles to summary execution, for having defended their country, with the greatest valour, against the powers concerned in the partition ; nor on hearing the most honourable and truly original part he acted in Italy and Switzerland, in espousing the cause of Austria against the French, though twenty years before he had been eagerly disposed to espouse the part of the French against the Austrians.

FINANCES.

WHAT I have already observed respecting the grand directory, has no doubt sufficed to give an idea of the system of finances adopted in the Prussian states. I shall, however, present the reader with some details respecting the taxes, the public treasury, and the order prescribed for the accounts.

What is understood by direct taxation is, in Berlin at least, nearly unknown; no more than twenty-four sous per month were ever assessed on me, under the appellation of military service. The principal revenues of the state are derived from the produce of the royal manors, that of the excise, the duties upon exports and imports, and the tolls on the rivers and canals; the least important articles are the lottery, the wood for fuel in certain large towns, the duty on snuff, the postage of letters and horses, besides the inconsiderable direct tax I have above mentioned.

I do not include in the list of the revenues of the state a great number of particular establishments,

which, though extremely useful to the country, may be classed either among the objects of expenditure or receipt, according to the circumstances; such as the manufacture of porcelain, I know not how many others of wool and silk, that of arms established near Spandaw, the store-houses of corn, &c. &c.

The manufacture of porcelain, established at Berlin, is one of the most extensive in Europe: it has risen almost suddenly to such a degree of perfection as to rival that of Saxony in the excellence and beauty of its productions. I have seen in it whole services of porcelain, of equal elegance and richness, which had been manufactured for the empress of Russia, the Prince de Soubise, and M. de Vergennes. In its early state of progress, Frederic had recourse to a singular means for publishing its existence: as the Jews resident in his dominions were obliged to solicit his permission to marry, he bestowed it only on condition that the betrothed should purchase porcelain to a certain amount, relying that they would not fail to bring the article into circulation.

The manufacture of arms, situated under the walls of Spandaw, was established by King William. The persons who inhabit it are families who are natives of the bishopric of Liege, each of which has a house and garden to itself, and

the necessary forges; they are supplied with water by different canals, that in their turn are supplied from the river which passes at a small distance. The manufacturers are paid the price they agreed for, which is moderate, for every article they furnish.

Frederic had ceded this manufactory, as well as that of caps for the grenadiers, to the house of Danm and Splikgerb, who advanced the funds that were necessary, and furnished the articles to the king at reduced prices, with the exception, however, of the branch of the refining of sugar, the price of which was subject to their own regulations.

The King of Prussia has considerable granaries of corn in different towns, which, owing to his excellent management, cost him very little, and are exempt from the risks to which great accumulations are commonly subject: the buildings, instead of windows, have only a sort of shutters, which keeps out the rain without impeding the free circulation of air. The boards of the floors are closely knitted together, and the walls are in good condition. The heaps of corn, which must not exceed certain dimensions, are multiplied accordingly, &c.

When the price of corn is low, the granaries are filled; when it experiences a rapid rise, the soldiery, and even the people, are supplied from

them with bread. If war is declared, the ample provision in store of this article precludes every solicitude relative to the sustenance of the army. I have been witness when Frederic, in time of dearth, has supplied all Saxony with corn. No doubt he sold it at a high price; but then he restored to life a whole nation whose only remaining resource for existence was to browse the grass of the fields.

The lottery produces less than it might be made to do. Frederic granted a lease of it at a reduced price to two families of distinction, who had become unfortunate, and on whom he held himself bound to confer some benefit. He had been offered for it by other persons the sum of sixty thousand crowns per annum, and he granted it to Count de Reuss and Count de Heichstedt for thirty-six thousand per annum. The latter of these has sometimes said jocosely, that three drawings of the lottery produced a dowry for one of his daughters.

At the time of my leaving Prussia there were no fewer than fifteen hundred silk looms in the country; the king having bestowed on this branch of commerce a particular degree of countenance. He had erected spacious buildings for several manufacturers in the art, and a premium was given on such silks as went out of the kingdom: the

plantations of mulberry-trees were extremely numerous.

Baron de Hertzberg patronized with the most signal encouragement this manufactory: he gave medals, and even sums of money, annually, to such of the artisans as had produced more than five pounds of silk. The whole of this establishment is subject to the control of the grand directory, and under the superintendance of a M. Mayet, whose father was a manufacturer of Lyons: he was a man of letters, and had filled this station at Berlin ever since the year 1776. The prosperity of this branch of manufacture should properly be ascribed to Frederic; nor did he pay less attention to the woollen manufactories which throughout Prussia were considerably numerous. That of Lagerhauss, at Berlin, was one of the most celebrated, and furnished all the broad-cloth for the regimentals of the military officers, the price and quality of which were necessarily regulated beforehand. This manufactory belonged to Messieurs Schmitz, a family of Aix-la-Chapelle, and had been the foundation of their fortune.

The financial system of Prussia, which more than any other has been admired and celebrated, is the order established and followed in the different treasuries and the public accounts. Be it our task to demonstrate that this commendation

has been justly merited. The first principle invariably laid down on this subject is, that the public treasures being a sacred and national deposit in the hands of a treasurer, who should he dispose of it in any manner foreign to the orders he received concerning it, were it for a few hours only, is an unfaithful servant deserving of death.

I will relate an example of this kind which happened in my own time at Berlin. Baron de Gørne, a man of regular habits and of the mildest and most urbane manners, by the death of his wife who was much older than himself, became the sole possessor of a fortune that produced an income of at least a hundred and twenty thousand livres. This fortune inspired him with a certain degree of ambition. He addressed himself to me, to request I would compose a letter for him that might be the means of introducing him to the king, and of obtaining for him some marks of distinction.

I accordingly composed such a letter for him, one evening, at Madame du Troussel's. He was appointed chamberlain, and some months after to the place of minister of finances. The new minister, in the following year, proposed to Frederic to make the purchase of one of the most valuable fiefs in Poland, which happened just then to be offered for sale at a low price....

“ You ought to be sensible that it would be highly indecorous that I should make myself a citizen out of my own dominions; but if the acquisition is so extremely cheap and valuable, buy it for yourself.” M. de Gærne purchased the fief, and was to pay for it by certain instalments: when the time for the payment of the first was come, the amount of which was twenty thousand ducats, the minister being unexpectedly unprovided, appropriated to this use a certain number of bonds of the maritime company; bonds which he held as security, and which ought not to have been put into circulation. He fully intended to restore these bonds in a short time; but he was denounced by M. Struensee, who was the director of the maritime company of Berlin.

On the following Sunday, M. de Ramin, governor of the city, came about sunset with an escort of thirty men to the residence of M. de Gærne, to take his excellency into custody; at the same time taking from him his knife, scissors, buckles, and every thing that could be made the means of doing himself violence. A guard was placed in his hotel, and two grenadiers in his chamber by day and night. He was soon brought to trial: his sentence which was rigorously executed condemned M. de Gærne to be stripped of all his titles, degraded from the rank of nobility,

and confined in the castle of Spandaw for life; the whole of his property confiscated, and that a crown per day should be allowed him for his subsistence.

King William, nephew and successor to Frederic, from a principle of humanity, ordered him to be restored to liberty; a conduct the late king, from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences a case of such delicacy might give birth to, would never have adopted.

Frederic having ascended the throne on the 31st of May, decreed that, during his reign, the years should in the transactions of his internal government regularly begin on that day. Hence it was that the ministers arrived at Potzdam on the 31st of May, and respectively delivered to the king three duplicate statements relative to their particular department: the first was, an exact and complete statement of the year that had terminated; the second was, a correct statement of the ordinary and fixed expenditure for the ensuing year; and the third was, a view of such contingent expences as it was possible to foresee for the ensuing year.

The king examined each of them before going to bed, and signed such as he approved. On the following morning, he returned them to the ministers, accompanied with such remarks as

he judged necessary. By noon these gentlemen were returned to Berlin, and the orders were duly dispatched to all the departments and provinces. M. de la Haye de Lannay, who was considered as a minister but had refused the title, was received immediately after them, and for the most part returned to Berlin in the evening.

The different treasuries of Prussia took new registers every 1st of June, the old register expiring on the preceding eve. No one article of the expired year remained: if any funds were found remaining of the concluded year, they were consigned to the superior treasury, though it were no more than a single penny. By this means, the accounts of the ensuing year were rendered simple, perspicuous, and unconnected with those that had gone before, and those that were to follow. All the inferior treasuries emptied their receipts into the superior or provincial treasuries, once in every five days. These were in possession of the exact situation of the former, as to the payments they had to make, the amount of such payments, the time of their becoming due, and the persons by whom the receipts should be signed; and these receipts being conformable to the accounts in the register, were taken at the treasury as ready money.

The provincial treasurer at Magdeburg, for example, had an order to pay, at a certain time,

such a sum of money into the hands of the quartermaster of such a regiment in garrison in that town, who was to give him in return an authentic receipt; all payments were regulated in the same manner. If, by any accident, the funds did not come into the treasury in time, or were insufficient for the existing demands, it was incumbent on the provincial treasurer to give due notice of the state of his treasury to the general treasurer, who took care to supply the deficiency by the time the payments were to be made. So perfect was the order observed in the regulations, that no delay in these respects was ever known to take place.

On my arrival at Berlin and seeing General de Buddenbrock, he directed me to send him my receipt regularly on the 16th of every month, about ten o'clock in the forenoon; and added, I should receive, in return, my allowance for the ensuing month: accordingly, during a residence of twenty years in the country, no instance of alteration in this respect ever occurred, nor even the delay of an hour. If it happened that I did not go in person to the treasury, I sent either a male or female servant, who returned before eleven with my money, for which had been given in return my receipt, signed with my name on a piece of common paper.

It was curious enough to see the waggons and small casks of specie that arrived every year, on the 2d or 3d of June, at the castle, to be deposited in the cellars as treasures in reserve. These treasures were guarded by an old subaltern officer to whom the king granted an annual stipend of six thousand livres. This officer, who kept the key of a treasure that amounted to no less a sum than three hundred millions of livres (twelve millions and half sterling), was in every respect worthy of the confidence the king reposed in him: he was a man of the utmost probity, exactness, prudence and vigilance, and of an habitually retired way of living.

Besides this general treasure, the king had also a private treasure, called the privy purse (*la chatouille*), which was kept at Potsdam, and was guarded by one of the superior servants of the household. The *chatouille* might be worth from fifteen to twenty millions of rix-dollars. From this treasure the king drew the supplies for his personal expences, whether those of necessity or of mere luxury, such as castles, jewels, &c. He also made a point of paying from the *chatouille* the expences of certain particular establishments; those, for example, of his civil and military school.

The external commerce carried on in Prussia

is in no way remarkable: the corn of Poland, the linens of Silesia, potashes, certain kinds of timber for building, and other articles of less importance, such as snuff, Prussian honey, &c. are the most notable objects of exportation; objects, however, that in their total value do not balance the amount of those that are imported; the principal of which are, coffee, sugar, wines, silks, and jewellery. The quantity of coffee consumed in the Prussian dominions, and throughout the northern countries, would scarcely be imagined. To moderate the excess of this consumption, Frederic conceived the project of increasing the price of the article: he established, respecting it, a system of regulation which he found productive to himself, but was displeasing to every one, and did not succeed in vanquishing the bad habit of the people. His successor soon abolished this system, as well as that which had been equally applied to snuff, a proceeding of which he has perhaps had reason to repent.

A variety of schemes were from time to time presented to Frederic for the establishment of a regular navy, but he adopted none of them. The reason he gave for this was, that having no possessions beyond the seas, a navy would cost him a great deal, and be but of little use. However, that he might not wholly abandon to other

powers the advantages of navigation, he formed the establishment of his maritime company, which he allowed to maintain a certain number of armed frigates, for the purpose of convoying his merchantmen, and such vessels as were the private property of his merchants.

I received from Paris, during the war, for the English colonies, a commission to treat with this company for the constructing a frigate that should carry forty guns, and sail, armed and rigged at all points and under Prussian colours, into a port of France. The sum demanded for such a frigate was fifty thousand rix-dollars: the price was not, however, the cause of setting aside the negotiation, but the length of the time required. The maritime company at Berlin demanded eight or ten months for completing the vessel, and France would allow no more than five. I knew of there being similar proposals subsequently made, and of one in particular which was completely successful.

Internal commerce is with the Prussians an object of much greater magnitude: turnpike-roads, it is true, are wanting; but in a country so level, and for the most part composed of sandy soil, this defect is generally compensated by numerous canals. For a million and half of livres, canals of vast extent, comprising every

valuable property, may be substituted, and by such it is that merchandise of every description is conveyed in Prussia from the extremity of one province to another. It is impossible to have causeways, or paved roads, in Prussia, because no stones can be procured in the country: to remedy this defect relative to the streets of Berlin, for example, all the boats that come up the Elbe, the Hawell, or the Spree, take on board at Magdeburg a certain quantity of free-stone, which they disembark at Berlin *gratis*. The late king had pavement laid down the whole way between his castle at the latter place, and that at Charlottenburg, an undertaking that occasioned considerable difficulty.

M. d'Alembert, on his journey to Prussia, after the seven years' war, strongly recommended to Frederic to make turnpike-roads in his dominions. D'Alembert included the whole empire in this advice; he represented, in the most alluring colours, the advantages that would accrue to the commerce of the country; observed that it would be an act worthy of the king to make such a proposal to the Germanic body, an act that could not fail to do his majesty infinite honour, and that there would be the greatest probability of the success of such an enterprise if supported by so powerful a monarch. "You

mistake, my good fellow," replied the king; "the majority of the circles and of the princes concerned would oppose such a project for two reasons: the first, that the expence would be more than could be sustained by princes already embarrassed in their finances, and whose authority is too feeble to throw the burden on their subjects; secondly, that turnpike-roads would afford too great a facility for the approach of enemies in time of war. Our bad roads at present are injurious only to the aggressors, while to the feebler party, who act on the defensive, they produce the advantage of protracting by several days the approach of the enemy, and, considered in this point of view, are thus rendered equivalent to some millions of men added to their armies."

Frederic took especial care to avoid mentioning the reason I have heretofore mentioned, because it concerned himself alone; nor did he apply those he had just stated to himself in particular. Yet this, I well observed, formed the true jet of the question. One day I dined, in company with the celebrated geographer Busching, at M. de Massaw's the minister, who, if I am not mistaken, had the department of Pomerania. Busching proved that the posting roads in the Prussian states, and even in Pomerania,

were extremely circuitous, and that nothing was easier than to remedy this inconvenience: he proved also, that the maps of the country were considerably defective. "We are not ignorant of this," replied the minister; "but we keep the secret to ourselves, because in time of war these circumstances give us over the enemy the advantage of several days' march; circumstances that not improbably might prove the means of saving the state. The grand directory would no more permit you to correct these defects publicly, than it grants that permission to the royal academy of the sciences and belles lettres.

I shall allow myself in this place a short digression on the subject of M. Busching, with whom I was frequently in company at Berlin, where he arrived a short time after me, and where he died a long time before I left that place. In no country have I met with a man whose vanity was equal to that of M. Busching. I have heard of two or three persons in Europe, who said there were in Europe, in their time, no more than three great men; Voltaire, Frederic, and themselves. To these persons M. Busching cannot be compared, for he never acknowledged any man to be so great as himself; in short, his excessive vanity rendered him absolutely intolerable. When I knew him at Berlin, he came from Russia: a

few years after he buried his wife, whom he caused to be embalmed and placed in his garden. I never heard if, after his decease, his corpse was deposited in the same place, agreeably to a request he had signified.

I shall say no more than a few words respecting an object to which, during the whole reign of Frederic, he paid the greatest attention: I mean his colonists. M. de Hertzberg has entered so diffusely into the details relating to them, in the different memoirs he has composed, as to leave me little to say on the subject. The Prussian states, particularly in the most sandy provinces, present the traveller with little more than a succession of immense deserts that cannot fail to depress his spirits. The soil in them every where consists of sand it is true, but it is extremely fine, and contains a saline property that prevents it from being wholly barren. Vegetables for the kitchen, for example, have here a greater delicacy of flavour than in other parts of Europe, which in a great measure compensates the inferiority of other productions; for the husbandman can sow scarcely any grain but rye in so light a soil, nor does he hope his harvest will produce in a greater proportion than that of four grains for the one he sowed.

But we should also observe, that a small por-

tion of labour only being required to turn so light a kind of land, agriculture is carried on at a very trifling expence. On this soil, and principally in the vicinity of rivers or small streams, it is that Frederic has established an infinite number of foreign families, who were originally sent to him by his recruiting parties, who every year procured him as many as they could. He built small houses for these families, with such conveniences as were suitable to their condition, and gave them a small piece of land for cultivation; they were supplied with money for buying necessary utensils and a few head of cattle, and to furnish their subsistence till the time of harvest. In this manner Frederic succeeded, notwithstanding the wars in which he was engaged, in augmenting his population considerably, even in his poorest provinces.

What I have observed of the soil of Prussia should be understood as applicable to all the provinces, with the sole exceptions of the duchy of Magdeburg, the bishopric of Warmia, and Silesia, in which districts the soil is extremely fertile. Westphalia, the principality of Minden, the marches of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Prussia, and nearly all the newly acquired territory in Poland, have all a soil composed of sand. Hence it may easily be inferred that the people of such a coun-

try cannot, generally speaking, be rich, and that it is with great reason they are not burdened with many taxes; and the more so, as every labourer is compelled to devote three days of the week to the service of the lord of the manor.

All these circumstances justify the practice adopted by the King of Prussia, of amassing treasures in times of peace, to supply the necessary expences of war: without this what resource could they hope for, considering that they are nearly destitute of the advantages of commerce, and possess few well fortified towns?

“Our peasantry are much happier than yours,” said General de Buddenbrock to me one day: “at a former period of my life I travelled through France, and I observed, universally, that your peasantry were without shoes or stockings; in our provinces, on the contrary, you will not find a man who has not a pair of boots.”...“The contrast would be still more striking,” answered I, “if you were to bring together, as objects of comparison, a Russian or a Laponese, and a Neapolitan; for, on the one hand, in addition to the boots you speak of, you would see an excellent fur cap and pelice; while, on the other, your Neapolitan would have nothing but a shirt. It appears to me that, to decide if the people of a nation be prosperous or wretched, we should not

compute what they have and what they have not, but rather what are their necessities and what their means of satisfying them.

“ In a country so cold and humid as this, the peasantry, notwithstanding their boots, have still much to endure from the climate, and would soon be a prey to a thousand infirmities if they had them not. In France, where the climate is more temperate and the soil less humid, the peasantry derive still more pleasure than profit from the hoarding their shoes and stockings for winter, nor does it appear that they suffer any inconvenience from the custom.”

A short time previous to my arrival at Berlin, Baron de Hagen was appointed minister of the finances: he was a man who had found means to gain the entire esteem of Frederic, but who at bottom was a compound of hypocrisy and avarice. My wife having a complaint in her lungs, in consequence of the fatigues of the journey, she was advised by Dr. Mekel, after trying a variety of medicines, to drink asses' milk; the season being, however, far advanced, my wife was fearful of making the experiment, and luckily found in some other means the desired relief.

I am ignorant in what manner Baron Hagen gained the intelligence that asses' milk had been prescribed for her; but he sent me a note, signed

with his hand, in which he requested me to come to his house on the following morning at such an hour. I did not fail of being there by the time appointed, though unable to conceive the object of his summons. What was my surprise to find that he had sent for me to shew me a she-ass he had in his possession together with her foal! The minister in his night-cap conducted me in person, and as it were by force, to his stable, that he might still have a pretext for pursuing his eulogiums on both these animals.

I in vain protested I had not the least skill in she-asses, not daring to add that I was somewhat better qualified to judge of he-asses; nothing could stop the torrent of his encomiums: in addition to which, I was compelled to listen to his account in what manner the creature had been conveyed from the district of Halle, at a prodigious expence, for a sister of his who had been recovered by drinking her milk; and all this, in short, to prevail upon me to believe that my wife in trying the same remedy would receive a similar benefit, and that in ceding me the animal with her foal for thirty crowns, he parted with them for nothing.

I did not care so allege in excuse, that the season was too far advanced for drinking asses' milk, for he would have combated this reasoning; but thanking him abundantly, I declared that,

being for the present in lodgings, I had no possible means of receiving her, but that I would look out for different accommodations, and acquaint him with the result. On my return home, I met a French refugee of the name of Michelet, a partner in the house of Bitaubé, and one of the worthiest citizens of Berlin. As I placed an entire confidence in M. Michelet, and he had on different occasions done me service, I gave him an account of the visit I had just made to the minister, to his she-ass, and her fole. "What could you possibly do with these animals?" replied he. "No one in this country takes asses' milk but in the midst of summer. Madame Thiebault could not now make use of it but with considerable risk of unfavourable consequences. Besides, can M. Hagen's ass possibly have much milk at present? I doubt it. Her fole is already a large animal; the milk she has must therefore be thick, heavy, and difficult of digestion. In short, he wishes to sell you his ass for thirty crowns, and you may buy as many as you please for ten each. The reason of his taking all this trouble is, because he did not succeed in selling the animal in the two or three last markets, to which I myself saw her conducted."

I wrote the same evening a letter to his excellency, in which I expressed my concern that I

could not take advantage of his kindness, as it would be quite out of my power to accommodate his ass; I assured him of my extreme regret, and begged him to accept the homage of my gratitude.

I found it necessary to relate the above anecdote, that the reader might be the better judge of others to which it naturally leads me. The first is the unfortunate history of M. Clement and his whole family. This M. Clement had, for many years, carried on a mercantile concern in the ports of the Levant, from whence he had returned to Aix-la-Chapelle, his native country, with a handsome independence. Unfortunately, however, he conceived and communicated to Frederic a flattering project of maritime commerce for the Prussian states, a project that was adopted by Frederic, who granted M. Clement all the conditions he demanded. These conditions were, that Clement should be the director and president of the administration of the company of the maritime commerce; that to this concern he should associate a banking-house, which should have similar establishments depending on it, in Petersburg and other places; that, to ensure and facilitate these operations, he should himself have the direction of all the monies; that, on the other hand, he would embark his whole fortune in the

enterprise; and that, in the mean while, an ample allowance should be granted for the support of himself and family, the amount of which was specified in the treaty. I use the word *treaty*, because the conditions were in fact approved by the ministry, signed by the king, countersigned by the cabinet secretaries, and rendered authentic by the minister for foreign affairs.

Clement accordingly delivered in his whole fortune: the company was formed; the commercial objects of the project were set in motion; a banking-house was opened at Petersburg. After all these preparatory measures had been taken, M. Hagen refused to consign the money to his care; and soon after, in violation of the most positive promises, refused to honour the bills drawn upon him by the house at Petersburg; after which he succeeded in persuading the king that M. Clement was the sole cause of the discredit into which that house had fallen. He represented him as a man equally destitute of commercial talent and a spirit of order. He caused him to be arrested and thrown into prison, where he suffered him to want common necessaries. His wife and children were left without means for their subsistence, though the whole fortune of this family was in his hands, not excepting even the very jewels.

The misfortune of M. Clement was complete: a humour made its appearance in his legs, which swelled by degrees and afterward burst. The worthy Dr. Fritz, though he had never been employed in his family, from motives of humanity took charge of him on this occasion, and furnished him with the necessary medicines. In addition there was another debtor in M. Clement's apartment, a native of France, and a partner in the Manchester manufactory of the house of Laurent at Amiens; this person, who was half an idiot, had some pigeons, the filth and offensive smell of which were extremely injurious to the patient; whose every entreaty to have them removed had been unsuccessful.

About the same time M. Hagen himself was attacked with a complaint of the lungs, which increasing rapidly upon him, he conceived would soon prove fatal: in this condition he wrote a long letter to Clement, in which, after acknowledging the wrongs he had done him, he protested that, on the brink of appearing before his God, his only anxiety was now to make him reparation; but that to this end he must have in his possession the treaty executed between him and the king, which he requested Clement to confide to his care, assuring him solemnly that the only use he would make of it should be to his advantage.

Clement had the weakness to comply, and he who had preserved this treaty, with all imaginable vigilance and care, now resigned it to his greatest enemy. No sooner was this important paper in the possession of M. Hagen than, as it is said, he sent a message to the king, importing that he rejoiced in having the consolation previous to his death of giving his majesty a new proof of his zeal, he having procured the deed of the agreement which had so unfortunately been confided to a man of dishonest principles, and but for his management would no doubt have been the cause of considerable injury to the state; that now this person might with safety be abandoned to the fate he so justly deserved. This action, worthy of all the torments of hell, and that may be considered as the supreme perfection of hypocrisy, terminated the career of M. Hagen. He died, if I am not mistaken, on the following day, and poor Clement a short time after.

Some time previous to this transaction, M. Hagen had an adventure which, to a sordid mind, was a merited source of unhappiness. Venesobre's heirs had been obliged to dispose of the palace their father had been compelled to build near one of the city gates, at the extremity of William Street, a palace of remarkable beauty, and of which I have before made mention. M. Schmitz,

proprietor of the manufactory, under the firm of *Zagerhaus*, had declared he would be the highest bidder: M. Hagen sent for M. Schmitz, and informed him he was himself inclined to be the purchaser; a hint that was sufficient to determine M. Schmitz to relinquish his intentions.

Accordingly, no one caring to venture on out-bidding M. Hagen, he bought the palace, with its gardens and appurtenances, for thirteen thousand five hundred crowns; but his success was not of long duration. The Princess Amelia, sister of Frederic, and Abbess of Quedlinburg, communicated to the proprietor a desire to have this palace; adding, she hoped he would not disappoint her inclination. In despite, therefore, of the pain it occasioned him, he was obliged to yield to the request of the princess, which at once deprived him of the benefit of the disgraceful means he had made use of in the acquisition.

Another event brought him consolation, on account of which it has been that I introduced the above copious article into the present work.

Count de Kameke solicited the king's permission to visit England, for the purpose of drinking the Bath waters; and the king, in bestowing it, expressed a wish to see him previous to his departure. In consequence, M. de Kameke went to Potzdam: on the day after his arrival, he was

invited to dine at the castle; and his majesty, knowing the failing of the count with respect to the bottle, entertained him with excellent rhenish wine, in drinking which he indulged freely. Soon after dinner the count, somewhat intoxicated, conceived the idea of revenging himself of M. Hagen, whom he considered in reality as the author of an unmerited affront offered to his son about a year before.

M. de Kameke, the son, was a counsellor in the department of domains and finances, of which the office of president had just been vacated: the cabinet proposed that M. de Kameke, the son, should be appointed to it, and the king gave him the place. He accordingly received visits of congratulation from the court and the town: three days after, he received an edict, importing that a mistake in the name had been the cause of his being nominated to the place of president, it being promised to some other counsellor.

M. de Kameke, the father, declared he had reason to be certain that M. Hagen was the sole incentive to the mortifying dilemma in which his son was thus placed, and which occasioned him to give in his resignation of his previous function, and in future to accept of no place whatever.

Such was the circumstance which secretly inspired the father, when, in the courtier-like language he addressed to the king, he found means to insinuate the well-founded uneasiness frequently experienced by his majesty's subjects, on seeing the equity of the sovereign so ill seconded by the persons whose office it was to execute his orders, but who, far from this, were unworthy to receive them, and even incapable of understanding them. "In whom is it," replied the king, "I have thus imprudently confided?".... "Sire, I could name several; but I will confine myself to one alone, the minister Hagen.".... "You misunderstand his character, depend upon it; he is a most vigilant, faithful, zealous, and active servant; I am well satisfied with his conduct.".... "This, Sire, is the circumstance so bitterly deplored by your truly faithful subjects. Your majesty bestows the most perfect esteem on a man whose real character is composed of hypocrisy, deceit, cruelty, and injustice; a man who, if we estimate him by his talents, should be fed with nothing better than hay."

This violent philippic made the king retire from table; which he did, observing, that he would take care to demonstrate the consideration in which he held this quadruped certain people wished to be fed with hay. Frédéric, on

entering his closet, set himself to consider in what manner he could punish the insolence of Count de Kameke, and realize the measure he had pronounced on leaving him. To accomplish the first of these objects, he the next morning sent a box wrapped round with several papers, and carefully sealed, to Count de Kameke, whose address was written on the outside. The messenger in presenting his parcel, which, from the form, he imagined to contain a large square box, and seemingly filled with something extremely heavy, said, "The king sends me, Sir, to wish you a pleasant journey, and to deliver to you this parcel on his behalf." The count, trusting to appearances, and willing to exercise his generosity, gave a dozen louis to the bearer, who took a hasty leave.

No sooner was the count alone than he tore off the covers one after another, and at length found a box made of the wood of fir; and on opening it, found it contained nothing but sand and a billet conceived in the following terms: "As you are a zealous citizen, and an adept in agriculture, I send you a specimen of the sand of this country, that you may compare it with the soil you are going to visit; persuaded the result of your investigation will prove extremely serviceable to Pussia. I wish you perfect health."

To understand all the sarcasm of this billet, the reader should be informed that the count had spent considerable sums in endeavours to introduce the Swiss and English methods of cultivation into the country, which had failed of success.

As to the second point the king had proposed to himself, which was to prove his esteem for M. Hagen, he resolved on bestowing on him the insignia of his different orders; a resolution he lost no time in executing, to the great astonishment of every one, and especially to the persons who knew nothing of the anecdote I have related.

It was after the seven years' war that Frederic most assiduously devoted himself to the internal government of his states; he gave himself wholly up to this pursuit; and the better to succeed in repairing the evils this war had occasioned, and alleviating the distresses of his people, his views, so to express myself, comprehended at the same moment a thousand different directions, and he was indefatigable in the discovery of the means best calculated to promote his wishes. It would be difficult to take a survey of the objects he accomplished; objects in their nature calculated to employ the exertions of a century, but which by Frederic were effected in a small number of years. It is the province of history to describe that he seemed to create at once money, men,

and things. Agreeably to the plan I have prescribed myself, I shall relate only such anecdotes as the historian may be unacquainted with, or neglect to mention.

D'Alembert paid a visit of some months to Frederic, and was received by him with every demonstration of the warmest and sincerest friendship. The most remarkable circumstance of his journey was, that the French geometrician who, considering the difference of his doctrine with that of Euler on certain points of geometry, might naturally be expected to prejudice the king against the latter, on the contrary zealously endeavoured to revive the Prussian monarch's esteem of this illustrious rival. I have myself been witness to the lively gratitude with which the whole family of Euler were penetrated on account of so noble a proceeding; a proceeding the more pleasing from having produced the desired effect, and having been wholly unexpected.

An occurrence not known at the time, and subsequently known only in part, was, that Frederic and d'Alembert discussed together an infinite number of questions relative to the government, and in particular those in regard to which the king hoped to derive assistance from the lights and understanding of the French philosopher. It was, conformably to the conclusions that re-

sulted from these secret consultations, that the king formed in the course of the following year many of the establishments we shall treat of in a future portion of this work, and notably his civil and military school.

Baron de Kniphausen, the Prussian ambassador to the court of London, received dispatches from his sovereign which contained the following words: "You are in a country that gives birth to and is the resort of many human beings, in whose breasts nature and the love of liberty inspire notions that are unknown to the rest of the species. Among the persons of this original cast of character some possess a genius that might be rendered useful if its possessor knew how to employ it; among them are found men fertile in the invention of systems, new combinations, unexpected yet practicable plans. I should be glad to have a man of this description in my court, that is, a man able to create all manner of projects, whether financial or others, and who should be equally skilful in examining, discussing, and calculating those respecting which I should have to consult him. Try if you can find me such a man; and, in case of your success, let me know on what terms he would consent to engage himself in my service."

The baron answered, that he believed he had

found in London such a man as his majesty was desirous of engaging; a native of Italy, whose name was *Calsabigi*, the author, or rather the reformer, of the scheme for the lottery at Genoa, and singularly well qualified for the most complex calculations, and extremely fertile in every kind of combination: that it was probable this *Calsabigi* would not estimate his services at too high a price, since his prospects in England were by no means flattering, and his manner of living indicated his being in the poorest circumstances; that it was at the same time of importance to inform his majesty that the integrity of this Italian was at least suspicious, if he were not in reality a consummate knave.

The king's answer brought directions to his ambassador to treat with him instantly; to offer him a salary of fifteen thousand livres, and, if he accepted the terms, to send him immediately to Prussia. He added: "As to his integrity, I care but little about it; as I have received due warning on this head I shall be on my guard; I will put no temptation in his way, and shall keep a vigilant watch over his conduct; I give him leave to cheat me if he can." *Calsabigi* came to Berlin, where he kept a mistress and a carriage. The king did not suffer him to be idle, but no further intercourse than that of a regular corre-

spondence took place between them. Calsabigi considered M. de Kniphausen his benefactor, and took every means of ingratiating himself in his favour, till, by means of the carelessness of some of the clerks and his own dishonourable prying into private dispatches, he became acquainted with the terms in which Kniphausen had described his character and talents to the king.

Calsabigi it was who executed all the labour of a scheme for the establishment of a lottery; Frederick approved of it, and appointed as directors of the whole the heads of two illustrious families of Prussia, whose fortunes had been reduced, as I have already informed the reader.

Calsabigi was the author of a second project, which was also accepted by Frederic; that of a new system and administration respecting the article of snuff, which administration was successively confided to some natives of France and of Germany, but which, on the succession of Frederic-William to the throne, was immediately abolished.

A company patronized by M. de Horst, the minister, and by Count de Lottun, obtained a contract for furnishing all the wood used for fuel in the towns of Berlin and Potsdam, for which they paid the king the yearly sum of forty thousand crowns. This company, which I believe at

present exists, was more than any other offensive to the inhabitants, as in a short time the price of wood for fuel was double. It was said of M. de Horst, who drew a crowd of indigent persons round his door, that he ostentatiously distributed among them one sous of the livre of which he defrauded the public.

I shall say nothing of the canals constructed by the king's orders, the colonies he established, the sums he distributed, the scheme for agriculture he set on foot, the measures he took for promoting the activity and welfare of his schools, for augmenting the revenues of his academy, and for the establishment of the civil and military school, the plan of which had been for so many years the object of his meditation. I shall resume the two last of these articles in another part of this work, and treat in this place of two branches of administration in which the king purposed to introduce considerable reform, the posting and the excise. I shall discuss the second of these the more at large, as certain writers, or, more properly speaking, rhapsodists, and even a pretended historian, have made it a subject for calumny and the most absurd remark.

I never knew who the person was who mentioned M. Bernard, a native of France, to the king as a man well qualified to regulate, to the

greatest advantage, the article of posting; but M. Bernard arrived at Berlin in 1766, and was appointed postmaster-general, with a handsome salary. In reality, he immediately introduced some useful alterations into this department, which have ever since maintained their ground: he even formed a plan for the further extending his operations, and would no doubt have carried it into effect, if the persons he made choice of to assist him in his labours had not turned his attention from its proper object, to be occupied in contriving means to rival M. de Launay, and to involve himself in a train of expensive and inconsiderate dissipation, which at length occasioned his ruin.

M. de Derschaw, minister of the posting department, artfully took advantage of his failing, ruined him in the king's esteem, and founded his own credit no less on the improvements than on the imprudence of M. Bernard. The latter retired under the most unfortunate circumstances; the persons who seduced him were involved in his disgrace; and Frederic, in abandoning him to oblivion, did not however fail to observe that the posting of Prussia was better regulated than it had hitherto been.

I pass rapidly over the foregoing scenes, which are as little honourable to one of the parties as

unfortunate for the other, and proceed to treat of the new administration of the excise.

In 1765 the king expressed to M. d'Alembert a strong desire to see M. Helvetius, observing that an acquaintance with him would be no less useful than agreeable. In consequence of this invitation it was that the philosopher, late a farmer-general in France, came to Berlin about three months after my own arrival in that place. He first paid a visit of several days to Frederic at Potzdam, and then came back to Berlin. I was many times in company with him under the roof of Prince Frederic-Augustus of Brunswick, and in other houses, and he was also in the habit of resting at mine when he found himself fatigued with the visits of the morning. I shall mention three particular facts concerning him; the first, that he was forcibly struck with the extraordinary genius of M. Lambert, member of our academy; he was the daily theme of his conversation, of which he was never tired. "You have in M. Lambert, Sir," said he, "a whole academy. Of no one can it with equal justice be said he is *by constitution a philosopher*; a brain so astonishingly, so admirably organized I never before have met with." I do not exaggerate in saying he visited him every day, and was never satiated with his conversation.

The second fact is, that one evening conversing with us about the king, he assured us he had one day said to him, on the subject of some financial project, or what is called *affairs*, "It is not necessary, Sire, to read these projects to estimate and understand them; their true spirit, in plain language, is as follows: *I entreat your majesty to authorize me to defraud your subjects of such a sum, on condition that I give your majesty a part of the benefit.*" This fact proves that Frederic was not only anxious to converse with him as a philosopher, but to consult him as a financier.

The third fact I have to relate will astonish some of my readers, many in particular who were acquainted with M. Helvetius. No one is ignorant that, independently of the striking and valuable qualifications of his understanding, he was infinitely estimable for the more uncommon moral principles of his heart: simplicity, firmness, perseverance, were the ordinary features of the character of this extraordinary man, while the most perfect urbanity and moderation, the most rigid equity, joined to benevolence the most noble, delicate, natural, and unceasing, uniformly marked his conduct. What I am next going to relate is a blemish on the faithful portrait I have drawn: yet I will proceed, because the circumstance is true; because it is of importance to shew that all

Prussia knew perfectly that the persons employed in the customs and in the excise defrauded him to as great an extent as they were able; that for a single crown they would suffer either prohibited goods, or such as were subject to a considerable duty, to pass with impunity, and that the injury he sustained in consequence was beyond the reach of calculation. I may affirm that, to my knowledge, there was not perhaps a commercial house in Berlin that did not have recourse to this expedient, and it cannot be doubted that what was done at Berlin was done also in other places.

This was the kind of disorder to which the king was desirous of applying a remedy. He did not imagine that his subjects were naturally more addicted to peculation than those of other sovereigns, though, for certain ends, he sometimes feigned such a belief, but he supposed the financiers of France must necessarily have discovered the proper means for curbing this species of depredation, and he wished to avail himself of their experience by making trial of the same expedients. His aim was not to increase the taxes, but rigorously to enforce them as they existed, hoping the result would be a considerable augmentation of his revenues. With these views it was that M. Helvetius was commissioned to send him a colony

of financiers, amounting in all to near five thousand, who were to be chosen from different ranks of society.

It appears, then, that the object of Frederic was to augment his revenues, without augmenting the taxes; and in this he succeeded. He imposed no new duties; but the agents and inspectors were in the sequel so vigilantly watched, that they could not, without the risk of ruin to themselves, connive at the frauds that before had been so prevalent: the receipts of the royal treasuries were consequently increased, while the public, and especially the mercantile part of it, were loud in their complaints; and these complaints the more excited general sympathy, because the bestowing places on foreigners, to which that public seemed to have a just and natural right, could not but be considered as a common injury. Under such circumstances, should one of these strangers be guilty of a fault, it is easily conceived how much, in passing from the lips of one to those of another, that fault became exaggerated, or even imputed to the whole mass of those foreigners. What was no more than a misfortune was deemed a crime, an enormity that extended to the community at large; thus calumny is received as indisputable truth, and strengthens the very hatred which gave it birth.

Men of the soundest judgment and the most perfect rectitude fall into general errors. I remember the excellent and worthy M. de Troussel one day said to me on this subject, "I agree with you that M. de la Haye de Launay is an excellent financier, and a man of worth, yet you cannot disallow that it is a hard case for us Prussians to see a foreigner appointed over us, and receive a salary of sixty thousand livres, while our military officers, who have braved the greatest dangers and supported the fatigues of so many wars, are certain of never obtaining the moiety of such a salary." . . . "Sir," replied I, "every one receives in payment a portion of the benefit he procures the state: the financier fills the public coffers, it is therefore with money he is recompensed; the military preserve their country and contribute to its glory, accordingly with honours, decorations, titles, are the military recompensed. If they receive in any measure pecuniary emolument, it is as a salary and not as a recompence; and the spirit in which it is bestowed is to indemnify them from the unavoidable disbursements of their profession; it is in fact no more than a restitution: and would you have it otherwise? If you were offered the value of the sacrifices you have made, in gold, at what price would you estimate your blood? And where is the military officer of

a truly noble mind who would not consider such a proposition as an insult?"

My argument might have its weight with the persons to whom I addressed it ; but how could it affect the public, who had no intercourse with me on the subject? Time only, and integrity of conduct in the agents of administration, and particularly in its heads, could reconcile the public mind. In this endeavour, as far as it could depend on an individual, M. de Launay succeeded. In his exertions he was laborious and indefatigable; he seldom slept more than two or three hours in the night, and in later times, I might say, scarcely at all.

On opening the office in the morning, he was found to have already performed the labour of many hours, and he in no way relaxed his exertions during the whole morning, notwithstanding the perpetual interruptions of the different persons to whom his cabinet was necessarily accessible till dinner-time. I never saw any man in whom the same ardent perseverance and perfect facility were so remarkably united. Frederic did him no more than justice when he said of him, "The king of France and I have made a sort of exchange. He has placed a Prussian * at the head

* The grandfather of M. Neckar was a native of Stettin in Prussia, in which place some branches of his family, bearing the same name, are still to be found.

of his finances, while I place a Frenchman at the head of mine ; and further, we are both satisfied with the choice we have made."

M. de Launay was a man of a warm temper, but at the same time had the kindest heart: he pardoned readily, and nourished no resentment against any one; he was accessible and simple, compassionate and generous, and active in his friendships. He never lost an occasion of doing good: his house was a resort of the most pleasing kind; and what particularly rendered it so was the serene cheerfulness and ingenuousness of his manners. The persons to whose assistance he contributed, either by gifts or loans, and from whom he never demanded a return, might be reckoned by the thousand; thus it was impossible he should not have gained the good will and affections of at least the sincere and upright. For a long time previous to my leaving Prussia no complaint was made by the natives against the French intruders that did not except M. de Launay; and when he himself quitted the country, I knew, from undoubted authority, that he left behind him many friends and the sincerest regrets. I will affirm still further, that the investigation to which his administration was subjected, on the accession of Frederic-William, an investigation that was executed under severe forms and with great rigour, and which reflected

so much honour on M. de Launay, were regarded by the public at Berlin with a mixture of concern and horror.

Shall I in this place animadvert on the deprivations in such cases customarily and blindly ascribed to persons who have filled such an office, without even the shadow of a proof? Two words are sufficient to render the integrity of this minister intelligible to the meanest capacity. M. de Launay indulged in no expences but such as decorum rendered absolutely necessary, for he was the decided enemy of all kinds of parade; and, after filling the office of chief of the administration of finances to the King of Prussia for twenty years, he returned to France with a fortune that produced him no more than an income of six hundred and twenty-five pounds (sixteen thousand livres). I knew him, at the age of seventy, with no other source of subsistence than the produce of the remnants of his personal estate. It is true, Frederic had given him a legal promise of a handsome provision in case of his retiring: but who is ignorant that such promises are rejected by the successors of the kings who made them?

One of the things with which this administration has been the most bitterly reproached was, the subjecting the article of coffee to the king's

distribution. The most ignorant classes of the people discovered in this proceeding only the avarice of the administrators and their subalterns: we must take for granted, that the ignorance here implied either sees amiss or does not see at all; in the last of these cases suspicion obtrudes itself, and manufactures fables that are afterward substituted in the place of truth.

Frederic every year calculated regularly the sums of money brought into his states, and those carried out of them, and perceived with uneasiness that the balance of this comparison was less favourable to him than might be expected. He had done so much for the multiplying and encouraging his manufactures and other channels of industry, that it appeared to him useless to think of applying to this evil the remedy of an increased exportation; and consequently his only resource was to diminish the importation. To this expedient he had already prepared the way, by contriving substitutes for the stuffs manufactured at Lyons, and many other considerable objects; but this was not enough for a king who declared, "I must import yearly such a sum of money as will enable me to sustain my commerce on its present footing, and to increase my treasure so many millions every year." In this manner did he incessantly extend his views to

all the objects that were comprehended in the class of indispensable commodities, which the sandy soil of Prussia was incapable of producing. He passed in review the different articles of foreign fruits, oils, wines, and sugars, all of the first importance, but respecting which he perceived no possibility of introducing new reforms, or imposing new duties.

The regulations he had formed in regard to the article of coffee were already the subject of peculiar odium. To judge completely of Frederic's sentiments concerning this article, we should observe that in Prussia the people, even to the very peasantry, live almost wholly on coffee. The latter make a large bowl of coffee at a time, in which they mix milk and a small quantity of moist sugar: the whole family assemble round the bowl, and, with the addition of a dried herring, the coffee which seems to represent a soup serves them for a dinner; even the farmers, in harvest-time, give no other food to the labourers they hire by the day till the harvest is over. This fact is sufficient to give an idea of the immense quantity of coffee consumed yearly in the states of the King of Prussia. I once knew, but I have now forgotten, how many millions were expended yearly in this article; and this it was that so signally displeased the king. "The wretches!" said he not unfre-

quently, "are they, forsooth, more delicate and better born than I? Well, I was fed in my youth with nothing better than a soup of beer, and surely no one will say I am the worse for it; it is a beverage that suits the climate, and their forefathers were unacquainted with any other. They run the risk of injuring their health by the use of coffee, and to leave behind them a degenerate race; besides, that a taste so unnatural is calculated to impoverish and ruin the country."

I leave it to true politicians to determine how far Frederic was right or wrong; my object is to acquaint the reader that, agreeably to these considerations, he was perpetually seeking the most effectual means for reducing the consumption of this article in his dominions, and that no other medium having presented itself, he said, "Well, we must raise the price of coffee to such a height, that by degrees the people will accustom themselves to do without it." Accordingly he ordered his administrator-general to draw out a plan to this effect. Such was the origin of the regulation respecting coffee, which consisted in reserving the monopoly of that article to the king, and in vending it ready ground in tin boxes containing a pound each, a third or quarter part dearer than its usual price.

The regulations respecting burnt coffee and

snuff were the first Frederic-William thought of suppressing. I do not pretend to say he was wrong; I leave it to those who thoroughly understand the state of the finances of Prussia to decide upon this question; but, before I abandon the subject, I will relate another fact that is deserving of our notice.

After some years' experiment of the new administration, M. de Launay represented to the king that his visiting clerks could not possibly subsist upon the slender salaries allowed them, and that it was incumbent on his justice to increase them; he added, that he would take upon him to answer that, in consequence, they would perform their respective duties with such superior zeal that the receipts at the end of the year would be found considerably increased. "You do not understand the character of my subjects," answered Frederic; "they are all knaves in matters that relate to my interest: I have studied them thoroughly, and I pronounce they would cheat me at the very altar. In paying them larger salaries I should diminish my revenues, but they would continue to cheat me as before." . . . "Sire," replied M. de Launay, "how can they do otherwise than cheat you? What you pay them will barely provide them with shoes and stockings! A pair of boots, for example, would

cost the receipt of a whole month ; in addition, the greater part of them are married men, and how are they to procure the necessaries of life for themselves and their children but by sharing the profits of the persons whose interest it is to corrupt them? There is, Sire, a maxim of infinite importance which we are too apt to lose sight of, especially in what regards the administration of the laws; it is that, generally speaking, mankind desires no better than to be honest, but they must be allowed the possibility of being so. Should your majesty consent to make this single experiment of my assertion, I pledge myself the receipts shall be increased one quarter by the conclusion of the year."

The maxim of morality brought forward by M. de Launay arrested the attention of the king; he considered it what it really was, just and noble in itself, and still more so from the lips of a financier, since men of his robe have not in general been accused of nurturing such sentiments. He authorized him to make the experiment: the salaries of the clerks were raised to half as much more than they had hitherto been, and the revenues of the sovereign, as had been predicted, increased more than a third, without the expedient of new taxes. Thus it is that men of intelligence, if they really desire to benefit mankind,

and are sincerely devoted to the ends of justice, succeed at length in effecting the prosperity of nations, by seeking merely to improve the condition of private individuals.

I shall here insert another financial operation, which, in the delineation, calls for more than ordinary delicacy, because, however justified by the principles of a deep policy, those of reason, truth, and justice, can rarely excuse or approve it: I allude to the adulteration of the coin.

Frederic, during the seven years' war, perceiving the rapid diminution of his treasury, to say nothing of the scantiness of his resources in other respects, contemplated with alarm the narrow means he was possessed of for supplying the growing deficiency. An impoverished and ruined nation, whose provinces were in possession of the enemy, could furnish him neither with loans nor subsidies, nor could it even pay him the ordinary taxes. In this cruel situation, he could not well avoid foreseeing the epoch that would find him destitute of money: his armies too were composed almost entirely of deserters, who entered his service because he was known to pay with greater regularity than other princes, since he never allowed the delay of even an hour.

It was therefore evident that, if money failed him, he should have no longer either soldiers,

kingdom, or posterity*. It was at this period that he received four millions of crowns as a subsidy from England, and found in Ephraim, his Israelite, a man who had the skill to turn them into ten millions. This operation gave birth to the coin called eight groschen pieces, worth about the third part of a crown, and which, in consequence of the alloy which, according to Ephraim's plan, was mixed with them, had of pure silver no more than the third of their proper value. On this account it was, as well as because these pieces were struck in Saxony, that they were called *Saxon Thirds* (*Tiers de Saxe*). Certainly, if an operation of such a kind can at any

* He had already melted down the Silver Saloon; his only remaining source was the gold plate. The Silver Saloon, in the castle at Berlin, is a spacious apartment, in which the tables, the chandeliers, the sconces, the stands, and even the balustrades of the music gallery, were of massive silver, but are now of wood washed with silver. The gold plate is a complete service of gold for the table, consisting of eighty covers, all of massive gold; the plates, dishes, tureens, and other vessels for containing the confectionary articles, together with the hand-waiters, were of the same metal. These are the vestiges of the pompous magnificence of Frederic the First, a magnificence unrivalled in Europe. For the rest, when this service is brought into use, the attendants must of necessity be men of no less strength than address; indeed, to lift the heaviest articles, the strength of two men is barely sufficient for the purpose.

time be considered as admissible, it was so on this occasion, for it was become of absolute necessity, and was the means of saving a nation from ruin, the soldiery having been subjected to no loss by the expedient, and so great was the secrecy employed to conceal this political imposture, that not even the commodities for food experienced the smallest rise. In the sequel, the peace being concluded, Frederic took care to change this defective coin for another that was of the true value; and further, issued a solemn edict, importing that he would indemnify such persons as might have sustained even the heaviest losses by its means. In effect, a great number of his subjects who proved their claims received from him due remuneration.

Another change in the coin of Prussia took place in a time of peace, long after the seven years' war; and this change was generally considered to have been ordained by Frederic, and undertaken for his advantage. I shall be particularly careful to affirm nothing on this subject for the truth of which I cannot vouch. All I would do is to relate the facts that really took place, and were publicly known at the time, without drawing aside the veil that concealed the first incentives to this proceeding.

In this affair, a first agent makes his appear-

ance, with whom it is of importance for us to become acquainted. This first agent is M. Galser, the son of a pastor who resided in the further extremity of the marches of Brandenburg, where, having concluded the course of his studies, he came to Berlin in search of some employment; and, in consequence, the father of M. du Troussel, who had been one of the superintendents of the French colony, had provided him with the situation of secretary to the elder M. de Vernesobre, who being extremely satisfied with his conduct and abilities, from motives of friendship, ceded him to General de Winterfeld, first aid-de-camp to his majesty. During the seven years' war, the senior cabinet secretary, who was employed on all occasions in the service of Frederic, had such frequent attacks of indisposition, that Galser was often obliged to execute his office, till at length he was formally appointed to his place. These circumstances explain the cause of M. Galser's attachment not only to M. du Troussel, but to Madame du Troussel, the near relation of M. de Winterfeld, to whom he owed his good fortune in a still stronger degree. M. Galser seldom came to Berlin without visiting either this gentleman or the lady, but he used so much circumspection in his visits that they were never even suspected. I have myself seen the

lady get into her carriage, at eleven o'clock at night; to be conducted to the corner of an obscure street, where she waited till M. Galser should pass in his way home; and as he had notice of her being there, and knew the carriage, he stepped into it, and procured himself an occasion of consulting with Madame du Troussel respecting her interests, or those of her friends. I have even supped at her house when M. Galser was present; but this was a particular exception made in my favour. It being a late hour when I knocked at that lady's door, and Galser already there, he was asked if he had any objection to my being admitted. "None, certainly," replied he, "if you think you can answer for his discretion. As I know the king esteems him, and his conduct is deserving of this distinction, your acquaintance with him gives me pleasure, and I should even like to be introduced to him myself."

I was accordingly detained to supper, and about midnight was set down by M. Galser at my own door. To him, no doubt, it was owing that I never experienced the smallest delay in my occasional correspondence with the king, and perhaps also that the answers I received were couched in the most obliging terms. To Madame du Troussel, as may be easily imagined,

he administered services of a different description: I will mention only one of them. She had advanced about twenty thousand crowns to a manufacturer of the name of Languen, for whom an immense house had been built at Berlin at the expence of the king. M. Languen having become a bankrupt, M. Galser took such effectual measures in her favour, that the king agreed to give her the sole property of this house, subject only to a clause that obliged her to give up a part of the offices situate at the extremity of a large court-yard, for receiving some looms, for which she was to receive a handsome allowance as rent: even this clause was soon after cancelled, under the pretext alleged by the king, that it suited neither the sex nor the condition of the possessor; these were the words of the king on the occasion.

This was the M. Galser who, about the time of the first partition of Poland, secretly manufactured to the amount, if I am not mistaken, of fifteen millions of ducats, of which a third part consisted of alloy: these ducats were confided to one of Ephraim's sons, the inventor of the Saxon Thirds, he who was called the Dutchman because he had lived in Holland, which country, it is said, he left most seasonably, on the event taking place of an old vessel belonging to him,

loaded with stones but insured to a great amount, having been lost on the coast of Norway.

M. Ephraim, with his pockets filled with ducats, got made a coat trimmed with lace, had his hair fashioned after a modish style, with a brilliant sword by his side, and, assuming the pompous title of *Counsellor de Simonis*, set off for Poland, where he purchased and paid with ready money all the grain, jewellery, statues, crosses of gold and of silver, that fell in his way, and sent them immediately out of the country. In the course of a few months, his millions of ducats were by this means distributed all over Poland; the Poles, however, did not long remain ignorant that they had been defrauded of about a third part of the value of the monies they had received. Upon this, from what instinct I know not, all the parties concerned had recourse to the expedient of imitating the trick which had been played upon them; accordingly they, in their turn, made purchases of the Russians, who were paid with these very ducats. Unfortunately, however, the Russians either themselves discovered or were informed of the imposture: the outcry was violent and general; it reached the ear of Catherine the Second, who, on taking the necessary measures, traced the imposition to Counsellor de Simonis, and soon after to the original

mover of the scheme. She published to her subjects, that the late ducats they had taken in payment should be received into the imperial treasury, and changed for pure money: after which she wrote to Frederic, giving an account of the whole transaction; of the lights she had acquired; and requiring, if he would not incur the most disastrous consequences, that his Prussian majesty should take back all the ducats in question, and exchange them for money that could be accepted in the commercial world.

I ought not to conceal from my readers that the facts above related, and those that are to follow, have been affirmed to me only by the friends of M. Galser, in particular by M. and Madame du Troussel. Agreeably to their evidence it is, then, that I further relate that Frederic, having received the dispatches of Catherine the Second, sent for Galser, and said to him, "You have made a sad affair of this fabrication of the ducats; see what the Empress of Russia says on the subject. You may suppose I will not engage in a war for such an object as this, therefore I must take back the ducats. But I must also declare to the empress that I knew nothing of this affair; and the only effectual means of convincing her of the truth of this assertion is, to declare that you, without my knowledge, were

the author of the whole transaction, and that in consequence I had had you taken into custody and sent to Spandaw."

It is affirmed that Galser refused to take the disgrace of this imposture upon himself, and that the king in consequence fell into a violent passion, kicked him with his boots on the shins, and then sent him to the fortress. A remarkable circumstance is, that Frederic gave the most particular orders that every thing in Galser's house should be carefully attended to, and, above all, his horses, among which were a set, consisting of six, that were esteemed the finest in the kingdom, to which none of the king's horses were comparable. In about eighteen months Galser was released from his confinement; his property was restored; and a residence appointed him in a village situated a short distance from Mecklenburg, perhaps that in which he was born, but at least that in which his brother performed the functions of a pastor: this too was considered as a sort of contrivance on the part of Frederic, who was not ignorant that the secular brother in his prosperity not having countenanced the pastor as the latter desired, a decided estrangement had taken place between them. On this occasion, therefore, Frederic appeared to grant a favour and evince a kind of respect for moral sentiment,

in punishing the two brothers by means of their mutual alienation.

It appears that after the death of Frederic, M. Galser enjoyed a greater degree of liberty, and it is said he was even employed: what I know of myself is, that an old footman, who had been in the service of that sovereign, met him at the Palais Royal at Paris, about the year 1792; that this footman recognised and spoke to him; but all he learned was that, having nothing else to do, he had come for his amusement to France,

MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

BEFORE treating of the military anecdotes in which Frederic is personally concerned, it is necessary to make the reader acquainted with the organization of the Prussian army.

In general, all that relates to this branch of the administration is in the hands of the monarch solely; the minister of the war department being at Berlin no more than a sort of superintendent, charged with the details concerning clothing, subsistence, magazines, the children of the soldiers, and other objects of a similar nature: for this reason it is that this minister forms a part of the grand directory, with which, however, the army has no manner of relation, nor on which no soldier has the least dependence.

This minister has no power of nominating to any rank, nor exercising any authority over persons; and one may associate for a long time with military men without hearing even his name mentioned.

There are in Prussia two modes of inlisting

soldiers. The first is, that every regiment has a certain district assigned it, out of which are taken as many men as may be required: for this purpose the majors go over the district once in every year, in the month of February. On arriving in each village they call an assembly of the heads, who furnish them with the registers of all the marriages, births, and funerals; the majors take down the names of such persons upon the registers as are of an age to serve as soldiers, whom they proceed to examine, rejecting those deficient of the necessary qualifications, and choosing those among the former who are of the least use to agriculture and their families. This choice renders him on whom it falls a soldier for the rest of his life; and the form of his engagement consists of the following words: "You will set out to-morrow for the regiment."

It was the savage William who established or enforced the law, making soldiers for their lives of all the lower orders of the Prussians, with a few exceptions. When this manner of inlisting was first practised, the distress and consternation it occasioned was general. Nothing was talked of but leaving the country; and a great number of families, especially of those who lived in Prussia and on the frontiers, actually put their menace into execution. Nothing was more com-

mon than to see men cut off one or more of the fingers of their right hand, to be freed at once from the power of the recruiting officer. What most excited their apprehension was the sentence of serving for life: but by degrees this was succeeded by resignation; the hardship is even at the present time complained of, but drives no man to desperation.

The second mode of raising recruits has for object to supply the place of the first; it is employed by recruiting parties, that is, by a certain number of Prussian officers, who are sent into the imperial towns and to the frontiers of the empire, of Holland and France, and into Switzerland, that is to Neufchatel. The men procured by these recruiting parties are dispersed throughout all the companies of the regiments to which they are sent, and of which the number is not allowed to exceed the third part of that of the soldiers of the same corps.

These strangers are for the most part deserters from different countries, and especially from France. There were no fewer than six hundred of them in the single regiment of Bulow, at Berlin, when the garrison was turned out for the war for the succession of Bavaria. All of them set out with great joy, under the idea of finding an opportunity of again deserting. One of them

was scraping, I know not what air, on a wretched violin, and accompanying it with singing some words, the burden of which was, *We are going to France (Nous allons en France)*; and his companions partaking of his gaiety, danced rather than marched as they proceeded.

When the regiment returned, two years after, the six hundred French were reduced to six men: ninety-nine out of every hundred of them had either deserted or were dead, and these for the most part were men of bad character and desperate undertaking. Those to whom I observed that, to avoid a few hours imprisonment, they had come to a country where soldiers were thoroughly mauled with beating, replied, "Oh, in this country that kind of punishment is no disgrace.".... "You do wrong to complain of our severity," said some Prussian officers to me; "if we were less rigorous, your throat would be cut under your own roof. The third part of our armies is composed of villains who can be restrained only by manual punishment: we should not stand in need of so much severity for the Prussians alone, for they are in general good fellows enough; but the others indispensably require either violent measures to be used with them, or to be sent away."

Unfortunately the officers were not mistaken;

but the spectacle of perpetually seeing manual punishment inflicted on the soldiery at every fifty steps, particularly in the season for their being exercised, was not on that account the less disgusting. One evening Prince Frederic of Brunswick observed to me, at supper, that he had seen me in the morning in the park, where he was exercising his regiment. "You did not see me there long," I replied: "I cast my eyes on a young stripling about fifteen years of age, and witnessed his taking out of the ranks a soldier at least fifty, to whom he gave repeated blows with his cane on his arms and thighs, for some trifling fault he had been guilty of in the handling of his arms, while the only reply of the unfortunate sufferer was silent and indignant tears. The sight of this spectacle, my Prince, soon drove me away." . . . "Oh, my good friend, all this is quite necessary." . . . "To this point I cannot speak, but certainly it is not necessary that I should be the witness."

I own I never could endure the idea of inflictions like these, which every day made me say to myself, "Is it then necessary to do so much evil to men to do them good at last? It is then an advantage to society at large that its members should be tormented!"

The dreadful severity I now speak of, at the

time of my living at Berlin, rendered a great number of soldiers absolutely desperate. A fatal and horrible maxim was established among them; they said to each other, that the best thing they could do was to die, but to prevent their afterward going to hell for committing suicide, they would murder some child, who by that means they sent to Paradise, whither they should then go of necessity themselves, for the purpose of confessing the murder and surrendering their persons, and thus procure themselves the opportunity of asking pardon of God previous to being condemned to punishment.

I knew of a great number of the soldiery who had adopted this monstrous doctrine. Frederic conceived against it the most just abhorrence and alarm; and, to counteract it, gave strict orders that no priest or pastor should be allowed to approach a homicide of this description, whose crime, he observed, was more in the spirit of the devil than of religion. This remedy at first produced but little effect: it was not, however, quite useless; the soldiers could not think, without utter repugnance, of dying without spiritual assistance, and feared this privation would more infallibly than any other means bring upon them the pains of damnation.

I am informed the Prussian discipline is

changed in this respect for one of greater mildness. The blessings, therefore, of mankind must necessarily fall on the sovereign who confers on humanity such an obligation. Prince Henry, in my own time, had had proofs that it was possible to exercise a regiment extremely well without having recourse to so inhuman an expedient. "If a soldier makes a bad movement," said this prince to his officers, "it is because you have not exercised him sufficiently: make him repeat his exercise for an hour or two in the evening, and this will be punishment enough. To strike him is to punish him for your own idleness."

In other respects also, a too great severity may occasion serious inconvenience, from which it is natural to shrink with horror: of this I will mention some examples. The regiment of the guards, before the seven years' war, was commanded by a man of so severe a temper that the soldiers swore among themselves to aim their first cartridges at him whenever they should be called out to face the enemy. War was soon after declared; the general having learned the resolution of the soldiers, was under considerable apprehension: on the first occasion of his marching he halted so unseasonably that M. de Mullen-dorff, who was then a captain in this corps, ventured to animadvert on his proceeding, but with-

out producing the desired effect. Shortly after, M. de Mullendorff perceiving the Prince d'Anhalt at some distance, hastened toward him, and conjured him to save the honour of the regiment by giving such orders as would produce a prompt obedience. The prince accordingly gave orders for attacking the enemy without delay, and on the first discharge of musketry the general fell to the ground pierced with fifty bullets.

A short time after this war, a private in a regiment in garrison at Neiss, in Silesia, excited considerable attention: he was a native of France, extremely handsome in person, and appeared to have received an excellent education, while he at the same time refused to satisfy the curiosity and interest his appearance had excited. His persisting to give no particular account of himself offended his officers; he was treated with severity, and resolved to revenge himself. He had with him a young woman remarkable for her beauty, and of no less resolution and discretion than himself. She, together with some other women belonging to the soldiers, engaged in a traffic of contraband goods; and every time she went into Bohemia on this account, she brought back a small supply of bullets and gunpowder, which she concealed with the utmost care. In the mean while her husband gained some other

soldiers to his interests ; but this with so much caution that each soldier believed himself the only person confided in : at length he had sufficient accomplices to strike the terrible blow he had premeditated. He fixed the day and hour for attacking and disarming all the sentries on the different sides of the town at the same moment. He chose for himself the *corps de garde* at the gate leading to Bohemia ; his accomplices loitered unarmed near the guard, while he himself was whetting a wood-cutter's axe upon a stone that happened to be near the sentinel. At the first stroke of the hour of twelve he sprung upon the sentinel, claved down his head, and seized his arms : at the same instant thirty accomplices precipitated themselves among the guards, seized all the muskets that fell in their way, loaded them, and marched straight to the gate.

A sentinel under the archway made an attempt to let down the portcullis ; the chief of the rebels ran up to him, and at a single stroke of his axe cut off his hand at the wrist. The guards without the gate then endeavoured to impede their flight ; but the former fired upon them and killed seven or eight, while the rest ran to hide themselves. Our unknown soldier had with him thirty men, and these he marched with the utmost speed toward the frontier, a long league dis-

tant from the town. What saved the garrison was, that the clocks varied in point of time : that by which our hero conducted his measures proved to be a quarter of an hour before the others, which gave time for beating the general and putting the regiments under arms. In consequence, the soldiers who were to attack the other corps of sentries were obliged to enter the ranks, and were thus prevented from executing their project ; a circumstance that at the same time secured them from detection and even from suspicion.

Some troops of cavalry were hastily dispatched after the thirty fugitives ; but the latter opposed them with so much bravery and skill, that they killed the greatest part of them and put the rest to flight : the escape, however, of the thirty was retarded by this encounter, and gave time for a battalion to overtake them when they were within a quarter of a league of the frontier, where the Austrians, soldiers and others, were waiting for them. The female smugglers were hastening with a new supply of powder and bullets, when the battalion surrounded the fugitives, all of whom, like the soldiers of Catiline, fought desperately till they were either killed or wounded : they would even have made a longer resistance, and slaughtered a greater number of their enemies, but that they had exhausted their stock of cartridges.

A singular circumstance was, that their leader was the last man who was taken, and that not till his thigh had been broken in the contest : he had still a load of powder left, but no bullets, the want of which he supplied by one of his coat-buttons ; and thus, sitting on the ground, he killed the officer who first attempted to seize his person. He was brought back to Neiss, together with a small number of the remaining survivors, who, like himself, were wounded : they were immediately conducted to a council of war.

Their leader was first asked what was his true name, his family, and country. "All this does not concern you," replied he ; "do not waste your time in putting to me interrogations I shall never answer. The question at present is to send me to the scaffold ; of what importance, therefore, can it be to know who I am ?" "How many accomplices have you, and who are they ?" "On this point it is also useless for you to make inquiries, for the secret is in no breast but mine, and no power on earth shall wrest it from me, or make me discover a single individual of them. Do not, therefore, torture my unfortunate companions in this respect, for they are not in possession of my secret. I have been myself the confident of all, taken individually, and none among them has been the confident of another.

In my breast alone is this secret vested, and with me it shall descend to the grave inviolate."

"What motive induced you to conceive, plan, and execute so horrible a crime?" "Your barbarity! You are all tyrants, monsters thirsting for blood, tigers; and courage, not justice, is wanting to your victims to purify the earth of both you and the deeds you execute!"

As he pronounced these words, his captain advanced furiously toward him, and gave vent to the most extravagant invectives, at the same time striking him a blow on the breast; the soldier, with the rapidity of lightning, seized the bayonet of one of the guards who supported him, and plunged it into the heart of his captain, saying as he did it, "Take this, monster! I shall now enjoy the consolation of sending thee to hell before I die!" Then addressing himself to the council in general, he said, "Of what service is it to defer my execution? If, however, you wish me to reveal any thing, let me be furnished with materials for writing to the king. I will tell him every thing, provided no one sees my letter; that I shall be allowed to seal it with my own hands, and give it into those of the postmaster in the presence of several persons." The members of the council, fearing he would prove some serious accusation against them, refused his proposal.

When Frederic came to Neiss, at the time of the next reviews, he reproached the superior officers of the garrison, in the severest terms, for having rejected the proposal made by this criminal of writing to the king: he declared plainly, that nothing but their accusing consciences had actuated their conduct. They, however, experienced no further bad consequences, because policy required the affair should be consigned to oblivion: it would have been imprudent to have published it to the army, nor was it much known by people in general; and I am persuaded that, even at Neiss, only the persons who inhabited the place at the time are acquainted with the transaction, and even these never ventured to speak on the subject.

A similar adventure was on the point of happening at Berlin also, among fifteen hundred recruits who were exercising in that capital during the seven years' war, at a time when, besides themselves, there was only a single regiment in garrison. Fortunately, one of the rebels discovered the plot, and pointed out the ringleaders from one of the windows of the arsenal, as the recruits were filing off. These were accordingly taken into custody, and secretly executed the following night, so that the inhabitants of Berlin remained ignorant of what had happened. These

facts prove this truth so obvious, yet too often disregarded; that among persons who command others, whether young or old, of high or low condition, severity is safe and useful only when it is kept within the bounds of justice.

One day, when I had been no more than a few weeks in Berlin, and was still in furnished lodgings, three soldiers, bound with cords and guarded, ascended the stairs before me in their way to the apartments of the commanding officer of the regiment, who lodged in the same house. Two of the soldiers, who were themselves wounded, supported the third, who had a broken leg. One of the two first said, in French, to the latter, "Courage, my dear companion, courage; all our sufferings will be ended to-morrow!".... "Ah," replied the sufferer, at the same time uttering a cry of pain, "Would it were to-day." This short dialogue made such an impression on me, that I have never been able to forget it. Though the occurrence took place forty years ago, I still see the three men and their escort. They, with three others, had deserted with their arms and baggage: they had defended themselves against the peasants who attempted to seize them; three had escaped, and three were brought to the commanding officer as I have described.

What renders desertion in Prussia, in time of

peace, nearly impossible is, the order established respecting soldiers. Any officer who sees several soldiers standing together, may and ought to separate them by blows with his cane, especially if they are Frenchmen. Every captain, from whose company a soldier deserts, is put under confinement for a limited time. Every garrisoned town is surrounded by fortifications, by walls, or at least by palisades: this inclosure has within it a periphery that resembles a road or place for walking; here the sentinels are so stationed as for one to see and hear the other throughout. If a deserter has passed between two of these sentinels, and the fact is proved, the two sentinels undergo a flogging: in addition, the muster-roll is called over three times in the course of every evening. If there be but one who does not answer to his name, the strictest search is immediately made, and if he is not found in the course of an hour, the cannon for alarm is discharged: this is a cannon of large dimensions placed on a high piece of ground, and is heard in all the adjacent villages. This signal assembles the country people, who take up arms and keep guard at every outlet. A reward of forty livres is paid to any village that lays hold of a deserter; and, on the other hand, the village through which a de-

serter is proved to have passed, is obliged to pay a fine of the same amount.

Such is the kind of police that renders desertion so extremely difficult, that the most extraordinary good fortune and the most indefatigable industry can alone ensure its success; and the more so, as soldiers can derive from no one the smallest assistance. Their letters are not permitted to go by the post without being first inspected and approved by their officers. Any citizen that should procure a deserter a coat, or other means of effecting his design, would himself be made a soldier, or sent to the fortress if his age rendered him unfit to serve.

I have already observed, that there are Prussian recruiting parties in the free towns, and especially on the frontiers. These, however, are little better than kidnappers. I knew among them a M. P***, who frequently astonished me by the intimate knowledge he had of our frontiers towards Switzerland and the Rhine. An adventure happened to him at Strasburg which might have proved fatal to him; but, instead of going in person to bring away the men he had decoyed, he sent his servant, who was seized and hanged. About the year 1765, a captain, a native of Prussia, and stationed at Kell, had been

hung at Strasburg on a similar account. This person walked frequently on the bridge, and when he reached the nearest French sentinel, entered into conversation with him, and endeavoured to corrupt him, especially if he happened to be recommended by his person.

One day he found a handsome well-proportioned grenadier on guard, whom he first amused with such falsehoods as he thought would be successful, and ended with proposing to give him an excellent dinner! "With all my heart," replied the grenadier, "if my comrade, who is there, will be of the party.".... "We will speak to him about it by and by.".... "No, I will not engage without him: we were born in the same year, and in the same village; our houses touch each other. We have been inseparable friends from childhood; we enlisted together in the same company, and sleep in the same chamber. Nothing shall separate us but death.".... "Go you, then, and speak to him, and engage him to be of the party; in the mean while I will order a dinner for three.".... "This cannot be; one of the officers may go his rounds, and find that I have deserted my post, and I should be ruined; it would be better that you should speak to him yourself."

The captain now began to entertain the hope

of seducing two men instead of one; but scarcely had he proceeded two steps before he was seized with a fit of apprehension, and was returning on the pretence of giving orders for the dinner. The grenadier then presented his bayonet, saying, "You shall not pass." The captain, finding himself caught in the snare, threw himself into the Rhine, to save himself by swimming; the grenadier, who was a better swimmer than he, threw down his musket, leaped into the river, laid hold of him, and brought him on the shore of Alsace. A council of war was held, and, after some deliberation, the members said to the grenadier, "You have abandoned your post and your arms; but this was to manifest your bravery and zeal. We must, therefore, either sentence you to be shot or bestow on you a reward. Here are a hundred crowns, which we give you in the name of the king; dispose of them so as to produce a small income, and continue to be ever thus meritorious in your calling."

On their examination of the captain, he declared who he was, and what he was. Dispatches of the intelligence was sent to the King of Prussia, who, being sensible he could do nothing that could save his life, and that in good policy he could not avow that he paid officers for seducing the subjects of his allies, replied, that it was true

there was a family of the name described in his states, but that no individual of it was at present absent; further, that there was no officer in his army of the same name who was not at his post. The captain was therefore led to the scaffold, pronouncing curses on the policy of kings.

In the course of the seven years' war, a French officer, a captain of cavalry, of the name of Ma***, if I am not mistaken, arrived at an inn in a detached spot near the Rhine, in which there was a Prussian recruiting party. He was just returned from the isles, and had disembarked in Holland. He was stopped by the Prussians, under the pretext of ascertaining if he had not some deserters in his carriage, who afterward detained him under that of politeness, while his servant was gone to the posting-house to procure him fresh horses. God knows what became of the servant, for he was no more heard of. As for the officer, his arms were taken from him, and the next day he was sent off with other recruits. He remained as a private during the rest of the war, having written repeatedly to the king and received no answer, and also to his friends, who never received his letters.

On the conclusion of the peace his regiment returned to Silesia, in which it was engarrisoned. The first time of its being reviewed, the king,

who was near the regiment, inquired if there were not in the camp a soldier named de Ma***. Our hero upon this came out of the ranks, and approaching the king, presented him his arms, saying, "I am the man, Siré.".... "Are you inclined to remain in my service, with the rank of an officer?".... "Sire, I cannot have that honour, being already engaged in the service of my country.".... "Very well; let this gentleman be discharged and at liberty to do as he pleases." Here the dialogue ended.

About the year 1767, the elective dowager of Saxony caused a letter to be sent to Lyons, to procure her a surgeon of great skill in his profession, that she might attach him to her military guard. A young man, who had studied the profession with great success, accepted the offer, and, mounted on an excellent horse that he might proceed at his ease and render the journey but little expensive, and with his portmanteau before him, set out for Dresden. A little beyond Frankfort he met a Prussian recruiting party, who were conducting a certain number of recruits, and who, having learned the object of his journey, persuaded him to pursue it in their company, by which means he would avoid the danger of being attacked by robbers, their road lying the same way.

On reaching Halberstadt, they threw aside their mask, took his horse from him, and forcibly conducted him, by Magdeburg, to Berlin, where he was inlisted in a regiment of infantry. He had served about a month of his apprenticeship to the trade of a soldier, when one day, about noon, M. Pernety, one of the commissioners of the king's customs, being on his way on foot to his office, was not a little surprised at seeing a young man he had known as a surgeon at Lyons, in the regimentals of a common soldier. The unfortunate person related his melancholy adventures, and the commissioner undertook to procure his liberty: to this effect he made his solicitation to the general of the regiment, who replied, that it depended on the inspector-general to grant his request. On making his solicitation to the latter, he was told that, on the contrary, the affair belonged entirely to the general. M. de Pernety then returned to the former, from whom he obtained a harsh and positive refusal. "But," said the petitioner, "I do not require his liberation for nothing; I will readily pay for a recruit to be his substitute.".... "And how can you be certain this other recruit will be equally valuable? You see he is quite a treasure, being at once a good soldier and a good surgeon.".... "I will then pay for two recruits in

his place.".... "To this, Sir, I agree, provided these two recruits be French surgeons; without this, it is useless to talk longer on the business."

M. de Pernety left the inspector-general with indignation, a sentiment we heartily partook of; and so often was this barbarous occurrence mentioned among us, that it at length found its way to the ear of Prince Henry. He one day met the general at the queen's, and said to him, "General, you have a French soldier in your regiment I wish to have; I hope you will have no objection to change him for one I will give you in his place. M. de Kalkstein shall call on you and arrange the business, and shall furnish you with an excellent substitute." The general, notwithstanding his secret repugnance, did not dare refuse; and no sooner was the French surgeon exchanged than he had him entered on the muster-roll as dead, and then conveyed by a subaltern officer in his confidence, and by a bye way, to the frontiers of Saxony, having given him a letter for the elective dowager, who had never been able to discover what had become of the surgeon of her guards.

I shall conclude this article relative to the army by some general observations.

The military discipline of Prussia comprises different arrangements of extreme severity, even

for the officers, and some of them extremely singular.

The king alone can grant them leave of absence, nor is it ever obtained but for reasons of the most serious nature: it is, therefore, a singular occurrence to find any officer from his post.

No cause but that of illness can excuse an officer from performing even the minutest duties of his station. Thus the officers of cavalry are obliged to be present, every day, when their horses are rubbed down at six and eight o'clock in the morning, and at four and six in the evening. Count de Reichenbach, whose friendship toward me was equal to what I felt for him, never in a single instance failed of being at the stables four times in every day, and that before the minute fixed for his appearance, and during the eleven years he served in the gendarmes. "My situation," said he, "is a most cruel one; I never close my eyes without saying to myself, *To-morrow I shall be condemned to pass the rest of my life in the fortress, without having committed any fault*: for such is the punishment inflicted on the officer who, when under arms, makes a reply, however temperate, to the commanding officer who even unjustly affronts him. If, therefore, I am not insensible or a coward, I have no alternative but that of committing a crime: on the other hand, I am

required to carry my delicacy to such a point as to prefer death to the enduring the most trifling offence, whether real or only apparent, from a friend. Unable then to reconcile such contradictions, I have taken refuge in uniformly preserving delicacy of sentiment on every occasion that should present itself, and, consequently, should resent, with becoming spirit, an affront from any of my superior officers; and they are well acquainted with this my decision. But I have still another contradiction to struggle with. If I fight a duel with my comrade, who shall have been the aggressor, provided the weapon I use be a sword or a pistol, no notice is taken of the proceeding; but if I fight with a citizen, my honour requires that I should kill him. If I allow myself to fight a regular duel with him, I am dismissed from my corps and disgraced, however just my cause: but if I have the address to provoke him to insult my honour, and take advantage of the moment to plunge my sword into his body, the worst that can happen to me in consequence is two years imprisonment in the fortress; I am neither degraded nor deprived of my subsistence. Such is the result of the law which prohibits our fighting a duel with any but military men."

It has been often said that the principal

strength of the Prussian troops consists in the number and the choice of the subaltern officers; in effect, the number of these is so great as to be one, with cane in hand, to every three men; on observing which, a Frenchman remarked, "I can easily believe you march firmly: you are between two enemies, and the nearest of them, and the one you can least escape from is the line of men, cane in hand, who march behind you without losing sight of you for a moment." These inferior officers are the more beneficial, as they are, for the most part, selected from the national troops, old in the service, and men of experience and the utmost exactitude.

Another advantage, which is perhaps of no less importance, is, that in Prussia nearly all the garrisons are of considerable strength: the consequence of this is, that the soldiers are accustomed to form themselves into lines of great extent; and the perfect evenness and regularity maintained by these lines in a Prussian army, even in the longest marches, are the object of surprise and admiration; while the Austrians, who are no less exercised, but from motives of economy are frequently dispersed into small garrisons, can scarcely advance a hundred paces without being broken into fifty different points.

The régiments never change their garrison, for

this the distributions of their districts would not allow of. This article is the means of considerable saving to the government; and experience proves, at least in Prussia, that the inconveniences supposed to arise from such a mode of regulation are without the least foundation.

The pay of the Prussian officers is barely sufficient for their subsistence till they obtain the rank of captain, which does not happen till they are about forty years of age. This circumstance necessarily accustoms them to an abstemious course of living; and the more so, as at every vacancy the commanding officer is obliged to send the king the names of the five officers who have the strongest title to the vacant place, and that to the names is subjoined a note of general statement respecting the merit of the candidates, of which the first article is to say if the person in question has contracted any debts. There is no instance of the place being obtained by an officer who in this respect is not unexceptionable. The rank of captain, however, makes the fortune of an officer: it is worth from five to six hundred pounds sterling and upwards per annum (*douze ou quinze mille francs*), and at this period it is that a captain marries and enters upon an establishment.

We must, however, except the captains of en-

gineers, who having no company, have no more than sixty pounds sterling and upwards per annum (*quinze cent francs*), for this is the stipend a captain generally costs the king, the overplus being derived in the ordinary regiments from various perquisites authorized by law and custom; such as a saving of half a yard of cloth on every set of regimentals; the price of the buttons paid to the captain, but which every soldier is obliged to provide for himself; and notably, the pay of the *frey-wechs*, that is, the soldiers who, in time of peace, are sent to their homes for ten months of the year: the number of the soldiers thus got rid of, amounts at least to the third of the company, and sometimes to half of it; during which absence a part of their pay goes to the king, but the largest portion to the captain.

In this country economy in all directions is carried to every possible length: a general has a regiment, because in every regiment the superior officers of the corps have invariably each their company, which economises so much upon the appointments that the king allows to the rank of general. The companies of the commanding officers are commanded by the youngest captains, called *second captains*, and who have only the pay of a lieutenant. As the rank of field-marshal is worth twelve thousand Prussian

crowns, and the field-m Marshals can no longer be appointed to regiments or companies; Frederic executed the resolution of appointing no officer in future to that rank. The pay of a lieutenant-general is about seven thousand crowns per annum: of these, his company produces three thousand, so that a lieutenant-general costs the king no more than four thousand.

The army is maintained in a condition to march at a minute's notice. The commandant of the artillery is allowed ten thousand crowns per annum for the support and renovation of this branch of the army. Every thing is examined and put into good condition every year. The same may be said of the other departments. The bakers, the drivers of the waggons, the conductors of the pontoons, &c. are all inlisted men; and though they are dismissed in time of peace, the place of their residence is well known, and they may be procured at a few days' notice. All horses used in the service are likewise in the same case; the moment peace is proclaimed, they are distributed gratis to the peasantry, who understand they must be returned when so required, and consequently be replaced should any die in their possession.

It is not possible to carry to greater lengths the most minute attention to all objects affecting the

public order than has been done by Frederic; and this with a perseverance and exactness that stands unequalled by any other sovereign. He was not, however, fortunate enough at all times to succeed in preventing abuses. When Frederic was preparing for commencing the war for the succession of Bavaria, the pontoons were found unfit for service, and different parts of the wag-gons were rotted in the timber work, or out of repair. The general of the artillery, to ingratiate himself with the king, had, in some preceding years, sent back the allowance of the ten thousand crowns, alleging that every thing in his department was in good condition; and more than once the king had presented him with a portion of the sum thus saved. When the truth was known, the general and the whole etat-major of the artillery nearly escaped complete ruin; this would have been but just, since all the superior officers of that branch had signed the false statements thus foisted on the king. I was myself witness to the poignant anxiety experienced by Colonel du Troussel, Major Muller, and others, on this occasion. As Frederic however could not do without them, their fears were the only punishment they underwent; but the lesson was a good one, and the general was reduced to a sort of nullity, under the seasonable pretext of his

advanced age. Every branch of mechanics was instantly set in motion to repair the evil, and in three months all was ready for the expedition.

Frederic had not long ascended the throne of Prussia before he formed the project of the conquest of Silesia. To make a comparison, after the manner of Buddenbrock, I shall say, that his grandfather opened the shop; that his father stored the warehouses; and that it remained for Frederic to carry on a prosperous trade, who, it cannot be denied, possessed the necessary requisites for success. He retired to Charlottenburg with Field-marshal Schwerin, where they meditated in concert the plan for their campaign. The orders given in consequence announced nothing more than a general review of his troops in Pomerania; here sixty thousand men assembled, all of whom he reviewed with the utmost care and precision.

When in the centre of this army, he asked the old Prince d'Anhalt, what in the scene before them he admired the most? . . . "Sire," replied he, "I admire at once the fine appearance of the men, the regularity and perfection of the movements, and the evolutions." . . . "For my part," said Frederic, "this is not what most excites my astonishment, since, with the advantage of money, time, and care, these are easily attained." . . . "What then in the spectacle before us appears to your majesty

more worthy of admiration?" " That you and I, my dear cousin, should be in the midst of such an army as this in perfect safety: here are sixty thousand men, who are all irreconcilable enemies to both you and myself; not one among them that is not a man of more strength and better armed than either, yet they all tremble at our presence, while it would be folly on our part to tremble at theirs. Such is the wonderful effect of order, vigilance, and subordination." On the day after this review he entered the duchy of Glogaw.

It was during this war that Frederic was accused of having ordered an officer to be shot for having kept a light in his tent notwithstanding the strict prohibition which had been made. I shall declare, without hesitation, that if the success of a great battle, or the concealment of a march, depended on this precaution, I could without difficulty shew the justice of this act of severity: but I have known a great number of Prussian officers who had assisted in all the wars of Frederic; I have also known the relations and heirs of many others; and it must not be believed I never heard among them the expression of discontent; what numbers of them complained of the king, and this too in the most disrespectful terms; yet I never heard this anecdote mentioned

in the country, nor even a syllable that had the least relation to it. Still further, all the persons to whom I mentioned the subject assured me, some that the king knew nothing of the affair, and others that the whole was false. In short, in France only is this story believed.

Frederic had to contend with a general in the Austrian army of the name of Neuperg, an officer who was worthy of being the competitor of M. de Schwerin: the first battle was long and sanguinary, and toward the end assumed an alarming aspect for the Prussians. The king was sensible of this, and his field-marshal approached him to confirm his apprehensions. "I know," said the latter, "but one means to which we can have recourse; but should it be suspected by the enemy, it must infallibly accelerate our ruin; we shall perish or be taken prisoners; not even your majesty will escape: on the other hand, should our project escape detection, our victory will be complete." . . . "It shall by all means be tried; I prefer the risk it involves to the shame of commanding a retreat."

M. de Schwerin next observed; that the dread of seeing his sovereign fall into the hands of his enemies must necessarily occasion him great confusion of mind, and be an impediment to the coolness of his measures. Hence he laid it down

as incontrovertible, that the presence of his majesty would infallibly prove an obstacle to the success of his expedient, and to the common dangers of war add one of infinitely superior force: he so earnestly insisted on a retreat if the king would not consent to withdraw to a certain distance, that at length Frederic yielded to his wish, and removed to the distance of half a league from the scene of battle. Schwerin employed the manœuvre; the enemy was deceived, and in consequence completely defeated; while Europe bestowed on Frederic the surname of *Courier de Molwitz*. It cannot however be denied, that the odium of this idea was in the sequel completely effaced; but the king on this account was not the less acutely sensible of the humiliation. I have had occasion to observe, that the family of the Schwerins were fully persuaded that the monarch had never pardoned that day to their relation, and that this circumstance had in reality occasioned the death of the latter, though the event took place so many years after. We should not, however, forget that these are mere conjectures and presumptions for which no reasonable authority is brought forward: it is true the merit of Schwerin was so striking and transcendent, that the king could not dispense with consulting him in all his grand military opera-

tions; but this general, in other respects so devoted to the honour and service of his sovereign, was notwithstanding a man of a haughty, passionate, and indocile temper. These two men, brought so often into contact by the course of affairs, were seldom in unison respecting their details; they proposed opposite opinions, grew warm, disputed, and never failed to separate with mutual resentment and dissatisfaction. At length they met only on occasions of serious importance: it is not therefore necessary to go so far back as the affair of Molwitz to find the explanation of the small portion of friendship bestowed on this general by the monarch.

I leave it to historians to present the reader with a view of all the operations of this war, and those which succeeded it, while I, on my part, confine myself to the relation of the anecdotes of which I have acquired a certain knowledge; one in particular, concerning M. de Bellisle, which may be the more interesting to the reader, as the public, especially in France, has hitherto generally remained ignorant of it.

When General de Bellisle, who was then in Bohemia, heard that Frederic, after the conquest of Silesia, was making a separate peace with Austria, he immediately set off for the place where Frederic was at the time, and demanded an au-

dience. We may easily imagine all he proposed saying to an ally whom it was so necessary to the interests of the French nation to preserve. The king, however, soon reduced him to silence; he put into the hands of M. de Bellisle a dispatch, in which Cardinal de Fleury proposed to Austria to abandon the King of Prussia, should he make a peace with France on such conditions as were described in the dispatch. The document was properly signed and unquestionably authentic. "It is of little consequence," said the king, "by what means this dispatch fell into my hands; but it ought to serve you as a complete proof that I could not, in justice to myself, have acted otherwise. I am persuaded that Louis the Fifteenth is in no way concerned in this infidelity; yet as the cardinal is all powerful at your court, I have only one alternative, that of anticipating his project that I may not be his victim."

M. de Bellisle was no less astonished than indignant. The general officers and other attendants of the king were struck with the furious and disconcerted air with which, on leaving the king's cabinet, he passed through the saloon, where they remained in waiting; they heard him several times repeat between his teeth, as if beside himself, *Ah! this b— of a priest!* All this, on account of the high credit of the cardinal, was

never repeated in France; and for the same reason it was that, at the time, our newspapers so perfectly agreed with each other in representing Frederic as a sovereign who laughed equally at treaties and allies.

For the rest, it was an Austrian general who was wounded and made prisoner, who having received a visit from Frederic, conversed with him on the subject of peace, and offered to prove to him that the cardinal had duped him: he sent to Vienna for the dispatch in question, and left it in the hands of the king for several days.

M. Muller, who is now one of the first general officers of the artillery, has several times related to me that, being then only lieutenant and aid-de-camp to his general, he, in the course of a battle, had been sent with orders to the left wing of the array; that, on returning full gallop through the dangers of the battle, he perceived an officer approaching that he soon discovered to be the king, who, stopping his horse to ask him questions, to his great regret obliged the aid-de-camp to stop also; that he asked him his name, his rank, from whence he came, and in what condition he had found the left wing; that during their conversation a grenade from the enemy fell between their two horses; that while he on his part desired nothing so much as to leave the spot, the

king applied a magnifying glass to his eyes, and contemplated with great attention the motion of the grenade till it exploded, which fortunately it did without injury to either, the different splinters having taken a diagonal direction, which had they separated sooner would in all probability have reached them; that after the explosion the king had dismissed him, saying in German as he turned from him, *This is admirable!*

On another occasion, M. de Chazot, a French refugee and one of Frederic's superior officers, had received precise orders respecting the operations he was to execute with the corps he commanded during the battle; he, however, deviated from these instructions by a single movement, which he employed so seasonably as signally to contribute to the victory. When he presented himself, together with the generals, after the issue of the battle, Frederic said to him gravely, "M. de Chazot, I must either have you beheaded or embrace you;" and immediately embraced him.

On the termination of the two first wars, Frederic returned to Potzdam, and wholly devoted himself to the internal affairs of his kingdom and his private pursuits. I have already had occasion to speak of his labours, and notably of his code of laws; at present my more particular concern is

to treat of his amusements, and of such anecdotes as are more or less analogous to them.

He resumed his philosophical suppers, at which Jordan, Voltaire, Maupertuis, d'Argens, Algarotti, and Poelnitz, were regularly present, and occasionally some others, as Baculard, d'Arnaud, &c. The company frequently staid so late that it was not uncommon for them to see the lights burn out before they were dismissed: sometimes the king fell asleep, when the guests remained silent and motionless till he awoke. It may easily be imagined that these celebrated suppers must naturally impose considerable restraint upon the guests. It often happened that the king did not awake till near four in the morning, when he said to his friends, "So, Gentlemen, it is almost four o'clock; you will now sleep till noon, and I shall immediately begin my labours. Adieu, till I see you again." I have included in the number of his guests Jordan, who died in 1747, and Voltaire, whose residence at Berlin became fixed only in 1750, and who remained there only three years.

It was at this time that the adventures of the Cocceis, Baron de Trenck, and so many others, engaged the public attention. Chancellor de Coccei had three sons: the youngest, who was one of the handsomest men of his time, as well

as his second brother, had embraced the military career; he was an officer in the regiment of guards, where the hilarity natural to his character and age caused him to be frequently thrown into confinement. Frederic however found it extremely difficult to feel against him serious resentment, because a weakness (if I may so express myself) natural to his temper was that of a decided partiality in favour of persons in whom he perceived the union of wit, gaiety, vivacity, and frankness. Whether this proceeded from a genuine predilection for characters of this description, or that he considered them as the most worthy of confidence, the most sincere and useful, I cannot decide, but he would have pardoned to only a few what he pardoned in the younger Coccei.

This officer having so repeatedly obtained permission to come to Berlin, and so often also been refused this request, that neither daring to renew it, nor being able to prevail on himself to renounce so great a pleasure, he employed the alternative of going thither without the king's permission, and running the risk of being discovered and punished.

One day, being embarked in one of these expeditions, he unexpectedly perceived the king's

carriage approaching with a quicker pace than his horse would go; he endeavoured to strike into a thick part of the forest, but the king, who saw him, sent a page to order him to approach and speak with his majesty: "Where are you going, Coccei?" said Frederic in a severe tone. . . . "Sire, I am going *incognito* to Berlin." Frederick did not resist his inclination to laugh, and the desired permission was obtained.

On another occasion, the king in disguise had mixed with other masks at a *ridotto*: he fell in with Coccei, recognized him, took his hand and traced upon it the letters of his name. Coccei, in his turn, recognized the king, but feigning ignorance, said to him with warmth, "Ah! courteous stranger, I am too ingenuous to deny that you have discovered me; but you are surely too gallant a mask to betray my secret. I am here without permission; all I ask of you is, that you will not acquaint my general that you have seen me, for the circumstance could not fail to cause him uneasiness, which I should consider the greatest of misfortunes. I had even rather you would tell the king himself than my general." These two phrases were the more skilfully introduced, as they implied confidence in the lenity of the king, and the liveliest fear of offending his

general officer, and the result was a positive promise to keep the secret as desired.

The Memoirs of Baron de Trenck have been printed, and in the hands of all Europe; and though a certain degree of concealment respecting them has been employed, it may be affirmed, that few persons are ignorant as to the essentials of his history. If I allow myself to take a review of this subject, it is because I perceive that Frédéric, agréably to the manner in which many of the facts are related, has been an object of the calumny of the author; and that it appears to me that if truth is never to be violated, even in favour of a great man, still less should its violation be endured when it tends to tarnish the glory of heroes who have shed the greatest lustre on humanity.

The whole conduct of Frederic toward Baron de Trenck was marked by a strong desire to treat him with lenity, and even kindness; and it was only at the last extremity that he had recourse to considerations of policy and rigorous measures: I must also in justice add, that the horrible circumstances attending the imprisonment of a man by much too imprudent to be guiltless, were neither ordered by Frédéric, nor even executed with his knowledge.

There are two truths, the one no less evi-

dent than the other, that have invariably stood their ground in the opinion of mankind; they are as follow: That there is nothing which good policy requires to be held more valuable than the reputation of an unmarried princess; but that nothing, on the other hand, is more indifferent or insignificant than that of a princess already married. In the first of these cases, good policy contemplates in the reputation of a princess, a delicate flower, the more requiring its attention, as she may be the means of procuring an alliance infinitely advantageous to the state; in the second, there is nothing further to be either hoped or dreaded, and the state is consequently less interested in the conduct of the princess who abandons herself more or less to her inclinations.

These reflections furnish us with the key to the conduct of Frederic toward Baron de Trenck, an observation I did not fear to make even to the baron himself, in a long conversation I had with him on the subject at Paris, and to which he perfectly assented; this was a few years previous to the period when the monsters who, unable to sate their thirst of human blood, sent this innocent victim, together with many others, to the scaffold.

Baron de Trenck was a student of philosophy in the university of Koenisberg, when, after the first of the wars of Frederic, Count de Lottún, a

military officer of equal worth and bravery, became an inmate of the same university. The Count and Trenck, on some occasion, fell into each other's company: the latter was a young man whose physical, intellectual, and moral qualities were in a state of rapid and energetic progress in every possible respect: in him nature announced herself eminently rich and versatile; as a student he was distinguished for promptness, intelligence, and emulation; his constitution was vigorous, his height uncommon for his age; his features regular and masculine; his temper was warm, ingenuous, and brave; at this early period he had already fought several duels, and was considered formidable by his contemporaries.

It is not therefore surprising that M. Lottun should have conceived the project of prevailing on him to desert from the school of the Muses to that of Mars, nor that Trenck yielded with eagerness to his desire. On the arrival of M. Lottun, at Potsdam, he presented him to the king, after having announced him as a person formed to command success in every thing.

Frederic, much pleased with the physiognomy and figure of the young man, desired nevertheless to put his talents to the proof. "Here," said he to Trenck, "are three letters I have just received; sit down to this table and answer each of them

according to your own judgment." Trenck took the letters, perused them, sat down and answered the first in German, the second in French, and the third in Latin: the king was so much pleased with the views he had taken of the different subjects, that he immediately appointed him under lieutenant in his regiment of guards, and a short time after lieutenant; he next appointed him his aid-de-camp. At this time it was that the too notorious and too fatal adventure happened that caused all the misfortune of this young officer, and which requires from me certain details that, on a first view, appear foreign to the subject.

The court and the senate of Sweden resolved to demand a princess of Prussia for the prince royal, heir apparent to the crown, and sent a nobleman of the court of Sweden to that of Berlin to make the demand in form; but there had prevailed in the former a diversity of opinion respecting the choice to be made, as there were at the latter two unmarried princesses, Ulrica and Amelia. I know not why the first of these princesses excited dread in the minds of the parties concerned; but certain it is, the vivacity of her mind and of her temper were equally the object of apprehension.

On the other hand, every one was disposed to

make choice of the Princess Amelia, and accordingly she was specially named in the instructions given to the ambassador, who, at the same time, however, was directed to pass himself at first as a simple traveller, and before he announced his mission to wait for further orders; to take advantage of the interval for making himself acquainted with the characters of the two princesses, and to send the most faithful and minute account of his information to Stockholm.

It was therefore in quality of a traveller that the Swedish ambassador was presented at the court of Prussia; but the secret of his embassy soon became as intelligible to the courtiers as the secret of a dramatic piece. The Princess Amelia, as well as those about her, were not long ignorant that she was the principal object of his journey: she was young, and as yet had lost none of the religious sentiments in which her father had caused her to be educated; her timid spirit shrunk with terror from the idea of changing her religion, in becoming Queen of Sweden, thus relinquishing the tenets of Calvin for those of Luther. In this distressing dilemma, her only alleviation was to unbosom her thoughts to her sister Ulrica. Every day, and all day long, the scruples and perplexities in which she found herself involved were the subject of her thoughts and con-

versation. "Must I then," said she, "betray my religion and my conscience? Can I change my faith against conviction? And shall I bring on myself eternal damnation for a perishable crown? Ah! how great is my misfortune! Nor will it end but with my existence! Save me, my sister, from this abyss! I entreat you, sister, to save me; assist me with your counsels; direct my actions." Tears succeeded to these effusions. Ulrica sympathized in her sister's distress, and at length said: "Examine your heart; does it sincerely reject this abjuration of your religion, and consequently the crown of Sweden? The first point is to ascertain if your determination in this respect be really absolute; unless this be the case, I should do wrong to point out the means by which this marriage may be avoided, since even you yourself might hereafter hate and reproach me for the deed.".... "Oh no, sister, do not fear this; tell me, tell me what steps I must pursue!".... "Very well; I will tell you then the only means that can effectually save you; it is simple, and, I trust, will prove infallible. From this moment assume in your manners toward every one, even beyond the precincts of the court, but most especially at assemblies, in the presence of the Swedish ambassador, and in your intercourse with him, the haughtiest disdain, the most capricious temper;

an imperious tone, and an absolute self-will. If any one dare reply to you, interrupt them rudely and thus compel them to silence; if any person attempt to address you in the language of compliment or adulation, let the most stinging contempt be your only answer."

Amelia thanked her sister and promised a strict observance of her plan, and so faithfully kept her promise, that the metamorphosis observed in her caused universal astonishment; and the more so as the princess had previously been considered a model of politeness, sweetness of temper, and kindness.

The Swedish ambassador, whose office was to watch her every indication, paid the most unceasing attention to her conduct: she sustained her part to admiration for several successive days, which formed a striking contrast to the sweetness, the modest reserve, and polite attentions from which the Princess Ulrica, on her part, never for a moment deviated.

At length the ambassador believed himself competent to decide upon the characters of the two sisters; and he accordingly wrote to Stockholm that he could not conceive how so erroneous an idea of the princesses could have gained ground; that Amelia was haughty, imperious, and capricious, and, in short, destitute

of all the qualities that would be likely to conciliate the Swedish nation; while, on the other hand, her sister Ulrica possessed every requisite of mind and temper to gain all hearts and inspire the most perfect confidence. The answer he received imported that, as this was the case, he might immediately present his credentials, declare his real views, and make a formal demand of the Princess Ulrica. The ambassador accordingly fulfilled his instructions, the court and Ulrica accepted his proposal, and the marriage was celebrated in the course of a few days.

The conduct of the Princess Ulrica, in accepting the offers of the court of Sweden, occasioned the Princess Amelia the utmost perplexity and astonishment; she perceived she had been duped by her sister, whom she accordingly loaded with reproaches. Ulrica replied with calmness, "You have soon forgotten, my dear sister, all that passed between us. I have not deceived you; every word I uttered was the dictate of sincerity. I did not seek the confidence you reposed in me, but you voluntarily communicated to me your scruples, sufferings, and wishes: I advised you only, as I myself should wish to be advised under the same circumstances. In a word, the advice I gave you was in unison with your own conscience and internal peace. If I have not adopt-

ed in my own conduct the advice I gave to you, it is because, unfortunately, neither my inclinations nor my opinions resemble yours. Unfortunately my conscience is not so timorous as yours: the idea of quitting the reformed religion and embracing Lutheranism occasions me no uneasiness, particularly as public order, and not my own inconstancy, is the motive. I am in no fear of damnation in consequence of my becoming Queen of Sweden. If you feel regret at what has passed, if you will bend to principles more accommodating, I beg of you to forget your supposed affront, and make yourself easy: instead of being Queen of Sweden, you will be Queen of Denmark; you will then be as well provided for as myself. But, were it otherwise, you neither ought nor can impute to me the fault. I also promise, you shall always find in me a sister who will feel for you all the affection you can desire."

This discourse was wise and eloquent, no doubt; but what effect could it be expected to produce on a mind rendered desperate and furious by the mortification it had endured?

Such was the situation of things during the ceremonies and festivals which took place on the event of the marriage; ceremonies and festivals that naturally carry us back to Baron Trenck,

On the occasion of one of the splendid suppers, given by the court of Berlin on this event, the saloons of the castle, which had been thrown open to the public, were excessively crowded with the town's people and the curious of every description, so that scarcely could a person turn himself round in them. Trenck was on this day the officer on guard for the protection of these rooms. While he was passing from one saloon to another, and exerting himself to the utmost for the maintenance of order, some one cut away and made off with the gold fringe of the sash he wore. The circumstance was soon published, and became the topic of the evening.

The king sent for Trenck to rally him on the occasion. "You are an admirable fellow, my dear Trenck," said he; "like the eye of Providence, you extend your regards to the remotest points, and discover what is there taking place. As to the present occasion, it is sufficient that you are among us for every thing to go on as it should. You have, however, lost a sash; but this is a trifling consideration compared with the good you effect. Egad, dear Trenck, as a superintendent of the police, you are really admirable; and when I want to maintain or establish order in any place whatever, I will certainly think of you."

Trenck was known by name at court where the high favour he enjoyed was a secret to no one; but his person, on the other hand, was known only to a few, so that the curiosity he at this moment excited may be easily imagined: the eye of curiosity accordingly beheld, for the first time, this man of more than ordinary stature and perfect proportions, whose whole exterior announced vigour, talent, vivacity, and bravery, embellished by the vivid glow of health and youth.

I cannot tell in what degree a lady, who happened to be present, and who thirsted equally for vengeance and consolation, promised herself assistance from our hero: but, on the company withdrawing from table, she, without being observed, said in a low voice as she passed him, "Come to me at such an hour, and I will restore your sash." Trenck obeyed the command, which proved the fatal source of the misfortunes of his life.

On an occasion like this, a first visit could not but involve many more, and if the first was voluntary, the succeeding ones became necessary, and even indispensable. The misfortune is that, sooner or later, all is discovered. What are the resources of concealment, of precaution, of disguises, when opposed to the active vigilance of

a Frederic to discover what he desired to know? The secret, however, remained inviolate till the war of 1774, which naturally tended to retard the catastrophe.

During this war Trenck was constantly at the king's side, not only in the marches and under the tent, but principally in the field of battle. The bravery, activity, intelligence, and zeal of this young officer never for a moment forsook him, and the partiality of the monarch in consequence daily increased. Unfortunately, the peace was too soon concluded, not for his desires but for his tranquillity and future destiny. He hastened to see the lady, and, notwithstanding every kind of precaution to conceal his visits, they were made known to Frederic: but such is the influence of policy, that he dared not avow that knowledge, and thus divest himself of the power and right to answer, *It is not true*, to such persons as might venture to broach the allegation.

The king had, therefore, but a single means left to make Trenck sensible that his conduct was known to him, and that he would do well to change it: this means was to use him with so much severity that he could not avoid guessing the cause; his plan required that this severity should be uniformly greater and less dependent on circumstances, till the culprit should be

brought to understand its cause and motive. Thus, after every clandestine visit Trenck paid the princess, the unfortunate young man was sent into confinement: the king's countenance towards him was harsh and full of indignation; he never spoke to him but to cause him mortification. As the punishment of confinement grew more frequent, the time of its duration was also increased; for all this, Trenck did not discontinue his visits; he feigned not to understand the true cause of his disgrace; and it is not improbable that he made a merit in the eyes of the lady of what he endured on her account.

This means not having produced the desired amendment, it was resolved to try the effect of absence: Trenck was, for the twentieth time, in confinement, and this confinement had already lasted a month, when an order was brought him to depart instantly for Vienna, to execute a commission, the particulars of which were detailed in a paper that was delivered to him. Frederic relied on the accustomed delays of the court of Vienna; but he was mistaken, for Trenck obtained early and complete success.

On seeing the king at Potzdam, on his return, and giving an account of his mission, Frederic, who had listened with marked reserve and coldness, made him no other answer than the follow-

ing: *Where were you when the order reached you to set out on this expedition? . . . Sire, I had been more than a month in confinement. . . . Vastly well. Return to the situation in which you then found yourself.*

Trenck accordingly returned to confinement, where he staid another month, and was liberated only to resume his favourite visits, and thus repay himself for the sufferings he had endured. This indocility in Trenck obliged the king to have recourse to the expedient of more serious punishment; and, as a pretext was necessary, he made choice of one that was equally false and absurd, but which was likely to leave no doubt in the mind of the offender as to the nature of his crime: he was accused of having, in his late expedition, furnished Austria with plans of the fortresses of Prussia, and in consequence he was conducted a state prisoner to a fortress in Silesia.

The mother of the incorrigible lover wrote a letter to the king, expressive of her deep affliction, mingled with the most affecting supplications. Frederic replied, that the rigour of her son's fate was much against his inclination; that though his conduct had been too signally culpable, yet his case was not altogether desperate; that if the unhappy young man would change his conduct, and become what he ought ever to

have been, it would still be possible that his past faults might be forgiven; that if she had any influence over the heart and mind of her son, she would do well on this occasion to employ it to the utmost in prevailing on him to adopt different principles from those which had plunged him in shame and disgrace.

Unfortunately, the mother could not convey a letter to her son in time; for, still more unfortunately, Trenck, in the mean while, had made acquaintance in the fortress with another state prisoner, named *Schelles*, with whom he planned and determined on an attempt to make an escape. Accordingly, one evening they jumped from a height of eighty feet, German measure, into the trench. Schelles had a leg broken, and Trenck, whose only injury was some contusions and sprains, proceeded to Bohemia with his companion at his back. From this time the latter, intoxicated with his newly-acquired deliverance, threw aside every prudential consideration: he pursued his way to Vienna, where he exhibited the portrait of the illustrious personage who was the cause of these events, staid there some time, and then proceeded to Petersburg. The portrait was even, on one occasion, handed from guest to guest, till it had made the

circuit of the table at a dinner given to a numerous company by the chancellor of Russia.

These accumulated indiscretions, on the part of Trenck, served to complete the growing animosity in the mind of Frederic: he no longer thought of saving from even the shadow of suspicion the reputation of the princess, while rage, indignation, and a desire of revenge succeeded to so tender a concern; and in addition, he saw the absolute necessity of infusing terror into the minds of those who might be tempted to commit the same dangerous faults. In this state of things it was that Trenck, having arrived at Dantzic, and imprudently accepted an invitation to dinner in an outlet of the town, which bordered on the states of the King of Prussia, he was seized in his way thither by a certain number of Prussian hussars, and conducted to the fortress of Magdeburg, where he remained ten years in a dungeon, eighty feet under ground.

Frederic, in sending Trenck to Magdeburg, had given no other orders than that every necessary measure should be taken to prevent his escape. He had not forgotten the perilous leap effected by Trenck in Silesia, and felt the conviction that, robust, laborious, and daring as he was, he required, in proportion, a greater degree

of vigilance and precaution: these he therefore took care to recommend to the superior officers concerned in the care of him; and further added, that should the prisoner be suffered to escape, they would be punished in the most exemplary manner. The officers were of the number of those who, witnesses of the favour he had previously enjoyed at Potsdam and in the army, had conceived a rooted jealousy and hatred against him; and to these officers must be attributed all that refinement of cruelty and barbarity inflicted on Trenck, at which every mind of sensibility must feel sensations of astonishment and horror. He himself assured me he was perfectly satisfied that the king had never conceived the idea of such rigour, even at the moment of his being seized, a time when Frederic might naturally be supposed to feel the greatest rage against him; but his enemies, well assured he was put into their hands never again to enjoy liberty, and to be consigned to oblivion, had set no bounds to their brutal revenge.

No one is ignorant of the sufferings endured by Trenck during the long series of years he passed in his dungeon, where, but for the gleam of hope of deliverance that animated his breast, he would no doubt have perished: this, perhaps, was the only service he derived from an imagina-

tion rather exalted than rational, and which in so great a degree had been the author of his faults. Without this imagination, how could he have avoided considering himself abandoned by the whole world, irrevocably condemned to punishment in a dungeon, where year after year rolled on without bringing him the smallest alleviation of the misery he endured?

When I arrived at Berlin, different persons mentioned to me, but always in a mysterious tone, the circumstance of there being a prisoner lodged in a dungeon situated under the ramparts of the fortress of Magdeburg; but no one seemed to know any particulars relating to him, or at least no one dared speak what he knew, and he was generally believed to be still in the same place long after he had left it.

The deliverance of Trenck is certainly the most curious part of his history: it is equally the part least known to the public; for he himself speaks of it in vague obscure terms that throw no light upon the subject. The lady for whom he had sacrificed so much had never lost sight of him: she had administered to him every possible assistance in his first prison, and while he was in foreign states; and at the moment when Trenck was effecting the completion of their mutual ruin by his imprudence, he was indebted to her

for the means of his subsistence ; but, from the time of his being buried as it were in the fortress of Magdeburg, neither the most active zeal nor exertions could find a passage to their wretched object.

The lady naturally felt with double poignancy these new obstacles, and the conviction that she was the original cause of all his sufferings. To the mental tortures she endured should be attributed those extraordinary and premature infirmities to which she was a victim : in the course of a few years her personal charms had wholly disappeared ; she lost her voice ; her eyes, before remarkable for their beauty, had now started from their sockets, and she was threatened with blindness ; she nearly lost the use of her arms and hands, with difficulty could she with her left hand raise the right to a certain height, and even this not without considerable pain ; and the weakness of her legs was excessive. In no one had despair and grief produced such fatal effects whose life they had spared ; and as she survived these cruel attacks, it is natural to conclude that the desire and hope she felt of still being useful to him for whom she endured such sufferings, inspired her with a supernatural force and resolution.

A singular circumstance, and which proves

how impenetrable a veil was thrown over the whole of this affair, is, that the public, though witnesses of the physical afflictions she laboured under, had no idea of the cause, and in some instances they were even attributed to the eccentric cast of her character. "She is become what she is," was it affirmed, "entirely by her own means. Her character is so extraordinary and eccentric that she wilfully misapplied the remedies prescribed for her recovery, and this for the sole purpose of rendering herself hideous and infirm, even at the expence of her life."

She was accused of an extraordinary eccentricity of character, because in fact she possessed an extraordinary understanding, though, at the same time, it must be admitted that her temper, owing to the strength and duration of her afflictions, had altered considerably for the worse: a woman of more gentle and pleasing manners, or of a more ingenuous temper, was not to be met with, as every one assured me; but these qualities she had now exchanged for a severity that brooked no suggestions of indulgence, that was prompt to presume evil rather than good, and whose failings of this kind were the more frequent as her turn for epigram rendered the exercise of them more easy.

Of all the predilections that marked her youth,

that for reading was the only one she retained; with this restriction, however, that she now read only books on philosophical or serious subjects, and entirely laid aside those of mere amusement; she had also abandoned her music, an art she had more than any other cultivated, and in which she most excelled: a terrible example of the effects produced on the human mind by the disappointment of a violent passion.

From what I have observed, no one will be surprised at the exertions she made to effect the deliverance of Baron de Trenck; and the reader will, no doubt, feel some consolation in finding that she at last succeeded. The information an interest so powerful had impelled her to acquire during the seven years' war, and this with increased assiduity when she became convinced that nothing short of the conclusion of a peace and the direct intercession of the Empress Maria-Theresa could be the means of her success, proved in reality the cause of his release.

In the course of these exertions she, at Vienna, met with a person whose qualities and situation conspired to render him the fittest in the world to do her service: he was a man who was nobody; yet possessed of every degree of credit for the purpose; an old servant in the palace of Maria-Theresa: he was a man for the most part

unknown, because he apparently meddled with the affairs of no one, spoke but little, had few acquaintances, and seemed to do himself a violence in giving his attention to what was said to him; a man austere both in his manners, physiognomy, and tone of voice, who fulfilled his duties with a regular and almost mechanical exactitude, but on no occasion exceeded their limits, and in outward appearance indifferent to every other concern. This person, a native of Savoy, held the office of rubber of the furniture in the apartments of her majesty, which apartments he every day entered at six o'clock in the morning, where he lighted the fire, half opened the windows, put the furniture in order, and without disturbing her majesty withdrew.

It will not appear surprising that the empress, accustomed to see him daily, either from a motive of kindness, or a sort of confidence his office seemed to excite, or with the design to awake herself thoroughly, sometimes gave way to the fancy of saying a few words to him, or asking him some unmeaning question: on these occasions he returned her majesty a laconic answer in a careless tone, now and then in that of seeming impatience, and sometimes he did not answer at all; but the rule he invariably observed was, never to suspend his occupation for a single

moment, or defer his departure, when this was concluded, for any purpose of conversation.

Of this man it was certainly impossible to form suspicions. For thirty years he had filled the same post, and conducted himself in the same manner; and in the course of this time, in the nature of his office, and without his own concurrence, had been put to severe proofs, and on no occasion had been guilty either of imprudence or intrigue, a circumstance that had gained him the confidence and good opinion of the empress.

No sooner was the lady who so warmly interested herself in the fate of Trenck apprized that the question of a peace was in agitation, than she set an emissary she had at Vienna instantly to work; that is, she sent this emissary secretly to the furniture-rubber to say as follows: "I am commissioned to make you an advantageous proposal, which can do you no injury, and which will be confided to no one breathing but yourself. If you succeed, you will be rewarded with *such a sum of money*."—(I have been assured that the sum promised him was no less than ten thousand ducats.)—"If you choose to undertake the business, I will immediately pay you *so much* (two thousand ducats) of the sum, which, should you not succeed, will surely recompense your trouble. If, on the

contrary, the result is such as may be expected from your zeal, the remaining part of the sum-total shall be delivered to you without delay; this overplus is in my hands. If you think proper to do the service required of you, take this paper and read it attentively; you will then thoroughly understand the nature of the affair, and also find in it the answers to such objections as may present themselves to your mind."

The furniture-rubber, after reading the paper through, kept it, accepted the money, and promised to use every endeavour to forward the object in contemplation, on condition that the emissary should return to him no more; that the mention of neither himself nor the business in question should escape his lips; and that the parties should patiently wait the event; "for," said he, "I shall myself wait a favourable occasion, instead of creating it, and such an one I shall lose no time in laying hold of."

Nothing could be more singular than the manner in which the furniture-rubber conducted this negotiation, nor can any thing be more difficult than to give the reader a perfect idea of his proceedings. He must represent to himself a conversation of a few minutes, divided into parts, sometimes into monosyllables, and thus spun through five or six succeeding days. To give of it

as complete a notion as I can, I will put down the dialogue itself as it took place day after day; this is the only means by which I can elucidate the plan adopted by this faithful coadjutor, for the purpose of feeding the curiosity of the sovereign, and even interesting her vanity. At the same time I shall have given him an opportunity of observing how naturally, in the interior of their palaces, sovereigns, like private individuals, descend to the passions peculiar to the human race.

Trenck, in the mean while, was apprized of all that was going forward: his intelligence had come from the noble lady herself; she had acquainted him with every feature of the mind and manners of the agent, the number of days his circumspection had employed for bringing his purpose to bear, and that the difficulties of an affair so transcendently delicate had at length yielded to skilfully applied discussions, which had been vague and general by turns, and invariably brought forward in his habitual tone of morose austerity.

All these particulars I learned from Trenck himself; and it is also by means of information I gained from his own lips, that I am enabled to present the reader with the following dialogue, which he is not to suppose an exact copy of the

words, but as a faithful image of what was said on this truly curious occasion.

FIRST DAY.

Empress. "Well N, (I do not recollect the name of the man) what is your opinion of the peace I have concluded with the King of Prussia?"

Furniture Rubber. "What, Madam, would you have me answer? Have I any thing to do with such matters as these?"

Empress. "You, then, are not glad that a peace is at length concluded?"

Furniture Rubber. "I am very glad, if it gives your majesty pleasure,"

Empress. "How can you believe otherwise?"

Furniture Rubber. "How can I pretend to judge of what gives pleasure to the great? Were it my own affair, I should know what to answer. But for the great, oh, it is quite another thing. He who takes pains to understand them is a fool, in my opinion, for his pains!" (*He goes away.*)

SECOND DAY.

Empress. "You told me, yesterday, N. that you did not know if I rejoiced or not concerning the peace, consequently you must suppose that I bear my subjects no affection. Indeed N. this was not well of you!"

Furniture Rubber. “ Oh, pardon me, Madam; I know you are the best, and no less the greatest sovereign in the world! You are a mother to your subjects, but”

Empress. “ But What would you have said?”

Furniture Rubber. “ Can the greatest princes do what they please, and in the manner they please? Are they not sometimes obliged to act contrary to their wishes? And is it for their humbler subjects to pass a judgment on such matters? Let some one come and talk to me of your imperial majesty's intentions; why I would answer for the purity of them with my head! But though you should make peace or declare war, do I know any thing of your reasons for so doing? How am I to know that what you do is the thing you really wish to do? I know nothing of all this; my duty is to obey, offer my prayers for your majesty, and be silent.”

Empress. “ Right enough: as to the peace, however, you cannot possibly doubt the pleasure it occasions me, at least as it regards my subjects, if for no other reason.”

Furniture Rubber. “ Your subjects! In this case why not have concluded a peace sooner? You certainly wish your subjects to be happy, but are they so always? And does their happi-

ness always depend on yourself? And though their happiness should depend on you" (*The Furniture Rubber goes.*)

THIRD DAY.

Empress. "Yesterday you appeared to wish to say flattering things to me, yet what you said was most affronting."

Furniture Rubber. "I perceive your majesty deigned to hear only half of what I said."

Empress. "What then was the signification of your last expression, and though their happiness should depend on you?"

Furniture Rubber. "It signified, Madam, a great deal."

Empress. "Explain it then."

Furniture Rubber. "To what purpose should I explain? Things would go on just the same."

Empress. "But I insist on your giving me this explanation."

Furniture Rubber. "Though a sovereign should be both able and willing to promote the good of his subjects, yet a thousand considerations and questions of policy stand in the way. Now, private affairs, and the interests of a long train of relations; then, the intrusion of matters totally foreign. Truly, sovereigns have quite enough else to think of." (*He goes away.*)

FOURTH DAY.

Empress. “ You contend that I do not promote the happiness of my subjects, even when I have both the will and power to do so. Explain this?”

Furniture Rubber. “ In matters of a general nature, and where the welfare of your subjects and your own political interests are one, I have no doubt you always act well, to the extent of your power. Yes, yes, in things so important as those, nobody can divert you from the right path; and nobody can make you forget it. But in cases where individuals only are concerned, alack-a-day, Madam, it is quite a different thing.”

Empress. “ So, then, you think I regard the welfare of my subjects with indifference?”

Furniture Rubber. “ With indifference! Quite otherwise; since I have said you feel a desire to promote your subjects’ welfare. But to desire and execute are two different things.”

Empress. “ And who can prevent me from doing what I desire and determine to do?”

Furniture Rubber. “ The great number of other occupations which divert your attention; human nature, which subjects all of us to being idle and forgetful, to say nothing of reasons of policy.”

Empress. “ You go back incessantly to your considerations of policy and the supervention of other sources of occupation to the minds of sovereigns! Let me ask you what the considerations are on which you lay so great a stress?”

Furniture Rubber. “ What a question do you propose to me, Madam? Am I acquainted with the motives of the consideration you would manifest to different branches of the state? Can I possibly know the reasons you may have for preserving the friendship of different powers? Can I be a judge in what a degree all these considerations prevent you from performing a thousand good actions?”

Empress. “ And the other sources of occupation that divert my mind, as you imagine, pray what are they?”

Furniture Rubber. “ Truly, Madam, this is still worse! What a multiplicity of congratulations, to which you must reply by the most gracious compliments without a meaning! What pompous deputations, who all expect from you the most eloquent speeches, in which you take care to bind yourself by no agreement! Then your public rejoicings and exhibitions; the entertainments at which you must be present, lose your time, bow to the right and left, and be quite exhausted with fatigue! In truth, Madam, I pity

you with all my heart! But then, amidst this general tumult, what becomes of the unfortunate individuals you might (but that you have other things to think of), on the occasion of the peace, restore to happiness? Poor wretches! they will be forgotten; no opportunity of serving them will present itself! The welfare of private individuals! Works of charity! Yes, yes, there will be much of these, no doubt!" (*The Furniture Rubber goes away.*)

FIFTH DAY.

Empress. " You mentioned, yesterday, some works of charity, the occurrence of the peace afforded me an opportunity of performing. If you know of any such, I beg you will point them out to me."

Furniture Rubber. " How can I know of any such? The most I can do is, *to see things in the gross.* As for particulars, they never reach a person in my condition, nor have I any concern with them: it is your imperial majesty and her ministers that these regard; for my part I know nothing about them."

Empress. " You talk then at random, without knowing what you say!"

Furniture Rubber. " Oh, you mistake, I know well enough what I say. Have I not lived long

enough to know all the good you might do on such an occasion as this? Do I not know that there are at all times thousands of human beings who have indisputable claims on justice? Can I be ignorant, to say nothing of what depends only on yourself, that there does not exist a sovereign who would not be eager to grant whatever just demands you might think fit to make. But your majesty would have me point out particulars of which I ought to be ignorant, but which cannot but be known to your majesty and your ministers! This is telling me to carry water to the river."

Empress. "All this is foreign to the purpose. If you were not, yesterday, speaking at random, you certainly can point out some good action I may perform, and on this supposition I command you to declare it."

Furniture Rubber. "Where, Madam, would you have me seek to find the occasion you would have me furnish you? It is however true that in this very moment you may do a thousand works of charity; nothing can hinder me from believing this, any more than from believing you have really the desire to do them. But then for the objects! To this I can only answer, *Inquire for them of your ministers.* Yes, Madam, though you should think fit to punish my temerity, I will still repeat, that there are a thousand opportu-

nities in which you could exercise your power of doing good, that you sincerely desire to exercise that power, but which will, after all, never be exercised, though at the same time this power you might exercise if you would. This idea is truly distressing to all your servants, who admire your qualities; but it is nevertheless indispensably true." (*The Furniture Rubber goes away.*)

SIXTH DAY.

Empress. " You have referred me, N. to my ministers to be informed of the objects on whom, on the occasion of the peace, some benefit might be conferred? You may be certain they are acquainted with my intentions in this respect; of these I frequently remind them: but cannot you, on your part, at least point out to me in general, and by some examples, the objects on whom, as you suppose, I might exercise my power of doing good?"

Furniture Rubber. " I should indeed find this difficult, Madam. I know nothing but what is known also to all the world: the matters which, by some chance or other, have reached my knowledge, have been less explained to me than to other persons; they never fixed my attention. If I were to mention to your majesty some one example, I could only refer to some old affair,

and even this without knowing all the circumstances; nor do I at this moment recollect an example even of this kind; so that I should have to seek it in my brains, and God knows what I might find there!"

Empress. "Seek there, and let me know what you find?"

Furniture Rubber. "But, Madam, ignorant as I am, what if, in the simplicity of my heart, I should happen to say things that might offend, though to me they appear perfectly reasonable; what would your majesty think of any thing like this? Would you deign to consider that I did but manifest my obedience? And should I be pardoned?"

Empress. "Make yourself easy; I shall not fail to do justice to your good intentions!"

Furniture Rubber. "Let me, then, try to recollect? Ah! I remember a most striking story; but no, this I will not take for my example, since it may, perhaps, be connected with some consideration of policy."

Empress. "Never mind, proceed without fear."

Furniture Rubber. "I will then obey you, Madam. You have a family in Hungary of the name of *Trenck*; one of the members of this family did your majesty the most signal services,

particularly during the war in which you were engaged with France. He, with his four thousand Houlans, or Pandours, whom he raised in his own county, made the French tremble from the Rhine to Paris. What recompence has he received? Just as follows: means were found to persuade you he was either impious, or a traitor, or a madman; perhaps all three together. You caused him to be thrown into one of your fortresses: there no human voice could hear him in his own justification; and there he died overwhelmed with wretchedness and ignominy. After his death what was done for him? His memory was never rescued from the foul reproach; his family received no kind of consolation; Trenck was wholly consigned to oblivion. There is a branch of this family established in Prussia, a cousin of the unfortunate man I have been speaking of, who, no less the victim of misfortune, has for many years lingered out his miserable existence in a dungeon in Prussia. What is the crime of this man? He is as innocent as was his relation. He is accused of having furnished your majesty with plans of the fortresses of the monarch with whom you have just concluded a peace. This accusation your majesty knows to be false. Your majesty knows he furnished no such plans, nor was such a subject ever

mentioned. You know therefore that he is not guilty; yet, for all this, you are made a pretext for the hardships he endures. On your account it is he is now perishing in a loathsome dungeon. Can you, ought you to suffer this? Can you not, on the occasion of the peace, write to the King of Prussia that this man is innocent of the crime of which he is accused; that you yourself will answer for that innocence with your sacred and imperial word; that it is extremely painful to you to know yourself the cause of all the sufferings he endures; and that you hope the amity and good understanding brought about between you and his Prussian majesty, by means of the late peace, will be the guarantee of his procuring you the consolation of knowing that the unfortunate man has obtained justice and been set at liberty. On such an occasion, Madam, the King of Prussia can refuse you nothing: and what reparation so acceptable could you make this unhappy family? They will load you with their blessings: will not these be grateful to your heart? ... This, Madam, is the first example that presents itself to my mind."

Empress. "N. you have done well; I will think of the subject, and see what can be done."

The furniture-rubber withdrew, and soon af-

ter received the rest of the money he had been promised: for the empress had written to Frederic, who in consequence sent an order to release Trenck from his dungeon, to give him a suit of clothes of mean materials and some money, and to signify to him that he must leave the Prussian states in twenty-four hours, must never reside in any court, and, above all, strictly enjoining him to be silent respecting what had passed.

Trenck promised every thing required of him, and left Prussia without seeing any person. In his road he passed through different small towns of Germany, and at length reached Aix-la-Chapelle, where he took up his residence. In a short time he made acquaintance with a baron, who was burgomaster of that town, and had several daughters. Trenck fell in love with the youngest, who was about eighteen years of age, extremely beautiful and amiable. He demanded and obtained her in marriage. A gaiety of temper natural to the lady having, however, occasioned some censures to be passed on her conduct, her husband, on the evening of their marriage, gave a proof of his originality of character, which will scarcely by any one be regarded with approbation. When every one had retired to rest, and the bride and bridegroom had entered their apartment, the latter locked the door, took up a pis-

tol, and said as follows: "I am acquainted, Madam, with the reports that have been circulated respecting your reputation; it is but just that I should be acquainted also how far these reports are founded; choose, therefore, whether you will make me a general confession, or perish by my hand."

The poor bride, confused and trembling, wept, lamented, and implored his pity and forbearance, but in vain; Trenck was inexorable, and to her prayers to spare her life answered only, *Let me have a general confession, with no omissions, no reservation; or receive your death at my hands!* He persevered so absolutely, that she was at length obliged to enter upon the confession he required, and in which, impelled by fear, she probably exaggerated the truth.

When she had confessed all, Trenck, laying down his pistol, said to her, "Madam, you were ignorant of my true character; if you had known it you would have entered into no engagement with me, consequently I could not have been entitled to the avowal you have now made me. As this is the case, I do not hesitate to say I have no reproach to make you, nor will I ever upbraid you with the passed. What I wished was to try if you were capable of declaring the truth: the experiment affords me a convincing proof of your

veracity, so that in future I shall know you are to be depended on in this particular; this was what I wanted. Now that I know you possessed of sincerity and ingenuousness of heart, in the fulness of mine I promise you the tenderest, the sincerest friendship; the most constant affection; the most invariable esteem, and a confidence the most entire. Accept, I entreat, these promises, and let us be the truest of friends." The lady accepted the conditions, and it appeared they lived happily together; at least they were jointly the parents of seven or eight children.

After the death of Frederic, Trenck wrote to the new monarch, and obtained permission to appear in the Prussian states for the purpose of collecting the wrecks of his paternal fortune. On arriving at Berlin, it may be easily imagined his first and most eager object was to visit the lady who had been the cause of his misfortunes. Alas! what language could describe the interview? It lasted for some hours, and was consecrated to mutual tears. The past, the present, the future was reviewed without alleviation to their mutual sorrows! What perplexities, what griefs were theirs! What a perspective lay before them! Trenck, with his hair turned grey with age; his body curved with the weight of sixty pounds of iron, which for ten years had

hung suspended from it ; his features changed by grief : this was the man who, in his youth, was so remarkable for the manly beauty of his person, and whose image she had so faithfully preserved ! He, on the other hand, beheld in her, for whom he had suffered so much, a female, like himself and for the same cause, prematurely advanced in years ; a head entirely bald, and shaking so as scarcely to support itself ; a face disfigured and ghastly in its expression, and miserably wrinkled ; eyes distorted, dim, and haggard ; a form that tottered with its feebleness, and joined to limbs that, through contortion and disease, were no longer able to perform their office. How, in so altered a being, was he to trace the once loved object of his affection ; an object possessed of the bloom of youth, features the most regular, a complexion the most dazzling, the most bewitching graces, all the charms and attractions of the most captivating physiognomy and most consummate beauty ! How, in the accents of the austere affliction, the cold unfeeling train of reasoning, of desperation, and distrust that now escaped her, was he to recognize the tones that once delighted his enamoured ear ! How, in the harsh illiberal spirit in which she now judged of men and things, could he be reminded of the rich sallies of the imagination

which so often had gratified his understanding! Where were now the impetuosity of youthful gaiety, the sweetness of her manners, the enjoyment of the fleeting moment, and the illusive dreams of future bliss! Ah! all these joys were fled! Each now finds in the other a shrunk, emaciated form! What efforts were necessary on either side to sustain the unnatural shock!

In this moment of trial, the resolution of the lady proved superior to that of Trenck. She conducted the scene in such a manner as to make it serve the purpose of diverting for the time their mutual sorrow, and also that of mutual communication respecting their past sufferings: she inquired every particular concerning his situation; what the nature of his present resources and his future hopes; how many children he had, and their different ages; what manner of education he adopted for them: she next assured him, she would do for them the utmost in her power, and promised to take his eldest girl in a short time under her roof in quality of a companion. In this spirit it was they separated to see each other no more.

Trenck immediately proceeded to Prussia, where he found no more than an inconsiderable inheritance, which had nearly dwindled to nothing in the possession of the persons in whose

hands it had remained during a sequestration of near thirty years ; and on his return to Berlin he found that the lady, whose remaining strength had been exhausted by the interview that had taken place, had grown daily worse, and had at length terminated her unfortunate and burdensome existence.

Trenck having now in his own country neither friends, relations, nor resources, conceived the project of going to France and publishing his history. This was at a period when the cry of liberty resounded from every quarter in his ear : the victim of prejudice, and of a despotism the most implacable, he flattered himself he should experience from the French an encouraging reception. He came to Paris, where he excited no particular interest, and lived there in a state of perfect indigence. But the tigers who formed the summit of the Mountain faction, and with whom the most flimsy pretext was sufficient to make a prey of the defenceless, thought proper to suppose him a secret emissary of despotism, and upon this allegation they sent him to the guillotine. As he went to the place of execution, he said to the surrounding crowd, " Why are you so much astonished ? What you see is only a comedy after the manner of Robespierre." Thus, with the calm of genuine courage, with

true firmness and innocence of soul, and with a mind weaned from human concerns, did he encounter the stroke of death.

The ten years of peace which intervened between the two first wars of Frederic and the seven years' war, is the period when that monarch should naturally have afforded the greatest number of interesting anecdotes: at this time it was, more than any other, that he sacrificed to the muses, and most devoted himself to philosophy and the arts, to say nothing of his indefatigable application to the administration of his government, and the projects he conceived, prepared, and executed in consequence. We shall not attempt to follow him in this series of employments, still more complicated in their nature than long in their duration, since all we should learn by such inquiry will naturally be found in the articles appropriated to the persons who either surrounded, seconded, or served him. We therefore shall proceed to take a view of Frederic on the occasion of the seven years' war; but this with a rapidity exceeding even that he exercised in flying from one victory to another, or in repairing the disasters he had been unable to prevent.

The king having discovered that, in 1746, the imperial courts of Vienna and Petersburg had con-

cluded a secret treaty, the object of which was to secure themselves the means of dispossessing him of all power, and annihilating him as a sovereign whenever this should be found practicable, could not fail to watch, with unceasing vigilance, not only the motions of these two courts, but of those also which betrayed the most striking symptoms of being closely attached to them.

The result of this vigilance was, that Frederic, through the treachery of a secretary to the Saxon embassy, obtained the knowledge that, after ten years of impotent endeavours, the execution of the project of the imperial courts was now in serious agitation; that to this effect he was to be attacked by Russia and Austria at once; that France was to embrace their views, and become their ally, as well as Poland and Sweden, but that the former of these two, having every thing to fear for the fate of Saxony, was not to declare itself till Frederic should be wholly unable to requite the injury; that there had been, and still was, important negotiations carrying on respecting this object at Petersburg, and that Count de Bruhl was deeply interested in them, and was informed of all the proceedings.

Conformably with the respective situations of the parties, it was of importance to obtain of Frederic two essential points: the one was to in-

fluence him to delay his hostile measures and operations, at least till every party should be ready to attack him at the same time; and the other, to prevent his forming an alliance with England. As to Saxony, the feigned neutrality of the King of Poland was considered as the guarantee of the safety of that country.

With these views, and under these circumstances, Louis the Fifteenth sent the Duke de Nivernois as ambassador extraordinary to the court of Prussia, for the purpose of amusing Frederic with a project it was not intended to fulfil; or, if fulfilled, could have proved to him no means of security. M. de Nivernois was received with all the ceremonies usually employed toward extraordinary ambassadors: he was lodged in a large and splendid hotel, which is now the porcelain manufactory; and a guard was placed at his door. Baron de Poelnitz, in quality of first chamberlain, was directed to concert with him respecting the ceremonials necessary for his first audience, which was to be conducted with the greatest pomp imaginable. The baron, on the day appointed, waited on the duke to conduct both him and his suite in the most sumptuous carriages to the court; and thus, attended by a numerous escort proceeding in a slow and solemn

pace, was he ushered into the presence of the king.

The ambassador found his majesty seated on the throne; he pronounced an eloquent discourse, and presented his credentials: Frederic received them graciously, listened with attention, and replied with dignity and conciseness; then, throwing aside the tone of ceremony, he conversed with the ambassador in a manner at once engaging, courteous, and familiar, on the subjects of literature and philosophy, and in particular on that of the French academy.

Such was the result of this important audience, and of several others that succeeded it. Frederic refused himself to none they chose to solicit; but to all the propositions brought forward on such occasions, he answered only by a few unmeaning words, and constantly resumed the subject of literature; a line of conduct that gave him opportunities of saying the most civil things to the ambassador, who at length, despairing of bringing his purpose to an issue, was at a loss what further step to take.

At this juncture Frederic agreed to grant him a private interview: this monarch had hitherto deferred an explanation, and employed the intermediate time in negotiating his alliance with

England, of the result of which he had been in daily expectation; at length he had received from London the treaty signed by the hand of George, and which had been previously signed by himself. This transaction he now communicated to the Duke de Nivernois, saying, "Ambassador, I am going to acquaint you with a piece of intelligence that will occasion you some surprise, and which, in several points of view, gives me considerable uneasiness: I have just concluded a treaty of alliance with England.".... "Sire, this cannot be possible.".... "It is, however, true; the business is absolutely concluded; circumstances were imperious; and sovereigns, you know, are seldom their own masters, but are necessarily governed by events. I have been the ally of Louis the Fifteenth; I have had no cause to complain of that relation, and I bear him great affection. Well, now I am his enemy! One only hope remains to give me consolation: it is that the time will come when my destiny will be more propitious, when I shall resume my past alliance with that monarch. Tell him, I entreat you, of the sincere attachment I feel, and shall ever continue to feel, toward him.".... "Ah! Sire, what a misfortune! How shall I summon the courage to announce so unexpected and afflictive an event to Louis the Fifteenth, who entertains

for your majesty so ardent an affection, and who sent me hither to cement, if possible, the bonds of a friendship so honourable to you both!".... "What, Sir, could I possibly do? It was a necessary evil that admits of no remedy: but Louis the Fifteenth may easily form other alliances; for example, with the house of Austria.".... "Your majesty is not serious?".... "Why not? An alliance between France and Austria is so natural! Were I in your place, I would suggest the idea to my court: believe me, good advice may sometimes be offered, even by an enemy; and then a wise man will not disdain to profit by it.".... "Sire, I will write to my court to tell them this is the counsel you offer us.".... "With all my heart; it will be well done*."

* I have been told that this narrative and dialogue are not in accord with the dispatches of the Duke de Nivernois. I cannot tell whether the duke was fearful of offending the court of Vienna, Louis the Fifteenth, the ministry of the day, or, above all, the Marchioness of Pompadour; and whether this fear led him to falsify his dispatches, if not in substance, at least with regard to the form. The court of France, at the same time that she contracted an alliance with Austria and Russia against Frederic, whom they were determined to destroy, and of whom Louis the Fifteenth was jealous, was sollicitous to divert her future victim from an alliance with England; this was the object of the mission of Nivernois; it could have no other: if this point is contested with me, there is no longer any certainty in history; but grant

M. de Nivernois accordingly dispatched a messenger the same day, but it was to announce the result of his mission. After this audience, the ambassador had only to prepare for his departure.

The King of Prussia lost no time: well assured that the King of Poland, elector of Saxony, was one of his secret enemies, he, when least expected, made himself master of the electorate. On entering the town of Dresden, he sent one of his generals to the Queen of Poland, who remained in it, to say that the reason he did not come in person to pay her his respects, was because he knew the sight of an enemy could not

me this, and it is of little importance under what sort of impressions or apprehensions our ambassador wrote his dispatches; my tale cannot be refuted by them. In fine, I have said nothing above, which was not a subject of general notoriety, avowed and repeated on the spot by all those who were nearest to Frederic, and had the best opportunities of information. The Duke de Nivernois was loved and esteemed at Berlin; Prince Henry had always a sincere friendship for him; but they laughed in their sleeves at his mission, which they regarded as a piece of diplomatical legerdemain. The sarcasm implied, in the words of Frederic, *an alliance between Austria and France is so natural*, is known to be in exact conformity with his general character and his feelings at the time. Count Finck, Baron Poelnitz, and others, heard him use the words, and repeated them after him.

be agreeable; but that he wished her to rely on his most positive assurances that her person should continue free and ever be respected: that she should retain her private guard; and that such measures should be taken as would insure her the ordinary attendance to which she was accustomed; but that his Prussian majesty trusted she would not take offence if he allowed himself to make some strict researches, which the most important political considerations rendered necessary: that his majesty was authorized to believe that certain papers, of which he stood in need, were deposited in Dresden; that he could not, without injustice to himself, but avail himself of the present opportunity to procure them. The general ended with requesting her Polish majesty to consent to his making the researches above alluded to, and particularized in the orders he had received; and even to facilitate his endeavours, by furnishing him with the keys of the desks, bureaux, cabinets, and strong boxes of the castle.

The queen manifested no reluctance in her compliance with the first demand, well aware, no doubt, that nothing would be found of the nature sought for; but she abandoned herself to the most violent anger and haughty indignation, when, these first researches having proved fruitless, she found the persons employed in the examina-

tion were proceeding to search in other places, and even in the bed in which she slept. She declared, with vehemence, that this indignity she would not endure, and rushed forward before the persons to defend it from their indecent scrutiny. The general, constantly multiplying his excuses, represented that, under circumstances where state affairs of great importance were at stake, no attention could be paid to considerations of mere decorum, and that on no account could he dispense with the observance of the orders he had received. The cries and opposition of the queen accordingly were vain: they passed her by, and the strong box which contained the treaty signed at Petersburg was found, as is affirmed, in her bed.

Such are the particulars which have frequently been communicated to me relative to this extraordinary event; I have even been assured that the papers found in the strong box were still preserved in the archives of the cabinet of Berlin. If, therefore, all these circumstances are absolutely true, as in the Prussian states they are asserted to be, Frederic is, no doubt, sufficiently justified, not only in taking possession of Saxony, but in respect to his conduct toward the Queen of Poland, in whatever light it was represented by the French newspapers at the time. When one sees public papers wilfully misrepresent facts,

and substituting throughout the grossest calumnies for truths, one can do no less than form a steadfast resolution to reject as false every allegation advanced by the enemies of the parties whose actions are to be judged of. All France at this time regarded Frederic as a savage barbarian; as the monster of the north; and the cabinet of Versailles, which, urged on by policy and the intrigues of the dauphiness, employed every means to disseminate and maintain these opinions, was at the very time persuaded of their falsehood. It was even pretended that the life of the Queen of Poland was in danger; and all hearts were penetrated with emotion to see with what despair her daughter, the dauphiness, came and threw herself publicly at the feet of Louis the Fifteenth, demanding vengeance for the sufferings of her mother*.

* There are here two questions to be settled: 1st. Was it in the queen's bed that the treaty in question was looked for and found? The idea of rudely approaching the bed of a queen has, in our manners, something in it so audacious and indecent, that all the world has agreed to say that it was in the archives, and not in the bed, that the treaty was discovered: but it has not been sufficiently considered that, however natural it is that a queen should exert her utmost strength to defend her bed against the impertinence of curiosity, it would be ridiculous and absurd to suppose that she exerted herself with the same violence to prevent the opening the door of the archives: the conqueror must have been

A new crime was now imputed to Frederic; this was the manner in which he made himself

expected to make this use of his power; her majesty's resistance must have been childishness or frenzy, and she makes a figure in the story which nothing can justify or excuse; add to this, it could not be a secret in the court of Dresden or the Prussian army what was the scene in which this incident occurred. Now it was constantly and uniformly stated at the time and on the spot, that the whole transaction related to the queen's bed, whatever motives of politeness or decorum may have influenced the writers on both sides to substitute afterward the word archives in the room of the word bed, a substitution the more ingenious, as, in the diplomatical language, treaties and public records are always supposed to be deposited in the archives, wherever they may really happen to be.

2dly, What was the nature of the treaty, the possession of which Frederic was so eager to obtain? M. Hertzberg has told us that it was a *treaty of eventual alliance*, by which the King of Poland engaged to unite himself with the confederates, only in case his dominions should be violated by the Prussian forces. It is true the position of Saxony obliged the elector to use this phraseology to justify him in appearance and save him in extremity: but one word will suffice to disperse the illusion. What need had King Augustus of a treaty to engage him to defend himself whenever he should be attacked? Hertzberg seems to entertain a doubt whether the project of dethroning Frederic would ever have been attempted if he had not first turned aggressor against King Augustus. But political disquisition, and M. Hertzberg more than any body, must and ought to explain the meaning of words, according to the circumstances under which they are heard. What the minister said in a public

master of the camp of Pirna, and the policy he used in disseminating throughout his army the fifteen thousand Saxons who became his prisoners: in this, however, he did no more than profit to the utmost of the fruits of his activity and the gifts of fortune.

After some months he found himself compelled to employ a greater degree of severity than he had at first proposed. The Queen of Poland, and particularly Madame Bruhl who never left her side, contrived, by means of the guards Frederic felt himself obliged to allow the former, to convey intelligence to the Austrians of all the discoveries they could make at Dresden concerning the strength, motions, operations, and pro-

discourse before the academy of Berlin, long after the war had ceased, might be exactly proper to soften the irritation of hostile minds, and to manifest his own impartiality and moderation; and yet it may not be less certain that, if Frederic had acted in 1756 as his minister professed to think more than thirty years after, his ruin would have been inevitable. Hertzberg seems, in this instance, to be the accuser of Frederic; but it was when his great master had been twelve months dead, and under the reign of William the Second, who gave Hertzberg a ribbon, and created him a count, and who had chosen for the governor of his children the son of Count Bruhl, formerly one of Frederic's bitterest enemies. Such are the faith and ingenuousness of statesmen!

jects of that monarch: to obviate this abuse of his kindness it would have been necessary to contract the boundaries allotted to her guard for walking, and this measure he was sensible would only have raised an outcry without producing the desired effect. Frederic accordingly adopted a safe and more simple medium. He caused it to be represented to the queen, that national animosity might bring on quarrels between her private guard and the Prussians that it would be prudent to avoid; that the Saxons, being the weakest, must necessarily run greater hazards opposed to the former, and thus occasion her majesty disquietude; that on this account he had adopted the plan of appointing her majesty a Prussian guard, by whom she would be served with equal zeal, and left in the enjoyment of equal freedom and tranquillity. Thus the queen lost her agents, and no longer found the possibility of serving the enemy as she had previously done. It is easily imagined this new measure did not fail to awaken and increase the clamours of the public.

At the moment of this invasion of Saxony, while the king was at Leipsic, Baron Kniphausen arrived there on his return from France, to which court he had been in quality of his minister plenipotentiary. They had a long and immediate in-

interview, in which the baron gave his majesty an account of the discoveries he had been able to make respecting the disposition, designs, and preparations of the French government: having fulfilled this first duty, he added, "I should deem myself culpable toward your majesty, Sire, if I did not inform you that every thing your majesty does or says, even in your most private intercourse, is known at the court of Versailles. I was not able to discover by whom nor in what manner this information is effected; but I have heard repeated, from the lips of persons belonging to the court of France, the conversation your majesty has held even on the most trivial subjects. I venture therefore to entreat, Sire, that in this respect you will use the necessary circumspection; and the rather, as your majesty is well aware that a single word, that has the power to sting, is sometimes the cause of more serious mischiefs than actions of even the greatest weight." "All this is vastly well," replied the king; "I am extremely glad to see you. I must now go out on horseback; but you will dine with me, when we can again converse on this subject if we should think it necessary."

At table, when every one had been served, the king, addressing himself to his guests, said to them, in presence of the attendants, and

and smiling as he spoke, "Observe, Gentlemen, how singular a fate is mine! My reverence for the fair sex is well known! On no occasion do I fail in the respect I owe them. Well, would you believe it, I, who give them no cause for offence, who occasion them no manner of restraint, who have no concern in common with them, and never meddle with their affairs, am condemned to carry on an open war with them. Here am I compelled to enter the lists with three of them at once, and these the most illustrious Europe has to boast; the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, the Empress Maria-Theresa of Vienna, and the Marchioness de Pompadour of France! And what, I pray you, is my offence? Can you conceive of any thing more extraordinary? The three first *ladies* (the king used a very gross word) in Europe unite together to provoke, beyond the bounds of endurance, the man who of all the world should be the most indifferent to them.".... "Ah! how singular a character," said Baron Kniphausen to himself; "this, then, is the fruit of the sermon I preached to him this morning!"

I shall not follow Frederic in his marches and the numerous battles in which he engaged, because my intention is rather to put together anecdotes than to form a regular and complete history.

From the Swedes Frederic had but little to en-

ture, nor scarcely did his party deign to enter them in the general account, and whole campaigns passed away without their being either named or thought of: it is easily imagined that it was Queen Ulrica who reduced the Swedish nation to this state of inactivity or nullity.

With the Russians it was far otherwise; they made themselves masters of Prussia, and there exhibited all the ravages of war; pillage, incendiaries, extraordinary taxes: this country was plunged by the Russians into the most aggravated horrors, and entirely ruined. Frederic fought with them many bloody battles; in one of which he took several generals prisoners, who were of great importance to the enemy; among others, Gregory Czernicheff, who has since been minister at war. These prisoners were presented to Frederic on the evening of the day of their captivity, by a conductor who announced simply, *The Russian generals*: Frederic casting on them an eye of indignation, replied, *Generals, say you? rather barbarian incendiaries!* and turned his back upon them.

A few years after this occurrence, these generals, having been exchanged, found themselves at the head of the Russian army when Peter the Third was on the throne. On the death of that monarch, Catherine the Second sent orders to the

army to fall back and to remain neuter. Frederic, on this occasion, had a conversation that lasted an hour with the very generals he had formerly treated with so much harshness, and this with his hat in his hand and exposed to the scorching rays of a mid-day sun; when, by dint of the most courteous language, promises, and, no doubt, such means as he found likely to prove successful, he prevailed upon them to conceal, till the following day, the order they had received to fall back; when he instantly gave battle to the Austrians, and employed against them his whole force, which he did with the greater security, being covered to the left by the Russian army, which, though it did not act, yet maintained every appearance of being in order for battle, while the Austrians, who as yet knew nothing of the orders sent from Petersburg, and believed they had every thing to fear from these seemingly formidable Russians, dared not weaken their numbers on the side exposed to their attack: and thus the Prussians gained a complete victory; a victory due to the ignorance of the vanquished, to the infidelity of the Russians who did not move off till the following day, and to the activity and legerdemain of the conqueror.

On this occasion General Gregory Czernicheff,

that *barbarian*, that *incendiary*, was presented with a magnificent sword enriched with diamonds, on the part of Frederic, which he carefully preserved during the rest of his life. The Russian commanders incurred no disgrace at Petersburg, because Catherine the Second had only to read the correspondence of Frederic with Peter the Third, to be undeceived in regard to the former, whom she had imagined at least indifferent to the ill treatment she had already received, and might still expect to receive, from her husband; for the letters she found of his writing among the papers of Peter, who admired him to enthusiasm, proved to her, on the contrary, that this monarch had lost no occasion of conciliating the affections of Peter toward her, by expressing a high opinion of her qualities. To this provident foresight and moderation on the part of Frederic, must be attributed the determination of the empress to adopt a system of neutrality only a few days after she had appeared disposed to resume that of Elizabeth.

All these details have led me insensibly from the thread of the events to which I shall now return.

In a battle between Frederic and the Russians, near Franckfort on the Oder, the victory was so decidedly in his favour, that he wrote a billet,

destined to announce the event at Berlin, on a drum's head, which billet, according to the custom of the country, was carried by thirty postillions, each blowing a French horn: but Frederick's security proved fatal; he neglected necessary precautions, and lost the day.

A Russian corps, consisting of about twelve thousand men, provided with thirty pieces of cannon, were posted on a hillock of sand called *The Jews' Burying Ground*, on the banks of the Oder. Frederic ordered that they should not be allowed to retreat, nor would he take them prisoners, but determined that they should be driven into the river; he accordingly sent successively all the divisions of his victorious army for the execution of that purpose, who all perished in the attempt, while Frederic himself did not escape without being wounded. Among others, the celebrated Kliest, author of a pleasing description of Spring, was killed on that day; and half an hour subsequent to the news of a great victory gained, a new courier stepped forward on the canvass, the bearer of a billet which exhibited the following words: "Let the queen, the royal family, the treasures, and every thing that may be found possible, be instantly conveyed to Magdeburg. All is lost!"

While the dejected remnant of his army were

effecting a retreat, Frederic himself remained motionless under the destructive battery of the Russians, from whence he was removed by one of his pages or aid-de-camps, who laid hold of his horse's bridle and conducted him from the spot. I have conversed with different military officers who were present on this occasion, who were all perfectly convinced he acted thus in the hope of being killed by a cannon shot.

The following year the Russians visited Berlin, where those incendiaries of Prussia proved themselves much better disciplined, more moderate, and less like barbarians than the Austrians. Protections were granted to a great number of families, and notably to all those recommended by the celebrated Euler: the contributions levied were moderate; public monuments were respected; an almoner, or *pope*, detected in the commission of some fraud, was even whipped, the general having respectfully kissed his hand both before and after the administration of this punishment.

The Prussian monarchy was truly, at this time, on the brink of complete ruin, and all means to avert the evil to all appearance unavailing. Fortunately the death of Elizabeth happened at this crisis, a circumstance which may be considered as one of the miraculous and un-

expected events that effected the salvation of Frederic.

This monarch fought but one battle in person against the French, which was that of Rosbach. His perplexity on this occasion would have been extreme, if the Prince de Soubise had calculated on any other principles than those of a puerile and childish vanity. A man of cool reflection would have said, "Thus reason herself dictates to me, to stay in this place, and to avoid the combat." But, instead of a calculation so prudent and simple, he yielded to the ridiculous hope of conquering the King of Prussia, and dreaded nothing so much as losing the present opportunity; accordingly his defeat was complete.

The king set himself to composing the epistle in verse in which he so heartily thanks the Prince de Soubise; and the next day set out for Silesia. It was natural to believe that Prince de Saxe Hildburg Haussen had proved a traitor on this occasion. It was even afterward observed, that this prince, who was loaded with debts, had derived assistance from Frederic, which prevented his creditors from suing him; and the following observations of Frederic respecting M. de Soubise has been often repeated: "He has

twenty cooks and not a single spy; while I, on my part, have twenty spies and but one cook."

During the campaign in which Marshal de Richelieu succeeded to Marshal d'Étrées, and made so unprofitable a use of the victory gained by the latter, the first step of this courtier general was, to form the project for laying siege to Magdeburg; to this effect he advanced as far as the district of Halberstadt, where he received a visit from a man who had the courage and patriotism to suppose orders he could neither solicit nor receive in time, but that, under the existing circumstances, he deemed to be absolutely necessary. This person was the guard intrusted with the care of the greatest portion of the treasure which had been conveyed to Magdeburg. He secretly offered a sum of money to Marshal de Richelieu, on condition of his proceeding no further, which the latter accepted. At least this account has been repeated to me a hundred times, by persons about the court.

The service thus rendered to his country by M. Dankelmann (this was the name of the person) was the more important, as at this time there were in the garrison of Magdeburg no more troops than the wrecks of two or three ruined battalions, with about twelve hundred deserters,

or other recruits, who were learning their exercise, and on whom no dependence could be placed. Every one was well convinced, that if the French troops had once reached the place it must in a few days have surrendered, being absolutely destitute of effectual defence. Thus Marshal de Richelieu lost time, and gave Prince Ferdinand an opportunity of driving all the French posts back upon the Rhine. From that time M. Dankelmann was honoured with the confidence and public consideration of his sovereign.

But the grand struggle of Frederic during this war was aimed against the Austrians. When he went to see the camp of Joseph the Second, a long time after the conclusion of the peace, he observed Field-marshal Laudon about to place himself opposite to him at table; upon which he said to him, "I beg, Marshal, you will come hither and sit near me; I had much rather have you by my side than face to face." Laudon was in fact the general who, more than any other, had thwarted his operations, and occasioned him vexation in the course of the war. It has not yet been determined whether the constancy of this monarch, in supporting the greatest fatigue, the uniform courage of his character, or the ver-

satilily of his genius, were the object the most worthy of our admiration.

With respect to the first of these qualifications, he was forward on all necessary occasions to place himself on foot at the head of his troops in the most rigorous and inclement season of the year, and accomplished the most fatiguing marches with a serene tranquillity that precluded all possibility of complaint among his soldiers: this in particular was his situation on his march from Rosbach to Silesia, during the end of November and more than half of the month of December. In like manner, when the article of bread was of the worst quality, and excited bitter complaints among the troops, Frederic has been seen to ask the soldier nearest to him for a piece of his bread, which he greedily swallowed, and then said, "Your bread, it is true, is not the best; however, with a good appetite it is not so much amiss. I will take care, as soon as it may be possible, to procure you better. Till then, we must make a virtue of necessity."

On the loss of the battle of Collin, Frederic set out with some of his generals full gallop to raise the blockade of Prague before Prince Charles should be informed of the fatal event. After a fatiguing journey they arrived at a vil-

lage, at the entrance of which they observed a woman with a basket of cherries. The king bought the cherries, and said to his companions, "Our horses, Gentlemen, want rest: we ourselves may even loiter away an hour or two without risk, as we have advanced so rapidly; let us pass it in this place."

They entered a barn, and while some persons took care of their horses, they procured some straw, on which they sat down, and soon emptied the basket of cherries; after which Frederic said to them, "Which of you is least inclined to sleep?" It was natural that Baron de Pirch, his page, should offer himself the first. "Well," said the king, "look what o'clock it is by your watch. Keep you awake: have every thing in readiness to pursue our journey, and awake us in one hour." Frederic then stretched himself on the straw, saying, "Come, let us be quiet and go to sleep." And in less than a minute slept himself profoundly.

With respect to personal courage, I believe no man that ever existed has given more constant and unquestionable proofs than Frederic of this admirable quality. I have already related many of the instances, and I might multiply them to infinity. I have seen the clothes he wore during this terrible war, which were pur-

chased by Captain Favrat ; that is, his hat, coat, waistcoat, breeches, and boots : the whole was thoroughly worn out, and extremely dusty ; but the hat and coat were pierced through with bullets.

I have seen also, in the possession of M. le Catt, a gold etui case, which Frederic ordinarily kept in the side pocket of his breeches. In the battle of Zorndorff a bullet from the enemy struck against this etui with so much force as to bulge it considerably, and must otherwise have done serious injury to his thigh, which for this time escaped with only that of a violent contusion.

One evening, after being in a severe engagement in the course of the day, he drew near a large fire which had just been kindled by some soldiers of his guards, who asked him where he had been all the day, as none of them had seen him, though it had ever been his custom to join them in the battle. Frederic, in reply, informed them both where he had been, and how employed ; and unbuttoning his waistcoat, as he found himself grow warmer, a bullet fell from it which the soldiers picked up, all of them exclaiming it was clear enough he had been in the thickest of the fight ; they ended with conjuring him to refrain from thus exposing himself to danger in future.

This last trait evinces the kind of familiarity he allowed his soldiers, and particularly his guards, to use towards him. Of this I will give the reader another proof. When he had confided a part of his financial department to natives of France, he had made for himself a cloak trimmed with gold lace. The first time he reviewed his regiment, he made his appearance in this cloak; and the soldiers, in a voice loud enough to be heard, said, "It is easy enough to be seen that our Fritz is become a French financier, for, see, he wears the gold lace." Frederic, extremely amused with their discourse, turned from them to laugh at his ease. It should be observed that the name of Fritz had been given him by the soldiers as a mark of their attachment.

Frederic was not only familiar and kind to his guards to the utmost extent the military discipline could allow of; but sometimes he even abandoned himself with them to the kind of playfulness and gaiety which ever constituted one of the principal features of his character. At a certain time, when every soldier was of the greater value to him, because he had lost great numbers of his troops and had no means to purchase more, a handsome grenadier was brought before him; he was a native of France, and was taken in the act of desertion from his regiment.

“ Grenadier,” said Frederic, “ for what reason would you have quitted us ? ” “ Egad, Sire, it was because your affairs go on so badly. ” “ I agree with you, our affairs at present are not so prosperous as we could wish ; but let us but engage in another battle, and afterward, if things should go on no better, why, we will desert all together ! ” “ A bargain, Sire ; I consent to your proposal. ”

Frederic was not only the comrade of his soldiers, but, under a different form, of his officers also. A captain, I do not recollect of what regiment, had on all occasions evinced so decided a character for zeal and bravery, that he one day sent him the order of the Cross of Merit. “ My friend, said the captain to the page, who was the bearer of this insignia, the custom is to give you eleven ducats in exchange for what you have brought me, and all I have exceeds that sum but by a little ; these ducats are of more use to me than the decoration, for I cannot live without them. Further, as to the present time I have supported the character of a man of merit without this mark of distinction, I surely can continue so to do on the same conditions. On the other hand, though I were a scoundrel, this decoration would make me no less a scoundrel. Carry back, therefore, to the king this order, re-

peat to him what you have heard me say, and tell him I stand in need of no such gewgaws to do my duty."

The page accordingly gave the king an account of his embassy, who the next day sent back the same page to the officer with the order of the Cross of Merit, accompanied by a billet containing these words: "I forgot, my dear Captain, that I owed you a hundred ducats; I have recollected it, and I now send them to you: I hope you will accept them along with the order of the Cross of Merit, which is so justly your due." . . . "Ah!" said the captain to the page, "this is quite another thing: I give you, my friend, twenty-two ducats instead of eleven; and tell the king, that since he thinks of paying his debts, I also pay mine."

In one of the unfortunate battles fought by Frederic, he found himself at the close of the evening with scarcely a man near him but his page, Pirch. As he was in pursuit of his soldiers, he perceived a lone farm-house, and proceeded toward it, saying to his page, "In that house, I presume, we shall find a detachment of my guards." . . . "Sire, do not run the risk of entering it; it is to the full as likely we may find in it enemies instead of friends." . . . "No, no, this cannot be, let us make the experiment.

At least, Sire, let me go first and make what discoveries I can in this respect." Saying this, Pirch set off full gallop without waiting for a reply.

When he was sufficiently near to the house for those within to distinguish that he was a Prussian, a smart firing was discharged upon him, and one of the bullets entered his shoulder; upon which he returned to the king, who then pursued his researches in another direction. This was the only wound Baron de Pirch received during the whole of this war.

Frederic at one time was in league with a superior officer in the Austrian service, a major of the name of Rétzow, who gave him secret intelligence to the utmost in his power concerning the projects of General Daun. This traitor experienced the fate which sooner or later is that of persons of his stamp; he was detected. General Daun fell in with his messenger, who had a basket under his arm, and asked him what it contained; the latter having answered that it contained only some eggs, the general ordered him to give them to his cook. In breaking these eggs, it was discovered that one of them had been previously emptied, and, after being filled with a piece of paper containing the secret intelligence, was again joined together.

General Daun sent for the offender, and shutting himself into a room with him, he said, "Here is a paper of secret intelligence you would have conveyed to the enemy of your country; you cannot deny the fact, for the paper is written with your hand. Your crime is no less evident than horrible. You merit death; nor do I believe that among the witnesses of your execution would be found one who would bestow on you his compassion: but you belong to a family of high respectability, and I confess I cannot divest myself of those sentiments toward its members with which you have ceased to inspire me. I am desirous to save, at least, the honour of your relations, and I perceive but one means of obtaining this end. Sit down to this desk, and write as I shall dictate to the King of Prussia, which I will contrive shall reach his hands without delay. I will make the most at Vienna of the service you will thus have done us at the last moment; and should this prove insufficient for the preservation of your liberty, it will at least, I trust, save both your honour and your life."

The traitor, discovered and confounded, submitted to every thing. M. Daun dictated a billet, in which the king was informed that the Austrians had held a numerous council of war, in which the general in chief had proposed to

give his Prussian majesty battle; that opinions in this council had been so various, and so obstinately supported on either side, that no resolution had been fixed on but that of sending a courier to Vienna to demand orders of her imperial majesty, and waiting the return of this messenger: that consequently the army would remain inactive for a week at least.

The king having received this billet in the evening, determined in consequence to allow his generals an interval of rest: he gave them a supper, at which he received them in the highest spirits imaginable. The pleasure of conversation was even prolonged to a later hour than is usual in a camp.

At length the company thought of separating for the night; at the same moment an Austrian deserter, sent forward by the advanced posts, desired to speak with the king. "From whence did you come?" said Frederic. . . . "From the camp of General Daun, Sire." . . . "And what is doing in his camp?" . . . "Preparations are making to attack your majesty." . . . "This, friend, is impossible: General Daun can have no such intention." . . . "He so certainly has that intention, Sire, that orders for removing the camp had been given before I left it, and all the troops were already employed in executing them; they

were to march about one, and to make their attack on your majesty by three or four at latest." "My good fellow, you mistake; I am better acquainted than you with the intentions of the general."

The king then ordered the deserter to be delivered to the commanding officer of *such* a regiment, and that he should be vigilantly watched. After he was taken away, the generals represented to the king, that the warning of the deserter might prove of great importance, and that prudence required him to take his measures in consequence.

"My friends," replied the king, "I know more of the designs of General Daun than any deserter in the world; what this fellow relates is all a fable, or, it may be, that Daun would keep his troops upon the alert, and thus employs them on a false pretence. Depend upon it you may be perfectly easy; so let us drink another bottle, and then we will go to bed and sleep in the morning the hours we have lost by sitting up at night." "But what harm," observed General Zieten, "would there be in keeping on our guard? We shall lose but a night's sleep, which is not worth considering." "My friends," resumed Frederic, "you have already lost so many nights' rest, and must lose so many more, that it is at

least prudent to take advantage of a proper season for a respite from your fatigues. I find I must command you to go to bed and sleep soundly; I shall myself set you the example. Gentlemen, good night, and good repose to you."

When they had left the king, "Brothers," said General Ziethen to his companions, "do you intend to go to bed?" "We were thinking to do so," replied several of them: "the king, you see, seems absolutely sure we have no danger to apprehend; we therefore act accordingly." "Well," said Ziethen, "I, on my part, shall instantly order all the horses in my regiment to be saddled, and all my soldiers to keep themselves in readiness. The king urges the fatiguing nights we have had, but the addition of one such night is little worth attention; the evil is small indeed, and, in my opinion, the account of the deserter is too positive to be disregarded. The king relies that the man is mistaken: but why may not he himself mistake? In things of such importance, it is extremely wrong to neglect such precautions as we have the power to employ."

This example of Ziethen prevailed on two of the other generals to imitate his proceedings; and it was these three regiments that saved the king

and his army. At four o'clock, Daun arrived in order of battle. Upon the first alarm, the three regiments of cavalry made their appearance, engaged the enemy in a skirmishing sort of contest, and thus gained time for the other regiments to rise, resume their arms, and receive orders. Frederic lost no time in adopting the happiest measures possible: he fought desperately the whole morning, and after having lost Marshal Klieth, a prince of Brunswick, and near ten thousand men, after being himself wounded, together with the majority of his generals, he marched his army to an eminence a league distant from the spot, where it was so securely posted that Daun dared not venture to attack it; but during the confusion, disorder, and precipitation of the scene, the enemy found means to seize a part of the baggage and cannon, and, in particular, the whole equipage and effects of the king.

Such was the battle of Hockirchen, which to Frederic proved one of those impressive lessons, the tendency of which was to increase his natural proneness to a mistrustful temper.

This was not the only occasion on which General Ziethen rendered his country the most essential services. I am enabled to relate of him several others. In another battle, for example, he disappeared suddenly with his regiment, con-

sisting of about four thousand men: after some time he was perceived on the summit of a mountain, which, unobserved by every one, he had ascended, and from the height of which he descended with every advantage from the gradual declivity, and fell on the rear of the enemy, whose front was at the same time engaged in the warmest of the battle.

Nothing could be more ingenuous, liberal, and noble, than the manner in which the King of Prussia terminated this long and cruel war.

He was at the castle of Hubersburg, in Saxony, when conversing with Baron de Hertzberg on the subject of politics, the latter told him that the empress queen was well disposed to make a peace with him, as he had been positively assured by a person whom he named. . . . "A peace," replied Frederic! "This I have long desired and also proposed. If what you say is true, a peace shall not long be wanted. On this he took a half sheet of paper and wrote on it as follows: "If her imperial majesty be, as I am assured, disposed to conclude a peace, I have the honour to declare to her, that a peace is also my desire; but such a measure must be determined on with promptitude: no convocations, no mediators, no diplomatic ceremonials. For the rest, my conditions are extremely simple: I demand,

“ 1st. That each power shall restore to the other, the countries of which the fate of war has given it the possession.

“ 2dly. That nothing be granted by way of indemnification to either party; each shall abide by his own losses.

“ 3dly. Treaties formerly made shall be confirmed.

“ 4thly. Silesia shall be specially guaranteed to Prussia.

“ 5thly. I will give my vote as an elector to the Archduke Joseph at the time of the election for a king of the Romans.

“ If these conditions meet the acquiescence of her imperial majesty, we will conclude a peace; if her majesty does not accept these conditions, our arms shall decide concerning the destiny of the respective nations. But I require a prompt and absolute decision. I can wait no longer than a week from the present time for the answer of her imperial majesty.”

Frederic then proceeded to sign the note, and gave it to M. de Hertzberg to be forwarded to the empress queen. The Austrian ministers were advocates for the continuance of the war, but Maria-Theresa rejected the idea. An ordinary counsellor of the court was sent with full powers to treat with Frederic. To him the

Electeur of Saxony joined a private counsellor, who in concert drew out a plan for the treaty in the presence of the king and M. de Hertzberg, at that time counsellor to the legation. This treaty was signed at Hubersburg, and afterwards ratified; and from the 17th of February the Prussian troops entered upon their march toward their home. This manner of negotiation, no less simple than expeditious, is sufficient to give an idea of the true character of Frederic.

Historians for the most part repel but feebly two reproaches that have at different times been broached against this great man in his character of a warrior: one was that of his committing great faults from his too ready presumption, vivacity, or feelings of revenge; and the other that of his yielding to a jealousy the most odious and unjust toward his most zealous and able generals.

In support of the first of these, the unfortunate changes he ordered in the arrangement of his army during the battle of Collin, in place of such as were deemed effectual and judicious, is alleged against him. Next, his obstinacy in persisting to march against Olmutz for the purpose of laying siege to the town; his perseverance in disregarding the notice of the deserter in the affair of Hockirchen, contrary to the advice of his most skilful generals; his resolution to de-

stroy the whole Russian army at the battle of Zorndorff, &c. In short, he has been reproached for all the proceedings he entered into that in the sequel proved unsuccessful.

This then is the judgment of mankind: success commands applause; and whatever be the motives that produce an action, to be commended, it must be fortunate; for in the eyes of the vulgar, fortune cannot judge amiss. Certainly, those who condemn the plans and proceedings of Frederic in concerns that have failed of success, have not sought to understand the motives that impelled him; they must accordingly be too ignorant in the case to claim a right to censure. I am not, however, of opinion that Frederic committed no faults; he himself confesses he committed many; but I wish to remind the reader that we should be slow indeed in casting reproach on a man of a genius so gigantic.

The second reproach I have mentioned has also some anecdotes belonging to it which seem to prove its justice. The severity with which he treated his eldest brother, on his return to Saxony after the battle of Collin; his rupture with one of his generals named Fouquet; the censures, sometimes but little merited, he occasionally passed on the conduct of so many different persons, and the rigour with which some of these

were degraded for the remainder of their lives; all furnish room for suspicions it is by no means easy to dismiss.

Jealousy is a weakness; and it is painful to be obliged to impute such a fault to him, who on so many accounts is justly considered superior to the race of which he was an individual. But if those who desire to render justice are not always able to procure themselves the satisfaction of finding Frederic at all times worthy of himself, yet they may at least derive consolation from an infinite number of noble and generous features in his character, which evinced how sensible he was of the honour due to the persons who had faithfully served the state: this is proved by the statues he caused to be erected to the memories of many such men, and the distinction with which he uniformly honoured General de Ziethen and so many others.

In continuation of the above reproaches, which to say the least have been much exaggerated, I shall proceed to mention two others which I believe to be wholly without foundation.

What I allude to are two traits which at first appear difficult to be explained, but which are nevertheless at bottom no more than the natural consequences of the philosophical system Frederic had traced as the rule of his conduct, but

which he carefully concealed from observation. I mean his perseverance in exacting, in a certain degree, that the male nobility of Prussia should attach themselves, principally and almost exclusively, to the science of arms; and the harshness with which at least, in times of peace, he erased from the list of officers those whom he knew or imagined not to be of noble extraction.

It was conformably to the first part of this plan that he bestowed but little notice on such of the nobility as did not place their sons in some regiment; he affected not to see them, or, if he recognized them, it was always to subject them to the severest mortifications: he granted them no benefit; in a word, it was clear they were out of favour. I myself knew several families of this description who had wholly left off going to court; I knew also more than one, to some of whose members he had said, "How can you think of bringing up your sons in idleness, or of burying them in the dust of a university, where they cannot fail to become useless subjects of the state?"... "Talk not to me," said he, on other occasions, "of my Prussian counts; they are good for nothing: if they place their sons in the army, it is only that they may obtain a captainship in the dragoons, and afterward retire; they consult only their vanity; they, as you see, all desire to

be in the corps of my guards, to cut a figure for a certain time at Berlin, and then return to their families to display their pompous idleness. Of all my subjects, I know of none so useless. They are incapable of being of the smallest service."

On the other hand, scarcely a year passed in time of peace when, in the course of the reviews, he did not erase from the list some of the officers on the pretext of their wanting the qualification of a noble birth. This never failed to be a formidable check for those who wanted such a recommendation. When he was engaged in war, he received, without scruple, into his army all persons, whatever their birth, who were fit for service, and presented themselves for that end; but, the war once ended, he mercilessly resumed his system. I knew of but one man of inferior extraction who escaped this scrutiny; it was the half brother of Sulzer, and a major in the regiment of Prince Frederic of Brunswick: but how many others, all military officers of merit, who had encountered all the perils of the seven years' war, did he afterward dismiss for this only reason, *They are not of noble birth!* I could mention the names of several who belonged to families of high respectability. Frederic went still further: when the officers, who were received into the corps were presented to him previous to the review,

or such as had been promoted to a superior rank since the last review, he took particular care to inform himself of their names, and to interrogate them closely concerning their country and family: thus it not unfrequently happened that he rejected different individuals, who were natives of France or other foreign countries, alleging that they were not noble born. On such occasions I have known the fathers of the young men send their titles authentically drawn up to the king for his satisfaction; but Frederic returned them, saying a heap of musty papers signified nothing; that he knew what he was about, and that in a word they were not nobility.

The motive of his conduct on this point is easily explained; Frederic conceived that a numerous population is beneficial, only when all the men are of some use to the mass at large: thus, the class of ordinary citizens being useful to the mass in so many apparent ways, could not be too numerous; while, on the other hand, the nobility restricted by certain points of honour or their privileges, can be employed only in certain functions, nor fill any but the first places in particular branches of the administration.

If therefore the number of the nobility exceeds the places which alone they can accept, it necessarily follows that a large portion of that

class must be a burden to the state, and that they stand before the public as a spectacle of the most dishonourable and oppressive parade, and the most shameful idleness. We should observe that the largest portion of the Prussian provinces are overrun with nobility; among whom by far too many are ignorant and destitute of resources, and only serve to oppress the class of industrious citizens. It is therefore apparent why this philosopher king was so deeply interested in appointing all the nobility to such places as alone they could occupy, so careful to preserve them therein, and to repel such candidates as were of the class of plebeians. It is also apparent for what reason it was he felt a sort of repugnance to augmenting the number of his nobility, by recognizing as such the foreigners who settled in his states with pretensions of that kind.

This manner of explaining the conduct of Frederic on these points, may seem undue presumption on my part, since he has at no time confessed the secret motives I have ascribed to him; it is not however the less founded, for no other accord so perfectly with the facts. I am aware it will be alleged against him, that he was not unfrequently culpable of great harshness and injustice in the application of these principles; but in the observance of a general rule, how is

this inconvenience to be avoided? And should we be justified in rejecting general rules on this account? Are men of weak irresolute tempers the authors of more good to mankind? Or rather let me ask, can a monarch be said to govern if he yields to every personal, local, or temporary impression. I have myself been the partaker of the distress of some of the persons he agreeably to these views has rejected; but though I have deplored the disappointment occasioned them with men of sensibility, I was not the less sensible of the policy and necessity of the measure. In the Prussian states only the corps of engineers, the regiments of artillery, the light infantry, and plebeians, were exempted from the risk of this rejection.

I shall conclude this part of the present work, with some particulars relative to celebrated men, which I imagine cannot fail to interest the reader.

GENERAL ZIETHEN.

GENERAL ZIETHEN was one of the most celebrated officers in the service of Frederic the Great; he also enjoyed the particular esteem and consideration of that monarch; and it is therefore just to present the public with some details respecting his life and personal qualifications.

In his earlier years he, in a state of intoxication, twice involved himself in difficulties which had nearly proved his ruin. On one of these occasions he had the misfortune to kill a man; in the other he dared to threaten one of his superior officers: he was in consequence degraded from the rank he held, and obliged to serve for some time as a non-commissioned officer; to say nothing of the humiliation, the fatigues, and apprehensions he endured of being thrown into a prison. Being a man of strong resolution, he from this time determined wholly to discontinue the use of intoxicating liquors, which resolution he adhered to during the remainder of his life; or if, in his advanced years, he, agreeably to the advice of his physicians, made use of a particular kind of

wine in the smallest quantities imaginable, this is the only exception to his general rule of drinking; even during his severest campaigns he drank nothing but water.

Agreeably to the custom of the Prussian officers he married very late in life. He was seventy years of age when his wife brought him a son, who was afterward my pupil, and who is at present an officer in the regiment formerly commanded by his father. The king intimated a desire to stand as godfather to the infant, and for that purpose went to the house of the general to meet the persons assembled for the ceremony, and during the visit his extreme cheerfulness and politeness were remarked by the whole company.

General de Ziethen was turned of eighty years of age when, in the year 1784, the king, as was his custom, in the month of September visited the works of the cannon foundry at *Gesonbron*, near Berlin: he found the garrison of Berlin under arms without the town; he examined their lines as he passed; after which he approached the cavalry, and commanded them to make a certain rapid movement; but he first went up to General de Ziethen with his hat in his hand, and said to him in a tone of the most tender interest, "You are sensible of the pleasure I have in seeing you, General; yet why give your-

self the trouble of coming in person to this place?".... "Sire, it is my duty.".... "Your duty! Ah, this you have abundantly accomplished in the field of glory. A man at your age, and like you endeared to the state, might well have dispensed with a duty created by an occasion so unimportant. Dear General, you have achieved so much for your country, that all you should now think of is to preserve yourself, as an example to the whole army, and to be the object of its respect.".... "For this, Sire, I should be myself a precedent; how else can I be so highly entitled?".... "To exist is sufficient for this end. I will not have you exert yourself on occasions of no importance. Do not forget how many dangers, nor of what nature they have been, we formerly encountered together! It is now the turn of younger men to endeavour to do as much, while we on our parts prepare for the repose we stand in need of."

During this conversation, Frederic had the address to lead M. de Ziethen out of the lines; the movement was executed while they were thus conversing, and the old general reproached the king for beguiling him from the head of his regiment. The most affecting circumstance of this interview was to see the king, venerable with years, in addition to the kindness of his manner.

addressing them all the time, and in the presence of the whole army and numerous spectators, with his hat under his arm, while, conformably to military etiquette, he insisted that the general should remain covered. Neither should this act of Frederic be considered as an act of royal friendship, since he at that moment did no more than it was habitual to him to do, relative to a man so truly worthy of the esteem and kindness of his sovereign, and no less so of his fellow-subjects.

MULLENDORFF.

THIS general, at present far advanced in years, began his career in the office of page to Frederic, with whom he served in all the wars in which that monarch engaged. Nature had endued him with many valuable qualities, both moral and intellectual; and fortune had been no less favourable to him in furnishing him with the means and occasions to exercise them with advantage. His private fortune was sufficient at all times to support him in a style of elegance. In his youth he applied himself successfully to study; and in his more mature years his general character was that of a man of pleasing manners and regular conduct in society, brave and exact in the army, skilful and active in command, wise and moderate in administration.

He gave proof of considerable talents in the functions he held in the army of Prince Henry, during the war for the succession of Bavaria; and on his return to Berlin, in quality of governor, he was equally respected by the military,

by the citizens, and by foreigners. Nor has any man filled that office with more dignity, fidelity, and honour, to himself than he.

On the death of Frederic, when the city gates were shut, and he assembled the whole garrison for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to the new monarch, nothing could be more affecting than to see this venerable companion of the fortunes of the hero, who had just expired, approach the troops overwhelmed with grief, make a vain attempt to give his language utterance, and at length give vent to his tears! Just tribute, more due to Frederic than a thousand other kings, and which no man knew how to pay so well as Mullendorff.

This general, who, with the consent of all the military, and with the greatest reason, is placed at the head of those who still remain of this truly admirable reign, experienced, in the year 1791, a sort of disgrace: he was appointed to a command in Poland that could not be otherwise than useless, since he had declared his disapprobation of the project for the campaign intended to be made against the French. He had returned to Berlin, when William the Second sent him an order to send my colleague, Borelly, out of the country in the space of four and twenty hours, as he was accused of having maintained certain propositions favourable to liberty.

On this occasion M. de Mullendorff sent M. de Meyrinck, one of our former pupils, and then his aid-de-camp, to announce this distressing intelligence to M. Borelly, and to assure him of the deep concern he himself experienced on the occasion, and to offer him, in consequence, 1st, any assistance in his power to afford him; and, 2dly, a delay of two days for making the necessary preparations for a journey in so inclement a season of the year, it being in the severest part of winter. Thus, M. de Mullendorff himself, in some measure disgraced, did not hesitate to expose himself to still greater danger, for the sake of alleviating the situation of a father of a family whom he considered as innocent. This trait of courage is perhaps quite equal to that displayed in the field of battle.

Borelly sent the general, by his ambassador, assurances of his warmest gratitude, and also of his intention to leave Berlin in the four and twenty hours, being unwilling that any part of the odium and injustice of the king's orders should be cancelled. Accordingly he set out the next morning in the stage waggon, with his son, for France; and his wife and two daughters followed early in the spring months.

William, forced by the result of his expedition into Champagne, to confess that M. de Mullendorff was a better judge than himself of

the project of engaging in a war with France, by degrees admitted this celebrated general to his favour, and confided to him the command of his army in the ecclesiastical electorates; a command that was accepted by the companion of Frederic, because it included the question of concluding a peace, which he thought he could be the means of accelerating by keeping on the defensive only.

In this manner Mullendorff, the Nestor of the soldiers of Frederic, full of wisdom, noble in sentiment, the friend of humanity, and devoted to the true interests of his country, succeeded in conciliating the affections of the French nation, as he had ever done that of the Prussians; and by these consolatory sentiments crowned the esteem and respect entertained toward him by the enlightened portion of Europe.

GENERAL BREWER.

IT is apparent, by a thousand different traits, in what esteem Frederic, king of Prussia, held his old military officers. For all this, he gave them no encouragement to take advantage of his kind dispositions toward them, nor would he endure, on their part, the smallest approach to an infringement on the rights of the other citizens.

In a small town, in the district of Magdeburg, a regiment of cavalry was stationed that was commanded by a general whom the fate of war had covered with honourable wounds. The veteran commander had had the weakness to allow a certain number of his captains to set up private brewhouses in the town, which completely effected the ruin of the established brewers in the place; while the officers, in quality of their military profession, being furnished with fuel at a small expence, gained a much more considerable profit on their beer than the former, though they sold it at a reduced price.

On the approach of the first ensuing review, the brewers of the town went in a body to the place where they knew his majesty would stop to change horses, and then presented him a memorial, in which their grievance was fully explained. The king read the memorial, and was indignant at the conduct of his officers, and at the connivance or inattention of their general.

At the distance of two or three leagues from this place, the regiment of the latter was waiting under arms the arrival of the king, to undergo an inspection previous to being reviewed; when Frederic reached the spot, he got on the back of his horse, placed himself in the face of the corps, and fixing his eye on the general, said to him, disdainfully, "What sort of way is that in which you hold yourself? You really look, on horseback, like a brewer's pot-boy!" "Sire," replied the offended general, with firmness, "It is not like a pot-boy that I have served in your army and received the wounds with which my body is covered. However, as your troops certainly should not be commanded by pot-boys, and such I appear in your estimation, appoint who you please to the command of the regiment, for I determine to retire."

The general accordingly went home to compose the formulary of his resignation, which he immediately sent to the king. On his withdrawing from the spot, Frederic ordered the commanding officer to go through with the ordinary evolutions; and next, that the general should be put under an arrest for so essential a violation of military discipline, as the having deserted his corps while under arms. The general remained for several months in confinement, without receiving any notice relative to his dismissal. The public entertained apprehensions that the king would bring him to trial; and it was feared the judges would be able to find no pretext for acquitting him, since his fault was of so public and serious a nature.

Time, however, effectually lulled the whole affair: the king had no inclination to incur the odium of bringing a man to trial who had done his country such essential services, and so completely possessed himself of public favour. He also relied that the loss he had sustained of the command he held, would be sufficient to deter other officers from tolerating in their corps a similar offence, and that a confinement of several months was punishment enough for the insubordination to which this officer, from a too

great sensibility of temper, had yielded. Thus, when the affair was nearly forgotten by the public, the general received notice that he was at liberty, that his resignation was accepted, and he might remove as soon as he pleased.

GENERAL RAMIN.

THIS general had acquired the reputation of a man of rectitude, and in a still greater degree that of a man of austere, and even barbarous, temper. He was commandant of the garrison of Potsdam, when Frederic named him as governor of Berlin. This monarch supposed it of great importance, to place in that situation in his capital, from time to time, a man whose temper and exterior should excite fear, and this for the purpose of maintaining military discipline in all the rigour the welfare of his military service required; and with this view he certainly could not have made a better choice. A governor, however, has so many points of relation with the citizens, and even with foreigners, that like M. de Mullendorff, successor to M. Ramin, he should know how to blend, with intelligence, a certain tact, dignity, and perspicuity, with the military character: but in this country no object is so interesting as the army.

The king being sensible that his new governor had failed to acquire the esteem and considera-

tion of the inhabitants of Berlin, had recourse, by way of remedy, to the means of bestowing on him marked attentions: he conferred on him the most honourable decoration of the country, in the presence of the whole army, during the reviews at Potsdam; he took off his yellow ribbon and put it round the neck of Ramin. Frederic, however, was so sensible how much this scene was truly farcical, that he could not preserve his gravity of countenance for more than a minute, and was obliged to turn from him, that he might conceal from Ramin, at least, the sarcastic smile he vainly endeavoured to suppress. It is certainly pleasant to see so great an actor thus betray the true estimation in which he himself holds such gewgaws, that in his hands become gems of so much value.

Though Ramin was generally and uniformly understood to be a man of mean understanding and unpolished manners, yet on some occasions he manifested a certain skill and address. One proof of this I have adduced in his proceedings with the lady of the name of Valmore; and I shall now mention another of a nature still more remarkable.

Frederic's nephew had contracted at Berlin, during the carnival, some acquaintances that displeased his uncle; the latter, on setting out for

Potsdam, on the 23d of January, sent the heir apparent an order to follow him thither in the course of the day, and a prohibition of his return to Berlin, particularly on the following day, which was precisely that on which Prince Henry gave the grand ball in honour of the king's birthday. The prince perceived nothing in the dispositions of his uncle but the necessity of the more effectually concealing his intended return on the day prohibited. But scarcely had he reached Berlin before Ramin received an order to put him under an arrest. The courier found the governor at table with his aid-de-camp, who had been one of my pupils. Scarcely had he cast his eye on the order, than he betrayed the greatest impatience at the difficulty the reading it occasioned him, and told his aid-de-camp to hold a candle near him. The young man accordingly stood behind his chair, and thus read, with as much facility as his general, the order sent to the latter, and comprehending that his intention in giving him this opportunity was that he might use it in favour of the young prince, he hastened to procure himself the necessary articles of dress, and in a complete disguise made his appearance at the ball, gave the latter notice of the order sent by Frederic, and prevailed on him to return instantly to Potsdam.

In this manner Ramin obeyed the commands of his majesty, for he every where sought the prince. It cannot however be denied, that the aid-de-camp evinced no small degree of sagacity in thus divining the intentions of the governor, though to the latter a still superior tribute is due, for he received the order, made mention of it to no one, made the necessary researches for the person of the prince, and proved by those very exertions that he was not in Berlin. This may be considered as a specimen of the manner in which sovereigns the most vigilant are obeyed by their most zealous and devoted servants, in affairs connected with policy, or with persons from whom they have something to apprehend, either at the moment, or at some future time.

Ramin died of a fit of apoplexy. When his death was announced to the king, the latter observed, "It is his own fault; he never would be prevailed on to put mustard into his coffee, notwithstanding all I said to him on the subject." Frederic was strongly attached to the notion that a few grains of mustard, put into coffee when boiling, was a sure preservative against this disease.

LENTULUS.

I HAVE before, in the course of this work, had occasion to speak of General Lentulus, who was aid-de-camp to Frederic, at the time of his accession to the throne, and served with him in all his wars, if we except that for the succession of Bavaria, at the epoch of which he had been returned to Switzerland for several years. What we may say of him is, that he possessed the advantage of a person at once masculine and handsome; nor, when we consider for how long a time he enjoyed the distinguished favour of the hero of Prussia, can we doubt his being also a man of great personal courage; but as to his talents or acquirements, I never heard either commended.

General Lentulus married a lady of one of the first families in the country, but she had been dead some years when I first came to Berlin. She left a son who was an officer in the guards, handsome and generally beloved. Unfortunately, this young man, at the most rigorous season

of the year, neglected to use proper precautions after dancing at a ball given by the queen, and heating himself violently: he caught a cold which, by degrees, seriously affected his lungs; and, after lingering for a year, he died of a consumption. In all this interval he was assiduously attended to by most of his relations and his friends; but his father did not go to see him even once, though the son most ardently desired and solicited that consolation, and had never given him any cause of displeasure.

This trait in the character of Lentulus excited general odium. It is not enough to despise death in relation to ourselves; there are sentiments which this contempt of death should not be allowed to weaken; without this, it is more properly denominated ferocity. Nor was the opinion of the public more favourably disposed toward him on the question of disinterestedness: a story was told at the time, that a jeweller from a foreign country solicited him to let the king see a snuff-box of his making, of curious workmanship, and presented him with ten louis on condition of his prevailing on Frederic to purchase it; that hearing nothing further of his snuff-box, nor of the negotiation, and not being able to obtain even an interview with the general, the jeweller was reduced to the necessity

of giving four ducats to his excellency's servant to procure him an opportunity of speaking with his master; that after some time the servant, though he did not succeed, refused to return the ducats, alleging that he had taken every possible pains, and that no fault was to be imputed to his zeal: upon this the unfortunate jeweller wrote a threatening letter to the general, who, in consequence, ordered his servant to return the ducats; to which the latter replied, "You know how scrupulously I have fulfilled the conditions upon which I received them; I will however return them if you on your part will return the ten louis you received of him." The proposal ended thus: "Knave that you are, take back his snuff-box, and let me hear no more of it."

Lentulus growing daily into disesteem, and being no longer received with the same degree of attention, conceived an aversion to Prussia, and a desire to return to Switzerland, to which plan Frederic gave his hearty approbation; but at the same time, this monarch, who had ever nurtured a blind predilection toward the old companions of his glory and achievements, was desirous that his retreat should not exhibit the appearance of disgrace.

As the place of governor of Neufchatel and

Valanguin was at this time vacant, he bestowed it on Lentulus, and it was accordingly with this title that his excellency went to reside at Berne, rather than at the place which was the seat of his government. It was during this last period of his life that he was appointed by the canton of Berne to the command of the French, Sardinian, and Swiss troops, who laid siege to Geneva.

The family of Lentulus, or de Lentulus, professes to be descended from the ancient Scipios of Rome. A branch of that family, so justly celebrated in the illustrious times of the Roman republic, came, they affirm, and concealed themselves in Switzerland, to escape the persecutions of the emperors, and settled in that country. It cannot be denied, that this circumstance has the merit of being not only possible, but is far from being altogether improbable, while, on the other hand, probability is by no means to be considered as proof.

GENERAL DE PIRCH.

BARON DE PIRCH was the youngest of three brothers, all destined to the military career: his two brothers had already attained superior rank in the army, in which he was only page to Frederic. One of them was a general long before this page quitted Prussia, and the other was on the point of becoming so. They were all men of considerable bravery and military skill, and constituted one of those ancient and respectable, though unfortunate, families that are the strength and resource of empires.

Our young Baron de Pirch had served as page in the whole of the seven years' war; he was always by the side, or in the suite of Frederic; and in all the marches, encampments, and battles in which the latter engaged, was no less than his king exposed to danger: he supported still more fatigue, and constantly slept on the ground at the entrance of the royal tent. I have mentioned in another place in what manner he saved his life after the loss of a battle. It is

easily conceived that such long and faithful services were deeply engraven on the memory of Frederic ; it was evident he sought only a favourable opportunity of placing him advantageously, and of afterward accelerating his advancement to the utmost the good conduct of the young man, and other circumstances, would allow of.

Such were the respective situations of the page and the sovereign, when an unfortunate connection, of which a wish to ingratiate himself on the one hand, and a confidence that flattered his pride on the other, were the means of his becoming the secret and intimate friend of the hereditary prince. In a short time his royal highness engaged in no concealed expeditions without him, nor was it long before Frederic, by means of a person high in office at Potzdam, was acquainted that they often went together, dressed like citizens, at nine or ten o'clock at night, full gallop to Berlin, from whence they did not return till half past three in the morning.

The king took Pirch aside, and said to him, " I am assured that you are falling into a dangerous way of life ; I have some difficulty in believing the account ; however, as this, if true, cannot fail to effect your ruin, and I feel a strong desire to be your friend, I think fit to give you proper notice." " Ah, Sire, it is a most horrible

calumny! By what means can I have made myself enemies; who would do me such an injury?" . . . "If what I have heard is mere calumny, be assured on me it will not produce the desired effect; but if the accusation is founded, I would have you seriously consider what I have said, and avoid the consequences that will be inevitable."

A short time after, the king again attacked him on the subject: "Pirch," said the monarch, "you are on the brink of ruin; I am inclined to warn you once again, but take care of yourself." . . . "Sire, be assured all you have heard is the grossest calumny, and that it has been invented only for the purpose of depriving me of your majesty's good opinion." . . . "I do not require you to make these protestations; what I wish is to shew you the abyss into which you are likely to precipitate yourself."

Frederic gave orders to be immediately informed when the two friends should again attempt to sally forth in their disguise; he waited but two or three days for the occasion. It was past midnight when he was awaked by the person in his confidence to give him the intelligence: he rose, dressed himself, and proceeded to the apartment of his page, where he placed himself behind the door, resolved to surprise him on his return.

About four in the morning, M. de Pirch made his appearance with a dark lantern in his hand. Frederic presented himself, and in a tone of severity said, "I am happy, Sir, to have had an opportunity of bearing testimony myself to the calumnies invented against you! You are, it cannot be denied, a man of the most perfect conduct and regular habits!" Saying this, the king called the guard who conducted the young man, motionless with surprise, to the corps de garde, and on the following day he was sent to Magdeburg under an escort, and placed in a regiment in the garrison in quality of a non-commissioned officer: when he had remained here about two years, Frederic thinking him sufficiently punished, and no doubt cured of his former weakness, appointed him to a second lieutenancy, and soon after, in consequence of the regularity of his conduct, to the rank of full lieutenant; and there was every appearance that the prejudice excited against him on account of his connection with the prince would at length be wholly eradicated.

But to his first misfortune succeeded another that again plunged him into new distresses. His regiment was given to a general who had some time before had a quarrel with his eldest brother, which had not terminated without the most

cowardly fears on the part of the former. The less personal courage a man possesses, the more he is vindictive: this general detesting the very name of Pirch, seized every opportunity, with or without reason, of persecuting the unfortunate lieutenant, who now passed half his time under different arrests, and never appeared in the presence of his general without enduring from him the severest looks and most humiliating language.

At length Pirch lost all patience, and on some occasion of this kind he ventured to reply, that he called upon all the officers to declare, if there were one among them who fulfilled his duty more strictly than he, and added, that if they could name such an one, he would willingly submit to every thing; but that this being impossible, he hoped the general would in future exercise more justice toward him. In the agitation of his mind, he continued, "I know, General, you had some time ago a quarrel with my eldest brother; if you still retain any animosity on that account, you may bring your dispute to a termination, when and in what manner you please, with him: but I hope you will allow that it is not just that I should be the victim of your dispute." This remonstrance, pronounced in the presence of the whole corps of the officers, was

considered as an act of insolence that called loudly for punishment, and in its effects proved a further aggravation of the contumely he was obliged to endure: he therefore determined to quit the service of his country.

This project, which could not but teem with serious consequences, was also far from easy in the execution. But what will not unceasing endeavours and persevering industry effect?

In the Prussian army every superior officer takes a soldier from the company to which he belongs, to be in some sort his servant. The principal officers only have a right to this advantage. The inferior officers, however, generally make choice of certain soldiers, who perform for them habitually the same offices, and this custom is tolerated on principles of economy.

M. Pirch had chosen for himself a soldier who was a native of France, a man of remarkable activity, intelligence, and address, and made him his confidant. To succeed in obtaining his dismissal, the lieutenant had to feign being ill, to remain so a long time, and at length be judged incurable, and consequently incapable of service; these three points presented considerable difficulties. The first thing to be done was to choose a disease. M. de Pirch decided in favour of a consumption: it was easy to affect a cough;

the uneasiness of mind he underwent might naturally enough contribute a trifling degree of fever; and the regimen he observed, together with the habit of confining himself at home, made him look pale and thin to admiration. So far, so well: but this was not enough; it was necessary to spit blood, and this habitually and during the whole course of the disease, that is, till he had obtained his dismissal. To obviate this difficulty, he kept some live pigeons concealed in a corner of his apartment; and whenever any of his superior officers, or any practitioner in medicine, were expected to visit him, he took care to watch at the window, or place his soldier there, and as soon as they approached, the throat of one of the pigeons was cut, and the patient filled his mouth with the blood, which he held there as well as he could.

In this situation, he replied in a feeble and interrupted tone to the kind inquiries made by the visitor, and before he had pronounced many words, an alarming quantity of blood proceeded from his mouth. This farce was carried on for more than a year, till at length General de Saldern, governor of Magdeburg, who visited him almost every day, wrote the king an account that the poor young man was in a deep consumption, and without hope of recovery, and that

if by a sort of miracle he lingered some time longer, it was quite certain he could never again resume his military vocation.

His majesty accordingly sent him his dismissal, with the customary limitation in form, importing that the person shall enter into the service of no other sovereign.

M. Pirch left the country immediately, and soon after I learned from Madame du Troussel, with the exception of the particulars of the pigeons which I afterward heard from other persons, the facts above related. He proceeded without loss of time to Hesse D'Armstadt, taking with him letters of introduction, conceived in the most pressing language, from the prince royal of Prussia; in consequence of which he was appointed to a company, and soon after advanced to the rank of major in the regiment of the Landgrave of Hesse D'Armstadt, in the service of France, and in garrison at Strasburg.

Frederic learned with violent displeasure the stratagem employed by Pirch; and, at the ensuing spring review at Magdeburg, he said to General de Saldern, "This young Pirch has completely duped us, my dear General, in despite of our grey hairs and our experience! I hope it will be a lesson to you in future, how you trust such young wrong-heads: he has furnished

an excellent lesson for both of us." Frederic employed a tone of mildness on this occasion, because M. de Saldern was one of the oldest generals of his army, and was extremely respected throughout the states on account of his services and personal merit.

It was not long before M. Pirch attracted considerable attention from the court of Versailles by the severity of his discipline, which might be said to be truly in the Prussian spirit, in the regiment of Hesse D'Armstadt: he, in consequence, went several times to Paris, where he sometimes staid for a long time together. On one of these occasions it was that he composed his Essays on Tactics, conjointly with an officer of the king's household who became one of his friends, for which they more than once received a pecuniary recompence that in their hands was soon squandered.

During his residence at Strasburg he married a young lady who belonged to a family of Lorraine: the fruit of this union was one son, who remained with his mother in Lorraine, and received his education at Metz. When William the Second, became King of Prussia, made his campaign in France in the year 1792, he had a great desire to have the young baron, the son of his old friend, under his protection: having ob-

tained him of his mother, he made him continue his education in his states, and afterward placed him in the regiment of his guards at Potzdam, in which he is now a lieutenant. I saw him a year ago at Paris, which place he had visited in the course of a leave of absence granted him for going to see his mother and regulating some family affairs. He is extremely handsome, and bears a strong resemblance to his late father, not only in the exterior of his person but in the urbanity of his temper, and that rectitude of mind which is the surest indication of superior excellence.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in the context of public administration and government operations. The text notes that without reliable records, it becomes difficult to track the flow of funds, assess performance, and identify areas for improvement.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used for data collection and analysis. It highlights the need for standardized procedures to ensure consistency and reliability of the data. The text also discusses the challenges associated with data management, such as ensuring data security, maintaining data integrity, and addressing issues of data quality. The author suggests that investing in modern data management systems and training personnel can significantly enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of data collection and analysis.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the application of the collected data. It describes how the data is used to inform decision-making, monitor progress, and evaluate the impact of various programs and initiatives. The text emphasizes that data-driven insights are crucial for identifying trends, spotting potential risks, and developing evidence-based strategies. The author also discusses the importance of communicating the findings of the data analysis to relevant stakeholders in a clear and concise manner, ensuring that the information is accessible and actionable.

4. The final part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and conclusions. It reiterates the importance of a robust data management system and the need for continuous improvement in data collection and analysis practices. The text concludes by stating that while there are many challenges, the benefits of a well-implemented data management system far outweigh the costs, and it is essential for any organization seeking to optimize its operations and achieve its goals.

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES,

&c. &c.

PART V.

FREDERIC,

HIS ACADEMY, HIS SCHOOLS, AND HIS FRIENDS
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL.

THE title of the fifth part of this work explains the plan of its contents, and also the variety of objects it includes. I have endeavoured to bring together in it, 1st. the circumstances best calculated to demonstrate what was effected by Frederic for his academy of sciences and belles lettres, and what that academy was under his reign: 2dly, different details respecting the means by which he sought to multiply the schools and bring them to perfection; on this head it appeared to me necessary to treat the subject of his civil and military school with considerable diffuseness: 3dly, and lastly, the degrees of intimacy and attachment to which he admitted the persons celebrated as philosophers or literary men about his court, independently of the marks of esteem he conferred on so many others.

OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND
BELLES LETTRES AT BERLIN.

I HAVE observed, in a preceding part of this work, that to Queen Charlotte, second wife to Frederic the First, this academy was indebted for its existence, and that its form and regulations had been planned by the celebrated Leibnitz, president to her majesty. I have also observed how considerably the institution was neglected, I might almost say debased, under the reign of William the First. When Frederic the Great ascended the throne, it was in a manner wholly disregarded, and on the point of falling from neglect to nothing; it had no longer any sittings, nor did it produce writings of any kind: it was time that a sovereign, the friend of the sciences and literature, should give it what might be rather called a new existence than the re-establishment of one it had previously enjoyed.

Maupertuis, who at this time was engaged in an expedition to Lapland, for the purpose of measuring the figure of the earth, enjoyed the

highest celebrity; he was considered at once a man of learning, a philosopher, and even as a man of genius: being upon a footing of intimacy, rather in appearance than reality, with Madame du Chatelet and M. de Voltaire, he soon became Frederic's correspondent, and gained his friendship and esteem. To Maupertuis the latter confided the charge of constructing a new plan for the restoration of the academy, who, in the execution of it, scarcely deviated at all from the principles established by Leibnitz, though to these he added several articles of importance.

This learned and literary body was now governed in the following manner. It continued to be divided into four classes, that of mathematics, experimental philosophy, philosophy speculative or metaphysical, and that of literature. All theological and political discussion was excluded from the academy. Each class had a director, who was chosen from its own body, and being composed of six resident members, the number of ordinary academicians extended to twenty-four, besides the perpetual secretary and the president. The librarian was generally to be chosen from the literary class. The astronomer, who had charge of the observatory, was to be taken from the class of mathematics; and the chemist, the anatomist, the botanist, and the mineralogist, from

that of natural philosophy: in consequence the academy has, besides a library and observatory, a laboratory for chemistry; a theatre for anatomy, which, however, is but little frequented; a spacious garden for plants situate without the town; a cabinet of natural history, and another of machines employed by the ancients. It being decided that all the memoirs should be printed in French, a translator was kept for all productions that might appear either in the Latin or German language.

A body thus numerous and perfect, required ample funds for its support; for a yearly expence by no means inconsiderable was necessary to maintain the garden, library, the cabinets, and theatre for anatomy, in proper order, and no less a particular sum for the medals for the engraving of the designs or plates that, from time to time, would accompany the memoirs, or as money to be advanced to the printer: for paying the fixed salaries of the president, the secretary, the translator, and the four directors; the chemist, the astronomer, the librarian, the botanist, and the anatomist; in short, for the different salaries granted by the king to the greatest number of the academicians, the yearly amount of which was also considerable. Some of these salaries are no less than fifteen hundred rix-dollars; others five

hundred; and others only four, three, and even two hundred rix-dollars.

To supply these expences, the king assigned to his academy, besides the necessary buildings and lands, first, some extensive plantations of mulberry trees, from which great expectations were formed, but in the sequel they proved of small value; secondly, the exclusive privilege of publishing the king's edicts and the geographical charts, which were scarcely more productive than the former; thirdly, the exclusive privilege of composing and publishing almanacs, an article which, however insignificant in appearance, is the principal source of the wealth of the academy.

At the time of my reception, the 5th of April, 1765, the academy was without a president, M. d'Alembert having refused to succeed M. de Maupertuis, after which the king had not offered it to any one. M. Formey was the secretary; M. d'Argens the director of the class of belles lettres; M. Euler director of the class of mathematics; M. Henius of that of speculative philosophy; and M. Margraff that of natural philosophy.

The nomination of the latter to the place of director occasioned the loss of M. Pothe, an ancient and illustrious member of the academy; he heard, with considerable resentment, that the pre-

ference was given to a celebrated chemist who had been his pupil, and was eminently distinguished in his science: M. Pothe not only withdrew from the academy, and refrained from the mention of its very name, but in the apprehension that this body of learned men would derive benefit from his labours after his death, he threw all his manuscripts into the fire. This act of choler deprived the public of a most valuable work, the fruit of the application and researches of thirty years. The work was a history of chemistry, and on a plan it may be of considerable use to explain to the reader. M. Pothe had revised, with pen in hand, all the writings that had appeared on the subject of chemistry: he had arranged them in chronological order, and had made extracts from them of all the discoveries, inventions, or improvements they contained, taking particular care scrupulously to preserve the text of the original authors, with the exception of subjoining a translation whenever this was necessary, or such notes as he thought might prove useful.

His disagreement with the academy had happened but a short time when I arrived in the country; and, though he lived a long time after, his only occupation was that of walking up and down from morning till night, under the arches

near the square of the castle, dressed in his accustomed round wig and his old red cloak.

I shall now resume the subject of the four classes, both for the purpose of describing the academicians of which in my time they were composed, and for giving such explanations in regard to each class as may be proper to enable the reader to judge of their respective merits.

CLASS OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

I HAVE sufficiently established the merit of M. Margraff, by observing he was appointed director to the academy in preference to M. Pothe; but besides this, his reputation is founded on different productions of too much importance to leave any doubt of his just claims to that distinction. I shall accordingly confine myself to remarking, that this truly celebrated man possessed a character of so much rectitude and moderation that I knew no one of his colleagues who did not manifest toward him still more friendship than consideration. M. Margraff died at a very advanced age many years after my arrival at Berlin.

M. Gleditsch has also the advantage of standing in no need of my eulogiums; his celebrity, which was considerable among botanists, was founded upon his writings, which were both numerous and much esteemed: of these, that consisting of his researches respecting mosses, of which it may be truly said he created the his-

tory, is the subject of particular approbation. He had constantly a great number of pupils, who all felt toward him a strong personal attachment. In private life, M. Gleditsch was what is called a worthy man, of manners habitually serious, simple and equable. In his domestic concerns he was less fortunate than he deserved to be, for having lost his wife, he left his household affairs entirely in the hands of his two daughters, who thought more of the frivolous amusements natural to their age than of conducting these to his advantage. He was at least as long lived as M. Margraff, his director.

M. Mekel (or Mekelius) was employed in his profession of a physician by a fourth part at least of the families resident in Berlin: he was considered as the most perfectly skilled in his art after M. Mussel-Stoss (or Musselius), a celebrated pupil of Boerhaave. He employed constantly six excellent horses daily to accomplish the round of his visits, and though he used them with the greatest attention to the regulations he had laid down, they were generally rendered unfit for service in the course of a few years. Each pair was harnessed during twelve hours successively, without any other interval than that of the time allowed them for baiting; they had then twenty-four hours of rest: by means of these regulations,

M. Mekel was always ready to attend his patients. The pace he used was the quickest imaginable ; and he left at his house a list of the visits he had to make, that he might be found without difficulty. No man made a more incessant use of his time : he entered the room of his patient always out of breath, but with a smile in his countenance ; examined his condition, wrote his prescriptions, and with the same smile took his leave.

I have been acquainted with no one who better understood the nature of drugs than M. Mekel ; and it was believed he shared the profits of the apothecaries he recommended. He died in the prime of life, and left a handsome fortune to his children, two sons and a daughter. M. Mekel was the sworn enemy of M. Musselius ; notwithstanding this, he was the person called to his assistance when the former was too ill to prescribe for himself. In his last illness, M. Musselius entertained hopes of saving his life ; but the patient obstinately persisted in taking a medicine, from which the former vainly endeavoured to dissuade him, and died a few days after.

M. Mekel will be known to posterity not as a physician but an anatomist ; he was the man of his age who made the greatest discoveries in that study, particularly respecting the brain, the

lungs, the parts of generation, and, above all, the uterus. It was the chimeras of Maupertuis which had induced him so largely to extend his researches on the subject of the organization of the brain: his object was to ascertain if it were possible to discover by that means the origin of obscure ideas, an object in regard to which his friend M. de Beausobre has given the public some observations, but without adding to what was already known on the subject.

On the death of M. Mekei, M. Walter was appointed his successor in the academy: he had been his operator, and it was pretended the former was indebted to him for a portion of his discoveries. What is indisputable is, that M. Walter has long been one of the most celebrated anatomists, and has likewise a son worthy in every respect to fill hereafter the place of his father.

The cabinet of M. Walter is one of the richest and most curious of any in Europe. Of his labours I shall say nothing, they being well known to, and justly esteemed by, the learned.

M. Lambert was no less worthy of filling a place in the class of mathematics or speculative philosophy, than in that of natural philosophy; this is proved by his works. He was the son of a poor taylor of Mulhausen, a free town of Alsace: in his youth he had no other occupation

than that of assisting his mother in the household affairs, or working with his father; he notwithstanding gave such proofs of genius as to excite the attention of all who knew him. The pastor of Mulhausen at length prevailed on his parents to give him up to his care, and accordingly became his only preceptor.

Lambert had already at this time made some progress in his art, for, during his residence with his father, he employed every moment of his leisure in making small images, which he sold for a farthing or a halfpenny apiece to other children; with the money he thus procured he bought a candle, and passed the whole night in secretly devouring, as it were, such books as he found means to borrow. Accordingly, his improvement at the pastor's surpassed even the expectations that had been formed of him, and he was already well grounded in knowledge, when the Marquis de Salis, of the country of the Grisons, applied to the pastor, with whom he was acquainted, to recommend him a young man as tutor to his children: Lambert was proposed and accepted; he set out for the residence of the marquis, where he wholly devoted himself to the duties in which he had engaged.

When he had been some years in this family; he travelled with his pupils to Italy, France, and

Germany. At Munich it was that he relinquished the charge of them, and gave the world a philosophical work, entitled *Novum Organum*, which, on account of the order of its plan and the novelty of the ideas it contained, gained him considerable reputation. He was next charged with the office of proposing statutes for the academy of Munich, of which he was appointed director; but the jealousy of some persons who were his rivals, involved him in different broils, which at length made him resolve on leaving the place and trying his fortune in Russia.

He arrived at Berlin on his way thither, and every means were employed to induce him to take up his residence in that place. This project was first conceived by M. Sulzer, a native of Switzerland, and a man of great worth, and afterward adopted by his coadjutors. M. Lambert was accordingly presented; letters concerning him were dispatched to Potzdam, addressed to my lord marshal, the Marquis d'Argens, Le Catt, and Quintus, and to all the persons about the king; in short, an absolute conspiracy was set on foot. Frederic, in reply to all that was urged in his favour, only observed, that it was necessary he should see the man of whom they related such wonders. This was a thunder-stroke; it was, however, incumbent on them to

submit, since the success of their project was at stake. Lambert set out for Potzdam charged with letters of the contents of which he was ignorant, but which in reality imported, that at all hazards the interview should be prevented, since his physiognomy, mien, figure, and most especially his carriage, manners, and address, could not fail to prejudice the king against him: in this point, however, they failed of success. "Sire," said one of the persons interested in the proceeding, "M. Lambert cannot possibly be presented to your majesty, since he has not yet received his trunks, and could not, without the greatest indecorum, be introduced into your presence in his travelling dress."... "You surely are jesting, Gentlemen; pray how long has it been supposed I look at the coat a man wears, and not at his person?"... "Sire, we are reduced to the necessity of telling your majesty the truth: the man in question, though possessed of so extraordinary a degree of merit, labours under this disadvantage; his person by no means bespeaks the qualities of his mind; born in an humble station, he was deprived of those rudiments of education which set a gloss upon merit by the forms of decorum."... "Really, Gentlemen, this is a strange kind of persecution to which you subject me: however,

I will furnish you with a medium for reconciling my just demands with the scruples you entertain; you shall conduct M. Lambert hither at night, the lights shall be extinguished, and I shall hear him without seeing him. Do you accept my conditions?"

There was no avoiding what had been so much dreaded. Lambert was conducted to the king, who both saw and heard him. "Good day, Sir," said Frederic, "do me the favour to inform me which of the sciences you have particularly studied?"... "All of them, Sire."... "You are, then, a skilful mathematician?"... "Yes, Sire."... "Under what professor have you studied the science of mathematics?"... "I was my own instructor, Sire."... "You are then a second Pascal?"... "Yes, Sire." At these words the king turned his back upon him and retired to his cabinet, where he had great difficulty to refrain from immoderate laughter.

During supper, the king said to his guests, "Would you believe it, Gentlemen, my friends have this day urged me to bestow a place in my academy on one of the greatest blockheads I have ever met with." Some of them replied that this blockhead was nevertheless a man of genius. It was a long time, however, before the king was convinced of his error, notwith-

standing all the perseverance of M. Lambert's friends, who, during this interval, had entertained apprehensions of his leaving them abruptly for the purpose of settling in Russia. "Sir," said the Pastor Hachard to him, "you must not be out of patience; the king will certainly name you to his academy, but he is at present extremely occupied."... "Oh, Sir, I have not the least uneasiness on the subject; his own glory is at stake, and should he not name me, it would be a blot in his own history." Frederic had not this blot to apprehend; he yielded at length to the unanimous solicitations of his subjects, and bestowed on M. Lambert a pension of five hundred rix-dollars.

The new academician was now employed in composing his inaugural discourse, and determined to resolve in it a question of importance respecting the reflection of light: he had still, however, to this effect some experiments to verify, for which he stood in need of a large looking-glass, while his whole stock of furniture afforded only a small pocket-glass barely large enough to allow of his adjusting his wig in it. The best remedy he could think of was to go into the principal coffee-house of Berlin, situated opposite to the castle. On entering one of the rooms on the first floor, he bowed in his

accustomed manner; without looking at them, and throwing his head diagonally from one side to the other to some officers and other persons of the town, who were playing at tarocs*, and passed on to a large mirror which happened to be placed in the lightest part of the room; he then drew his sword, aimed it as if against an adversary, drew back, advanced; in short, threw himself into the different attitudes of a real encounter, at the same time profoundly meditating on what he saw and did; he pursued his experiments for the space of half an hour, without the least consciousness that the spectators, who knew neither his person nor what to think of the exhibition they had witnessed, had concluded he was a lunatic, and were actually holding themselves ready to seize and disarm him should it be necessary.

When M. Lambert had ended his experiments and his reflections, he put his sword quietly into its scabbard, cast a look of indifference on those who surrounded him, bowed to them in the same manner as when he entered, and returned home to compose a memoir worthy the admiration of the learned.

What I have above related is a sufficient proof

* A sort of playing cards, but marked differently from the common ones.

of the simplicity, artlessness, and frankness of M. Lambert's character: it may also be naturally supposed he was the sort of man to be addicted to some whimsical singularities in his manners, which was in fact the case. When I happened to meet him in company, or in my walks, my first care was to propose to him some question that interested me; for when once entered into a discussion, on whatever subject it might be, it was no longer possible either to stop or interrupt him; he never failed, from the first moment, to take so clear and comprehensive a view of his plan, and adhered to it so closely, that to divert his attention was impracticable. The order of his ideas was always regular and perfect; if objections were proposed to him, he paused no longer than was necessary to hear them to their end; he never, however, answered them, but resumed the thread of his argument as though he had not been interrupted, because the objections he had heard would, he perceived, occur at a different time and more seasonable order, and that it could not but be disadvantageous to the discussion to deviate from the principle he had first laid down. I have a hundred times put him to the trial in this respect, and found him always the same. He was truly a machine to grind dissertations, but a perfect machine.

I one day requested him to class the most celebrated living geometricians according to his estimation of them. "The first geometrician living," said he, "is M. Euler and M. d'Alembert, or M. d'Alembert and M. Euler; I place them in the same rank, and consider them as it were but one person, not because their qualities are similar in every respect, but because each has eminent qualities that compensate those deficient in the other. M. Euler has more simplicity and promptitude, perhaps even a greater abundance, than M. d'Alembert; M. d'Alembert has more subtlety, sagacity, and elegance, than M. Euler: in profoundness of understanding and fertility of invention they are equal; it is impossible to give the preference to either; and it should be said of each, as I have already observed, that he is the first living geometrician. M. de la Grange is at present the second; I say at present, because there is every reason to believe that he will not long remain inferior to the first. The third is myself. I can proceed no further in this classification, because I know no other geometrician worthy of being named."

A young man, a professor of mathematics to the pupils of the artillery, happening one day to meet M. Lambert, was also desirous of putting to him the same question, and placed himself,

as the former had done, in the third rank: no sooner had he pronounced the words than M. Lambert advanced with a resolute step before him, as though he would have barred the way, and then looking him stedfastly in the face, he burst into a fit of laughter and turned on his heel.

The productions of M. Lambert at length convinced the king that he was a man of singular merit, notwithstanding the disadvantages of his person and manners, and he was accordingly appointed counsellor to the grand directory for the department of the works, with an additional pension of five hundred rix-dollars. His nomination having been announced in the newspapers, I proceeded to congratulate my colleague on the event. "It is extremely singular," replied he, "that the king should publish this intelligence without consulting me. It cannot be denied that it is my own concern; surely, therefore, I should have been asked if I liked to publish it or not? It is not certain that I accept the place in question, for this reason, beyond all others, that I do not want it."

In reality, all the persuasion of his friends was necessary to prevail upon him to accept it. When he was at length brought to a decision, he proceeded to the directory for the ceremony of installation, where he said to the ministers of

state, "Your Excellencies must not expect to find verified in the plans I lay down the ordinary calculations you may have made in regard to building; this is a department in which you may employ your clerks, if you do not like to do it yourselves: for my own part I will have nothing to do with such occupations as are within the reach of every one, and which, consequently, to me would be a pure loss of time. But when any difficulties present themselves in this department that occasion you perplexity; you have only to communicate to me a statement of the particulars, and I will take the affair in hand immediately. What I at present wish you to understand is, that I will never accept of a place, the functions of which bring me down to the level of your clerks."

In treating of the academicians of Berlin, I do not enter into the details of the works they have left to posterity. Is it properly my business to pass a judgment on the inestimable benefits the largest portion of them have conferred upon the sciences? Ought I to allow myself to appreciate such vast and profound researches, researches so infinitely beyond my own comprehension? Besides, do the persons who have deserved so much from society at large stand in need of my eulogiums? Who is there that is not acquainted

with the works of M. Lambert? Who is there, that has not read his *Organum*, and his *Letters of a Cosmopolite*, from which M. Merian has given in French so beautiful an extract? also his immense labours on the *Ephemerides* of so many years? &c. &c.

The class of natural philosophy had made the acquisition of M. Lambert four or five months previous to my arrival. Since that time three others have been received into it; M. Walter whom I have already mentioned, M. Guerhard, and M. Hachard: the first of these two was a skilful mineralogist, and the last a celebrated chemist, well known in Europe. I have not a single anecdote respecting M. Guerhard to relate; he was a man wholly devoted to his vocation, and respectable as an academician.

M. Hachard, on the contrary, presents me with a richer mine to be explored; but who can need to be informed what was the manner of life of a man who has undertaken so many labours? I have been witness, at nine different times, to his passing four and twenty successive hours in his laboratory, without once leaving it, in the pursuit of a single experiment; I have known him brave all the intemperance of the seasons, and pass whole days employed in the undertaking of bringing to perfection the cultivation of the to-

bacco plant; I have heard him propose to the academy a plan, consisting of forty thousand experiments to be made to obtain the means of composing and decomposing at will all the sorts of stones that are known; I have, in short, witnessed his presenting to that body a number of machines no less remarkable for their curious construction and workmanship than for their utility, &c. &c. M. Hachard has performed much, because he possesses a character of equal ardor and perseverance, and that with these advantages it was he devoted his life to laborious studies.

CLASS OF MATHEMATICS OR GEOMETRY.



I HAVE first to speak in this division of my book of the justly celebrated Euler. A letter written by Frederic, which began with the following sarcastic phrase, "Though I never learned to calculate curves, yet I am sensible, my dear Euler, that seventeen thousand rix-dollars are of more value to my academy than thirteen," produced in M. Euler so deep a mortification, that he resolved to quit Berlin. He offered his services to Catherine the Second, who accepted them, at the same time naming conditions extremely advantageous both for himself and his sons.

M. Euler upon this disposed of the house he had in Berlin, and also of his country residence near Charlottenburg: he then solicited his dismissal, which the king was with difficulty prevailed upon to grant. The Marquis d'Argens, different friends, particularly among the Swiss resident at Berlin, the ministers, and even the princes, all the persons, in short, who believed

they had any influence on the decision he should make, in vain employed every endeavour, every affectionate entreaty, every remonstrance, to change his resolution. The king intimated his having a right to compel him to stay in his dominions; and on its being objected that M. Euler was a Swiss, and as such was in full possession of his liberty in this respect, a consideration that was disregarded by no one of the sovereigns of Europe, replied; "Be it so; several of his children, however, were born my subjects, these at least I may detain." With great difficulty was Frederic prevailed upon to relinquish this hold on Euler, and it is reasonable to suppose that the fear of offending the Empress of Russia had no less influence over him than a sense of justice. After all, one of his sons, an officer in the Prussian artillery, was thrown into prison for having appeared in society dressed like a private gentleman previous to the issuing of his dismissal, and kept there nearly a year after the departure of his family: it is also probable he would never have obtained his dismissal if Catherine the Second had not herself solicited on his behalf.

M. Euler set out with his wife and children on his return to Petersburg, which he had quitted for Berlin about eighteen years before. When

he had passed the frontiers of Poland, the expences of his journey were sustained by the King Poniatousky, who furnished him with accommodations at Warsaw, and procured him every possible amusement. When Euler proceeded on his journey, he was reconducted to the frontiers of Russia, where he was met by persons instructed by the empress to pay his expences to Petersburg.

On his arrival in that capital, he found a furnished house ready for his reception, which he was given to understand was his own property; it was large enough for the accommodation of his whole family, and in addition was supplied with a cook from the household of the sovereign, who staid in it till they were comfortably settled. M. Euler was nominated director of the academy of sciences of Saint Petersburg: his eldest son, who had honoured me with his friendship, and from whom I received several letters after our separation, was nominated a member and secretary of the same academy; another of his sons, a physician, was employed and pensioned; and lastly, the officer of artillery, on his arrival, was promoted to the rank of captain in the same branch of the army of the empress.

It appears to me that it was impossible to bestow a greater degree of respect and encourage-

ment on a man of genius; these marks of distinction were, however, well deserved by M. Euler and his sons; of all the persons engaged in the same career no one, perhaps, has manifested a genius more surprizing, luminous, prompt, and fertile, than was that of M. Euler. Under his superintendence the science of mathematics has advanced with giant steps, while his immense labours at the same time were not considered by him as the smallest sacrifice. Some of the memoirs he published, which have ever been and will ever remain the admiration of the enlightened portion of Europe, were composed by him with his children amusing themselves in the same room: one of them from time to time was to be seen seated on his knee, to whose prattle he gave his attention, while an Angola cat sat upon his shoulder.

The moral character of M. Euler added lustre to his talents: this extraordinary man was artless, unaffected, and simple; mild in his temper, and of distinguished rectitude; he possessed also in a great degree that cheerfulness which is the natural result of superior intellect and purity of conscience; he was at once engaging and respectable. But in thus rendering justice to the merits of his character, I by no means desire to insinuate that he had no faults; M. Euler was a

man, and was not guiltless of the defects and prejudices to be lamented in his species.

The King of Prussia being unable to detain M. Euler in his academy, employed M. d'Alembert to find a person worthy of filling his place. "I know but one," replied d'Alembert, "who is competent to fill the immense void M. Euler has left in your academy. The man I with the greatest confidence propose to your majesty, is M. de la Grange, of the academy of Turin. He is as yet extremely young, not quite thirty: notwithstanding this, he is already at least my equal in the higher branches of geometry. This assurance on my part proceeds neither from false modesty, nor a wish to compliment that gentleman: it is strict justice; and I have not the smallest doubt that hereafter he will prove decidedly superior to preceding geometricians."

It was in consequence of this reply that M. de la Grange was nominated director of the class of mathematics in the room of M. Euler: he left Turin and proceeded to Paris, from Paris to London, and, continuing his way by sea to Hamburg, arrived at Berlin.

At Berlin he married a lady who was his relation; and who possessed an excellent understanding and extraordinary sweetness of temper. His domestic life was tranquil and retired, as

they both preferred the gratifications arising from the society of a small but select circle of friends. To the inestimable advantage of a peaceful home, M. de la Grange joined that of pursuing his public career with the same serene tranquillity. He was on no occasion accessible to any kind of intrigue or party spirit, and if some slight dissension took place in the academy, he never was concerned in it, nor did he seem acquainted with its existence. Nor should this trait be ascribed to timidity: I perfectly remember that M. de Sch***, the minister, who was a man of excellent understanding, but of a passionate and haughty temper, having prevailed on the king to adopt the project of a fund for widows, and M. de la Grange having read a memoir to the academy, in which he demonstrated that this fund would necessarily and speedily end in a bankruptcy, the minister sent a message to the former, importing, that instead of publishing his memoir he should have communicated it to government; to which the academician replied, 1st, that he had not published his memoir, but had contented himself with exercising a duty incumbent on friendship, by warning his colleagues against the danger of involving their interests in the above project; and 2dly, that not having engaged himself in the academy for the purpose of

receiving the commands of ministers, he conceived he had nothing to do with waiting in their anti-chambers to offer them advice they had not required him to give; that it was their own business to look out for persons capable of furnishing principles for the calculations they stood in need of; that, in short, no blame could possibly attach to him, since he had not been consulted on the question. This reply, at once resolute and equitable, reduced M. Sch*** to silence.

M. de la Grange observed a regular and uniform plan for the occupation of every day. His mornings were consecrated to reading and writing letters; immediately after dinner he devoted a few hours to different visits, or to his accustomed walk, which he took alone that he might pursue the pace he judged salutary for his health. At six in the evening he returned to his cabinet, where he shut himself in, that he might be sure of remaining undisturbed till midnight, when he took several dishes of tea before he went to bed.

In these six hours of profound solitude it was that he performed the immense labours with which the memoirs of the academy are stored, and which have gained him a reputation so illustrious. What more shall I say? A philosopher remarkable for the equanimity of his con-

duct, ever wise, ever tolerant, blending with his genius for mathematics a knowledge no less extensive than various in the different branches of literature, and with these the most genuine simplicity and gentleness of manners, he could not fail to be beloved and respected by all who knew him, and deeply lamented by those from whom he was by destiny separated.

SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY.



THE directors of this class of the academy, both previous to my arrival at Berlin and for many years after, were not in the habit of frequenting its different sittings, accordingly I had no acquaintance with them. The members of the class, who best fulfilled their duty, are M. Beguelin, who had been preceptor to the prince royal; a man of a moderate and equal temper, and prone to reflection; a philosopher infinitely respectable, and earnest in the accomplishment of the functions he engaged in; an excellent husband, a tender father, a faithful friend; just in all his actions; his understanding was highly cultivated, distinguishing, and subtle; and he possessed a profound knowledge of metaphysics.

I have next to speak of M. Sulzer, a friend of M. Beguelin, and also a native of Switzerland, who, like the former, had been settled at Berlin for more than thirty years. He was a man of considerable talent, and was placed in the first rank of German authors, who at the time were

esteemed the best writers in prose: in his person he was robust; firm and decided in his character. M. Sulzer was the author of a great number of dissertations on different subjects in the *Memoirs of the Academy*; all of these are worthy of attention, for the justness of the views and the solidity of the reasoning they exhibit.

M. Sulzer married a lady of Madgeburg, who was much respected for her amiable qualities; but she died young, leaving behind her two daughters: the eldest of them married a M. Graff, a painter in high esteem at Dresden; the second married M. Chevalier, the son, who was a varnisher, and resided at Berlin. The latter, I have been told, was far from happy, though she deserved to be so; she died several years ago: but the eldest is still alive.

I will relate an anecdote which proves that M. Graff was an excellent painter. I one day went to the apartments of M. Sulzer, which were on the same floor as mine, to pass a few hours with him in conversation: I found him with M. Beguelin looking at a large portrait that was not quite finished. I was singularly struck with the portrait, so as not to be able to keep my eyes from it. "That painting seems to attract your whole attention," said M. Beguelin; "tell us your opinion of it?".... "I would lay a wager,"

replied I, "that it is not a work of fancy, and even that it is a perfect likeness.".... "What makes you think so?".... "Because I discover in it the faithful touches of nature, rather than the rules or fantastic caprices of art.".... "Tell us, then, what idea this portrait gives you of the original?".... "I should suppose the original to be a man of considerable understanding, the principal qualities of which are great activity, ardour, and vivacity: his character partakes of the same traits, and in addition exhibits a remarkable firmness and unaffected gaiety; he is good-natured, fond of pleasure, and sincere; though, on the other hand, it would be dangerous to oppose either his opinions or his prejudices.".... "Ah! you know the man.".... "No, I never saw the original of this portrait.".... "You, however, have just described him as if you had passed your life with him: it is the portrait of M. Lessing.".... "The circumstance is a high compliment to M. Graff; for I never saw M. Lessing."

At the death of M. Sulzer, one of the articles in the sale of his goods was a cane of a very curious construction, which I bought and sent as a present to M. Rasta, a physician at Lyons: this cane had a dial-plate in the head of it, with four hands, answering to four circles, each divided into ten equal parts; the first circle was marked

with units, the second with tens, the third with hundreds, and the fourth with thousands; every time that in walking you struck the cane upon the ground, the inner hand advanced a single digit; when this had made a complete circuit, the second advanced one digit, signifying that the walker had then advanced ten steps; when the circuit of the second hand was completed, the third began to move, and so on, in such a manner that, when the walker had completed his airing, the dial-plate at the top of the cane would tell him how many steps he had taken in the course of the day.

CLASS OF BELLES LETTRES.

M. MERIAN was librarian to the academy when he succeeded M. d'Argens as director of the class of belles lettres, and has since also succeeded to M. Formey as secretary. M. Merian is still living: he was a native of Bale in Switzerland, where his family is equally well known and esteemed. He came when a young man to Berlin: M. de Maupertuis found in him a valuable acquisition to the academy, and retained him by a salary which ever since has been continually increasing. This new academician more than fulfilled the hopes of the president; he is at present, and has long been, ranked in the class of the most esteemed literary men in Europe.

But though M. Merian has no reason to complain either of fortune, which never treated him unkindly, or of nature, which bestowed upon him a robust and healthy constitution, and a temper the most enviable; yet we must ascribe to him the merit of having during his whole life wisely

determined to use these blessings to his advantage, rather than abuse any one of them. He was an excellent husband and friend; his manners were mild and pleasing; his conduct prudent, equable, and full of rectitude; and he was ever zealous in the cause of justice: he was generally beloved and esteemed, and particularly in his family and among the academicians.

He had during his life devoted himself to study, and from an early age was familiar with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, Italian, French, and German languages. "Should the learned world have the misfortune of losing the most valuable of the poems we have in those languages," said the Abbé Michelessi, and with great truth, "M. Merian would of himself be able to restore them." I shall not particularize his numerous writings: he has translated into French the philosophical productions of David Hume; also several works from the German; and has presented the academy with different dissertations on various subjects.

The person who, immediately after myself, was received into the class of literature was M. Bitaubé, at this time member of the Institute of France, and who had just published, at Paris, his first translation of Homer. He was nephew, by his mother's side, to Counsellor Jordan, who

undertook the charge of his education. M. Bitaubé married one of his cousins, a lady possessed of every qualification to render her the best of wives, of parents, and of friends; she was consequently beloved by all who enjoyed the pleasure of her acquaintance.

I shall not enter into the detail of the valuable productions with which he has enriched our language. His History of Joseph, which exhibits so natural and striking a view of patriarchal manners, is known to every one; nor less so his Foundation of the Liberty of the Batavian Republic, a work written in a more modern style, but equally natural and elevated; his Homer, which had not previously been translated into French, and which he has, so to express myself, absolutely naturalized; his interesting Memoirs, to be found in the academy of Berlin; his Analysis, so well conceived and admirably executed, of the Politics of Aristotle; and his charming translation of a delightful poem, entitled *Dorothea*, the production of one of the first of the German poets; have received too much attention from the public to need any comment from my pen.

I proceed to another of the academicians. Frederic in his youth had read the letters on physiognomy, published under the name of the Abbé

Pernety, and this with too much approbation to forget either the work or the person who called himself its author. This pretended author of the letters was so only in name, at least so I was assured by the Abbé Matte, who being entrusted in his youth with the education of the Marquis de Pons Saint Maurice, had lived at Louis le Grand with Pere Bougeant, and with the Abbé Pernety, who was then preceptor to M. de Boulogne, in the same house. M. Matte related to me that P. Bougeant, having composed the three letters on physiognomy, had not dared to print them in his own name, for fear of again being exiled by his superiors to the melancholy abode of La Fleche, a punishment which had already been inflicted on him for having been the author of the ingenious little work on the language of beasts.

Under these circumstances, and being desirous too of procuring himself the pleasure of knowing the opinion of the public respecting his work, he addressed himself to the Abbé Pernety, then a young man he had remarked for the prudence, moderation, and rectitude of his character; entered into an agreement with him, founded on the mutual confidence and honour of the parties: the conditions were, that the manuscript should be placed in the hands of the young abbé, who was to cause it to be printed in his

name, and to proclaim himself the author; each pledging himself to a secrecy that should be inviolable.

What renders this anecdote the more probable is, that it is difficult to conceive that a man, capable in his youth of such a production as the letters on physiognomy, should have lived quietly to the age of eighty and upwards without producing any other work, for the Abbé Pernety was considerably older than that when he died, under the roof of his pupil, in the year 1776. I might also observe, that the spirit and style of these letters are strongly marked with the stamp of the author of the language of beasts.

Frederic finding a M. Pernety among the financiers, sent out by M. Helvetius to the court of Prussia, and recollecting the letters on physiognomy, inquired of that gentleman if he was related to the Abbé Pernety; to which he replied, he was his brother: thus, without intending, or being conscious of the fact, he affirmed what was absolutely false; for the Abbé Pernety, designated by the king, was he who was the author of the letters, while the financier, on his part, understood Dom. Pernety, who had presented the public with a work entitled Egyptian Antiquities, and an account of M. de Bougainville's voyage to the Malouin islands, called by the Eng-

lish, the Falkland islands. This second Abbé Pernety was cousin to the first, and a much younger man. The king, thus misled, commissioned M. Pernety to make his brother a proposal to accept the place of first librarian of the royal public library at Berlin, with the title of academician, and a salary of twelve hundred rix-dollars, which was accordingly accepted.

A remarkable trait in the character of this academician was, that he believed in all the extravagant reveries of past times; he believed in the philosopher's stone, the mysteries of the cabala, apparitions, patagonians, witcheries, enchantments, the race of the giants, &c. But, notwithstanding this inconceivably and ridiculous weakness, he was beloved by every one, and the more as, to his other excellent qualities, he joined that of the most perfect discretion in regard to such affairs as were at any time confided to his secrecy; never did a word from his lips give room for the smallest explanation or disagreement. The only fault with which he was reproached was avarice. But this rather produced occasions of laughing at his expence than of serious accusation.

M. Pernety returned one year sooner than I did to France; it was in the year 1783: he afterward weathered the storm through the waves

of the revolution as well as he was able, taking care to be of no party, to risk no arguments on the passing scene, and to live in retirement ; for all this, he was thrown into prison and detained there several months, where he more assiduously than ever immersed into the mysteries of the philosopher's stone, and daily strengthened his persuasion that he should live through many centuries. I am myself convinced that, at the moment of his expiring of old age in the town of Avignon, in the year eight or nine of the republic, he did not believe himself in danger : that in dying, he believed himself to be only dropping into a sleep.

A man of extraordinary character, known in the world by the name of *Count de Saint Germain*, came to Berlin, and staid there more than a year. The Abbé Pernety, in quality of an adept, hastened to pay him his visit, and gave us an account of him that was truly extraordinary.

The count, as he described him, was advanced in years, but his exact age and the name of his country were known to no one ; he was, however, still vigorous in appearance, though but little encumbered with fat. It was understood that he possessed the secret of making gold, and even diamonds, and, what was still more remarkable, he had lived through many centuries ; he was the

wandering Jew; he was all that can be imagined which was most wonderful, and conversed fluently in every language of Europe.

Count de Saint Germain resided in one of the principal inns at Berlin: he kept two men servants; his manner of living was retired; a hired postchaise stood constantly at his door, for which he paid a handsome price, but never used it. The old Baron Kniphausen with eagerness claimed an old acquaintance with him, and immediately invited him to dine at his house: "I have no objection," replied M. de Saint Germain; "but it must be on condition that you send your carriage for me. I never use a hired carriage, for I find its motion extremely disagreeable." It should be observed that this unknown person called the old baron by no other name than *my son*.

The Princess Amelia was also eager to see him, and he accordingly waited on her, "Pray, Sir," said she, "of what country are you?".... "Of a country, Madam, that never had for its sovereign a prince descended from a foreign stock." In this artfully ambiguous and enigmatical language did he reply to all the questions put to him by her royal highness; who, at length silenced by his repeated evasions, dismissed him

without obtaining the smallest information respecting his history.

Madame du Troussel experienced no less than the princess a curiosity to see and converse with this extraordinary personage, and their meeting was effected by means of the Abbé Pernety. The count accepted of an invitation to sup one evening at her house. The subject of the philosopher's stone was ventured upon; but Saint Germain confined himself to observing, that the persons who meddled with the study of that art proceeded on a plan the most surprisingly injudicious, since they employed no principal agent but fire, not considering that the property of fire is to separate and decompose, and, consequently, to have recourse to it when the object is to form a new composition cannot but be absurd: he insisted earnestly and with some diffuseness on this idea, and then returned to subjects of ordinary conversation.

The physiognomy of the count was remarkably intelligent and subtle: he had every appearance of being a man of birth, and who had been accustomed to refined society. He was said to have been the preceptor of the celebrated Cagliostro, so well known for having entangled in his mysteries Cardinal Rohan and other persons

at Paris: but certainly the disciple was never worthy of the master, who unquestionably passed through his career unblemished by any disgraceful adventure; while Cagliostro, a man of a bolder temper, was for the most part ready to run every risk, and terminated his existence in one of the prisons of the inquisition at Rome; a miserable destiny it must be granted, yet not so much so as he who experienced it deserved.

The history of Count de Saint Germain exhibits him as an impostor more remarkable for prudence than enterprize: it presents no trait that directly reflects dishonour; none that is inconsistent with integrity; all is marvellous in his career, but at no time has he stooped to meanness, or offended the rules of decorum. If it be true that he said to some ladies who shed tears on seeing the tragedy of *Marianne*, "Ah, Ladies, what would you then have felt if, like me, you had known her; had witnessed how lovely, interesting, and amiable she was!"—if it be true that, speaking of the passion of Jesus Christ, he said, "It was his own fault; I repeatedly warned him that his end would be unfortunate, if he did not change his plan;"—that such propositions are absurd, it cannot be denied: but, according to the rules of society, they are not to be considered as crimes.

About the time when M. Pernety was received into the academy, who, through the interest of Cardinal de Bernis, was nominated to the abbacy of Burgel *in partibus infidelium*, the class of literature gained another acquisition in the person of M. Weguelin, formerly a pastor at Saint Gal in Switzerland, and since a professor of history and geography in the civil and military school at Berlin.

M. Sulzer, who was acquainted with him, had proposed him to the king, and he was in consequence appointed to the place he occupied among us. The first production of this professor was a small pamphlet, entitled, *Observations on the different Forms of Government*; a performance that gave the king a high opinion of the author, and was the means of his entrance into the academy. "I congratulate you," said the monarch to me one day, "on your having for a colleague a man of M. Weguelin's merit. He sent me a small pamphlet of his composing, which I threw in a corner without looking at it, concluding it must be similar to those college productions which can be interesting only to pedants. I sincerely ask your pardon, Sir, for having conceived so unjustly of the talents of the professors: I confess I have been guilty of un pardonable injustice toward them. I was telling

you that I threw your colleague's production aside, when, a few days after, chance again placed it in my view, at a moment when I was at leisure ; I opened it, saying to myself, ' Let us see what this professor has to say for himself?' I soon found considerable perseverance was necessary to read a style so compressed and incorrect ; but, from the first page, I discovered so much of just and profound thinking, that, though on account of the pains it cost me to understand him, I more than twenty times threw the book away, I could not refrain from resuming the task, till at last I succeeded in reading it to the end. My opinion is, Sir, that this pamphlet is a great and excellent production, from which I have derived more information than from many others more voluminous in their size. M. Weguelin is a man of genius : I do not exaggerate ; he is a second Montesquieu."

Having presented the reader with a sketch of what may be called the outline of the learned body of academicians, if I am asked on what footing they lived together, and what members may be considered as really composing the academy, I shall reply, that they lived together in the utmost harmony and good intelligence, and sustained a character of perfect rectitude : I however remarked among them certain shades of

difference, curious enough in their nature. In my time the academy might be properly divided into three branches, Germans, Swiss, and French; each containing seven, eight, or nine persons. The Germans, phlegmatic in their tempers, and accustomed to an absolute form of government, demanded only to be treated with justice and politeness; provided they experienced commonplace attentions, they were content, busied themselves with nothing, leaving it to others to exert themselves as they thought proper. The French academicians of my time differed from the Germans only in this single point, that they would be under subjection to no one. As to the Swiss, they were for the most part the persons who ruled; they put themselves at the head of every transaction, and contended for being the sole conductors in the academy. I am aware that there are exceptions to every rule: Lambert and Merian, for example, in their conduct, rather resembled the French than the Swiss; Beausobre too, in this respect, was rather a Swiss than a Frenchman; but my distinction, generally speaking, is a true one. I have been witness that Sulzer, Beguelin, Weguelin, &c. governed the whole academy. I have been witness that the German members never thought of complaining, and that the French members, pro-

vided they escaped the yoke, contented themselves with smiling at their proceedings. Will not every one, therefore, agree with me, that the German, inured to a rigid form of government, desires nothing more than to be treated with a certain degree of delicacy; that the Frenchman, born in a soil where that delicacy is a thing of course, has not the same facility in dispensing with a perfect equality; and that the Swiss, on his part, having from his infancy enjoyed that equality, should in his turn aspire to govern? And all this is because man, in whatever rank he is placed, is ever desirous to attain to something higher. Thus the German is prone to desire the enjoyment of the rights of nature; the Frenchman of the privileges of liberty; and the Swiss of absolute authority.

I know not if Catherine the Second were desirous to see herself placed on the list of the members of our academy, or if Frederic, concluding she would be pleased with the distinction, resolved to gratify her with so pleasing a surprise; but what I do know is, that we received orders to name her as one of our members by acclamation, to put her name on the list by itself in large letters, and above those of all the other members, whether honorary, ordinary, associates, or foreigners.

We accordingly proceeded to this nomination : we caused a new list to be printed in the form above described ; a magnificent and profoundly respectful diploma was prepared for her imperial majesty ; and to these were added a letter conceived in terms of the highest admiration of her character and government, and of the project, dictated by her genius, for a code of laws conformably with the zeal she felt for the happiness of her people. A complete copy of the memoirs, magnificently bound, and adorned with the arms of the academy, also accompanied the former.

The empress received our homage graciously, and sent us, in return, a chart of the Caspian sea, drawn under her own eye, and verified by herself in person, as well in regard to the form, extent, and situation of that sea, as to the depth of its waters along its whole circumference, and even respecting the depth of these at a distance from the shore, the whole having been sounded in her presence.

The academy, the revenues of which consist of the produce of the almanacs and geographical charts it publishes, at first considered only the probable gain or loss to be incurred. They accordingly calculated the sum that would be produced by publishing the above-mentioned

chart, engraved in a superior style; the result was, a decision in the affirmative, if no political reason should occur to the contrary: to obviate the uncertainty to which this clause might give occasion, the academy resolved to write to the king on the subject, whose answer imported, that its members were better judges of their own interests than of what was consistent with the rules of decorum; that it was not his own acquiescence, but that of her imperial majesty, which was necessary for publishing the chart in question, and that this acquiescence it would be highly indelicate to solicit; hence he concluded, the only thing that could be done was carefully to preserve the present as an honourable testimony of her respect for the academy, but to make no other use of it.

A short time after this illustrious association, a place in the class of speculative philosophy became vacant: the king demanded a list of three candidates, among whom his intention was to elect the one who should appear most worthy of that distinction. The list was drawn out by the members of the class, and sent to Potzdam; but the only reply of the king was a letter conceived in severe terms, in which he recommended that the academicians should be more circumspect in the lists they sent him, and gave

orders that a new one should be immediately framed. This second list was almost similar to the first, only a single name was changed; the king nominated the last mentioned of the candidates, without however conferring on his academy the honour of a reply.

What on this occasion had displeased the king was, that the name of Moses Mendelsohn, the Jew, was the first upon each of the lists sent by the academy; an indiscretion that was aggravated by the circumstance of this being the first occasion that had presented itself for a nomination since that of the Empress of Russia. Frederic revolted from the idea that the first academician admitted after her imperial majesty should be a Jew, and he could not meet the bare proposal without resentment; not that he was insensible to the merits of Mendelsohn as a philosopher, or was himself the slave of prejudice, but because he foresaw that such a junction could scarcely fail to excite sarcastic observations, or at least would be considered indecorous at the court of Russia as well as in the other courts of Europe.

I ought in this place to give the reader all the information in my power respecting Mendelsohn the Jew. He was small in stature, and extremely deformed. He was born in poor circum-

stances, and in my time charged with a numerous family, without any means for their support but his own labours. From his early age he had been patronized by Messieurs Bernard, a commercial family of the jewish persuasion, settled at Berlin, who had acquired a considerable fortune. Mendlesohn had given such repeated proofs of the rectitude of his heart, and had besides applied himself so assiduously and earnestly to the cultivation of his mind, and was so unquestionably the author of his own improvement, that a general esteem was entertained for his character. In the house of Messieurs Bernard he passed successively through the different offices of sweeper of the warehouse, out-door clerk, clerk at the desk, principal cashier, and chief director of nearly the whole of their extensive commerce; while, at the same time, he was also preceptor to the children of the family.

His reputation was in high esteem among those of his nation, and, by degrees, among the Christians. He was intrusted with the charge of making regulations for the school for the Jews at Berlin; and, in addition, he composed for its use a sort of catechism, that was much esteemed for its excellence, on being appointed its inspector.

As to the literary productions of Mendlesohn, I know only his *Phedon*, or *Dialogues of Socrates on the Immortality of the Soul*, a small volume in duodecimo, in which the form of the Dialogues of Plato, and the grounds of the doctrine of that ancient philosopher, are less apparent than certain developments and a strength of reasoning that belonged exclusively to his imitator, and which at the time acquired him considerable reputation. As a proof of the probity and delicacy of his sentiments, I will relate the following trait: A Jew, named Ephraim, who in the seven years' war had acquired a fortune amounting to ten millions, said to him one day, "Messieurs Bernard give you as a salary only fifteen hundred crowns a year; you have a numerous family, and this sum can barely provide for their subsistence; come to me and fill the same office as you now fill for them, and I will double it." Mendlesohn replied, "Messieurs Bernard supplied my wants when I had done them no service at all, and it was even doubtful that I should ever do them any; their kindness has at no time failed me; on the contrary, they have ever done for me more than I have deserved. As there are at present many children in the family, it seems that I can be of considerable use to them; I therefore

will not leave them: they give me enough for my support and for that of my family, and I should be content with even less. As to my children, they must be truly worthless if they should be abandoned by this family."

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

IT may easily be imagined, when we consider the character of Frederic, and recollect with what ardour he applied himself to study in his youth, that, when seated on the throne, he could not fail to interest himself deeply in the improvement of other persons. It was impossible for him to overlook this object among those which appeared most worthy of his zeal. He did not embrace the views he formed respecting his various establishments for this end with the impetuosity of a young man, for the vivacity natural to his character was on all such occasions counteracted by his prudence. He meditated long and minutely the projects he executed respecting this important branch of his administration, rejecting in them what was unworthy of his character, and discussing with persons of the profoundest judgment the principles and details belonging to them. A hundred times did he return to the subject with Maupertuis, with d'Argens, with Voltaire, with d'Alembert, and others. In short, no

sooner had he repaired to the utmost in his power the disasters the war had occasioned his subjects, and formed the resolution for no motive, short of absolute necessity, again to take up arms, than he included a plan for public instruction, and no less so for its execution among the objects of his solicitude.

M. de Zeidlitz, minister of state, who had already embraced in his administration different branches not properly his own, such as religious worship, begging in the streets, &c. was now in addition charged with the superintendence of the universities and all the public schools, and with that of ascertaining the means of insuring and augmenting their success. This minister was required to extend his vigilance even to all the colleges into which pupils were received. To this branch he gave particular attention, and proposed different improvements respecting them, which the king for the most part adopted.

The king, whose genius and activity extended to the minutest details, not content with the zeal of his minister, was desirous of attaching the services of still other persons to the prosperity of his public schools; and to this effect he employed different members of the academy at Berlin. On this account too it was that Sulzer, conformably with the commands of his majesty,

went several times to visit the public schools of several of the provinces, and was appointed director of Joachim's college at Berlin, one of the most important establishments of the kind in the Prussian states: and for the same reason Merian, who succeeded Sulzer in the latter office, was in addition appointed inspector of the French college, &c.

It would be extremely erroneous to suppose that these nominations did not impose on the persons who were their objects a multiplicity of occupations: under a sovereign like Frederic, no man in place could trifle with his duty, nor did any enjoy a sinecure.

The king ordered a minute statement to be made and laid before him of the condition of such villages as had no schools; of which he founded almost every year a certain number: in some years no less than sixty at a time. The catholics of Berlin having entered into a subscription for joining a similar establishment to their church, he so warmly commended this mark of their zeal as to evince the pleasure it occasioned him, but he at the same time added these words: "Provided they make no proselytes, for this I will by no means tolerate*."

* The catholic church at Berlin is one of the finest edifices the town contains; its plan was much approved of by

Almost every religion had its particular school at Berlin, besides the colleges, gymnasia, &c. There was also a *real school*, that is, a school in which the lessons were always accompanied with a presenting of the object spoken of to the eye of the pupil. This kind of instruction was much in vogue in Germany, and was remarkable for its success, particularly at Dessau.

I throw aside an infinite number of other details to give an account of an establishment that may be considered the more worthy of our study and contemplation, as being specially the result of the meditations of Frederic on the subject of public instruction. In this establishment the reader will see, and I trust not without interest, the whole soul and opinions of Frederic. In saying this, I am by no means endeavouring to frame an eulogium on his character; I would merely give a faithful idea of its plan, execution, and success: if the times, or the prejudices and passions of mankind, have been the too prompt occasion of introducing into it changes essentially for the worse, the reader will have to lament the vicissitudes to which every thing hu-

Cardinal Alberoni, who contributed as far as he was able to its execution. The grand altar of this church, so much celebrated and esteemed by artists, was made at Rome of the finest marble under his immediate inspection.

man is subject, but he can reproach its founder with no other fault than the misfortune of having placed his confidence in persons whose services had been long tried, and who by degrees have substituted their own weak ideas for the wise and grand conceptions of the founder.

I have in this place two objects to accomplish: first, to present the reader with the king's instruction relative to his establishment; this is absolutely necessary to the forming a precise judgment of the school, and it is the more curious, as tending to give a faithful exhibition of the ideas of Frederic concerning this branch of administration: secondly, to make known the persons employed therein, and point out the care he exercised in the choice of them.

1st. THE INSTRUCTION DELIVERED BY THE KING'S COMMAND TO THE PROFESSORS, AND SIGNED WITH HIS HAND.

Of the Academy.*

" THE intention of the king and the end of this foundation is so to form the minds of young gentlemen, that they may be properly qualified, according to their destination, for the pursuit of either the military vocation or of politics. The masters, therefore, shall studiously endeavour not only to store their memories with useful knowledge, but above all to create in them a certain volubility of mind which shall render them capable of applying themselves, not to one study alone, but to any that may be found expedient; in particular, to the cultivation of their reason, and the forming of their judgments. To this end it is consequently necessary that the

* Such was the appellation Frederic gave to this school, which by the public has always been designated by the name of *civil and military academy for young gentlemen.*

masters should accustom their pupils to form just and clear ideas of things, and on no occasion remain satisfied with such as are only vague or confused.

“ As the financial department of this institution is fixed on a solid basis, the instruction here given embraces only such objects as regard the classes, and the rules of discipline, both so essential in every community.

“ It is the will of his majesty that the pupils should pass through the first elements of the Latin language, the catechism, and religion of the gymnasium of Joachim*. Those of the first classes will, at the same time, learn to speak and write the French language in the academy. On leaving the first class, they shall be put into the hands of the *professor of grammatical purity*, who will correct their barbarous jargon, as well as such faults as appear in their style and diction. The *Sieur Toussaint* shall then proceed

* This part of the plan of his Prussian majesty was never executed, it being found easy to convince him that, notwithstanding the proximity of the gymnasium, which in fact is situated close to the academy, the displacing the pupils every day for this purpose could not but be attended with serious inconvenience; for this reason, it was determined that the masters to whom the pupils would have daily resorted should attend them all together at the academy.

to teach them rhetoric; to this end, he shall begin with instructing them in logic, but without insisting too strongly on the different forms of arguments taught in the schools; his principal care should rather be directed to the producing a sound understanding: he shall be strict respecting definitions, and on no account pass over any ambiguity of style, any tinsel thought, or false reasoning; he shall exercise the pupils as much as possible in argumentations; he shall accustom them to draw consequences from principles, and to combine ideas; he shall next explain to them the nature of tropes; and when the lesson is concluded, he shall give them an additional half hour, which they shall employ in forming metaphors, comparisons, apostrophes, prosopopeias, &c. themselves. After this, he shall point out to them the manner of arguing peculiar to an orator, the enthymeme, the five divisions of an oration, and the best method of treating each.

“ For specimens in the judicial style, he shall employ Cicero's Orations; for the style deliberative, he must be introduced to Demosthenes; for the demonstrative, to Flechier and Bossuet: all these specimens will have been necessarily in the French language. He may also make them go through a short course of poetry, with a view to

forming their taste. Homer, Virgil, some of the odes of Horace, Voltaire, Boileau, Racine, are the fertile sources from which he may draw assistance, and that cannot fail to embellish the youthful mind, while at the same time they will create in it a taste for the liberal arts.

“ When the pupils shall have made some progress, he will furnish them with proper subjects for haranguing in the three respective styles; he will now encourage them to make compositions of their own without his assistance, which he will not correct till the pupils have read them over a second time. The professor of grammar, who is a supplement to this class, will correct the faults of the language, and the *Sieur Toussaint* those of rhetoric.

“ The Letters of *Madame de Sevigné* shall be put into the hands of the pupils; also those of *Count d'Estrades* and of *Cardinal d'Ossat*, and they shall be made to write letters on all kinds of subjects. To these studies, *M. Toussaint* shall add a history of the liberal arts, such as they have existed in Greece, taking care to name the persons who have greatly distinguished themselves in them: he shall proceed to the second age of the arts, under *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and call their attention to the renovation of letters in the times of the *Medici*, and to the eminence they

attained under Louis the Fourteenth, concluding with a view of the persons most celebrated for the cultivation of the arts in our own days.

“ The professor of history and of geography shall compose an abridgment of Rollin’s Ancient History ; he shall endeavour to impress upon their minds its most important epochs, and the names of the most celebrated men. He may make use of Echard for Roman history, and of an abridgment of P. Bar for the history of the empire. He should, however, be careful to leave out all the minute details ; and notably the study of history should be confined to a period beginning with the reign of Charles the Fifth, and ending with the present times. By this means the pupils will be made acquainted principally with the facts that relate to our own times ; for it is required of every man, if he would be received in society, that he should not be ignorant of the events that form the chain of current affairs in Europe.

“ It is not sufficient that the professor teach the pupils history ; he must also at the end of the daily lesson employ half an hour in interrogating them on the point of history they have been treating of, by which means he will elicit such reflections, whether moral, philosophical, or political, as have been passing in their minds, an

exercise of greater use to them than all they have learned. For example, on the different superstitions of nations: *Do you believe that Curtius, in leaping into the gulph that was formed at Rome, was the cause of its immediately closing? You are sensible no such thing happens in our times, which must convince you that this story is a mere fable of the ancients.....*

“ After the history of the Decii, the preceptor has an occasion ready formed to his hands for animating the breasts of the pupils with that ardent love of their country which is a principle so fertile of heroic actions. If Cæsar should be the subject of their conversation, may it not be proper to ask the pupil what he thinks of the conduct of the citizen who so oppressed his country? If the crusades? No subject can be better calculated to give an opportunity of declaiming against superstition. Does he relate to them the massacre of Saint Bartholomew? He at the same time inspires him with due horror for fanaticism. Does Cincinnatus, Scipio, or Paul Emilius, pass before their view? The pupil is instructed that the virtue of these great men has been the cause of their most illustrious actions, and that without virtue neither glory nor true greatness is to be attained. Thus history furnishes examples of every kind,

“I point out the method to be followed, but I have not exhausted the instances to which it may be applied: an intelligent instructor will know how to govern his proceedings by what I have said. The professor, when treating of geography, will begin with the four quarters of the globe: the names of the greatest nations these contain will be sufficient, respecting Asia, Africa, and America. Europe demands his more minute attention. Germany being the native country of the pupil, it is necessary that the professor should enter into the most copious details concerning the sovereigns who govern it, the rivers which divide it, the capital of each province, the imperial towns, &c. For this part of his lesson, he may make use of Hubner.

“The professor of metaphysics will begin by a short course of lessons in morality. He should set out from this principle: that virtue is useful, even extremely useful to him who practises it; it will not be difficult for him to demonstrate, that without virtue, society could not subsist; he will define the highest virtue to be the most perfect disinterestedness, a sentiment that causes us to prefer our honour to our interests, public good to private advantage, and the welfare of our country to life itself; he will enter into an examination of the nature of ambition, whether of a

laudable kind or otherwise ; he will prove to the pupil, that an honest ambition or emulation is the virtue of great minds ; that it is the spring which impels to the most noble actions, and prompts even men in obscure stations to undertake them, that their name may be inscribed in the temple of memory ; that nothing more effectually disgraces those elevated sentiments, or is more derogatory to them, than the groveling passions of envy and jealousy ; above all, he will inculcate, that if there be an innate feeling in the heart of man, it is that concerning justice and injustice, and he will use every endeavour to render his pupils enthusiasts in virtue.

“ The course of metaphysics will begin with the history of the opinions of men, from the times of the Peripatetics, Epicureans, Stoics, Academics, down to those in which we live. The professor shall minutely explain to them the opinion of each sect, borrowing assistance from Bayle's Tusculan Questions, and Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, translated into French. He will next proceed to Descartes, Leibnitz, Mallebranche, and lastly, Locke, who, taking experience for his guide, advances in this uncertain path of inquiry till the thread by which she leads him is exhausted, and she stops on the brink of abysses impenetrable to human reason.

“ It is then to the productions of Locke that the particular attention of the learner should be fixed: the preceptor, however, will by no means neglect to give him the half hour before prescribed after every lesson in this department also; while the student, who being previously exercised in rhetoric and logic, will find himself prepared for the necessary answers. The professor shall direct one of his pupils to attack the system of Zeno, and another to defend it: he will do the same respecting other systems; and afterward he will closely examine with them the remarks they have made, and point out the weakness of their arguments, either in the attack or the defence, supplying from his own judgment what they have omitted, and the consequences they have neglected to deduce from the principles laid down. This kind of dispute will be brought forward without any preparation; first, to oblige the young persons to be attentive to their lessons; secondly, to induce them to reflect on what they shall have to say; and lastly, to give them the habit of speaking readily on all sorts of subjects.

“ Next comes the professor of mathematics. The *Sieur Sulzer** is well aware we do not

* *M. Sulzer* was the professor at first intended to teach the mathematics in this school: but, even before the pupils were collected together, he was charged with the depart-

aspire to producing in our academy such men as Bernouilly or Newton. Trigonometry and fortification are the branches the most useful for the pupils he educates; these, therefore, he will make the principal object of his attention. He however will exercise them in a course of astronomy, by means of examining with them all the different systems existing, down to that of Newton, which he will treat rather in quality of an historian than as a geometrician. In like manner he will add some of the principles of mechanics, without, however, allowing them to occupy too much time; and, above all, he will apply himself to forming the judgment of the students, and accustom them, as much as possible, to combine ideas, and to seize with facility the different relations between one fact and another.

“ The professor of the law of nature and nations shall make use of Hugo Grotius, from which his lessons shall be extracts. It is not expected that he shall form consummate practitioners in this profession: a man of the world is satisfied with having formed to himself just ideas concerning it, without having studied it

ment of metaphysics and morality; while that of mathematics was given to M. de Castillon, the son.

deeply. The preceptor will, therefore, confine himself to giving his pupils an idea of the rights of the citizen, the rights of the people, the rights of the monarch, and what is called *droit publique*. He will not fail to impress upon their minds that this *droit publique* being destitute of any actual sanctity for enforcing its observance, is a vain phantom that sovereigns do not fail to display in their instructions and manifestos, though in their own conduct they violate its principles. He will conclude his lessons by given them an explanation of the Frederician Code, which being a compilation of the laws of Prussia, should be known to all its inhabitants.”

Of the Rules of Discipline.

“ THERE shall be one governor* to every three pupils, who will sleep in the same chamber with them: he is to cultivate in them habits of cleanliness, civility, and such a deport-

* Pupils for whom a stipend was paid, being a short time afterward admitted into this school, and no addition being made to the preceptors, it not unfrequently happened that four or five of the pupils, with one preceptor, occupied a bed-room in common.

ment as suits with persons of their condition; he should constantly reprove them for faults of gross or otherwise improper language, coarse or ignoble manners, idleness, &c. One of the five governors should assist regularly at the class to see that the pupils thoroughly fulfil their duty, and give the necessary attention to the lessons they receive. When the classes are ended, if they have any thing to repeat, compose, or learn by heart, the preceptor should remain with them to see that the time be well employed, and not spent in idle trifles. The hours for the classes should be regulated by those of other schools*.

“ In summer, every one shall rise at six in the morning, and the classes shall begin at seven; in winter, every one shall rise at seven, and the classes shall begin at eight. The governors and the pupils shall dine together at twelve at noon, and rise from table at one. Supper shall be served at eight in the summer; and every one shall go to bed at nine in the summer, and ten in the winter. The repeating of the catechism shall employ no more than three hours per week, and two additional hours shall be spent with the priest, and there shall be one sermon delivered

* All this forms an article, which, as the reader will soon perceive, became afterward impracticable.

on every Sunday. The afternoon of every Wednesday and every Sunday shall be a holiday. The pupils shall, on no occasion, leave the school without being attended by one or two of the preceptors. If a near relation should wish to see a pupil, one of the governors shall accompany him to the house of such relation, and conduct him back to the school*.

“ The pupils shall be allowed to amuse themselves, in the summer months, by playing at football or tennis, and by taking walks; in winter, by assembling in one of the large avenues of the academy, and repeating theatrical proverbs, or passing jokes upon each other: the preceptors shall not correct them for any artful tricks they may practise in gaiety of temper; they shall treat with seriousness only what concerns the heart, vicious propensities of any kind, immoderate passions, caprice, idleness, and other faults that are destructive of the real happiness of youth; but they shall take especial care not to restrain their cheerfulness, their sallies, or any indication of latent genius. The pupils shall have a dancing-master, that they may be accustomed to a cer-

* General Bud denbrock dispensed with this duty in the preceptors, and the pupils were attended in their visits in the town by a man servant only.

tain degree of exercise: he shall attend them three times a week, and twice a week they shall be conducted to Centener's academy, for the purpose of learning to ride*.

“ If the pupils should commit faults, they shall be punished: should they neglect to learn their lessons, that punishment shall consist in their wearing a fool's cap; if this fault has proceeded from idleness, he shall be kept for the day on bread and water; if from impertinence or sullenness, he shall be sent fasting to a place of confinement, and, when there, shall be obliged to learn a lesson by heart; after which, he shall be helped scantily at table, where he shall take his seat below the rest, shall not wear his sword when he walks out, and shall be obliged to ask pardon publicly of the person he has offended; if he has persisted obstinately in his fault, he shall appear in a frock only till his temper be subdued. But the preceptors are forbidden, on pain of imprisonment, on any account, to strike the pupils: these are young persons of condition, who should be inspired with noble sentiments, while the punishments they receive should be rather calculated to excite their ambition than to debase their principles.

* A fencing-master was in a short time added to those above mentioned.

“ The professors and the governors shall have no jurisdiction over each other. If a professor be dissatisfied with a pupil, he shall accuse him before the governor, who will punish him in the manner above described. Should it, however, happen that any dispute arise between a governor and a professor, they shall submit the particulars of their quarrel to, who will adjust their difference according to the rules of equity, and once in every week go over the whole academy, beginning with the classes and the chambers: in this round he will strictly examine the financial department, to see if all its duties are well performed, and if the king’s directions are properly adhered to; he shall expostulate with such persons as are found neglectful, and after the second admonition he shall complain of such delinquents to the king.

“ His majesty, above every thing, recommends to the governors and preceptors to give, in their own persons and conduct, the example of the lessons they inculcate, because this cannot fail to influence the minds of the pupils more than the precepts they deliver, and also because it would be a public outrage that persons presiding over the education of youth should be found more deserving of reproof than the students committed to their care.

“In conclusion, the principles on which this academy is founded will be of evident utility to the state, by the number of useful subjects who may be expected to be formed under its auspices, provided the instruction be strictly adhered to in all its points; but if negligence, supineness, and inattention, on the part of the masters and governors, corrupt it, the end will then never be attained: meanwhile, his majesty hopes that the professors and governors will emulate each other in their exertions to accomplish his salutary purposes; applying all their industry to the improvement of the youth under their care, as well in morals as in liberal arts, and this in a manner that shall do equal honour to the school, the directors, and the pupils.

Signed, “FREDERIC.”

This instruction does not express that all the lessons given in this school shall be in the French language; yet this was the king's most positive intention: he even prohibited that the pupils should at any time be permitted to speak in German; and for several years this rule was strictly observed.

If we examine this instruction with some degree of attention, we shall easily discover what were the favourite studies of the author: the

pleasure he takes in amplifying his directions to the professor of eloquence, the professor of morality and metaphysics, of history and of geography, is sufficiently conspicuous; nor need we be told that it was because these were the sciences in which he himself excelled, and to which he was particularly attached: he is much more laconic, and, if I may venture to say so, much more barren of ideas when he treats of those to be given in natural philosophy and mathematics, and also those respecting the law of nature and of nations*.

2dly. CHOICE OF THE PERSONS EMPLOYED IN
THIS SCHOOL.

FREDERIC consulted solely his own judgment in the choice of the professors; but it was not found practicable to proceed upon the same grounds with respect to that of the governors: on this head, he was influenced by the persons

* I forbear to mention another establishment nearly similar, founded by Frederic at Coeslin, as I have not had it in my power to ascertain in what degree it has proved successful.

about him, particularly by M. le Catt, and even by Colonel Guichard and Quintus Icilius.

The first professor chosen by Frederic was M. Sulzer, who had professed the mathematics at the college or gymnasium of Joachim for thirty years, and was one of the most esteemed academicians in the class of speculative philosophy. M. Sulzer, on becoming a widower, had resolved on returning to Switzerland, his native country: he had in consequence demanded and obtained his dismissal in 1764, and was preparing for his departure, when the king directed M. le Catt to inform him by letter, that he had contemplated a new establishment for him, the functions of which could be accomplished by none but a man of acknowledged merit, and that he hoped he would defer his departure till he had been enabled to judge if the place alluded to would suit his inclinations. This invitation was too flattering to be resisted; M. Sulzer waited for the proposal, which he accepted, and thus remained among us.

The second professor appointed to the same school was M. Toussaint, author of the work entitled *Les Mœurs*, and other productions, together with some articles inserted in the collection of the Encyclopedia. This author had experienced misfortunes in France, and even dreaded perse-

education in that country. He had escaped to Bruxelles during the seven years' war, where he undertook the editorship of a French paper, he being, as is natural to suppose, firmly attached to the views of the house of Austria: nor was he in this paper cautious of offending the King of Prussia; he baptized him in it the *highwayman of the north*, and designated him by that epithet till the event of the peace. Of this the philosopher king was not ignorant; but he was far from attributing to the heart of the man what proceeded rather from the imperiousness of circumstances; nor did the conduct of Toussaint prevent Frederic from engaging in his academy the author of a book which had given him pleasure, and whose talents, character, and principles, had been spoken of in terms of high commendation to the principal cabinet secretary, and to M. d'Argens by M. de Castillon the father, who had known him in Holland, and by Messieurs Beaussobre and Pajon, who had boarded under his roof at Paris.

The professorship of logic and rhetoric was accordingly offered to M. Toussaint through the intervention of M. de Castillon; it was accepted by the former, who proceeded immediately to Berlin, which he reached five or

six months previous to my own arrival in that place.

M. de Castillon, by means of the commission with which he was charged, being aware that the professorship then occupied by M. de Sulzer must necessarily be vacated, solicited and obtained it for his son, at that time extremely young, but well qualified, as he has uniformly proved himself, to fill it: his nomination, however, was not effected without difficulty, the illustrious Euler having solicited the same place for his eldest son, who was already a member of the academy of sciences, and more advanced in years. The preference given to young de Castillon was the first cause of the discontent of M. Euler.

The professorship of the law of nature and of nations was conferred on a M. Stoss, keeper of the cabinet of curiosities at the castle; he also filled that of coadjutor to the royal librarian: he was a good barrister, and was beloved by his brother academicians.

While the king was employed in these nominations, Sulzer wrote by his command to M. Weguelin, a pastor at Saint Gal in Switzerland, to propose his acceptance of the place of professor of history and geography: this choice was in every respect judicious, for M. Weguelin was

at once a man of profound learning, incessant application, and ardent zeal, in the exercise of his functions. He was the last of the colleagues received into the academy, and his admission took place some months after my own.

About the same time too it was that d'Alembert was earnestly entreated by his majesty to consult with the Abbé d'Olivet concerning the choice of a person who should be competent to the duties of a professorship; uniting in its functions grammar in general, and the different styles of writing. Cerutti having heard of this commission, sent me intelligence of it; d'Alembert and d'Olivet, who were both acquainted with me, proposed me to Frederic, who authorized them to engage me. My marriage now took place; and, accompanied by my wife, I took my departure in the month of January 1765, and arrived at Berlin on the 17th of March ensuing.

General de Buddenbrock gave us in the sequel a new professor, and also added a preceptor to our number: the first was an officer of engineers, whose office was to teach the elements of the branch of artillery and fortification; and the second was one of our generals, who was authorized to give the pupils lessons in German grammar. But neither of these took any share in the deliberations of the academy.

The general zeal and application of the academicians could perhaps scarcely be exceeded, while the king himself was by no means less indefatigable. When he sent for me, every time of his arrival at Berlin from Potzdam, his first question was always concerning the welfare of his school. We talked for some time on the subject, and he entered into its minutest particulars. He inquired the names of all the pupils; who among them made the greatest progress, applied themselves to study with the greatest ardour, or manifested the highest degree of talent. He next required to be informed what species of understanding or talent I had observed in the different pupils, and afterward my reasons for the opinion I had formed. All this with Frederic was not a vain affectation, a mere display of words; he, on the contrary, paid the deepest attention to the answers I made him, and in the sequel took care to procure advantageous situations for such among them as I described to be the most deserving. To shew the reader in what a degree his singular and even original ideas reproduced each other on all sorts of occasions, I shall relate the trouble I one day had to convince him that a certain pupil, on whom I had bestowed the warmest commendations, was really deserving of them. "My good Sir," said he, "you mistake respecting

him, depend upon it; he has perhaps considerable application, but I am certain he has neither talent nor understanding."

As I persisted in my former opinion, with a zeal proportioned to the prejudice conceived by Frederic, and which I considered might be injurious to the future interests of the youth in question, the king replied in these words: "Observe, I know his whole family well; they live in such a province; are tolerably numerous, and in narrow circumstances: I have studied their characters attentively; they are good sort of people, who distinguish themselves by the rectitude of their conduct, and the most perfect fidelity in the accomplishment of what they undertake. The father of your pupil held such a rank in the army, and was killed in such an engagement. I pledge myself that there never was the shadow of any talent in a single individual of that family.".... "Sire, the young man we are speaking of is an exception; for in the school he is considered to possess an excellent understanding, and even a facility in mastering whatever he applies himself to; his ideas are for the most part abundant, always just, and ranged in regular order, advantages that could not be solely the fruit of his application.".... "Well, Sir, I can do

no other than believe you ; but I must also believe that the young man has been smuggled into the family in some dishonest way ; for, take my word for it, his father, who was nevertheless an excellent soldier, had no part in his existence."

FRIENDS OF FREDERIC, PHILOSOPHICAL AND
LITERARY.

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*Counsellor Jordan.*

CHARLES-STEPHEN JORDAN was born in the year 1702: after finishing his first studies at Berlin, and those of theology at Geneva, he passed several years in the bosom of his family, occupied solely by literature, his views being to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical vocation. In 1733 he took a journey to France, England, and Holland, for the purpose of obtaining the means of some communication with the illustrious men whose acquirements rendered them an ornament to these different countries; he was also curious to examine the valuable libraries the latter contained. In the course of this expedition it was that he made an acquaintance with M. Voltaire, and formed, without being at the time sensible of the fact, the first link of the chain which, in the

sequel, united the greatest sovereign in Europe to a genius the most celebrated of his age.

It was on M. Jordan's return from his travels that Frederic, then Prince Royal of Prussia, first became acquainted with him. He belonged to one of the most esteemed and respected families among the French colony at Berlin. He had brothers and sisters, all of whom formed new alliances by marriage, and bequeathed to their descendants those principles of rectitude, integrity, and virtue, they had themselves received from their ancestors. M. Jordan himself joined to the valuable qualities I have above described all that an unremitting application to the best studies could bestow. His mind was distinguishing and prompt, his knowledge was considerably extensive, as well in what concerned literature and the languages as theology.

Being nominated pastor of Poentzlaw, situated at a small distance from Rheinsberg, he had frequent opportunities of seeing Frederic, who then lived in that town in complete retirement, and whose friendship toward him daily increased. When this prince ascended the throne, he resolved to place Jordan near his person; accordingly he prevailed on him to abandon the ecclesiastical vocation, a sacrifice which to all appear-

ance was made by him without repugnance: he exchanged therefore the appellation of pastor for that of private librarian to the king, to which he added that of privy counsellor, a place which in the civil branch of administration in Prussia is next to that of minister. To these high-sounding titles it was necessary to add a stipend, the private fortune of Jordan being insufficient for his support in his new quality of a courtier. That this concern might be fixed at once, the king asked him with what sum he should be satisfied? "If I had an income of two thousand livres, in addition to my private fortune, replied Jordan, I should be perfectly content."... "Heavens! rejoined Frederic, "how moderate is your ambition! My dear Jordan, I should never have believed you a man of so narrow a soul!" Notwithstanding this exclamation, Jordan's demand at no time was exceeded through the bounty of the monarch; yet he never solicited its being increased.

In 1730, Jordan published a volume in duodecimo, entitled *Recueil de Literature, de Philosophie, et d'Histoire*. This work was followed by a Latin dissertation on the life and writings of *Jordano Bruno*, and by an account of his travels, printed in 1735. He also published, in 1741, a history of the life and writings of M. la Croze.

I observe also, that in one of his productions

he mentions another, which I never saw, and which he calls his *Realis de Vienna*.

It appears by a letter in Latin, addressed to him in 1723 by a professor of Grypswalde, how assiduously he had applied himself to the acquisition of knowledge, even from his earliest youth.

The rectitude, simplicity, and sincerity of mind inherent in this courtier, qualities that are rarely imitated, were ill calculated to prompt his engaging in any court-intrigue. He dared avow a frank and manly friendship for his sovereign, who on his part was sensible of his value, and candid enough to do justice to his uncommon merit. Frederic feared from Jordan no abuse of the kindness he bestowed on him, who in his turn honoured the character of the monarch too profoundly to apprehend that he would take advantage of the power he held. They were united by the bonds of friendship, and remained so till death; an example of so rare occurrence, that to find its counterpart we should be compelled to go back to the times of fabulous story. There is perhaps nothing more admirable in the life of Frederic than the constancy of his attachment to Jordan; nor can any higher commendation of the latter be suggested than to shew him worthy of so flattering a sentiment.

In the first wars of Frederic Jordan remained

at Berlin, and sent the king a daily account of all the transactions, whether confidential or otherwise, that could be interesting to his majesty. Baron de Poelnitz, on one occasion, found in the apartments of Jordan several printed pamphlets conceived in terms of marked disloyalty; the language of these pamphlets was altogether so disrespectful as to excite lively apprehensions in the baron. "How is it," said he, "that you have the courage to keep such atrocious libels in your apartments?".... "I shall not keep them long, for to-morrow they will be sent to the king.".... "What! You will dare to send him such miserable productions as these!".... "Why not? He knows that I was not the author of them; that I do not approve of them; in short, he knows that, in sending them, I do no more than obey his orders.".... "Ah, my friend! do not make too sure that the ill-humour they cannot fail to occasion in him will not be extended to yourself.".... "Of this, believe me, I have not the smallest apprehension; besides, I only do my duty."

I have next to relate a circumstance, in which our privy counsellor acted with an intrepidity of mind that reflects still more credit on his character. The new monarch had conceived a disapprobation, somewhat too extravagant, concern-

ing the spirit of intolerance that directed the conduct of his deceased father: he was but too sensible of all the motives he had to maintain, the different religions established in his dominions in a state of calm and tranquillity, not earnestly to cultivate the means the best calculated to promote that salutary end. He conceived to this effect a project that appeared to him infallible, that of constructing a pantheon in his capital similar to that formerly erected by the Romans. This pantheon was to be consecrated, without restrictions, to all religions, in which every sect might come at its separate hour and exercise its form of worship. The better to insure the success of his plan, he resolved that this temple should be one of the most perfect monuments of modern architecture; that each sect should find in it all that their religious ceremonies might require; and that even the ornaments it contained should be remarkable for their magnificence. He persuaded himself he should by this means succeed in dismembering the other receptacles for religious worship, and thus accelerate the progress of the spirit of brotherly love. It was with these views he chose the form of a rotunda for his temple, as that which was best calculated for placing his altar, tabernacle, communion table, and sanctuary, in such different points of view as

might suit the particular usages of each sect, and that these might be distinguished and surrounded without inconvenience.

Of all the courtiers of Frederic, Jordan was the only person who did not listen to the plans he had conceived in this respect with the flattering language of approbation. But can he with justice be ranged in the list of courtiers? he who, during his life, had held with truth this language to his friends? "It is not the king I love in him, but the man: were I to contemplate only the power and dignity of the monarch, I should endeavour to hold myself at a distance from his person; but it is his qualities both of mind and heart that attach me to him inviolably, and this without either restraint or apprehension."

With respect to the question of the edifice, the idea entertained by Jordan, considering the prevalence of bigotry at this epoch, was perfectly reasonable. Frederic on ascending the throne was to guard against the most insignificant mistakes: his father, who had in his character more of the spirit of intolerance than of a devotee, and at the same time more of a devotee than of religion, had been far from preparing his people for the reception of the philosophical principles it was now the endeavour of Frederic to disseminate; the priesthood retained too powerful an

ascendency over the minds of the people: if Frederic had resumed his plan toward the end of his reign after his forty years of glory, and particularly after having exterminated in his kingdom every trace of religious intolerance, there is every reason to believe he would have experienced the most unqualified success. By this time, however, the spirit of bigotry had died away, and it was therefore no longer necessary to have recourse to a means so expensive; or, if it had been necessary, and Jordan had been still alive, he probably would no longer have opposed such a design.

At the same time that Jordan was combating the above-mentioned project, he contemplated another, to which he made considerable sacrifices. This project was extremely beneficial to the town of Berlin during his life-time, and in a lesser degree still continues to be so: I mean the establishment called the *Hoksenkop*. This is a spacious building, in which all idle persons are confined, where they are made to work, while all their necessities are provided for. It is truly an asylum for such wretched beings as are destitute of a home. To this place all vagabonds are conducted, till it is known who they are: the first step taken respecting these is to administer to their wants, while at the same time due notice is taken as to what in appearance they are capable of doing

and accordingly they are compelled to execute a certain portion of some kind of labour. Jordan was, during his life, the sole director of this establishment, and united in his endeavours for its service the most enthusiastic zeal, the most uniform constancy, and the sacrifice of his fortune.

Jordan did not enjoy a robust state of health; he had a weakness in his lungs, which was unavoidably increased by the very nature of his daily occupations; the complaint had increased in an alarming degree in 1746, and in a short time he was no longer able to leave his home: notwithstanding the assistance of medical art, he every day grew worse, and died in 1747, having endured a year of gradual sufferings and decay. During the whole of this period, Frederic came, as often as his leisure could permit, to Berlin, for the purpose of seeing him: he was generally alone, without even a page or servant, and he passed at least an hour in the apartment of his sick friend. The first time of his paying him this kind of visit, he said to the brothers, sisters, children, or other relations, whom he found with the invalid, "I beg to be left alone with him; but make yourselves perfectly easy: I will give him what he wants, and take every possible care of him during your absence, of which he shall have no cause to complain." From that

time his relations always retired when the king made his appearance. I know of no trait similar to this in the history of kings.

The last time of his visiting Jordan convinced the monarch that he drew near his end: Jordan was himself sensible of this, and in consequence was desirous to take an affectionate leave of his majesty, and to express the deep and fervent gratitude he bore with him to another world, for all the kindness bestowed upon him by his gracious sovereign.

“ I perceive,” said Frederic, “ that your present state must prove a crisis; it may however terminate favourably, and I have still hopes of your being better to-morrow. As events, however, are not always such as we would have them, I will not longer defer communicating to you something that occasions me great anxiety: you have been my most sincere friend, and I in return have done nothing for you; nothing, indeed, have you ever asked of me! Tell me, I entreat you for my own consolation, what I can do that would give you the greatest satisfaction, either respecting your children, or in any other way whatever.” . . . “ Sire, my only children are two daughters, as yet very young: all I have to leave them are my household furniture and my library; but I ask nothing on their behalf, because I am certain they will be

provided for. I have relations who, though not wealthy, are however in the possession of such easy circumstances as suit their condition. In addition, those relations are all persons of the purest sentiments and rectitude, of native sensibility, and virtues far superior to the gifts of fortune. I rely that they will do for my children what they would do for their own; I am even sure of it: but I have a servant whose conduct toward me has evinced the most faithful and zealous attachment; I confess, I feel great regret that I am not able to recompense the services of this man. Allow me, Sir, to recommend him to your bounty.".... "Make yourself easy on this point, my dear friend, I will certainly provide for him; this charge I take upon myself: nor shall I forget your children."

The king, on leaving Jordan's apartment, betrayed in his countenance the concern he felt; and the only words he pronounced no less expressed his deep affliction and despair of his recovery. Counsellor Jordan expired in the course of the following night. His brother, Peter Jordan, father of the respectable and excellent Madame Bitaubé, was next morning the bearer of the distressing intelligence to the king, who received him in his cabinet, where the first object that struck his view was the portrait of his bro-

ther: in sight of this object, so calculated to renew his sorrow, was he obliged to relate all the circumstances of the expiring moments of a beloved brother. The king's eyes were several times filled with tears; at length neither could resist the violence of their affliction, and the concluding sentences of the detail were choaked by their mutual sobs. The king, however, made efforts to command himself; and, as soon as this was possible, he put a variety of questions to Peter Jordan respecting the daughters of his deceased brother, their age, and the arrangements in contemplation on their behalf, which he concluded by repeating the promise he had so lately made their father. He added that, when they arrived at an age to be marriageable, he wished to be consulted as to the persons who were fixed on for their husbands; and before they separated, the king fetched from his chatouille the sum of six thousand rix-dollars, which he requested might be presented to the eldest of the two, who, on receiving this mark of the royal bounty, insisted on dividing it with her sister; the latter, no less generous, refused this offer with a firmness superior even to that which accompanied the proposal.

Frederic was too deeply penetrated with the loss he had experienced to be soon consoled; on

the contrary, he sought every means of proving how truly worthy the deceased had been of his attachment, and that of society at large: he composed the eulogium of his friend, such as it appears in the memoirs of the academy of Berlin, of which M. Jordan, previous to M. Maupertuis, had been president. It is still an undecided question, whether the above eulogium reflects greater honour on Jordan, who was so infinitely deserving of it, or on the king, who in writing it gave the world the unprecedented example of conferring, by his own act, the celebrity due to the talents and virtues of his subject.

M. Dieu, the servant to M. Jordan already spoken of, was immediately appointed visitor in the Custom-house; he was afterward advanced to that of sub-inspector, and by degrees to inspector and director; he at length appointed him to the office of privy counsellor, which was that filled by his late master. It must be confessed this M. Dieu filled the duties of his situation with equal simplicity and exactness, and also during the rest of his life had the good sense never to avoid occasions of speaking of his *worthy and excellent master*, Counsellor Jordan, for whose family he uniformly manifested equal attachment and respect.

The king, no doubt, intended to make the same

present to the youngest daughter of M. Jordan, as he had done to the eldest; but the seven years' war soon after succeeded, and he was but little able to part with sums of money: he however gave them a place in his memory. In one of the winters he passed at Leipsic, he inquired concerning them of the eldest son of Peter Jordan, whose name is Andrew, and who, as well as many other inhabitants of Berlin, had come to a fair held in that town. Andrew Jordan informed his majesty that the eldest of his cousins was disposed to enter the marriage state with M. Merian, member of the academy, but that the project had for the present been laid aside, because it was judged improper to conclude the ceremony without the approbation of the monarch, whom, under the existing circumstances of the war, it would be indecorous to importune on the subject.

Frédéric expressed his entire approbation of the intended marriage, saying it would give him great pleasure, and that they could not do better than immediately to conclude it.

It was in this manner that the nuptials of M. Merian were celebrated. He was justly placed in the foremost rank of the literary men of our times: he certainly stood in no need of support from the circumstance of the respectability of

his wife's connections, yet it is natural to imagine this alliance could not be prejudicial to his fortune. Madame Merian was no less distinguished among women for her talents and learning, than her husband among men: she was well versed in five or six languages at least, and pursued with remarkable facility the most abstract lectures and discussions; but nothing of this was apparent in her demeanour, for the acquirements she had gained she studiously concealed. She even carried her good sense so far as, on all occasions, to bend to the level of the understandings of the persons with whom she happened to converse. She died some years ago, leaving her husband no issue.

Her younger sister, who is still living, married a man of great worth, whose name was Charles Lantier: he experienced in his family the happiness of which he was deserving, and no less the esteem and friendship of those who knew him. His children are settled much to their advantage. His wife, whose situation did not furnish the same occasions of improvement as those embraced by her elder sister, was generally remarked for the delicate simplicity of her mind and thoughts.

I have but little more to add on the subject of Counsellor Jordan: he it was who conducted the early education of his nephew, M. Bitaubé, mem-

ber of the academy of Berlin, and of the institute of France; a man whose gentleness of manners and excellence of heart rendered him dear to all his friends.

After the death of the counsellor, his uncle, his furniture was disposed of, the principal object of which was his library; this consisted of a considerable number of well chosen books. The frontispiece to each of these was an inscription in the following words, which so well described the sentiment of his soul: *Jordani et amicorum*. The esteem entertained for him by the public was so great, that none of the persons who bought his books were willing to erase the frontispiece, so that such of them as were again exposed to sale were eagerly caught up, as soon as the recommendation of their having belonged to Counsellor Jordan was understood.

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*Voltaire.*

It will be naturally supposed that the present article of this work must be one of the greatest extent; at least, I can answer that it will be of the number of those that are the most interesting. I venture to include it in my undertaking,

although the anecdotes of which it will be composed did not happen in my own time. This celebrated man had left Prussia for more than twelve years, when I was first summoned to the court of Frederic; but men, like him the most brilliant luminary of his age, are long remembered in the places where they have diffused their lustre. On my arrival at Berlin, in 1765, one would have imagined M. Voltaire had quitted that place but the evening before, or even that he still resided in it: no one talked of any thing else; all the persons I met with had the same particulars to relate concerning him; in a word, he appeared in every place, in every conversation; a thousand persons at least had preserved copies of various manuscripts that had been put into circulation, either for or against him; of these M. du Troussel one day put into my hands an enormous packet.

Frederic and Voltaire were formed to admire and seek each other's society: each was too great a man to fail of inspiring the other with a sort of enthusiasm in his favour; but they were not formed to live together, and when they flattered themselves they should be able to enjoy that advantage, they gave a striking proof that, however great and admirable their talents and genius, they were notwithstanding subject to

egregious errors: they gave a proof either that each was imperfectly acquainted with his own character, or with that of the other. Frederic might have said, "The songs of the Swan of the Seine will spread my glory to the furthest extremity of the globe." Voltaire, on the other hand, might have persuaded himself, that the glory of the Solomon of the North would add new lustre to that he had already acquired. These were powerful incentives for inspiring them with the mutual desire to become acquainted, and in the sequel to produce in them mutual consideration. I repeat, these were powerful reasons for their seeking each other, but not for their remaining friends. Diamonds are never set in diamonds; experience proves that these should be set in some solid yet ductile metal.

Voltaire had already acquired a considerable portion of celebrity, while Frederic, who was then much younger and only prince of Prussia, vegetated in obscurity, or at least in a state but little known, and under the dominion of his barbarian father, either in his prison at Austria, or his desert of Rheinsberg: but the soul of this prince, animated with the desire of obtaining knowledge and adding lustre to his name, grew impatient of the restraint to which he was subjected; accordingly he tempted every means for

enlarging the narrow circle to which his situation condemned him ; and thus from day to day he strengthened, though secretly, the bonds of the friendship he had cultivated with persons whose enlightened understandings promoted both his pleasure and improvement.

Jordan, who was afterward the subject of this monarch, returned about this time from his expedition to Switzerland, England, Holland, and France : his principal object had been to behold the celebrated men who, by their talents and science, were the ornament of those countries. Voltaire was one of those to whom, at Paris, he had assiduously paid his court, and of whom he most frequently talked with Frederic about the year 1733, when the latter, hearing of his return to Berlin, sent for him, and in the sequel contracted toward him the friendship that reflects so much honour on the character of either. Jordan it was who formed the first link of the chain which so intimately connected the names of Voltaire and Frederic. Soon after a regular correspondence was established between these great men, which in a short time was extended to Madame du Chatelet and Maupertuis. Cirey was the place in which was centered the every affection of Frederic, and no day passed that did not witness the communications, whether on

science, literature, philosophy, or such as were expressive of the liveliest friendship, that either in prose or verse were sent from Cirey to Rheinsberg, or from Rheinsberg to Cirey.

Maupertuis was the first who found the means, or felt the inclination, to derive pecuniary advantage from this correspondence, which he cultivated separately, and which obtained for him the presidency of the academy of Berlin. Madame du Chatelet and Voltaire, who were not subject to the same necessities and were contented with each other's society, thought only of the pleasure to be derived from such an intercourse. Having for so long a time been the correspondents of Frederic, it was impossible that the parties should not desire to see each other: in effect, this desire was felt, and, as was natural, even exaggerated in their mutual assurances. Accordingly, Frederic had no sooner ascended the throne than Voltaire, on the first expedition of the latter to the banks of the Rhine and the Meuse, hastened to offer him his homage.

Voltaire himself informs us that the object of his second visit to Frederic, which took place in 1743, was to execute a secret mission of the court of Versailles. What contributed to their union on this occasion was the protestations they had formerly made, and the idea conceived by

each that this union promised great advantages: they had made overtures to this effect, which could no longer admit of being retracted, and they therefore determined to risk every thing in the hope of gaining every thing. If we nearly examine the real temper of each at this time, we shall believe that they reciprocally intended to deceive each other by feigning sentiments they no longer felt, or at least not in the same degree as formerly: the endeavour of each was, therefore, with superior art to mislead the other. This trial of skill was truly royal on the part of Frederic, but in Voltaire it was no less injudicious. This we cannot doubt, that Frederic and Voltaire said to themselves, "I alone shall reap the fruits of friendship, while I bestow only its blossoms."

From this time they lavished on each other the most extravagant professions. "What joy! What satisfaction! What happiness! What devotion! What gratitude!" This was the language they used. It is even affirmed that Frederic, in one of his fits of admiration and enthousaism, went so far as to kiss the hand of Voltaire. If this were true, it could not but operate to the disadvantage of the latter, for we may easily imagine a king, so tenacious of all the rules of propriety, with difficulty could forgive himself for such a moment of forgetfulness:

he no doubt blushed for the extravagance he had committed, which ever after could produce nothing but misfortune to the idol.

The first distinct cause of the dissatisfaction that took place between these celebrated men was some financial considerations. It is well known that to these Voltaire was at that time in the habit of paying the strictest attention, while with Frederic it had been the habit of his whole life. The former had prescribed to himself, in this respect, a singular kind of system, which is without example. Born in easy circumstances, which were further improved by his succeeding to an inheritance, the uniform endeavour of Voltaire was, notwithstanding, to augment it by every means in his power short of denying himself a comfortable existence. In this manner he succeeded in increasing an income of twenty thousand livres to one of an hundred thousand; when this was once effected, being at the time advanced in years, he adopted the mode of expensive living to which such a fortune entitled him.

But this end, when Voltaire came to Berlin, was not yet accomplished, and consequently he pursued the plan he had laid down. The agreement he had made with the King of Prussia was, that the latter should bestow on him the chamberlain's key and the cross of the order of Merit,

to which the gentleman of the bedchamber from the court of France attached more esteem : the ordinary appointments of a minister of state, amounting to about twenty thousand livres per ann. apartments in the castle, a seat at the royal table, wood for fuel, two candles per day, and so many pounds of sugar, coffee, tea, and chocolate per month. M. de Voltaire had soon occasion to be dissatisfied with the commodities thus furnished him : the articles were extremely bad of their kind and, though he conjectured that this could not be wholly ascribed to the disobedience of the king's servants, he resolved to make a formal complaint to Frederic of the inconvenience he sustained. "What you tell me," said Frederic, "gives me infinite uneasiness. What! A man such as you treated with disrespect under my roof, and this notwithstanding the well-known attachment I bear you. Really, it is quite horrible! But you see what beings men are: all scoundrels! You have done perfectly right, however, in informing me of this business, and you may rely on my giving such peremptory orders on the subject, that in future you will have nothing of the same kind to complain of."

Whatever were the orders given by Frederic, the evil continued the same, and Voltaire, more exasperated than before, did not fail to renew

his complaint. "It is most abominable," said the king, "that I should be disobeyed at this rate: you know, however, the orders I gave; what more can I do? I cannot have the scoundrels hanged about a bit of sugar or a spoonful of adulterated tea; this the knaves know well enough, and consequently do but laugh at my displeasure: but what most seriously grieves me is to see the sublime ideas of M. de Voltaire interrupted by such pitiful considerations. Ah! Do not let us employ the moments we might consecrate to friendship and the muses on subjects so unworthy of us! Come, come, dear friend, these trifles are beneath your attention and regret; you cannot dismiss them too soon. Let us drop the subject, and rely that a remedy shall be applied."

The conduct of Frederic astonished Voltaire, who perfectly understood the tone of his royal friend. "Ah," said he to himself, "I perceive the order of the day is here, *save or gain who can*. Since this is the case, let every man take care of his own interests, and guard against being cheated." From this time, the practice of Voltaire was to sell the candles allowed him in parcels of twelve pounds each, just as he received them; and, as a supply for himself, he every evening made a point of leaving the king's apartment on some pretext, when he never failed to take one of the candles

from the table, which he as constantly left in his own apartment, and which, had the question been brought forward, might be truly denominated his *sugar and his coffee*.

I entreat the reader to consider for a moment the impression necessarily made on such occurrences as these on the minds of the two friends! Surely resentment, hatred, and displeasure, were more likely to prevail in either than the sentiment of friendship: nor could the distrustful temper natural to both fail to increase daily. How incessantly they must have watched each other's conduct, and held themselves perpetually on their guard! Nevertheless, they were constantly in each other's society, if we except the time of the morning, which the king devoted wholly to his government. At dinner, and more particularly at supper, they presented themselves together to the persons invited to admire them, and together formed a scene in which philosophy, poetry, and literature, reigned in concert, or each in turn. Every minute elicited some valuable thought or some agreeable sally: nothing but wit or reason flowed from their lips; and their listeners had no less to admire in the selectness of their ideas than in the abundance that seemed inexhaustible.

The mornings of M. de Voltaire were frequently

devoted to a different employment: the brothers and sisters of Frederic learned his exquisite tragedies by heart. From the time of his second visit to Prussia, this kind of study had been much in vogue: and thus it was that at one or the other of these epochs the tragedies of *Œdipus*, *Mariamme*, *Zaire*, *the Duke de Foix*, *Adelaide du Guesclin*, *Alzire*, *Merope*, *Semiramis*, *Orestes*, and above all *the Death of Cesar*, *Brutus*, *Mahomet*, and *Catiline*, engaged their most assiduous attention, and were constantly played by them in presence only of their confidential friends.

Nothing it was said could be more animated than the repetitions of these pieces. Voltaire, who was their sole preceptor, in the declamation was incessantly in action and out of breath. He played all the characters at the same time: sometimes he found it necessary to reprimand and scold at every individual of the royal troop; but no one was angry, for his extravagance appeared to them truly risible.

On one occasion of this kind, when he was reproving Baculard d'Arnaud, to whom he had given the character of a guard, who had no more than four or five verses to recite in the whole piece (I believe the play was *Mariamme*); D'Arnaud, thinking himself but little flattered by being allotted so insignificant a character, played it with

coldness and indifference, and Voltaire, indignant, reproached him severely in consequence. "The manner," said d'Arnaud, "was quite good enough for the character; it would have been quite ridiculous to have played it with more passion.".... "The character," replied Voltaire, "is, however, much above your talents, nor are you capable of reciting even the few words it contains with propriety." Accordingly he proved that all the interest of the piece depended on those few words, and thus convinced him that the character allotted him was one of the greatest importance.

This trifling quarrel, and a hundred like it, contributed much to the amusement of the other actors; and it may be truly said that none of the periods of their lives, on recollection, afforded them greater pleasure. For the rest, no one so much as Prince Henry derived improvement from these exercises: he became the first actor of the family, and during his whole life retained a decided predilection for the theatre.

At the same epoch the writing of verses was also in vogue: Voltaire, the king, and d'Arnaud, employed themselves assiduously in this employment. But how was it possible to talk of poetry, of dramatic pieces, and not of love? The Princess Ulrica (some say the Princess Amelia) one day desired Voltaire to make her a declaration of love,

in which the word *love* should not once be mentioned; upon which the gallant poet, as if by inspiration, produced immediately the following well-known verses:

“ Souvent un peu de verité  
 Se mele au plus grossier mensonge :  
 Cette nuit, dans l’erreur d’un songe,  
 Au rang des rois j’étois monté.  
 Je vous aimois princesse et j’osois vous le dire.  
 Les dieux, à mon reveil, ne m’ont pas tout ôté :  
 Je n’ai perdu que mon empire.”

A little truth full oft we find  
 Mixt with the wildest lies.  
 Last night I dreamed : how sweet a dream!  
 Methought I reigned a king,  
 I felt a flame, I told my flame ;  
 To you, great princess, told it.  
 Heaven took away at morning’s dawn  
 Not half my sleeping thought :  
 My crown was fled; my royal pride;  
 But ah! the flame remain’d,

These spirited verses were however inauspicious in many respects. Frederic could not be reconciled to the idea, however accidental the occasion, of such a liberty being taken with one of his sisters, and he felt that he ought not to overlook it even in M. de Voltaire. He therefore replied to the madrigal by a pretended epigram,

which was more remarkable for its haughty tone than for talent in the writer. In this contemptible production he says, that one may conceive of a dog trying to lay hold of the moon with his teeth, but that a coxcomb of a Frenchman should make love to a great princess is an extravagance beyond all conception.

In the second place it was discovered that the madrigal composed for the princess was an imitation of an Italian madrigal, which in consequence was repeated by every one. In short, the eldest son of M. de Francheville, the academical, a very young man, who at different times had been Voltaire's amanuensis, now came forward with a declaration that the latter, on the day on which the verses were produced, had written some lines on a small piece of paper, which he took care to tear into a hundred scraps previous to his going to court; that, supposing they must be of a curious nature, he had with great trouble succeeded in putting the scraps together, by which means he was enabled to read the sense of the whole. This was a sufficient proof that the *impromptu* was made with deliberation; at which every one was the more surprised, as certainly no man could stand less in need of such a deception than M. Voltaire.

I shall say nothing of the labours of M. Voltaire

in correcting the poetical compositions of Frederick it is known to every one that he was employed in that task, that it inspired him with infinite aversion, and that unfortunately there are too many of them still existing in the works of the philosopher of Sans Souci that have not received the same advantage. But what furnishes me with the greatest number of anecdotes, and the reader no doubt expects with impatience, are the disagreements that found their way to this theatre of glory and of unmanly passions. I am, above all, desirous to give an account of the most remarkable particulars of the affair relative to la Beaumelle, d'Arnaud, and Maupertuis.

The article in which la Beaumelle is concerned will be extremely short: this consisted of an accusation on the part of Maupertuis, which was the occasion of the long and inveterate animosity which continued till the death of each. La Beaumelle came from Copenhagen; scarcely had he set foot in Potzdam, before Maupertuis persuaded him that Voltaire was his enemy, and had accused him of having, in some one of his meditations, conceived an intention that was offensive to the king, and even to all his friends. Voltaire and la Beaumelle were both to blame to lay so great a stress on the litigious suggestions of Maupertuis; this was nothing less than to insure his triumph. La Beaumelle should surely have made proper

allowances for the natural vivacity of Voltaire's character. Their quarrel, however, did not excite much attention at Berlin, considering that Frederic caused it to be signified to la Beaumelle that he did not require his services; the latter accordingly took his departure for France.

Baculard d'Arnaud engaged for a longer time the attention of the lovers of anecdotes, and his quarrel with Voltaire was the more striking and important, as no one was ignorant of the obligations he owed to the latter, the remembrance of which should certainly never have been effaced. But we should be just: the first offence proceeded rather from the king than from d'Arnaud. The former, who secretly hated Voltaire, in the spirit of the malignity he indulged toward him, conceived the project of mortifying him indirectly, by extolling the verses of the younger poet in the most extravagant terms. In a tête-à-tête with Voltaire, assuming a confidential air, and feigning the most perfidious sincerity, he observed to him, "It must be confessed that d'Arnaud possesses the true poetic genius; *such* of his verses are alone of more value than a whole poem," &c. This produced, doubtless, no other effect than to irritate Voltaire against the king; but d'Arnaud could not be insensible to the cajoleries that followed this declaration,

It was plain he was inclined to lose no part of the importance they acquired him; he made a point of walking side by side with Frederic, and this arrogance proved his ruin. M. de Voltaire resolved to punish him, that is, to cause him to be dismissed, or voluntarily to withdraw himself from the court. He attached to his interests the majority of the persons who surrounded Frederic, who, though disposed to mortify the one, was far from bringing him down to the level of the other; it therefore was not surprising that he ended with sacrificing the object on whom he had previously lavished encomiums so inordinate.

An accident, that was no doubt involuntary, but which the voice of malignity interpreted differently, announced d'Arnaud's disgrace to the whole court. When the queen mother, who inhabited Monbijon, sat down to cards, about six in the evening, it was customary for the maids of honour, and such young persons as frequented their society, to cross the Spree in small elegant barges, and amuse themselves with walking up and down, till supper-time, on the terrace I have described in another part of this work, and which, at every other time of the day, was a perfect desert. In this place a billet was found conceived in the following words: "At

length we have gained the day; d'Arnaud is sent away; he has just received an order to leave Potzdam. D'ARGET." D'Arget was secretary of the orders of the king. The billet had no superscription, but appeared to have been sent in a cover: in this manner the dismissal of d'Arnaud was soon promulgated, and his disgrace was necessarily ascribed to a conspiracy, in which d'Arget was an accomplice; and the more so, as the person to whom the billet had been addressed could at most be only conjectured.

Being now come to the article concerning Maupertuis, I ought to remark, that a long series of quarrels had taken place between him and M. Voltaire, which ended at length in a complete rupture. The cause, at least in appearance, of their first estrangement, was a proposition on the part of the president that was truly inconceivable, and which was opposed with considerable asperity by Voltaire.

They were returning together from Potzdam in one of the king's carriages, at so late an hour as between one and two in the morning, when Maupertuis, in high spirits, said, "Our evening was truly delightful."....."I never witnessed one more stupid," replied Voltaire. To understand the question perfectly, we should recollect,

first, that M. Voltaire was habitually possessed of so brilliant and ready a wit, that he as it were annihilated all the other guests. Frédéric was the only person qualified to enter the lists with him with any hope of success ; but this extraordinary man was occasionally subject, either through indisposition or other causes, to fits of taciturnity and passiveness. Maupertuis, on the contrary, who, generally speaking, was much inferior to Voltaire, was on all occasions the same, and it must be allowed had the necessary qualifications for affording considerable pleasure whenever it happened that the latter was not disposed to exhibit himself.

At the supper above mentioned, Voltaire had been in one of his silent humours, and Maupertuis had been extremely brilliant, which shews us at once that his observation was nothing more than a puerile kind of boasting and exultation that, by Voltaire, was probably mistaken for a sarcasm of an insulting nature. It is certain that, from that evening, they openly spoke ill of each other, and avoided meeting in company. The king, who himself was so fond of sarcasms, might well find amusement in those directed by Voltaire against Maupertuis ; but he wished to prevent their coming to an avowed and disgraceful rupture : he accordingly more

than once endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them; but the most he could obtain was a dissembled good understanding, or rather a silence, the principal feature of which was resentment.

Such was the state of things, when Frederic learned that Voltaire, under the title of *Doctor Akakia*, had composed a bitter satire on Maupertuis, which he was on the point of publishing. Frederic sent a note, conceived in terms of great politeness, to the author, inviting him to the castle; and, on his arrival, said to him in the most friendly tone, "It is said you have composed a work, that is extremely interesting, against M. de Maupertuis; I will, with perfect frankness, declare to you my opinion in this respect; I will declare it with the feeling of a friend: it is not my intention to deny that Maupertuis has been to blame, or to assert that you on your part have given him real cause of offence; on the contrary, I think you have reason to complain; in one word, I am of opinion, and I confess it, that he is the aggressor; I should therefore abandon him without hesitation to your resentment, did I not recollect that I sent for this man for the purpose of his doing me service; that I placed him at the head of my academy; that I have bestowed the same attentions on him

as on my ministers of state ; that I have admitted him to my most familiar intercourse ; and that I gave my consent to his marrying one of the maids of honour to the queen."...." Well, then," said Voltaire, " I will fetch the manuscript of Doctor Akakía, and put it into your majesty's hands ; I have ever been too profoundly devoted to you, Sire, not to feel the utmost readiness in sacrificing a resentment that appeared to me but just, moderate, and consequently innocent, in exchange for the assurances you gave me of your kindness. Still greater, believe me, Sire, I would make, with equal pleasure, were they necessary."...." Proceed directly then ; I will wait your return : a noble action should never be deferred."

We may perceive that the pleasure of having succeeded had substituted gaiety for supplication in this conference. Voltaire withdrew, and soon after returned with his manuscript in his hand. " Sire," said he, laughing, " here is the innocent victim destined to perish for the people ! I give him into your hands ; give your orders, Sire, for his execution."...." Ah ! my friend, no fate can be more cruel than mine ! and shall I condemn to punishment those I ought to crown with glory ! Let us, however, submit to our destiny with dignity at least, and be equitable to the utmost in

our power! Let us be the avenger of the victim we sacrifice. Read it to me; I will preserve as much as I can: it shall be a precious treasure which my memory shall eagerly store up! Read it! and may my well-founded admiration long survive the flame that consumes the victim! Oh, Vulcan! never was a greater or more memorable sacrifice made to thee."

Voltaire read the whole of the production; he was at every moment interrupted by the applause of the monarch, who exclaimed, that every trait was both exquisite in humour and justly applied: the bursts of laughter were immoderate; and at the end of every sheet, when it was to be thrown into the fire, the regrets of Frederic were renewed. "Courage, my friend, since it must be so! Oh, Vulcan, cruel and voracious deity, see here thy prey!" And while the sheet was consuming they performed antique and sacred dances before the hearth. In this manner was the production, entitled Doctor Akakia, read and destroyed to the last page. On no occasion, perhaps, had these celebrated men given way to a humour so exquisitely facetious.

No doubt, if the actors in this scene had felt towards each other the same warmth of sentiment as they had done at a former period of their lives, Frederic would have made Voltaire

ample recompence for such a sacrifice, while the latter would have persevered in the act of devotion on which he seemed to have resolved. But of this they retained no more than the mere language; the sentiment in each was extinct. Frederic apprehended that the victory he had gained was perfidiously dissembled, and therefore determined closely to observe the conduct of the man who thus professed himself subdued. Voltaire on his part could no longer place dependence on the friendship which had been used as the plea for asking this sacrifice. Frederic on this occasion, as well as so many others, seemed to resemble the skilful actor, who, when on the scene, makes the most of all advantages. Voltaire accordingly considered himself as the dupe of Frederic: he witnessed the arrogance of Maupertuis, who, certain of the high protection of the sovereign, the more openly displayed an insolence of exultation. Voltaire, I repeat, considered himself duped, and this idea to a mind like his could not but be insupportable. His only resource was to forget the promises which had been extorted from him, and to resume his former plan of revenge.

As he had preserved a copy of his *Dr. Akakia*, he now sent it without loss of time to the press. Frederic, who kept a constant watch over him,

learned the step he had taken; he waited till the printing of the edition was complete, and then ordered it to be seized and brought to him. Voltaire, who, foreseeing what would happen, had taken care to procure himself four copies of every sheet as it was finished, all of which he had sent to Holland. Frederic, exasperated by the breach of promise, and the contemptuous perseverance of Voltaire, ordered the whole edition to be publicly burnt on the following Sunday, in the middle of the great square of Berlin, called *La Place des Gendarmes*, and this by the hands of the common hangman. Voltaire, who at the time was with his friend M. de Francheville, whose residence was near the spot, and in whose society he customarily took refuge when he was inclined to shake the dust of the castle from his feet, perceiving what was going on, placed himself at the open window, and began to bawl as loud as he could, "Ah! see there all the wit of Maupertuis evaporating in smoke! And see what black thick smoke it is! What a pity too to waste so much wood! And then the four poor little deserters who have made their escape to Holland!"

In this serious affair Voltaire, it must be confessed, had the laugh on his side. Frederic, who never caused any work but this to be burned

by the hands of the common hangman, felt afterward only compunction for what he had done : he gained nothing by having raised between himself and Voltaire a wall of separation which could never be pulled down. From this moment we may consider him and Frederic as declared and irreconcilable enemies. It was now no longer necessary to assume a mask, to make false professions or promises ; the offence was complete, and the disgrace at once public and consummate.

Even previously to this transaction, Voltaire, on occasions of less serious disagreements, had not been able to restrain his feelings. La Metrie had told him that the king, speaking of him, had said he still stood in need of his services ; but that one might suck the orange and throw away the peel. Let the reader judge what must have been the effect of this tale. Voltaire, in shewing some of the verses of this monarch, one day said, " This man is at once Cesar and the Abbé Cotin." On another occasion he replied to some persons who were speaking of the king, "*The king?* Call him rather the *quarter-master-general.*" At another time he read with indignation the words, *at the castle*, on the address of a letter sent to him, and snatching a pen, he drew it through them, and substituted the fol-

lowing, which he several times repeated to himself: *at head quarters*. He had also complained openly to several persons of the disgust he felt in correcting the verses composed by his majesty, and had even used an expression relative to this employment that was still more offensive than his complaint; this was, *that his occupation was to wash the king's dirty linen*.

All this was exactly calculated to wound the king's feelings poignantly, though he on his part had to reproach himself with having given ample provocation. Notwithstanding their mutual dislike, they were restrained by powerful reasons from coming to an absolute rupture: in fact, what would have been the consequence of a public declaration of animosity and estrangement? And in what light would all the flattering professions each had in public made the other have been considered? What scorn would they have brought upon themselves from every court and from every part of Europe? It is apparent that their mutual resolution was either to forget or to dissemble. This last adventure brought their heart-burnings to a crisis. From this time neither could retract: the only question now was, which could best succeed in turning the passing scene to his advantage; and it employed their most assiduous attention.

The plan of Frederic was to perform his part with dignity and moderation, while that of Voltaire was to shew himself haughty, firm, and independent. Consistently with these ideas, the latter appeared at court only when he was invited, and then with hatred rankling in his heart. They met but seldom, or scarcely at all: they wrote billets to each other, in which neither was sparing of facts, nor occasionally of affronting language; in some of these it was even evident that they had tried which could put down the harshest things; it seemed that, perceiving the extremity to which they were reduced, their remaining concern was who should gain the day.

On an occasion such as I have described, Frederic one day sent his first page of the bedchamber to M. Voltaire, whose apartments were on the ground-floor immediately under those occupied by the former, with a note conceived in terms of the greatest bitterness, and which ended with this phrase: "Your heart is a hundred times more hideous than your genius is admirable." The rage of M. de Voltaire can scarcely be imagined: M. Moulines, who happened to be present, assured me he could not think of it without terror, even twelve years after. There was not an odious epithet he did not bestow on

the king, nor a disgraceful charge he did not impute to him; and this in the tone of the loudest vociferation, and striding from one part of the room to the other in dreadful agitation. The poor page, who waited to see if he was to carry back an answer, listened pale with consternation, and from time to time endeavoured to interrupt him with saying, "*Sir! Sir!*" At length the page, who was no more than fifteen or sixteen years of age, overcome with fright, went up close to Voltaire, and said, "But, Sir, do you recollect he is the king, that you are under his very roof, and that I, who now hear you, am one of his servants?" These words struck M. de Voltaire, and produced on him the most sudden effect: he took the page by the arm, and bawled out to him, "To you, Sir, I then appeal to judge between us. Take a view of the circumstances, and tell me in what I am to blame respecting him. Of one fault only can I be accused, that of having taught him to make better verses than my own! Take him back this answer."

The page returned to the king, who was scarcely more composed than Voltaire, and was diverting his impatience by walking up and down the apartment. "Did you deliver my billet?" said he, on perceiving the page. "Yes, Sire," . . . "Did you give it into the hands of M.

Voltaire himself?".... "Yes, Sire.".... "Did he read it in your presence?".... "Yes, Sire.".... "What did he do or say when he had read it?" The page at this question remained silent and motionless. "I ask you what M. de Voltaire said after reading my billet?" Still the page was silent. "Do you not hear me? I command you to inform me both what he said and did." The page remained as before. "I would have you take care of yourself! Is it possible that you do not hear me? Again, I repeat, you are to inform me what he said and what he did. Speak, I command you, and this moment!"

At length the page, subdued by terror, in broken phrases, and trembling even more than he did on seeing Voltaire, and with eyes thrown on the ground, began to give an account of all he had seen and heard. As he proceeded, the king paced the room in the greatest discomposure: he stopped and fixed his eyes on the page, while his whole countenance exhibited every mark of rage, that could end in nothing short of the most violent ebullition. When the page came to the concluding words of Voltaire, the king suddenly changed to the most perfect calm, and raising his shoulders and smiling, he terminated this serious affair with these words: *He is a madman!* Thus the unmerited compliment with which

Voltaire had had the address to varnish over the affronting terms he used proved a salutary balm which healed the wounds of Frederic, or, at least for this time, prevented their proceeding to the last extremities.

I have already observed, and it cannot but be apparent to the reader, that the only aim of both was, now, how they could separate in the least notorious manner. This was the sole subject of the meditations of Voltaire: all the letters he wrote to his friends or relations were filled with the expression of the ardent desire he felt to return to France, while at the same time he used every means to make them understand that this desire was founded on reasons of health or convenience; and such were those he alleged when he formally demanded his dismissal of the king, and sent him the warrant of his pension, the chamberlain's key, and the cross of the order of Merit, which he had the address to return accompanied by the following insinuating lines:

“ Je la reçus avec tendresse,  
Et je la rends avec douleur;  
Comme un amant en sa fureur,  
Rend le portrait de sa maitresse.”

'Twas with joy I received,  
'Tis with grief I resign it;  
As a lover, despairing;

Gives back the dear portrait of her  
For whom he would willingly die.

The king returned him *all these trifles*, or, as Voltaire denominated them, *all these badges of servitude*, and added a strong dose of bark, to be, as he said, of service to his health. This raillery was little calculated to soothe the mind of M. de Voltaire, but it determined him to adopt some other means for the restoration of his liberty. He informed Frederic, by letter, that he wished to make an expedition to Plombieres, to drink the waters of that place: the answer he received imported, that waters of no less efficacy were to be found on the borders of Silesia. He next demanded an audience of the king: his presence seemed at once to produce the effect of making reparation, and even of consigning to oblivion all that had passed. They resumed their former familiarity and cheerfulness; even Maupertuis was abandoned to his vengeance; in short, Voltaire left Potzdam with permission to drink from the spring of Plombieres, under the condition, however, of his returning to Berlin.

He accordingly began his preparations, and sent off a part of his effects: when ready to set out, he went to Potzdam to take leave of the king. The latter was at the parade, when he was informed, "Sire, here is M. de Voltaire, who is

come to receive the orders of your majesty." The king, turning toward him, said, "Well, M. de Voltaire, you are then determined to leave us." . . . "Sire, some necessary affairs, and above all my health, compel me to this measure." . . . "I wish you, Sir, a pleasant journey." The dialogue was not long. M. de Voltaire withdrew, and the king re-entered the castle.

It is apparent, by the manner of their separation, that neither expected to meet again. Their parting therefore, which seemed to take place with mutual composure and cheerfulness, was, in fact, a mere scene of perfect acting. Voltaire staid some days at Leipsic, much more because he wished to reflect duly respecting the future than for purposes of health. In this place he received the ridiculous challenge from Maupertuis, his answer to which is known to every one. From Leipsic he proceeded to Gotha, where the duchess detained him as long as she could. From thence, continuing his journey, he arrived at Hesse-Cassel.

The Baron de Poelnitz, who had been absent for the purpose of drinking the waters, and was ignorant of what had been passing in the court of Frederic, was astonished, on going through this town on his return, to find that M. de Voltaire was in the very inn at which he

alighted: he lost not a moment in desiring to speak with him, nor in hastening to his apartment as soon as he received his answer. . . . "Never," said the baron, in describing this adventure, "was I witness to a resentment more infuriate. Your king has treated me scandalously," repeated he without ceasing; "but acquaint him that never shall I forget his conduct: tell him I will be revenged; yes, I will be revenged; posterity shall know it; in vain shall he repent this usage! I will be revenged! Tell him this, I entreat you."

On leaving Cassel, he continued his way to Frankfort, where new adventures awaited him.

From the time of Voltaire's arrival at Berlin, he had habitually kept in his possession a large volume in quarto, containing a manuscript copy of the king's poetical productions: this book had been put into his hands that he might examine the different articles at his leisure, and afterward propose such corrections as he should judge necessary. It is easy to believe that a volume he had thus possessed for three years might be confounded with other books, and this particularly by servants in the hurry of packing his effects; nor less so that, in the agitated state of mind in which he found himself, he should not once have recollected its existence: but this

manner of explaining things is not such as malignity has pleasure in recurring to. The manuscript volume was packed with other books; it was therefore clear that it was intended to purloin it. Above all, it was a flagrant breach of delicacy not to have returned this book on the first appearance of a serious quarrel, however evident it was that M. de Voltaire could not have done this without seeming to manifest disdain for its author, and consequently without being guilty of an offence of the most reprehensible kind; besides, that the sending it back in this manner would have been in direct contradiction with his avowed purpose of returning.

However this may be, Frederic, who esteemed the return of Voltaire impossible even at the moment of his taking leave, had this volume fresh in his recollection; but he relied that he should find it had been placed in the hands of some friend, to be returned to him. On the following day, hearing nothing of his book, he sent to all Voltaire's acquaintances to make the inquiry, and received for answer, that no such charge had been intrusted.

The king instantly dispatched an express to Franckfort with an order addressed to his majesty's chargé-d'affaires, directing him to cause M. de Voltaire to be taken into custody till he

should have delivered up the order of the cross of Merit, the chamberlain's key, the warrant of his pension, and, above all, the volume of which no more than the temporary loan was granted him. This extremity on the part of Frederic was, it is said, principally occasioned by some suggestions of Maupertuis. The chargé-d'affaires accordingly made application to the magistrate to assist him in accomplishing the orders of his sovereign. Madame Denis, who had come as far as Frankfort to meet her uncle, was also taken into custody on the pretext that, if she were left at liberty, she might escape to France with the fatal volume. This pretext was a mere useless affront; but military veterans give themselves but little uneasiness on such questions, and the members of the diplomatical corps attend to such things no more than is necessary to justify the act they do. The fact is, that the royal manuscript, being together with other books on its way to Frankfort, was not yet arrived, nor did it arrive for some time afterward.

That Voltaire, whose temper was by nature irritable, after such repeated provocations, should have given the appellation of prison to the inn in which he was guarded by sentinels, or transformed Major Freitach to a tipstaff, ought

not to surprise us, if we recollect that he had before changed the castle of Frederic to a headquarters, and the king himself to a quarter-master-general; nor that he should have reproached the major with speaking the French language as badly as many of the French speak German.

When the luggage was arrived, Voltaire delivered up the manuscript and other articles required of him, and, accompanied by Madame Denis, his niece, instantly hastened to place the Rhine between the King of Prussia and himself, and to compose, under the title of *Testament*, the relation which so long after was published by Beaumarchais, and which at the time of its being written was destined to insure his threatened vengeance against the Baron de Poelnitz.

Frederic and Voltaire now seemed to be at variance for the rest of their lives: notwithstanding this, each was to the other the being of all mankind that excited the most lively interest; in separating, therefore, on such terms as naturally precluded the possibility of future reconciliation, they were mutually penetrated with sentiments of esteem, or rather of such admiration as was calculated to dispose both the parties to what should seem at least returning friendship, when time should have weakened their mutual resentment. Each was endued with too excellent an

understanding, too much genius and talent, for this reconciliation not in a certain degree to have taken place: their principles too, in matters of philosophy and taste, were precisely similar; with respect to these they marched under the same banners. All that was maintained by one of them was applauded by the other: in fine, the course of events led them back to their former footing, by proving to each that his own reputation derived advantage from being associated with that of the other.

Such are the true causes that, by degrees, restored Frederic to Voltaire, and Voltaire to Frederic. They had not forgot their old accustomed habits of mutually cajoling each other, which may be proved by the following fact. When the porcelain manufactory at Berlin was brought to such a point of perfection as satisfied the views of Frederic, he had made in it a statue of Voltaire, which he sent to him as a new-year's gift at Ferney. On the pedestal that accompanied the statue was the following inscription in letters of gold: *Vir immortalis*. Voltaire, enchanted with the present, had it placed in his common sitting room. A gentleman, who was extremely short-sighted, happened to pay him a visit: as he was examining the statue through his eye-glass, Voltaire said, "The object you are

contemplating is, Sir, an admirable copy of a hideous original." And when the stranger stooped down to read the inscription, "As to that," resumed Voltaire, "it is the signature of the person who sent it to me." I make use of the words *cajoling each other*, because this was the only kind of commerce that now existed between them.

Notwithstanding this kind of habitual flattery, I am persuaded neither in reality had resumed his former warmth of friendship, and that their language for the most part was insincere: on some days, to my knowledge, the choler and resentment of Voltaire were as violent as ever; I also know that Frederic heard with excellent temper the faults imputed by different persons to the former, provided they steered clear of bringing down his genius to too low a standard. I saw too, at the time, some of Voltaire's letters to the king, which were convincing proofs of the earnest desire he retained of ingratiating himself in his favour: it fell to my lot to copy some of Frederic's answers, which were in a spirit of great kindness and consideration, but which, as well as those he received from Voltaire, were destitute of the ingenuousness, effusions, and enthusiasm of their former sentiments.

The following anecdote respecting the bust executed by Houdon is precisely calculated to confirm impartial observers in the same opinion: . . . . D'Alembert, some time after the death of Voltaire, wrote to Frederic that the sculptor Houdon had made a bust of the deceased for the French academy, which, in point of resemblance and workmanship, was a chef-d'œuvre; that this excellent artist demanded for it no more than a thousand crowns, which was to part with his admirable performance for nothing; that he conceived it his duty to inform his majesty of these facts, since so great a king, who had been intimately acquainted with the talents and genius of the patriarch of French literature and of modern philosophy, so great a king, who had entertained a just and honourable friendship for that celebrated man, and in his own person had been the firm protector of literature and the sciences, would feel how deeply his own glory was concerned in procuring for himself, and carefully preserving, an image so perfect, which would be at once the object of his affections and of the emulation of his subjects.

The monarch replied to his friend, that he was earnestly desirous of possessing the bust, but that the state of his finances was such, that he should not in the present year have it in his

power to deduct the sum required to purchase it; that, to his great regret, he found himself obliged to defer the procuring himself such a gratification till the following year; that in the mean time Houdon might set about a copy of the bust, and send it at the proper time to his sculptor, Tassaert, at Berlin.

The king's directions were accordingly obeyed, and when intelligence was received that the bust was on its journey, Tassaert was ordered to receive it, to fix it on a pedestal, and place it in the great hall in which the sittings of the academy were held. Tassaert placed it to the left, at the extremity of the hall, between the corner and the door of the cabinet of natural history. From hence, Voltaire seems to survey, listen to, and maliciously observe the academicians assembled before him, so that when I looked at the sarcastic smile on the countenance, I could not help saying, "How can we believe otherwise than that we are the objects of his ridicule?" What is most remarkable is, that Frederic never saw this bust, nor even expressed the least desire to see it; for it was sent by sea, and afterwards forwarded by the Elbe, the Hawel, and the Spree, and passed through Potzdam without the least notice on the part of the king.

*Maupertuis.*

I HAVE already had occasion, in different parts of this work, to mention the name of M. Maupertuis. I shall further acquaint the reader that Doctor Akakia gave the death's blow to this philosopher, who never after could support the credit he had previously enjoyed both with Frederic and his courtiers ; nor was he able to throw aside the depression of mind which was the consequence of his too celebrated quarrels with Voltaire. It seemed that the ridicule which thus preyed upon his spirits had no less destroyed in him every source of life : he had been too anxious to attain to high consideration, and too well accustomed to that he for so many years enjoyed, to support his present fall and hopelessness. Now no one failed to treat him with civility, but no one sought his company : no one affronted him, but every one was cold. I speak of his ordinary acquaintances ; for Frederic treated him with less ceremony, and frequently suggested recollections he could not think of without bitterness.

It was after a series of events, little calculated to flatter the vanity of a man, that Maupertuis, whose sense of the humiliation he endured grew

daily stronger, demanded and obtained permission, during the seven years' war, to try if the air of his native country would be of service to his declining health: he accordingly passed some time in France, but with no favourable issue either to his health or to his sorrows; at length, tired of every thing and every place, he again set out for Berlin, and died at Basle, on his way thither, in the house of Messrs. Bernouilly. An uncle of mine saw him many times during his journey, whose account of him was that, a burden to himself, his only language was complaint. His enemy had arrived before him in France, consequently this resource had failed him. The names of Berlin and Potzdam the most oppressed his heart: he could not speak of them but in bitterness of soul; yet he scarcely spoke of any thing else.

M. de Maupertuis, as I have before observed, was a man of genius, though much less so than Voltaire: he had studied and profoundly investigated the important questions which were brought forward in his time, and seemed to promise the unveiling of Nature's most hidden secrets. His ardour in exertions, his firmly constituted mind and body, the sort of courage a man like him cannot fail to derive from an ambition at once restless and immeasurable, were

all calculated to place him, at an early period of life, in the first rank of the learned, in which he made a brilliant figure. I will mention in this place one of his favourite maxims, which sufficiently describes his character: "Nothing is impossible to man, provided he has the will to obtain it," said he frequently; "but are you sensible of what I mean by the word *will*? It is to desire a thing, to desire it at every moment of one's existence, and this with the whole energy of the soul."

His expedition to Lapland to discover the figure of the earth, the laborious operations to which he devoted himself, and the account he published on his return, greatly enhanced the celebrity of his name; nor was his residence at Cirey a circumstance to detract from his reputation: in a word, he was ranked among the first men of his age, till Voltaire took up his abode with Frederic. If the pride of Maupertuis had been less haughty, exclusive, and indocile, he would have acted with greater delicacy toward a genius so superior; and could they have lived together on terms of friendship, they would no doubt have contributed to each other's happiness; but one was too despotic, the other too little able to endure this humour: Maupertuis would domineer; Voltaire annihilated him.

It may also be imagined that, with such a sort of pride, Maupertuis must naturally betray from time to time certain bombastic ideas that could not but add to its absurdity; lofty pretensions which involved him in serious quarrels; and vices that rendered him odious. He who believes himself superior to other men, is frequently imprudent; he who would have every thing bend to his will, exposes himself to be trodden under foot. I might add too, that such defects as these naturally involve their possessors in intrigues which employ their time, and tend to divert the mind from the attention that would otherwise be given to study: thus Maupertuis, a man of talents, when once become a courtier, employed his whole time in idle boasting, levity, and petty cabals. For this reason it is that posterity will cite the name of Maupertuis only in remembrance of his mission to Lapland, and in connection with the buffooneries and gibes of Doctor Akakia.

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*The Marquis d'Argens.*

THE Marquis d'Argens was about seventy years of age when I arrived at Berlin. He was the

eldest son of the attorney-general of the parliament of Aix, and in his youth had refused the senatorial robe for a commission in the regiment of marines. He was also received into the order of the Knights of Malta. The restless impetuosity of his age, joined to a native vivacity of character peculiar to the inhabitants of Provence, involved him in successive adventures, which became a source of serious uneasiness to his father. I shall relate only one of the circumstances that belong to this epoch of his life.

He abruptly left his regiment to roam the world at large, and directed his steps to the Turkish empire with the view of studying the character of its inhabitants. On reaching Constantinople, he formed the project of penetrating into the mosques, that he might be witness of their religious forms of worship: nothing could prevail upon him to desist from an enterprize so perilous, in which, had he been discovered or betrayed, he must either have been put to death or have taken the turban for life. He made an application to the Turk who kept the keys of the magnificent edifice of Saint Sophia, and by dint of money gained him to his purpose. It was agreed between them that, at the approaching grand festival, the infidel should secretly conduct the christian during the night into the

church, and then conceal him behind a large painting which had long been stationary in a gallery situated over the front gate of the church. The marquis had the greater reliance of remaining in perfect security in this place, as the gallery was seldom opened, and, besides, in its direction was west of the mosque, while the religion of the Mahometans required the body to be turned toward Mecca, that is toward the east of Constantinople, during their acts of devotion: thus no Mahometan could have turned his head toward the gallery without committing an offence the most heinous against his religion; and they so scrupulously observe this form that, on leaving the mosque, they all walk backward till they are without the gates.

The Marquis d'Argens by this means viewed the ceremonies of the Turkish religion at his ease: he, however, frequently alarmed his conductor, for it was natural for a man of his impetuous character to break out into some imprudences. At every moment he left his place of concealment, and ventured as far as the middle part of the gallery, that he might have a more distinct view of the ceremonies; while the poor Musselman, who risked nothing less than being impaled alive, was all the while conjuring him by the most expressive signs to return

quickly to his hiding place. The terror of this man added considerably to the amusement of the marquis, who, far from complying, sought rather to increase than soothe his fears.

Such extravagances as these on the part of the young Knight of Malta at length determined his father to disinherit him; and the rather, as the fortune he possessed was not sufficient to supply the expence occasioned by such enterprises, and the conduct of the son in abandoning his post as a soldier might subject the sentiments and allegiance of the father also to suspicion. The marquis being accordingly disinherited, had no other resource for his expences than his own exertions: he repaired to Holland, and endeavoured to subsist himself by literary compositions. His Jewish Spy no sooner appeared than it obtained him a high reputation, and he was in consequence ranked among the number of the philosophers of those times. Frederic, who was then only prince royal of Prussia, was so delighted with this work, and conceived so favourable an opinion of its author, that he was desirous to extricate him from the abyss into which he had fallen, and attach him to his service. He accordingly wrote to him to that effect, and made him proposals equally lucrative and honourable. Every thing seemed

to promise that these would be accepted by the marquis with the greatest eagerness, as they included his living on a footing of friendship with Frederic, with whom he was to philosophize at perfect ease.

The reply of the marquis was not, however, such as was expected. After expressing the warmest gratitude, he added, "Your highness should deign to consider, that to convey my person to you I must pass near three battalions of the guards at Potzdam. Can I do this without danger; I who am five feet seven inches in height (French measure), and besides a tolerably well built man?"

Whatever the motive might be of this reply, or the reflections of the prince on receiving it, the negotiation was suspended, and was not resumed till a long time after, when Frederic had ascended the throne, and even after his first campaigns.

At this latter epoch the monarch wrote to the philosopher: "Do not fear the three battalions of guards, dear Marquis: come and set them at defiance; come even to Potzdam." When the marquis received this letter he was in the service of a German princess, who was earnestly desirous of seeing Frederic and Berlin: she thought this a favourable opportunity of gratifying her inclina-

tion, and they accordingly set out together. When they arrived, the marquis discovered, or imagined, that the princess had fallen in love with him; and one evening, when he believed his innocence in great danger, he made his escape by jumping out of the window.

The policy of certain powers concealed the particulars of this adventure as much as possible from the public ear: all one may venture to affirm is, that the princess was disagreeable in her person, and related to the king, who insisted that the philosopher should return to the service of the pretended innamorata, that he should accompany her back to her residence, and then return to Berlin. Every thing was thus executed conformably with the rules of strict policy; and the marquis, having performed his double journey, returned to Berlin, where he took up his abode in an inn till his fate should be decided on.

The king received him with every mark of friendship: he every day invited him to dine at the castle, where he took his share in the brilliant conversation which never failed to embellish the royal feast. Nothing could be more flattering than these appearances, or better calculated to satisfy the wishes or ambition of a philosopher; but week after week passed away, and no mention was made of fulfilling the promises which had

induced the new guest to quit a post, that no doubt was less gratifying, but yet sufficed for his necessities. Was this in Frederic occasioned by forgetfulness, want of consideration, avarice? or was the delay intended to be the means of his previously obtaining a further knowledge of the character of the marquis?

The latter, after vainly discussing these questions in his own mind, and vainly expecting their solution for six weeks, at length lost all patience; and one day, on his return to the inn after dining at the castle, he sent the king a billet conceived in these terms: "Having for these six weeks past had the honour, Sire, to be near your majesty, my purse is now enduring so rigorous a blockade, that if your majesty, who are an adept in the taking of towns and gaining of battles, do not come immediately to its relief, I shall be under the necessity of capitulating, and repassing the Rhine in the course of the present week."

The king had his friend Jordan with him when the billet was put into his hands. "Do but see what a note I have received from the madman who left us just now." Jordan had an affection for the marquis: after reading the billet, he therefore replied, "I am well acquainted with the impatient humour of these Provence

men, and particularly with that of the marquis; the moment he conceives a subject of inquietude, and fixes his thoughts upon it, he will not close his eyes till it is obviated; and if he threatens to leave Prussia in the course of a week, he will certainly do it in two or three days at furthest." Frederic began to be apprehensive that Jordan had judged rightly, and accordingly he returned the marquis the following answer: "Make yourself easy, dear Marquis; your fate shall be decided by the time of dinner to-morrow, and I hope to your satisfaction." In effect, on the following day, the marquis received the chamberlain's key with a pension of fifteen hundred rix-dollars, and in addition was nominated director of the class of belles lettres to the academy, which produced him two hundred more per annum.

The Marquis d'Argens was not so much distinguished at the court of Frederic as the Voltaires, the Maupertuis', and others, for the brilliancy of his wit, while, on the other hand, he was never at a loss in taking his share of the conversation; nor could it be said he was out of his place when in the society of men of understanding: he possessed in a greater degree than some of his associates, who, like him, had their fortune to seek, those easy manners and deport-

ment so intimately connected with a superior education, nor less so an ingenuous cordiality of temper that engaged every one's partiality, and that vivacity of character which rendered his conversation the more attractive. A thousand anecdotes might be brought in proof of what I have affirmed. I will mention a few of them.

In the course of one of the suppers which, previous to the seven year's war, seldom terminated till an advanced hour of the night, Frederic demanded of his guests in what manner each of them would govern if he were a king? The guests betrayed the greatest eagerness to display their different maxims on this important question; each was loud in explaining to the satisfaction of the hearers his particular system. The marquis listened, smiled, but said not a word. The king, at length observing his silence, requested him to declare his sentiments also on the subject. "What I would do, Sire, if I were the king? I would instantly sell my kingdom, and purchase a good estate in France." The pleasant turn he thus gave to the question, and by which means he modestly escaped the ridicule he would have brought upon himself, had he been the advocate of some more dangerous and useless doctrines, obtained the marked approbation of the king, and put an end to the discussion.

During Voltaire's first visit to Berlin, in 1743, the ingenuous temper of the marquis did not allow him to conceal, even in the presence of the author of the *Henriade*, that in his opinion Jean Baptiste Rousseau was a man of singular talents; that he sympathized in his misfortunes; and that he believed him innocent respecting the verses which had been the cause of so much uneasiness to him. Voltaire, finding it impossible to make a convert of Maupertuis, conceived a resentment against him, in consequence of which he resolved to dissemble till he should find an opportunity of punishing his crime. The better to reconcile his desire of vengeance with a certain degree of delicacy, from which he conceived he ought not openly to deviate, he secretly composed an epigram against the marquis; the intention of which was, to cast an odium and ridicule on both his moral character and talents, and in which he designated the object of his contempt by the name of the *Wandering Jew*. Voltaire, relying on the credulity of his victim, next proceeded to pay him a friendly visit, and to say to him, "My dear Marquis, you have entertained a prejudice in favour of this miserable Rousseau, which in a certain degree I have respected, because it reflects honour on the frankness of your temper. But, my friend, there are

reasons why I should call your serious attention to the subject; your own interests and the friendship I feel for you make this incumbent on me as a duty. The purpose of my visit is to convince you that you are the dupe of an ungrateful monster, who scarcely moves without scattering his venom. Read this epigram; one of my correspondents has just sent me a copy of it, which he procured from the person who received it from Rousseau himself. The production as yet is but little known, for Rousseau, under the apprehension of its being imputed to him, recommends the profoundest secrecy. I have already sent an answer to my correspondent, in whom I can place an absolute confidence, requesting him to use every possible endeavour for the suppression of so abominable a satire, or at least to render it no less odious in the eyes of the public, than it will ever be in those of the persons who are acquainted with your real character."

The marquis was at first the dupe of this artful tale: he thanked Voltaire sincerely, and broke out into invectives against Rousseau; he swore he would be revenged, and that he would make a reply, not in flimsy epigrams, but in a work that should be a memento for future ages,

in which he would unmask the hypocrite, and stigmatize his name for ever. Thus Voltaire, at first, enjoyed a complete triumph ; but d'Argens soon made further reflections on the subject. So scandalous a proceeding on the part of Jean Baptiste was too extraordinary not to excite in his mind some doubts. Nothing that he had done could possibly have provoked an attack which exposed the author to a serious and even dangerous resentment, and could not fail to bring upon him the indignation of every candid mind. The friends of the marquis entertained the same doubts and the same suspicions, so that he at length determined on writing to Jean Baptiste himself, who so satisfactorily proved the calumny, and with so much ingenuousness alleged his innocence, as to convince d'Argens and his friends that the person who had accused Rousseau of having written the epigram was himself its author.

The same policy, however, that had induced Voltaire to use indirect means in punishing the marquis for having declared himself the admirer of Rousseau, also induced the latter to disseminate his resentment : he therefore did not avail himself of the permission granted him by Rousseau to print the letter which had unde-

ceived him. Frederic, notwithstanding, did not remain ignorant of these literary *villanies*, nor of their minutest details.

The occasion on which the marquis gave the strongest proof of a sincere affection for the king was that of the seven years' war. On the occurrence of any difficulty, and on the eve of every battle, the solicitude of this loyal courtier was extreme: he might even be said to be beside himself. His correspondence with the king was as regular as circumstances would allow of, and they usually passed their time in each other's company when Frederic was in winter quarters. At one time the monarch had no confidant but d'Argens, to whose sympathy he could open his heart, his old associates being for the most part dead, and his relations on ill terms with him, because he persisted firmly in refusing, at their united and earnest request, to demand a peace of France.

It was in this painful state of things that Frederic, seeing Prussia and Pomerania in the hands of the Russians, Silesia and Brandenburg in considerable part occupied by the Austrians, and Westphalia by the French; finding himself too but feebly assisted by his allies; his armies nearly annihilated, no less through his victories than his defeats; himself without money or resources; resolved on committing an act of suicide.

This measure he communicated to the Marquis d'Argens, in a letter which he called his farewell letter. D'Argens, on the receipt of it, locked himself into his cabinet, and passed the night in framing a reply, which he sent off before day-break. In this reply, which was written in all the overflowing of the warmest friendship, Frederic contemplated at once the language of philosophy; the resources and the hopes held out to him by political science; in fine, the fortitude and energy with which the love of glory and of virtue can inspire the truly noble mind.

This letter, which is the most perfect and valuable of the marquis's productions, and which reflects so much honour on both his heart and understanding, his penetration, and his talents, produced the effect he had dared to hope. The preparations for death were laid aside: a new battle was hazarded, in which Frederic gained a complete victory, and afterward found means to provide for his most pressing necessities, again to become the dread of his enemies, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms.

The marquis's zeal toward his monarch manifested itself even in the most trifling occurrences. The Prince de Kaunitz having, in the year 1764, expressed a great desire to procure two portraits of Frederic, one for the empress and the other

for himself, the king consented to give his painter, M. Vanloo, some sittings for that purpose: they were, however, short and few; and the poor artist did the best he could with them. When the portrait was finished, the painter carried it to the castle to shew his performance to Frederic; and in his way called upon the marquis, where I was waiting, by appointment, to accompany him to Frederic with his performance. It is impossible to describe the joy and enthusiasm of this sincere friend, on beholding the portrait: he summoned every one within his call to come and admire it; placed it in different points of view; desired *la Pierre* to get upon a table that stood against the wall; that he might look at it from the height of nine or ten feet from the ground, which, he said, was the distance at which it would be placed at Vienna; again and again expressing his admiration, and calling upon the other spectators to do the same. Me, in particular, he was extremely desirous to hear pronounce eulogiums on the strength of the resemblance; unfortunately, however, I was not of this opinion. I observed that, though I saw the king every day, I saw him only by candle-light; and this circumstance, he must be well aware, was unfavourable to my judging of the likeness.

One evening, as I was sitting with the marquis,

he said to me, "You are most certainly a man of integrity, and incapable of committing a criminal action; I am so perfectly acquainted with your character, and so entirely do justice to your qualities, that I know no man for whose probity I would more readily pledge myself: for all this, if the king were positively to assert that you had planned the execution of some horrible crime, I should, no doubt, betray my astonishment, but I should not undertake your defence; no, I should never think of defending the cause of any man accused by Frederic, and for this reason, that he has the means of being acquainted with a thousand circumstances of which we are ignorant."

This confession on the part of the marquis seems at first a proof of the pusillanimity of his character; but the suspicion is entirely destroyed when we recollect the firm intrepidity with which he opposed the invectives which, at certain times, were broached by the German courtiers against the French nation: in no instance did he leave these unanswered, not even when they proceeded from the lips of the king himself; and as the answers he made were for the most part remarkable for their justice, candour, earnestness, and fairness, they could not fail, sooner or later, to produce sensible effects, and especially in a court where it was the aim

of so many to fix an odium on the natives of France.

The Marquis d'Argens was, on every account, worthy of the constant and distinguished friendship of the king. But to find that constancy in a monarch, we must go back to the times so justly denominated *the fabulous ages*. Different causes, by degrees, contributed to make our philosopher descend from the nobler rank of friend to that of a worn out, neglected, and almost despised courtier. These causes I will endeavour to explain to the reader. The first was, the familiarity to which the habit of living together, Frederic's accustomed gaiety in conversation, and the sallies of his wit, naturally conducted the persons he admitted to his society; a familiarity he was afterwards sure to abuse in a manner no less flagrant than indelicate.

The gaiety of the monarch's temper was almost necessarily contagious to the persons in whose society he indulged it. How was it possible to see a great king abandon himself, with so good a grace, to a feeling that seems to be one of the characteristics of an elevated mind, without yielding one's self to the same humour? We naturally desire to return a sally for a sally; and we feel something like pride in acquitting our-

selves toward the person whose only care seems to be that of rendering his company agreeable: it too often, however, happens, that some one must be the victim of the circling wit, and one man seldom laughs but at the expence of another. In ordinary societies respect is always paid to the persons present; but can it be expected that a king should conform to a restraint like this! Sarcasm was so natural, so easy to Frederic! His subtle mind seized upon the happiest occasions for the exercise of this humour! How, with the gaiety of temper he possessed, could he have thought of suppressing it, or even of tempering its poignancy? It should be observed too, that Frederic had laid it down as a system, that the pleasures and relaxation of the evening, before going to rest, were to counteract the effects of his close attention to the cumbrous business of the day. It was therefore essential that every degree of liberty should be allowed to his imagination. Accordingly he lanced his gibes, without restraint, even against the persons with whom he was conversing; under these circumstances the marquis had no resource but to yield with a good grace to the necessity, make a merit of his condescension, and join the general laugh; while Frederic, on his part, was no

sooner alone than, in the reflections he made on what had passed, he imputed the qualities of meanness and servility to the very persons who had stood the brunt of his attacks.

We may easily believe that, even in the hours set apart for relaxation, Frederic never wholly refrained from political subjects; that he used these occasions for sifting the understandings and characters of his guests; and that he pushed to every extreme the raillery that was begun probably more in gaiety of heart than malice, that he might observe to what lengths they would carry their mean submission. It is certain that he invariably felt and manifested the most sovereign contempt for the persons who betrayed the greatest degree of patience on those dangerous and trying occasions.

Unfortunately, the Marquis d'Argens was of too ardent and sincere a temper to foresee and avoid the danger. Delighted to find so much urbanity of manners and politeness in a monarch, and so much wit and gaiety in his conversation, his only idea was to enjoy the pleasures thus afforded to the utmost; while he at the same time believed he could not more effectually prove himself deserving of them, than by giving the king his zealous co-operation. When experience had convinced him of the fatal effects

of this line of conduct, it was too late to change his system.

The second cause of the discredit into which it was apparent the marquis had fallen, was the weaknesses that had been discovered in his character, particularly that of superstition. He entertained such a horror of death, that the bare idea of its approach made him commit the greatest absurdities: an instance of this kind is, that having been assured that the urine of persons who were near their latter end turned black in the course of four and twenty hours, he for a long time persevered in the habit of preserving his own in vases, which he examined several times a day, till some persons, who got at the knowledge of the fact, discovered the hiding place of this precious deposit, and mixed some ink with the urine. The appearance thus occasioned threw the marquis into a state of apprehension, so violent, that it was necessary to tell him the trick he had been played to save him from a dangerous illness. Nor could he, for any consideration, have been prevailed upon to sit at a table where the number of guests was thirteen. I have also known him, when sitting next me, take my knife and fork when lying across on my plate, and place them side by side; and on my expressing my surprise, his an-

swer was, "I know what I have done can be of no service, yet they may as well stay as I have placed them."

His niece, Madame de la Carnogue, related to me that, while he was composing his voluminous production on the faculties of the human mind, he one evening found himself inspired with such happy conceptions, that he could not be prevailed upon to leave his desk till midnight; and that he at length came to supper in high spirits, in consequence of what he had written, though his dish was entirely spoiled with waiting for him; but that recollecting, as he sat down, that it was the first Friday in the month, he instantly went back to his study, and threw the whole of that day's performance into the fire.

Though the marquis was inordinately superstitious, and his reason was unable to vanquish his too lively and ardent imagination, which in the nursery had received the impression of the absurd stories with which the lower orders of people encumber religion, he did not the less abhor superstition in general, and always condemned it in other persons. One was sure of finding in him the author of *La Philosophie du bons Sens*, the moment he was in a condition to consult his reason. In the course of a short expedition he made in company with Maupertuis,

they had, but one apartment in common to sleep in; and the latter falling on his knees the last thing at night to say his prayers, his companion in great surprise cried out, "Why, what are you about, Maupertuis? You seem, my friend, to have forgot that we are alone!"

But the circumstance that most displeased the king in the conduct of the Marquis d'Argens was his marriage. He had, during the seven years' war, entered into this state with the elder Mademoiselle Cochois, a French actress then at Berlin. Her family had long been engaged in the theatre of that town, and her father and mother died there. Her brother, who played harlequin with great success, had tried his fortune in Russia, where he enjoyed the favour of the public, and obtained a handsome stipend; but he disliked the country extremely, was always on the point of leaving it, and at last absolutely died there a hypochondriac, and without leaving any children. His sister, become a marchioness, had a younger sister who was extremely handsome, and the first female dancer of the opera at Berlin.

The marquis's lady, whose person, on the contrary, was rather disagreeable, however possessed an excellent understanding and a considerable degree of talent. She had great skill in painting, and still more in music, and,

besides her own language, understood German, Italian, and Latin, and had even, in compliance with the wishes of her husband, made some little progress in the Greek language: he had been desirous of her learning the Hebrew also; but she found the study of the letters of the alphabet repulsive in the outset. This lady possessed gentleness of temper, and her mind was at once firm, distinguishing, and full of rectitude. She had the art of employing, under the appearance of the most perfect simplicity, all the attentions calculated to secure the affections of her husband, and conciliate the esteem of every one.

The king had been long acquainted with the intimacy that subsisted between the marquis and this lady, and of his strong attachment to her; but in the eye of policy all this might happen without any idea of marriage. I shall relate a pleasant anecdote, in which the lady plays a part, and which sufficiently proves that their mutual attachment was well known. Mademoiselle Cochois had made a dressing gown for the marquis, of one of the rich dresses in which she had figured as a queen. On presenting it to her lover, he was so delighted with his acquisition, that he instantly put it on and wore it for the rest of the evening. As, however, he was to be

with the king at seven o'clock, he declared himself indisposed. Frédéric having learned the truth, determined to punish the weak conduct of the philosopher: he muffled himself in the gown of a priest, made the persons who were to accompany him dress themselves in black, and then went with them in procession to the apartment of the marquis, which was immediately under those of his majesty. The person who walked first rang a bell, which was heard in the apartments as the procession descended the stairs. La Pierre ran to see what all this meant; and her account persuaded the marquis that he was himself the object of this extraordinary scene. Unwilling, however, to be found in a situation that contradicted the account of his indisposition, and not having time enough to undress himself, he hurried into bed with his clothes on.

At the same instant the procession entered with a slow and solemn pace, and, advancing toward the bed, formed a circle round the sick man. The king, who was last, placed himself in the middle of the circle, and proclaimed to the marquis, that the church, that tender mother of her children, who, ever anxious for their welfare, had sent him the assistance best fitted to support him at the present awful crisis: he next pronounced a short exhortation, enjoining

him to resignation; then drawing back the bed-clothes, and pouring a bottle filled with oil over the beautiful dressing gown, assured his dying brother that this emblem of grace could not fail, if strengthened by his stedfast faith, to endue him with such fortitude as would enable him to make his exit with becoming resolution.

The procession then retired with the same solemnity as before. It would be difficult to give an idea of the marquis's regret at the condition of his dressing gown, or of his mortification at the farce which had taken place, though he was well acquainted with the king's predilection for such kind of proceedings, and had himself occasionally assisted in them, and particularly in one which is worthy of being known to the reader.

The pastor of a village, situated at the extremity of Pomerania, being exasperated, no one knew why, against Frederic, introduced a violent philippic against him, in a sermon he preached on the murder of the innocents, in which he compared him to the tyrant Herod. The news of this extraordinary attack soon reached Potzdam, and the Philosophical Club had to deliberate, first, whether they should punish the delinquent, and next, of what nature the punishment should be. The pastor, in con-

sequence, received a formal summons, severe and solemn in its style; in which the venerable consistory enjoined him to appear before them, at their next sitting on such a day, at Potsdam. The man, alarmed, had no resource but obedience. He accordingly set out in the public waggon, to accomplish this long journey, in the severest cold of the winter season. The necessary orders were every where given to prevent his discovering that the summons he had received was spurious; and as the hour in which he would arrive was quite certain, a man dressed like a beadle was in waiting to conduct him to the consistory, before he had an opportunity of gaining information.

The king himself was at the head of the consistory, and his confidential friends composed its members. They were all dressed in the habits of pastors and men advanced in years, in black coats or cloaks, large wigs, hats flapped down as low as the shoulders, and, in addition, they assumed the utmost gravity of demeanour.

The president opened the proceedings with asking if he was *such* a person, and the pastor of *such* a place? The answer being given in the affirmative, he next proceeded to say, that the venerable consistory had received intelligence of his being shamefully ignorant of even the mat-

ters in which he was by duty bound to instruct his hearers; that this being an accusation of serious importance, it had been determined that he should be summoned and examined; that accordingly, in obedience to the directions of the venerable consistory, he should proceed to propose some questions to him concerning the doctrine of the holy church.

The president then asked him how many of the kings of Judea had been called Herod? The poor pastor, who had never heard of more than one Herod, could only reply, in great confusion, that he had never heard of more than one. "You mistake, brother," replied the president, "there were two Herods, both well known; Herod the *Ascalonite*, surnamed *The Great*; and Herod *Antipas*, his son. But which of these was the Herod who commanded the new-born children to be slain? And at what age were infants exempted from this proscription?" After waiting in vain for a reply to these new questions, the president, addressing himself to the pastor, said, "It is with the deepest concern, brother, we perceive, that the account communicated to us respecting you is but too true. How, enveloped as you are in the thickest shades of ignorance, could you presume to undertake the sacred and important charge of con-

ducting the children of the church? Do you not dread that you will be eternally reproached by God and man with the sins of the flock confided to your care; alike for those from which you have omitted to reclaim them, as for other sins into which you have yourself occasioned them to fall? And if it be true that our crimes in general are the consequences of our ignorance alone, judge to what a risk you have exposed yourself! Unhappy man! You eat and drink your own damnation! And this it would be no one's business to prevent, if the consequences extended to yourself alone! But ought we to suffer your involving in the same condition those whom your guidance should have conducted to the port of salvation? No, doubtless; our duty, therefore, is to depose you, or at least to prohibit you, for a certain time, from exercising the functions of the holy office.

“ We, however, do not forget that the spirit of religion is a spirit of gentleness and charity, and accordingly, for this time, we shall defer such an act of rigour, in the hope that you will correct your faults; that in future you will prescribe to yourself the law of never presuming to speak of any thing you do not understand; that you will consecrate your time to study; and, in

short, that you pledge to us your honour and your conscience that you will neglect no means of promoting, in future, the edification of your flock, in the same degree that you have disgraced your calling by your temerity and neglect. You may now leave us, brother; return to your parish; humble yourself before the Lord; and do not forget that the eye of the venerable consistory will not cease to be upon you."

The pastor was next conducted by the beadle back to his inn, who, with affected kindness, advised him to set out instantly on his return. In effect, he reached Berlin the same night; but wishing to see some friends of his in that place before he left it, he learned from them that the superior consistory was never known to assemble at Potsdam: in fine, that the king had devised this means of punishing him for the comparison he had thought proper to hazard a short time before; an explanation that by no means served to quiet his alarm.

The last cause of the discredit into which the marquis had fallen relates to an agreement made between him and Frederic in the beginning of their attachment. It was at this period that the former declared himself devoted to the service of his majesty till he should reach the age of seventy; but he stipulated that, when he should

have attained that age, he should be considered at liberty to retire; and the rather, as at so advanced a time of life it was scarcely possible to live at court without being useless, and alternately the object of neglect and ridicule.

As Frederic perceived before him an interval of thirty years before this separation could take place, he consented without hesitation to the proposal. "Accordingly," said the marquis, "on the day of my attaining to the age of seventy years, I shall send you the register of my baptism, which you will be pleased to consider as the register of my death. You will therefore say, *the Marquis d'Argens is dead*.".... "I consent," replied the king. "But whither will you go?".... "Sire, I shall go, in reality, to vegetate and die in the bosom of my family.".... "You will then become a devotee.".... "Yes, Sire, most devoutly grateful for all the kindness you have shewn me, and religiously the admirer of all the benefits you will have conferred on the sciences and on humanity at large.

This kind of question, while still at a distance, was often discussed by Frederic, and even considered as a subject of mere amusement. It was not impossible that time, various circumstances, interests, and connections, and, above all, the inconstancy of the human mind, might produce a

change in the project of the marquis. Frederic's conjectures might, perhaps, have been realized if the marquis's brother had died before him, and the king had preserved toward him the same attachment, and treated him with the same marks of distinction. But the friendship of the brothers increased with age, and every expedition made by the marquis to France drew forth new marks of tenderness from the president d'Eguilles, while the state of slavery and restraint, the sarcasms and gibes he anticipated at his return, rendered his situation every year more painful, and confirmed him in his first intentions.

The marquis at length felt the most eager impatience to arrive at his seventy years, and abandon Frederic. In his visit to France, in the year 1763, his brother ceded to him a portion of land he appeared to wish to possess at Eguilles, for the purpose of building a house upon it. A plan for completing this project was fixed on by the two brothers, and the undertaking begun. In the year 1766, the whole was finished, the house sufficiently dry to be habitable, the gardens laid out and cultivated, and all this under the direction of the first president.

In the mean time the marquis's seventy years were accomplished, yet he dared not leave Prussia. The agreement had not, in a long

course of time, even been mentioned ; for the last endeavour made by the courtier to recal the king's attention to the idea had manifestly excited his displeasure. The marquis, therefore, could not again have ventured on the subject without exposing himself to the danger of the most cruel reproaches and humiliations. The uneasiness he experienced in this situation may be easily conceived ; nor was he at all times able to conceal it. " Ah, my friend," said he, when we happened to be alone together, " never let us suppose it possible to reduce crowned heads to the class of civilized beings. In vain do we hope to soften the characters of sovereigns by means of the arts ; in vain are they induced to love and cultivate them with success. They are lions, and the man who thinks he has succeeded in taming them is sure to find his mistake : they are radically ferocious, sanguinary, and capricious. At the moment when least expected their instinct awakes, and you are the victim of their teeth or claws before you are aware of the danger." . . . " Do you believe," said he, on another occasion, " that a great king can really preserve his sensibility in favour of individuals? Let him receive from nature every degree of genius, every possible talent ; let him cherish the muses, protect their votaries ; let his mind be endowed

with a thousand amiable qualities; let it be naturally expansive and susceptible; what becomes of these propensities in a long and continual exercise of sovereignty? And what are private individuals in the eyes of him who decides daily on the fate of nations? What are atoms to him who sees and hears, and is brought into contact with great masses only?"

The seventy years, as I before observed, had elapsed, yet the marquis had not the resolution to present the register of his baptism, nor to enter with the monarch on the subject of his age and views; at length, after having vainly struggled with his weakness, and, we may surely say, his prudence, he determined to die the victim of his attachment to the king, or at least to wait for the event of the death of this monarch, to reclaim his liberty. He accordingly demanded a leave of absence for six months to visit his country, embrace his brother once more, and arrange some family affairs. His request was granted with reluctance; the king even required him to give his word of honour that he would return at the time appointed.

I need not describe the joy and eagerness with which the marquis performed his journey from Berlin to Aix, nor the grief he felt when he was to leave the latter place, to resume the chains by

accumulated causes rendered so oppressive. He, however, persisted in the observance of his promise, and set out on his return.

The severe conflicts he experienced, particularly at so advanced an age, might naturally be expected to influence his health; in effect he suffered extreme indisposition during the whole of his journey, which in consequence was necessarily prolonged; at length he was detained at Bourg-en-Bresse by a long and dangerous illness. His lady, whose whole attention was devoted to his service, did not think of writing, and the term of his leave of absence expired.

Frederic, who never forgot any thing, suspected the marquis of an intention to deceive him. Inquiries were made of his lady's sister, and of all the academicians who had been on a footing of friendship with their director, as to whether any tidings had been received concerning him; but as none of these were satisfactory, and no letter had been received from either for several months, the king's suspicions changed suddenly to absolute certainty. His displeasure and indignation now exceeded all bounds: orders were immediately sent to the banks from which he received his pensions, importing that the name of the Marquis d'Argens was to be in-

stantly erased from their accounts, and no more money paid to him.

Sulzer having seen this order at the bank of the academy, conceived it his duty to give the marquis notice of the step which had been taken; he accordingly sent him a letter by means of a traveller, who promised to find him out and acquit himself of the commission with the greatest secrecy; or, should he not succeed in finding him, that he would forward the letter addressed to the marquis at the president d'Eguilles's in France.

The traveller found the marquis in a state of convalescence, and on the point of proceeding to Berlin, in the town of Bourg. The letter produced on him the effect that might be expected: the indignation of the old philosopher courtier, on reading it, was greater than his affliction. He wrote an answer to it, the contents of which he confided to no one, but which may be without difficulty conjectured, and then returned to his beloved retirement, which he never after left, if we except some occasional visits in Provence. In one of these he breathed his last: he was seized at Toulon with an indigestion a few years subsequent to the period I have been speaking of, and died in consequence.

When his death was known at Potzdam, or-

ders were given for erecting at Eguilles a marble monument in honour of the memory of an old friend, whom, on the mere evidence of suspicion, Frederic had abruptly deprived of the recompence he had so fully earned by the noble frankness of his temper, his long tried services, and the mortifications he in the course of them had endured.

I shall conclude this article by an incident which proves that fraternal affection is a much stronger sentiment in the human mind than the fastidious operations of pride in the bosoms of the great. The marquis had only one cause of uneasiness at Eguilles, which was that of being unable to bestow a fortune on Mademoiselle Mina, who had been brought up under his care, and had never quitted him. The president rather guessed than discovered his secret thought, and recommended his brother to adopt her as his daughter. "But how," said the marquis, "if she should not be my child!" . . . . "What of that," replied the president, "if by her virtues she deserves to be so, and you feel for her an affection truly paternal." . . . . "But of what use would my name be to her? A mere incumbrance, since I cannot add to it the gift of fortune." . . . . "Your name will be the means of procuring her a suitable alliance."

.... "And her marriage portion?" .... "I have provided for it. I shall give her sixteen thousand livres (about 630l. sterling) at the same time that you acknowledge her your daughter, and I will give her as much more on the day of her marriage." .... "You surely do not think of such a thing; never will I consent to what you propose, which would be to rob your children in favour of a stranger." .... "The most sacred debt I owe to my own children is the example of certain virtues, particularly that of justice. You recollect I have never ratified the act of disinheritance that policy rather than resentment extorted from our deceased father; therefore what I possess is more your property than mine, and accordingly what I propose is much less than what is due to you. In short, this is a plan I am determined to execute, and I trust to the strength of the affection you bear me for your compliance with my wishes."

The result of a struggle at once so honourable and so rare was, that Mademoiselle Mina was acknowledged as the daughter of the Marquis d'Argens, and married a young counsellor of the parliament. His widow passed the remaining part of her life either at Eguilles or in the society of her late pupil, who since the above events had become her daughter.

*Le Catt.*

I HAVE so often had occasion to speak of M. le Catt, that I can have but few materials left concerning him. The reserve and coldness of his character no doubt contributed in a great degree to his retaining the place he held for so long a time, that is, from about the middle period of the seven years' war till the end of the reign of Frederic, who made acquaintance with him in Holland, and in consequence appointed him his reader, and secretary of the orders of his majesty. It should, however, be observed, that the favour he enjoyed was, during the latter years of his residence at Potzdam, considerably diminished. Had he deserved this? I really do not know; but what I do know is, that he was never liked by the royal family nor by the public.

M. le Catt wrote to me twice, in the beginning of the revolution, to request me to find some one who should be disposed to purchase the manuscripts of Frederic, of which he had in his possession a much more considerable collection than that published by Treutel: he sent me a list of them, which contained articles of a curious nature, and that are wholly new to the public.

But he asked too high a price for them, so that it was not in my power, as I wished, to do him service. In the latter period of his life, M. le Catt lost his sight, and died blind several years ago. What is become of the ample collection he with the labours of thirty years had made?

THE END.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in the context of public administration and financial management. The text notes that without reliable records, it becomes difficult to track expenditures, identify inefficiencies, and ensure that resources are being used effectively.

2. The second part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data collection and analysis. It highlights that gathering accurate and timely data is often a complex task, especially when dealing with large-scale operations or multiple stakeholders. The text suggests that investing in robust data management systems and training personnel in data analysis techniques can significantly improve the quality and reliability of the information used for decision-making.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in enhancing operational efficiency. It discusses how digital tools and automation can streamline processes, reduce manual errors, and facilitate better communication and collaboration among team members. The text also mentions the importance of ensuring that these technologies are secure and that data is protected from unauthorized access.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the need for continuous improvement and innovation. It argues that organizations should regularly evaluate their current practices and seek out new, more effective ways of doing things. This involves fostering a culture of learning and experimentation, where employees are encouraged to share ideas and take ownership of their work. The text also notes that staying up-to-date with industry trends and best practices is crucial for maintaining a competitive edge.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by emphasizing the importance of strong leadership and clear communication. It states that effective leaders are able to set a clear vision, establish realistic goals, and inspire their teams to achieve them. Clear communication is also essential for ensuring that everyone is on the same page and understands their role in the organization's success. The text suggests that regular communication and feedback loops can help identify areas for improvement and keep the organization on track.

By the Code of Frederic "the  
seductions of oratory are everywhere  
forbidden" (in judicial proceedings)  
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Wanted an original character p. 155

Persons maintaining themselves to  
escape the recruiting office p. 187

Singular theological doctrine of  
Frederic's soldiers p. 190

Prohibiting the Catholic soldier to receive  
presents from Virgin Mary p. 88

The famous affair of the Miller Ar-  
nold, &c &c p. 101 & 102

judgment of Contemporaries. Fr. pronoun-  
ces Wequelin, on account of his essay on  
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Montesquieu" p. 388 & sequ.

Count de St Germain, about Christ  
p. 385

The plan for of Montesquieu's Academie, pro-  
ving how often great men fall into the mis-  
take of precluding details and preventing all  
development, like a small man too p. 403.

F's view of droit publique ( interna-  
tional law). Ah! Ah! p. 413