Henry Middleton of South Carolina was appointed United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary (the equivalent of present day Ambassador), to the Court of St. Petersburg, Russia, in the fall of 1820 and served at that post until the summer of 1830. During his ten-year diplomatic assignment to the Russian capital, he left a voluminous correspondence of dispatches, letters, memoranda, notes, and various papers and documents, covering the broad spectrum of Russian-American relations, European politics and diplomacy, and the Greek Revolution, beginning with Alexander Ypsilanti's insurrection in the Romanian Principalities in March of 1821 and up to the conclusion of the Treaty of Adrianople and the recognition of Greece's independence by the Sublime Porte in 1829 and later by the Great powers².

1. In preparing this study, I would like to thank the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), which provided a research grant to Romania and Greece in 1976-1977, and the School of Humanities and Fine Arts, Coastal Carolina University - Conway-Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, for granting me a Sabbatical leave from my teaching duties in 1991.

2. Middleton's diplomatic correspondence from Russia covers the period from February 2, 1820 through July 27, 1830. His correspondence is deposited in the U.S. National Archives, Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No 35, "Despatches from United States Ministers to Russia, 1808-1906", Rolls 8-11, Volumes 8-11 (The National Archives and Record Service, General Service Administration: Washington, 1953). Cited hereafter as Dispatches from Russia, preceded by the number of Middleton's dispatch, volume, or other designations. For family papers, personal letters, and the social life of the Middleton family in the St. Petersburg society during the 1820s, see Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Caidwalader Collection, J. Francis Fisher Collection. Other dispatches, letters, and notes can be found in "Microfilms of The Adams Papers" (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1955-1959). Dates are in the Gregorian calendar, otherwise all Middleton's dispatches bore dates both in the Julian and the Gregorian calendar. In the 19th century Russia was still following the Julian calendar, which was 12 days behind the Gregorian calendar.
Middleton's first years at the Court of St. Petersburg coincided with Count John Capodistrias' last years of service at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From the spring of 1821 until Capodistrias' departure from the Russian service in August 1822, Middleton worked with him and Count Karl Robert Nesselrode, the other Secretary at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on various issues dealing with Russian-American relations and European diplomacy. The last time Middleton met Capodistrias was in 1827, when he came to St. Petersburg to ask the Emperor Nicholas for his official resignation from the Russian diplomatic service following his election as President of Greece in the same year.

In his diplomatic dispatches Middleton left a few interesting details about his meetings with Capodistrias, their discussions on various issues dealing with Anglo-American and Russian-American relations and the Greek Revolution. This study will briefly trace Middleton's life and political career; his appointment as United States Minister to Russia; his diplomatic activity and collaboration with Capodistrias and Nesselrode during the first years in the Russian capital; and finally, Middleton's last encounter with Capodistrias before his departure for Greece in 1827 to become the first President of Greece.

II

Henry Middleton belonged to one of the most prominent and wealthiest aristocratic families of Charleston, South Carolina. His ancestors were actively involved in the political life of the late colonial period, the American Revolution, and the early era of the young Repub-

The Middletons and their descendants played a major role in the political life of South Carolina, until the American Civil War when the union army under General Sherman destroyed much of their power, wealth, and property, including the burning of the famous "Middleton Place", on the Ashley River, near Charleston, South Carolina.

Henry Middleton was born in London, England, on September 20, 1770. His home town, however, was Charleston, where his ancestral family lived since the beginning of the 18th century.

Middleton’s great-great-grandfather, Edward, came from England to Barbados, English West Indies, in the late 17th century, and later settled in Charleston, South Carolina, where he acquired land, wealth, and political power in the colony.

Middleton’s great-grandfather, Arthur (1681-1737), inherited estates from his father in England, Barbados, and South Carolina.

His grandfather, who bore the same name, Henry (1717-1784), was a revolutionary patriot and served briefly as President of the First Continental Congress. He inherited his father’s property, including the estate “Middleton Place”. He was considered one of the wealthiest landowners in South Carolina, owning nearly twenty plantations totaling 50,000 acres of land, or nearly 20,000 hectares, and employing about 800 slaves.

Arthur (1742-1787), Henry Middleton’s father, was also a leader in the American Revolution. He was a delegate to the Second Continental Congress and was one of the original signers of the Declaration of Independence. Young Henry accompanied his father to various meetings, including the American Congress in Philadelphia.

Henry’s early education was somehow overlooked because of the revolutionary events in the 1770s. He began his schooling under private tutors on the family’s plantation in Charleston. In 1786, at the age of sixteen, he was sent to England to further his education. Private tutors taught him the classical languages of Latin and Greek. He became fluent in French and could speak some Italian. When his father, Arthur, died unexpectedly in 1787, he interrupted his studies in England and returned to Charleston to take care of his five brothers and four sisters, assuming the role of head of the Middleton family4.

As the eldest son, Henry inherited his family's plantation, the "Middleton Place", which included large and well-balanced formal gardens, and a plantation in Newport, in the state of Rhode Island. His property holdings were extensive throughout South Carolina. According to his 1824 tax return, he owned over 15,000 acres of land, or about 6,000 hectares, and 420 slaves. In five other plantations in South Carolina, including that in Newport, there were an additional 669 slaves employed. Wealth and social status allowed him to become a leading member of Newport's high aristocratic society, while at his "Middleton Place" in Charleston, he maintained a baronial hospitality.

Middleton traveled extensively both in the United States and Europe. Early in the 1790s, he returned to England, where he lived in Clifton, Gloucestershire. Here he met his future wife, Mary Helen Hering, daughter of "Julines Hering, Esquire, of Heybridge Hall, Captain H.M. 34th Regiment", and married her at Bath, England, on November 13, 1794. Twelve children were born to them, a son died in infancy, and a daughter lived only one year.

In mid 1790s Middleton and his wife traveled to France when the government of the Directory came to power. In Paris his second son, Henry, was born in March of 1797. In Paris, according to the reminiscences of one of his contemporaries, Middleton had the opportunity to follow Napoleon Bonaparte's rapid rise to power. During the time Napoleon served as General of the Interior, he met the Middleton family in Paris. In the French capital Middleton was also acquainted with a number of distinguished French personalities, including Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs during Napoleon's government of the Consulate, and later under King Louis XVIII. His polished and popular manners won him many friends and acquaintances throughout Europe, particularly England, and later on in Russia, when he was appointed American Minister.

7. Ibid.
In 1800, Middleton returned to Charleston from his European trip. His wealth and prestige among the families of Charleston's high society, allowed him to play an active role in the political life of South Carolina. In 1802 he was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives, serving in that body for eight years. In 1810, he was elected to the State Senate of South Carolina, but resigned the Senate seat in December of the same year, when the State Legislature elected him Governor of South Carolina for a two year term.

Middleton served as Governor until 1812. During his tenure as Governor, the Bank of South Carolina was incorporated. In his State message to the State Legislature in November 1811, he recommended and the Legislature approved the creation of a statewide free public education system for children in each district and parish.

Before the Anglo-American War broke out in 1812, Middleton, a hawk, led a vigorous anti-English campaign. While he was still Governor of South Carolina, he urged the United States to declare war on England. Eventually, the United States entered the war against England in retaliation for English interference with American trade and shipping on the high seas; grievances on questions of impressment; neutral rights; and English incitement of the American Indians in the Western territories. During the course of war, South Carolina raised a contingent of more than five thousand men, and Paul Hamilton, a native South Carolinian, was appointed Secretary of the Navy.

The Anglo-American War ended with the Treaty of Ghent on Christmas eve, December 1814. The terms of the treaty simply restored the status quo ante bellum, without however resolving the main issues for the United States. The first Article of the treaty dealing with the question of seizure of private property and captive slaves carried away by the English officers during the war became a major point of contention between the United States and England. The two countries eventually decided to bring the controversial provison of the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent before the Emperor of Russia Alexander for arbitration. Middleton would play a major role in resolving this issue with England.

Middleton continued his political career after his term as Governor expired in 1812 and the Anglo-American War was over. In March of 1815, he was elected a Democratic-Republican Congressman from Charleston to the United States House of Representatives where he served two terms until 1819. Although he ran for a third term for the United States House of Representatives, he nevertheless failed to win the nomination of his party and returned to Charleston.

On February 1, 1820, however, a confidential letter was delivered to the “Middleton Place”. It was from the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, and was addressed to Henry Middleton at the “direction” of the President of the United States, James Monroe.

In the letter, Adams informed Middleton that he was directed by the President to ask him if he would accept the appointment of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. Adams told him that independent of the interest which the Russian “mission always possesses in the importance of maintaining the most amicable relations with the Emperor Alexander”, there were other important questions “of delicate nature” awaiting to be resolved.

Specifically, the Emperor of Russia, Adams pointed out, as “the common friend to both parties”, England and the United States, was asked to arbitrate and decide on the claim of restitution or indemnity to the American owners for loss of property and slaves carried away by the English officers after the end of the Anglo-American War of 1812. The action of the English was in violation of the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent. As the question was of considerable importance and effected exclusively the interest of the Southern slave owners, the President, Adam wrote, “has thought he could look to no person so well suited by his qualifications to satisfy all the requirements of this mission as yourself”. If the English government should accept the proposal of referring the subject of arbitration to the Russian Emperor, “it will be proper that you should proceed to St. Petersburg by the way of England where you will receive the documents” from the American Legation upon this subject. Middleton was told that he should be aware that the terms of monetary compensation were “utterly inadequate to meet the unavoi-
able expenses" as Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg, and that he should have to cover domestic expenses from his own resources.

The Secretary ended his letter by assuring Middleton that should his answer be "conformable" to the President's wishes, his confirmation to the Russian mission by the Senate would be made immediately after receiving it. As the approval by the Senate was a foregone conclusion, Adams advised him to make all the necessary arrangements of his own affairs and to prepare for his departure by taking "the advantage of an early spring passage to Europe".

Middleton replied to Adams' letter on February 2, 1820, expressing his very grateful acknowledgment to the President for the favor intended to him, and assured him to render his best service at his desire. He added that he would "cheerfully acquiesce in the wishes of the President", and would yield his own opinion entirely to his better judgment. He admitted that he had little confidence in the Russian mission, because of his ignorance of the Russian language and his lack of knowledge of the history and political situation of the countries of eastern Europe. He agreed with Adams that the monetary compensation to foreign ministers on foreign missions was extremely inadequate to meet the necessary family and diplomatic expenses, but that he would supply without inconvenience from his own income "such sums as may be necessary to that object". He added, however, that family considerations regarding the education of his younger children and a long separation from them would not allow him to remain in St. Petersburg for any great length of time. Russia was a country which could not provide facilities of instruction for his children. He made it clear to the Secretary that he took the liberty of making this remark and appraised of his feelings upon this point in order to avoid any future misunderstanding, for he knew well that public sentiment was in some measure unfavorable to short missions abroad.

Middleton accepted the appointment with the understanding that the primary purpose of his mission was to resolve the claim of indemnity against England. This question was one of President Monroe's principal objectives and could be decide only if the English government would accept arbitration. Middleton assured Adams that upon his nomination by the Senate, he would be ready to proceed to his new post at the Court of

10. The Adams Papers, Microcopy 146.
St. Petersburg by April or May, 1820\textsuperscript{11}.

The news of his proposed nomination to the Russian mission came to Middleton as a surprise. He was gratified to be selected for this important diplomatic post which President Monroe wished to award it to an individual of some political importance, but not to those who had been lobbying for appointment to the Court of St. Petersburg\textsuperscript{12}.

Certainly, the efforts and influence of Adams convinced President Monroe that Middleton was the best choice for the Russian post, and that he was "peculiarly fitted for this mission", Adams wrote, since he was from a southern State (South Carolina) where the slave owners had suffered the most during the war of 1812. Adams also considered the fact that Congress appropriated insufficient funds for the salaries of American diplomats in foreign countries, and that the Russian mission was rather expensive. He told the President that Middleton possessed great wealth and could afford the expenses of residing in Russia "without starving upon the salary allowed" by the Congress. President Monroe offered the Russian mission to Middleton, notwithstanding some opposition to his choice in the Senate\textsuperscript{13}.

Middleton's appointment as Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg was, in fact, a fitting choice. Though he had no previous diplomatic ex-
An American Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg

Experience abroad, he nevertheless possessed other qualities indispensable for that mission. He spoke and wrote French with ease and fluency, which was an important asset for his diplomatic assignment to Russia. French was the international language of diplomacy and he was well equipped to carry out his diplomatic mission. He had extensive political and parliamentary experience as an elected representative to the House of South Carolina, Governor of the State, and member of the United State Congress. He traveled and lived for many years in Europe, and was well acquainted with European social life and manners. He was a man of broad information and knowledge, elegant conduct, and a cultivated mind. He possessed a cool and prudent judgment. Although he was brought up in a polished aristocratic society, both at home and abroad, his personal conduct and inclinations allowed him to associate with individuals whatever their social status. Finally, he had a friendly, receptive, and sociable nature which allowed him to win the trust and confidence of those who knew him.

These attributes made Middleton a very suitable candidate for the Russian mission. On April 5, 1820, President Monroe sent Middleton’s nomination to the Senate. The next day, the Senate confirmed him as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. Two months later, on June 10, he sailed from New York harbor on board of Amity, for a thirty-two day trans-Atlantic voyage to England and thence to St. Petersburg.

III

Middleton arrived in London on July 12, 1820. While in the English capital, he received Adams’ “General Instructions” dealing with the Russian-American relations and the Russian government. Adams

14. See Perry, op. cit., pp. 691-693; The National Cyclopaedia, XII 163. See for a personal view expressed by Louisa Catherine Adams, the wife of Adams, in a letter to her father-in-law, John Adams, in The Adams Papers, April 17, 1820, Microcopy 449.


16. Middleton to Adams, 28 August 1820, Private, The Adams Papers, Microcopy 146; Same to Same, 28 August 1820, No 1, Dispatches from Russia, vol. 8; Adams to Middleton, 5 July 1820, No 1, Diplomatic Instructions, IX, 18-19. For a detailed analysis of the Russian-American relations during the 1820s see John C. Hildt, Early Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Russia (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1902), pp. 119ff.; Berquist,
listed three areas of general concern: political, commercial, and special.

In reviewing the political relations with Russia, Adams pointed out that the existing political system of Europe was created following the arrangements at the Congress of Vienna in 1814. The principal feature of that system was a "compact" between the five principal European powers, Austria, France, England, Russia, and Prussia, seeking to maintain the peace of the world. These powers had come together to prevent revolutions and to protect themselves from threats to the established order. The main objective of this system was "the preponderancy of one power by the subjugation, virtual if not nominal, of the rest", and guarding themselves each against the other. The League of Peace, as Adams referred to the European political system of the Holy Alliance, was able to keep the peace of Europe for the last five years, its only interruption being the outbreak of the wars of independence in the South American colonies and the revolt in Spain. Adams instructed Middleton to find out the position of the Russian government with regard to the revolutionary events in Spain and the revolts of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America.

With regard to Russia's position and her role in the European system, Adams remarked that the Russian Empire of Alexander I should be considered as the principal patron and founder of the League of Peace, and his interest was the most unequivocal in support of it. Russia was the only country which was free from internal upheavals which threatened all the rest. The neighboring countries which had the most to dread from Russia's overshadowing and encroaching power were Turkey and Persia, two powers that were not only extra-European in their general policy, but of different religions, as well. He believed that both Persia and Turkey would be excluded from ever becoming members of the European "compact"17.

Turning to the American foreign policy and its relation to Europe and to the world, Adams wrote that the political system of the United States was essentially extra-European, that the cardinal policy under every American administration since Washington's Farewell Address in


17. Adams to Middleton, 5 July 1820, No 1, *Diplomatic Instructions*, VIII, 19. Turkey, however, became a nominal member of the European system at the Congress of Paris in 1856, following Russia's defeat in the Crimean War by England and France.
1797 had been a firm and cautious independence and abstention from all entanglement in the European political system. He realized, however, that the United States was becoming an important "member of civilized Nations" and could no longer maintain an aloof position.

In view of the growing role of the United States in world affairs, the Russian Minister in Washington, P. I. Poletica, invited the United States to become formal member of the Holy Alliance. Adams, however, wrote that for the peace of Europe as well as of America, the European and American political systems should be kept as separate and distinct from each other as possible. He emphasized that it was President’s Monroe absolute and irrevocable determination not to join it, and that the President would make it known by an "explicit refusal". Russian invitation to the United States to join the Holy Alliance, Adams concluded, was a political ploy. Its primary objective was to prevent the United States from acting or collaborating with England, Russia's major rival in North America and Europe, on the question of recognizing the independence of the Latin American colonies. To this end, Russia counted on the enmity which existed between the United States and England. But the American and English policy converged, at least, in one major issue: both were determined to recognize the independence of the Spanish colonies based on political and economic considerations, despite the opposition of Russia and the Holy Alliance.

Adams tried to keep the United States out of the European affairs. He had in fact formulated the basic principles of American foreign policy: the "doctrine of the two spheres", known later as the "Monroe Doctrine", whose principal author and supporter was Adams himself. Monroe’s annual presidential proclamations and those of Adams’ during his presidency, had one thing in common: hemispheric division, neutrality, and non-intervention in the European affairs. This policy would set the tone of American foreign relations with the European powers for nearly a century.

The second segment of Adams’ instructions covered the commercial relations between the United States and Russia. Again, Adams opposed

any economic ties with Russia. He argued that the United States was not interested in entering into a commercial treaty with Russia, since American commerce with Russia was insignificant. Even the Emperor Alexander himself, he wrote, had expressed a lack of interest in such treaty. But despite his opposition to a Russo-American economic collaboration, he advised Middleton to pay suitable attention to the actual state of American commerce with Russia, in the Baltic and particularly in the Black Sea region. He was instructed to keep an eye on the operations of the Russian-American Company along the Northwestern Coast (Alaska) and the imperial edict concerning its reorganization and activity.

Adams devoted the last portion of the instructions to the history of the controversy between the United States and England on the wording of the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent. The dispute concerned the question of the American slaves whom the English officers carried away following the conclusion of the war of 1812. Adams gave Middleton specific instructions on how to resolve this issue in favor of the United States. He argued that the English had no right to take away and free the slaves; that the English government should compensate the American owners for the loss of their slaves; and that the first Article of the Treaty called for both parties to restore the captured territory, places, and possessions, without taking away any public property seized during the war, including the slaves.

Adams directed Middleton that the question to be submitted to the decision of the Russian Emperor for arbitration under the Anglo-American Convention of 1818, should be, whether or not the English, according to the terms of the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent, were bound to evacuate all captured territories within the United States, without taking away any slaves or other private property. The English government should, therefore, be held liable for compensation to the American slave owners for all the slaves or other private property seized during the war. The form of bringing the subject before the Emperor for his consideration was very important, and that the most suitable way to do it would be a statement of facts as concise as possible jointly submitted by Middleton and the English ambassador to Russia, Charles Bagot. Adams enclosed with his instructions a rough draft of such a statement to be presented to Alexander.

Finally, Adams advised Middleton that, part of his diplomatic role
was to follow and report to the State Department the major events and developments both in Russia and Europe. Adams considered this task to be of great importance. Middleton was instructed to inform Washington on such subjects as those concerning the relations between the United States and Russia; and to observe, with an attentive and impartial eye, the political condition of Russia and the actual state and changes of her policy towards the other principal European powers.

With reference to the European political situation, Adams had in mind the recent developments in Western Europe. One of them was the outbreak of the revolution in Spain early in 1820. Adams considered it to be an important issue which would influence the general policy of the European powers and particularly that of Russia. He raised the question whether there would be any active interference, either by the Emperor Alexander separately, or by the Allies jointly, in the internal affairs of Spain. Middleton was instructed to ascertain what consequences the events in Spain would have upon the unsettled dispute between Spain and Portugal in South America, and how these developments would influence Russian policy with regard to the South American revolts. Adams advised Middleton to cultivate a friendly social intercourse with the Ministers of the other European governments in the Russian capital, a task which he carried out successfully, as his entire diplomatic correspondence reveals 19.

In the course of his brief stop in London, Middleton reviewed the Treaty of Ghent with the English government. He held several sessions with Richard Rush, the American Minister to England, and Lord Castlereagh, the English Secretary of Foreign Affairs. After lengthy discussions, Castlereagh agreed to submit the question of arbitration to the Russian Emperor Alexander who was to determine whether the English had violated the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent. Castlereagh also agreed that the Emperor should fix a sum of money for the average value of a slave, while the exact amount was to be determined at a later date. In his brief sojourn in London, Middleton scored his first diplomatic success before his departure for St. Petersburg.

IV

On September 20, 1820, Middleton, his wife, Mary Helen, and their four children, William, Maria Henrietta, Eleanor Isabella, and Elizabeth departed from London and headed for Russia. After a long overland journey over a month and one half through Holland, Central Europe, Prussia, and the Baltic states, they reached St. Petersburg early in November.

St. Petersburg was an impressive modern city. It was one of Europe's largest and most influential capitals. The city was a classical example of the tie among architecture, politics, and urban development. It had become the center of Russian administration, government, army, and the nobility. Its social atmosphere suited perfectly to the aristocratic taste and life of Middleton. He and his wife and children adopted themselves quickly to the life of Russian society, taking an active part in the social and diplomatic activities in the capital throughout their long stay.

In St. Petersburg Middleton met most of the foreign diplomatic corps and knew many prominent Russian aristocratic families. He became personally acquainted with the foreign ministers, Count John Capodistrias, a Greek by birth, and Count Karl Robert Nesselrode, a German by birth, both sharing Russian Foreign Affairs, and several other Russian government officials. He was well-known to the Russian Emperors Alexander and Nicholas. In fact, when Middleton came back to Charleston in 1830, he brought with him a portrait of Nicholas, probably a gift from the Emperor himself, now on display at "Middleton Place", near Charleston, South Carolina.

Soon after his arrival in St. Petersburg, Middleton took up his special assignment regarding the Treaty of Ghent. The issue, however, could be initiated only if both the English and American sides would agree to a

20. See the rich collection of letters, invitations, and other personal notes and papers in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Caldwellader Collection, J. Francis Fisher Collection.

21. See ANTIQUES at Middleton Place (April, 1979), p. 783. See also Alice Hopton Middleton, Life in Carolina and New England during the Nineteenth Century as Illustrated by Reminiscences and Letters of the Middleton Family of Charleston South Carolina and of the De Wolf Family of Bristol Rhode Island (Bristol, Rhode Island: Privately Printed, 1930), p. 68, where she writes that Nicholas became strongly attached to Middleton and upon his departure from St. Petersburg he presented him with a set of rare china along with the Emperor's portrait.
joint application to be presented to the Emperor.

But Alexander was not in the capital. He had quit St. Petersburg on July 21, 1820, and was expected to be absent for about three to four months. After traveling to the southern provinces of the empire, Alexander headed for Warsaw to take part in the opening of the second Polish Constitutional Diet in September. Alexander asked Capodistrias to accompany him.

But the political situation in Western Europe deteriorated rapidly. In Warsaw, a courier from the Russian Embassy in Vienna brought news of the outbreak of the revolts in Naples. Alexander and the Austrian Emperor Francis I agreed to meet in October at Troppau (the present day city of Oprava, in the Czech Republic). The Congress issued the “Troppau Protocol”, whose main objective was to consider armed action against any revolutionary attempts to disturb the status quo, particularly the upheavals in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Spain. However, no decisions were taken on the issues under consideration, which were referred to the next meeting.

On January 12, 1821, the new meeting was held at Laibach (Ljubljana, the capital of present day Republic of Slovenia). The Congress of Laibach was convened to complete the discussion which had begun at Troppau and to consider the difficult and explosive situation which had been created throughout Europe by the revolts in Spain, Naples, and the Kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont. The main issue discussed at the Congress was the drastic measures which had to be taken against the revolutionary movements in Western Europe to restore peace and order, if necessary, by armed intervention. The Congress finally decided to allow Austria to send troops to suppress the revolts in the Italian peninsula.

While Alexander and Capodistrias were attending the Congress of Laibach, news of the outbreak of the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire reached them in March of 1821. The Emperor, Capodistrias, and the rest of the European powers were now facing a new and

22. Middleton to Adams, 6/18 December 1820, No 3, Dispatches from Russia, vol. 8.
more complicated question.

The Emperor Alexander, accompanied by Capodistrias, left Laibach, traveled through Poland, stopped at Warsaw, and finally reached St. Petersburg on May 26, 1821, after an absence of ten and one half months\textsuperscript{24}!

On Sunday, June 17, Middleton had a private audience with the Emperor at Kammenoy Ostrov, Alexander’s villa on this small island near the Gulf of Finland. The reception with Alexander was gracious and cordial, Middleton wrote. The Emperor asked him many questions about the United States and appeared to be better informed about the States than many other individuals he talked with in the Russian capital.

At the meeting, Middleton did not raise the arbitration question with the Emperor. Four weeks later, however, he met Nesselrode and Capodistrias. He asked them for instructions regarding the issue of arbitration by the Emperor of the dispute between England and the United States. The two secretaries recommended that he should first consult with Charles Bagot, and both should present a joint request for arbitration to the Emperor. They also agreed on the substance and wording of the final draft of the application, or “\textit{Compromis}”, to be submitted to Alexander for his decision\textsuperscript{25}.

Middleton and Bagot met on July 30, 1821, ironed out their differences, drafted a “\textit{Compromis}”, and sent it to Nesselrode. Middleton included a twenty-page printed “\textit{Memoir}”, or expose, and several other supporting documents. In the “\textit{Memoir}”, he recapitulated the American claims on the question of the slaves and the interpretation of the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent.

Bagot also drafted and submitted his own “\textit{Memoir}” to Nesselrode. In it, he argued over the correctness of the English view on the Treaty of Ghent and the wording and grammar of its article. Finally, in December 1821, Nesselrode received the two “Memoirs” and presented them to

\textsuperscript{24} Middleton to Adams, 8/20 June 1821, No 5, \textit{Dispatches from Russia}, vol. 8.

\textsuperscript{25} The translation of the “Compromis” into English bore the title of “\textit{Summary of the Question, or Short Statement of the Dispute which Happened in Regard to the First Article of the Treaty of Ghent, between the United States of America and England, with Supporting Documents}”. It was published in French in St. Petersburg, 1821. See Middleton to Adams, 20 July / 1 August 1821, No 6, enclosure 1, \textit{Dispatches from Russia}, vol. 8. See also Hildt, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 149-153.
Alexander for his arbitration. In preparing the final decision, the Emperor consulted with his officials at the Foreign Ministry, Nesselrode and Capodistrias, and asked them to come up with opinions, suggestions, and proposals for his consideration. There were differences and disagreements among the two Secretaries, and even among the other government officials who took part in the deliberations, as which side was right and to whom should Alexander grant the award.

The two Secretaries differed on the main issue to be presented to the Emperor for his arbitration. Nesselrode, an ardent Anglophile, leaned more toward the English side on almost every diplomatic question which the United States and England found themselves at odds. He was, however, very cautious in his dealings with Middleton and Bagot on the question under consideration.

Capodistrias, on the other hand, favored the American side. Unlike Nesselrode, he loathed England and opposed her policy since the days of the Congress of Vienna. Now, however, his anti-English stand was primarily due to England's stern opposition to Russia's policy on the Eastern Question, particularly the Greek Revolution.

After lengthy consultations and deliberations, Capodistrias and Nesselrode presented their suggestions to the Emperor for his final approval. Alexander decided in favor of the American side. Middleton and Bagot were informed of the Emperor's decision on April 24 / May 6, 1822. Nesselrode told them that the United States was entitled to a just indemnification by England for all private property and slaves carried away by the English soldiers; and that the Emperor was ready to exercise the office of arbitrator in the negotiations between the two parties.

Middleton and Bagot subsequently addressed notes to Nesselrode requesting the Russian government to act as mediator in drafting a con-

26. Middleton to Adams, 21 September / 3 October 1821, No 9, *Dispatches from Russia*, vol. 8; *Same to Same*, 5/17 November 1821, No 13, *Dispatches from Russia*, vol. 8, enclosure (2) and (3), which are copies of Bagot's "Memoir" to Nesselrode and Middleton's reply.

vention between the United States and England. Nesselrode replied to
their request in May, informing them that Alexander had appointed
Count John Capodistrias, Private Counselor and Secretary of State in the
Department of Foreign Affairs, and himself as "Plenipotentiary Mediators" in the Anglo-American negotiations. Bagot and Middleton then
drafted a convention. On June 22, they met with Capodistrias and Nes­
selrode and presented the final draft of the convention for the Emperor’s
approval. Eight days later Alexander gave his consent to the Anglo-
American Convention which was signed by the four diplomats: Nesse­
rode, Capodistrias, Middleton, and Bagot28.

The Anglo-American Convention of 1822 provided the means for
establishing and determining the number, value, and ownership of slaves
and other private property carried away by the English in 1812. It called
for indemnification to be made to the American citizens for their losses.
Such compensations, however, were to be determined at a future time,
again by arbitration.

Why did Alexander decide in favor of the United States? To the Em­
peror, the American side appeared to have a legal claim against Eng­
land’s arbitrary seizure of property and slaves in violation of the first
Article of the Treaty of Ghent. Even the wording of the treaty, favored
specifically the American side, not the English. Moreover, Alexander’s
decision to award the case to the United States was motivated by politi­
cal considerations. The Emperor’s immediate objective was to maintain
friendship with the United States. Although the interests and policies of
England and the United States did not coincide with Russia’s objectives
in the North Pacific and the Holy Alliance, Russia nevertheless needed
the United States as a friendly power, while England remained Russia’s
adversary everywhere. England did not protest the Emperor’s arbitra­
tion decision.

28. Middleton to Adams, 24 June / 6 July 1822, No 19, Dispatches from Russia, vol. 8,
enclosures Nos 1-7. Middleton included in his letter the English text of the Convention. Same
to Same, 4/16 July 1822, No 19, and 20. See also the English and French version in the
American States Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the
United States, Second Series (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1858), IV, 214-221; Cited
thereafter as American State Papers; English and Foreign State Papers. Foreign Office.
1823-1824 (London, 1830), XI, 771-784; F. de Martens, Recueil des Traites et Conven­
tions consuls par la Russie avec les Puissances Entrangéres (St. Petersburg, 1895), XI, 282-
298.
The conclusion of the Anglo-American Convention was a diplomatic success for the American side and Middleton. He worked hard, overcoming a series of obstacles raised by Bagot. He remained in constant touch with the Russian officials, particularly Capodistrias and Nesselrode, to whom he expressed his appreciation, thanking them for their cooperation and disinterestedness.

On January 3, 1823, the Senate ratified unanimously the convention, a symbolic act of gratitude to Emperor Alexander, whose favorable decision for the American side strengthened the bonds of friendship between Russia and the United States.29

V

The other major issue facing Russia and the rest of the Great powers was the Greek Revolution. In April 1821, Middleton found out from reports reaching St. Petersburg of the outbreak of the Greek or Hetairist insurrection under Alexander Ypsilanti in the Romanian Principalities.30 The Emperor Alexander and Capodistrias had just arrived in the Russian capital from the Congress of Laibach. The Russian government, appalled by the atrocities committed by the Turks against the Christian population in Constantinople, appealed to the Christian powers to intervene with the Porte and to demand the end of indiscriminate murdering of innocent people. But the powers ignored Russia's appeal, while the conflict between the Greeks and the Turks intensified. In July, Russia broke off diplomatic relations with the Porte, but this action was not followed by Russian declaration of war to force the Turks to comply with the treaty rights and settle Russia's outstanding grievances with the Porte.

Middleton soon learned, from news and reports which circulating in St. Petersburg, that England and Austria were determined to prevent Russia from going to war against the Porte in behalf of the Greeks. Both powers opposed Russian expansion into southeastern Europe, and both

29. Middleton to Adams, 4/16 July 1822, No 20, Dispatches from Russia, vol. 8. Adams, Memoirs, VI, 123-124; Diplomatic Instructions. To All Countries, IX, 171-172. The terms of the convention would only be implemented in 1827, when England agreed to pay a lump sum of $1,204,960 in full satisfaction of all obligations for the number of slaves carried away during the war of 1812. The convention was finally settled in 1828.

30. Middleton to Adams, 8/20 April 1821, No 4, Dispatches from Russia, vol. 8.
condemned the rising of the Greeks against their "legitimate" ruler. Russia appeared isolated from her European allies who now, openly or discreetly, were backing the Turks.

In an attempt to counterbalance the opposition of the European powers in the Near Eastern crisis, the Russian government made secret overtures to Middleton. Specifically, in September 1821, Middleton sent a long coded dispatch to Adams in which he reported that a government official “who holds a place near the person of the Emperor” approached him and asked him: “Why do you not propose a commercial treaty [with Russia]? Your predecessors have done so without success, but it was English influence that prevented it”.

The official further told Middleton that matters were about to change and advised him to speak to Nesselrode about such treaty, who would initially discourage him, but that he should never mind, for the proposal would be accepted. Great changes were about to take place in a short time, for the Emperor was much dissatisfied with his position in the European affairs. Austria and England, the official claimed, had formed an alliance with the Porte. In response, Russian was preparing to commence hostilities with Turkey in February 1822. The Americans were barred access to Russian Black Sea ports through the Dardanelles. The official then asked Middleton whether the United States “could do something in aid of our cause, which is that of Greece”, by sending an American squadron to the Mediterranean. The official hinted that the presence of an American fleet in the Mediterranean and the Baltic Sea would be desirable, because American commerce in the Archipelago would require additional protection. In case of war with England, the source told Middleton, the American commerce with the Russian ports in the Baltic would be interrupted unless some measures were to be devised. Finally, Middleton was told to consider what would be the best for the Americans by keeping his government informed of the course of affairs which most likely would take place.

Middleton listened to the oral presentation of the Russian official, but did not reply to the his proposal before consulting with his government. He reported the entire episode to Adams, adding that the proposal was unofficial, and questioned what would be gained by concluding a commercial treaty with Russia at that time. With regard to the question of possible hostilities between Russia and Turkey, Middleton again made
no comments, but added that “everything depended upon contingencies”.

Middleton did not identify the Russian “interlocutor” by name, but it is obvious that the official was none other than Capodistrias, the Greek in the Russian service who sought support for the Greek cause through various diplomatic channels. Capodistrias hoped that the United States would assist the Greeks in their struggle against the Turks, and that a Russian-American treaty would strengthen Russia’s position in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and counterbalance a potential Anglo-Austrian alliance, which he inferred might be in the offing. Such treaty would be favorable not only to Russian and American commerce in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, but would indirectly aid the Greek cause. The presence of an American squadron in the Aegean Sea would be a symbolic gesture of support for the Greek struggle against the Turks.

The proposed treaty between the United States and Russia was initiated by Capodistrias alone, most likely without the knowledge of the Russian government. It also appears that Nesselrode was not told beforehand of Capodistrias’ proposal. Suffice to say that Nesselrode would have been reluctant to support such treaty, despite Capodistrias’ claim that he would agree. In Nesselrode’s view, such treaty would have harmed the future relations of Russia with England, particularly in finding a solution to the Near Eastern crisis.

The coded dispatch reached Washington on November 28, 1821. As soon as it was decoded, President James Monroe reviewed its context. The cabinet discussed it without taking any action. The President, however, thought that the United States should take advantage of Russia’s disagreements with England and secure all the commercial rights which the English had hitherto enjoyed in Russia. He called on Adams and asked him whether Middleton should be instructed to propose and negotiate a commercial treaty with Russia.

Adams stated emphatically that he was against concluding such treaty with Russia. He had already expressed his opposition to any economic agreement with Russia in his “General Instructions” to Middleton.

31. Middleton to Adams, No 8, 30 August / 11 September 1821; Adams, Memoirs, V, 429-431; The Adams Papers, Private, 23 September / 5 October 1827, Microcopy 481. Cf. Diplomatic Instructions to All Countries, IX, 111.
He again repeated his stand to the President maintaining that the United States would not benefit from it for several reasons. Adams claimed that all trade between the United States and Russia was carried on American vessels. Russia imported from the United States such commodities as sugar, coffee, and raw cotton without high duties. All the United States could possibly obtain from Russia was a trifling reduction of custom duties. The equivalent of such reciprocity was simply to bring the United States into a political connection with Russia. The Russian objective, Adams continued, was to have an American squadron in the Mediterranean, and a commercial treaty was the cover. According to his political philosophy, the United States should not subscribe to any form of diplomatic alliance, neither with Russia, nor with any European power.32

American foreign policy, in Adams' view, aimed at keeping the United States out of any political and economic connection with Russia and the other European powers. In essence, this meant a policy of strict neutrality and non-interference in the European affairs, which was translated into hemispheric isolationism. Indeed, the American government will pursue this policy with the European states until the beginning of the 20th century.

With regard to the Greek question, the United States had officially proclaimed neutrality and non-involvement in European affairs. Although publicly it declared "sympathy" for the Greek cause in a series of presidential proclamations, in practice, however, the American government followed a pro-Turkish policy throughout the course of the Greek Revolution. Privately, in the inner circles of the administration, the officials were preoccupied in winning Turkish approval for a commercial treaty with the United States. The Russian market, it was assumed, would not provide as great economic incentives and profits for the American merchants as the Ottoman possessions. Since the Turks were not engaged in trade and commerce, leaving this sector of the economy to foreign merchants and traders, the Americans would be able to compete successfully in the Ottoman market, especially if the same rights and privileges, which foreigners enjoyed by the capitulatory treaties in the Ottoman Empire, were extended to them. In a nutshell, American commercial and naval interests dictated a Turkophile orienta-

ation in American foreign policy. Adams and the American administration would not deviate from this course of action throughout the duration of the Greek Revolution and thereafter.

VI

Another major issue which preoccupied Middleton’s attention during the first year in the Russian capital was the territorial dispute over the Northwestern Coast of North America, involving Russia, the United States, and England, each claiming special commercial interests. But much of this area was actually under the control of the Russian-American Company, which had enjoyed an exclusive monopoly under the charter of 1799. However, American traders came to this region in great numbers and began trading with the native Indians. In time, the American traders controlled much of the fur trade between Alaska and China.

The Russian government protested the encroachment of the American traders in their territory, but received no satisfactory answer from Washington. After some hesitation, the Emperor Alexander signed an imperial ukase, or edict, on September 4/16 1821, renewing the charter of the Russian-American Company for another twenty years and granting it additional rights and privileges. By the new edict, Russia claimed all the Northwestern Coast as far as the 51° north latitude. The edict banned all foreign vessels from trading in the Russian possessions. To implement its provisions, a Russian fleet was dispatched to the coast of North America.33

The imperial order, Middleton argued, appeared to impact the interests of all maritime nations, particularly the territorial pretensions of England. It produced a sharp protest by the United States against Russian pretensions to its Northwestern territory and to the arbitrary extension of jurisdiction across the coastal waters in the North Pacific.

Adams took immediate issue with the Russian claims and was determined to protect the commercial rights of the United States. He instructed Middleton to let the Russian government know that the United

States would not acquiesce to the regulations in the edict which impaired the rights of the American citizens. He rejected Russia's assertions to a *mare clausum* — a sea under the exclusive jurisdiction of a single nation and not open to all others.

The territorial dispute along the Northwestern Coast provided a timely opportunity for Adams to play Russia and England against one another in order to advance American interests in that region. Specifically, he followed a double game: while skillfully cultivated the new Anglo-American rapprochement on the question of South American independence from Spanish rule, he saw this identity of Latin American interests as a means of checking Russian assertions and advances in the Northwestern Coast. At the same time, he tried to hold out friendship with Russia in order to frustrate the English claims over the Columbia River territory, an area of contention between England the United States.

Adams was well aware that Russia and England were not on friendly terms when the edict was issued. In addition, their interests collided both in North America and particularly in the Near East following the outbreak of the Greek Revolution.

The Greek-Turkish conflict was gradually becoming another major issue for Russia. Following the publication of the edict, the Russian government sent a diplomatic note to the European powers. In the note Russia claimed that she should be allowed to intervene in the Greek-Turkish crisis to restore order, as had Austria done in the Italian case. She further argued that treaty rights with the Porte granted her the right to intervene in behalf of the Orthodox subjects in the Ottoman Empire. England and Austria, however, turned down Russia's claim for unilateral intervention in the internal affairs of Ottoman Empire.

As far as the other two issues, that is, the Northwestern Coast and the imperial edict, Russia wished to resolve the first by concluding separate treaties with England and the United States, while the second, she

would take steps to revoke the edict. Middleton played a major role in settling the disputes raised by the imperial order35.

Even before receiving Adams' instructions on the Northwestern question in July 1822, Middleton commented that the publication of Emperor's edict was "much like a tempest in a teacup", and that its provisions would be difficult to carry out. He noticed, however, that the most difficult step awaiting Russia was when to decide the revocation of the edict without being publicly offended by a sudden change of face. In a letter to Adams, he assured him that he would bring the issue before the Russian government in a conciliatory and friendly tone36.

Middleton was correct in predicting that the edict would be eventually revoked, but would take some time, involving serious discussions with the Russian government. Before it was to be carried out by the Russians on ships sailing for the American ports in the summer of 1822, the edict was practically void, although no official confirmation was made. In June Alexander ordered the Russian vessels, which the Ministry of Navy dispatched to the Northwestern Coast, to confine their surveillance to coastal waters as far as 55° north latitude where the Russian-American Company had exercised its privileges since 179937. This was the first major concession of Russia's previously held claim to 51° north latitude.

Moreover, the Russian government had already initiated diplomatic negotiations in Washington to resolve the North Pacific issue. In July 1822, Nesselrode sent a letter to Baron C. G. von Tuyll de Soroskerken, the newly appointed Russian minister to Washington, instructing him to inform the American government that the Emperor wished to maintain


peaceful and friendly relations with the United States. He should remind them of the arbitration decision of Alexander in favor of the United States with regard to the Treaty of Ghent. He was further authorized to negotiate a convention with the United States on the boundary issue between the Russian and American territories, thereby removing all complaints raised by the Russian-American Company against the operations of the American citizens. Finally, Tuyll was advised to ask the American government to maintain the policy of neutrality with regard to the conflict between Spain and her rebellious South American colonies.

Washington was willing and ready to settle the territorial dispute which Tuyll was instructed to implement. However, changing its policy toward Latin American colonies as a means of reaching a solution to the Russian-American differences in the North Pacific was not negotiable, neither with Russia, nor with the rest of the powers of the Holly Alliance. The American government had England as an ally to back up its demands.

Capodistrias, in the meantime, addressed a separate dispatch to Tuyll in which he gave him additional instructions. The tone of Capodistrias' message differed slightly from that of Nesselrode's. He advised the minister to defend the interests of the Russian-American Company. As far as the Russian declaration of September 1821 setting the maritime distance of one hundred miles along the Northwestern Coast, Capodistrias argued that this was not an arbitrary decision of the Russian government, but rather it was based on existing maritime law. He cited the Treaty of Utrecht between England and France (1713) which established the limit of maritime distance at one hundred miles. He told Tuyll that the Russian government was able to judge the intentions of the American government from the language of the declarations of its Minister, Henry Middleton. Specifically, Capodistrias told Tuyll that he had a lengthy discussion with Middleton, but that he found him to be "generally very little communicative", implying that Middleton never departed from the instructions which his government sent him regarding the September regulations.

Capodistrias inferred from his conversation with Middleton that the United States was willing to settle the North Pacific territorial dispute. He assured Middleton that Russia, too, had already taken steps to prevent certain individuals from engaging in illicit trade in order to protect the Russian settlements and the activity of the Russian-American Company. He hinted that the Russian government would cancel the disposition concerning the one hundred miles limit along the Northwest Coast where navigation of foreign vessels was banned. In this respect, Russian differences with the United States could be satisfactorily resolved. He told Middleton that Ambassador Tuyll was instructed to reach an agreement on the Russian-American differences, assuming that the American government would consider the Russian suggestions.39

Capodistrias and Middleton reviewed the Russian-American differences at their meetings in the summer of 1822, when Middleton raised again the question of Russian claims in the Northwestern Coast and the future of the imperial edict. At that point, Middleton was unaware that the Russian government was considering to revoke the provisions of the edict, nor did he press the issue with Capodistrias before receiving specific instructions from Washington.

As soon as Middleton received instructions from the Secretary of State, he met twice with Nesselrode and Capodistrias to discuss the issue of the edict. At the end of July 1822, Middleton held another conference with Capodistrias just before the Emperor quit St. Petersburg to attend the Congress of Verona. Middleton asked Capodistrias for a formal interview with Nesselrode before his departure with the Emperor's entourage for Vienna. Middleton wished to find out if the Russian government had taken any step in revoking the provisions of the imperial edict. He was anxious for an urgent answer because he found out that another Russian frigate was soon ready to sail for the Northwestern coast. Middleton told Capodistrias that he had prepared a note verbale for Nesselrode and wished to see him. Capodistrias replied to his request by advising him not to take such step and that he would be desirous to answer any question he wished to raise with Nesselrode. Middleton then asked him to read his note verbale, apparently wishing to find out what

James J. Farsolas

would be Capodistrias’ reaction to it before seeing Nesselrode. Capodistrias agreed and Middleton proceeded in reading it⁴⁰.

The note was written on a conciliatory tone. Middleton avoided open criticism of the Russian government’s decision to issue the edict, but pointed out that the imperial edict compelled the American government to reject the changes made in the regulations governing foreign commerce in the Russian possessions along the Pacific Coast. Middleton saw in it a paradox: Russia claimed to be the protector of freedom on the seas, but the other commercial powers were also equally interested in supporting and maintaining the maritime rights unimpaired. If Russia, which had long been regarded as protector of the freedom of navigation against all unjust pretensions, was now trying to impose her terms on other nations, such action would force other nations, possessing preponderating power (indirectly implying England’s maritime power), to avail themselves to justify abuses of power by the example of those which should be most interested in upholding the universal rights of nations.

Middleton stated in the note that public opinion in the United States was greatly opposed to the regulations of the edict. Although President Monroe reiterated his feeling of friendship for Alexander, he was not yet to be constrained from the provisions of the edict. The President insisted that the American citizens should enjoy full liberty to sail in the Pacific Ocean and off the coasts of the neighboring countries within the limits recognized by the “law of the nations”. Middleton went on to draw the attention of the Russian government that a careful perusal of the regulations in the edict could not fail to show that a state of belligerency between the two powers already existed; that owing to the principles that had been avowed by both sides, nothing was lacking to make this complete except a declaration of war or acts of violence, which could not be long in coming; and that the Russian government should take steps to prevent such danger. He believed that neither Alexander nor Capodistrias had any intention of creating a crisis, if precautionary measures were taken at once.

After hearing Middleton’s explanations, Capodistrias replied:

Since you do me the honor to consult me, I will frankly tell you my opinion. If you wish the affair arranged, do not present your note. The Emperor has already had the good sense to see that this affair should not be pushed too far. We are disposed not to follow it up. The orders to our war vessels will be limited to the prevention of the contraband trade within the limits recognized by the other powers, taking our present establishments as a basis for these operations. In this way there will be no complication to embarrass the negotiation which may be commenced by Baron de Tuyll on his arrival at Washington. If you say that you protest, you will do harm to the negotiation, nor should you insinuate that we have advanced an unjust claim, even while complementing us on our past policy; you should not demand that we revoke the orders we have issued. We will not revoke them; we will not draw back; but in fact no orders have been issued which authorize your apprehension."41.

At the end of their conversation, Middleton reminded him again to set a meeting with Nesselrode. Capodistrias scheduled the interview for July 27, 1822, in which both secretaries were present. Middleton reiterated the American position that the Russian government should suspend the execution of those regulations which violate the general right of navigation within the common jurisdiction of all nations, and that the United States viewed the territorial pretensions advanced by Russia as inadmissible.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the two secretaries gave Middleton verbal assurances. They told him that the Russian differences with the United States would be resolved and that the Emperor had granted Baron Tuyll full powers to conclude an agreement with the American government on the question of trade and territorial claims in the North Pacific. Capodistrias then asked Middleton to inform his government to “prohibit its citizens from trading in the limits subject to contention”, until the conclusion of an agreement42.

41. Ibid.; See also Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal, II, p. 43.
42. "Mais en attendant votre gouvernemen voudra bien defendre a ses sujets le commerce dans les limites sujettes a contestation". Middleton to Adams, 8/20 August 1822, No
Middleton replied to this “apostrophe”, that this could not be implemented and that the American government had no authority to bar its citizens from trading within the limits sanctioned by the laws of their country and the law of nations. He then asked the secretaries that the “verbal communications” should be put into writing. They told Middleton that he would soon receive official note of the Russian government’s decision on the issues he raised with them, assuring him that the answer would be “satisfactory”\textsuperscript{43}.

It is interesting to note that Capodistrias was still involved in the daily activity at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as late as July 27. Yet, it was apparent that Nesselrode was now in charge of all major issues.

Relations between Capodistrias and Alexander became increasingly strained and his role in performing his diplomatic duties was reduced.

The breach between Capodistrias and Alexander began at the Congress of Laibach, which signal the beginning of the end of his diplomatic and political career in the service of the Russian Emperor. Following the outbreak of Ypsilanti’s insurrection in the Romanian Principalities and the revolution in southern Greece, Capodistrias’ continuation at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs became problematic. The breach between them was due to their different views and solutions regarding Russia’s policy toward the Ottoman Empire and the Greek question. Capodistrias held that Russia should follow an aggressive course regarding the Eastern Question. He advocated war against the Porte which would end Turkish domination of the Romanian Principalities and secure them for Russia\textsuperscript{44}.

Capodistrias’ bellicose stand against the Turks was in line with Russia’s traditional policy of expansion in southeastern Europe. The Greek Revolution presented an attractive opportunity for Russia to intervene in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire in behalf of her Orthodox

\textsuperscript{23}, Dispatches from Russia, vol. 9.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.

An American Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg

Co-religionists. Capodistrias was not alone in pursuing this belligerent posture. The "war party" in Russia was more representative of the Russian public sentiment. Influenced by historical, religious, and cultural ties, the "war party" had supporters and sympathizers among army officers, high government officials, diplomats, and the Russian Orthodox Church, all demanding immediate action against the Porte.

The other political group, the "peace", or antiwar party, headed by the Emperor himself and supported by Nesselrode and some conservative officials in the government, tried to prevent a military confrontation with the Turks. They considered domestic and foreign repercussions which could have adverse consequences for Russia's involvement in the Greek Revolution. Unlike the liberal-minded Capodistrias who was in tune with the rapid political changes of the time and favored constitutional government and national self-rule, Nesselrode opposed liberalism and nationalism considering them to be the main causes for the outbreak of revolutionary upheavals in Western Europe. He supported Metternich's policy in the Italian peninsula and opposed a military confrontation with the Porte. He followed Metternich's dictum that a Russo-Turkish war would break the bonds of solidarity of the Holly Alliance, disturb the European balance of power, and encourage liberal and national revolutions elsewhere in Europe.

An Anglophile in his diplomatic approach, Nesselrode looked to England and wished to solve the Greek question with the cooperation of the European powers. This was not the first time Nesselrode took such stand. Throughout the 1820s, he favored close relations with England, often against the United States, when the interests of the two countries clashed. He opposed revolutionary changes in Europe, and unlike Capodistrias, his conservatism matched Metternich's political views on major European issues. To Nesselrode the Greek question was an European problem rather than Russia's alone.

Alexander, too, was convinced that without English participation no major European issue could be resolved, especially the Near Eastern crisis. He would not intervene in the Balkans without English support and approval. Moreover, Alexander believed firmly in the preservation of the status quo which the Congress of Vienna established. He suspected that the revolutions in Europe, including perhaps the Greek Revolution, had been the work of an international subversive secret Jacobin com-
mittee in Paris which tried to destroy the union of the European sovereigns. The disturbances in mainland Greece, Metternich convinced Alexander, were but an extension of the revolutionary upheavals in Western Europe. He argued that a war against the Turks would precipitate more complications for Russia and Europe. To keep the peace of Europe, Russia should therefore refrain from going to war against Turkey in support of the Greek rebels. Alexander, although sympathetic toward his co-religionists and politically enemy of the Ottoman Empire, was nevertheless reluctant to go to war against the Turks without the consent of the European powers. Finally, the “peace party” convinced him to abandon Russia’s traditional Near Eastern policy in favor of keeping the peace of Europe⁴⁵.

At the end, Capodistrias had no alternative but to depart from the Russian diplomatic service. In July 1822, he held a private meeting with Alexander where he asked him what was to become of him in the Russian service. In essence, Capodistrias’ question was a polite request for his resignation as his minister. The Emperor replied that, if he was in his, Capodistrias’ position, he would have said and done the same regarding the Greek-Turkish conflict, but in his own capacity, he could not alter his decision to prevent a Russo-Turkish war. He reiterated his conviction that only by adopting Metternich’s plan could he maintain peace in Europe, and the cooperation among the Allied powers was its only guarantee. Capodistrias ventured, for the last time, to express his reasons why he could not share his judgment. “Well then”, the Emperor replied, “since it is necessary to be so, let us part”. Alexander would not, however, accept Capodistrias’ resignation immediately and asked him to continue his work at his post. He told him that before his departure to attend the Congress of Verona, he should “finish all the work entrusted to you, particularly that related to the Northwestern Coast of America”⁴⁶.


⁴⁶. Capodistrias, op.cit., pp. 122-123; Woodhouse, op.cit., pp. 290-291. See Grimsted,
It is interesting to note that throughout the summer and just before his resignation from the Russian service in August 1822, Capodistrias was still in charge of Russian foreign policy with regard to the North-western Coast and the recently acquired Romanian province of Bessarabia. It was at this junction that Capodistrias informed Middleton that the Emperor would rescind the edict the following month. Although Capodistrias spoke in the name of the Emperor, it was clear to Middleton that his position in the Russian government was rather tenuous.

At the end of July it was known in Saint Petersburg that Capodistrias had submitted his resignation to the Emperor, along with Gregory Stroganov, the last Russian ambassador to Constantinople, both belonging to the “war party”. Referring to these two cases, Middleton wrote that Stroganov had thrown up all his appointemens and had departed as a private individual to visit the baths at Ems, a town near Berlin. And Middleton added “that C[oun]t de Capodistrias is soliciting permission to withdraw and make the same journey”! Commenting on the position of Russia towards Austria, England, Prussia, and the Ottoman Empire, he concluded rather cynically that the “peace party” in the Russian government had triumphed completely over the “war party”! He added, however, that whichever way the Greek affair may terminate, Russia had little chance of standing better at the conferences held in Vienna, than at the Porte!

Capodistrias soon departed from the Russian diplomatic service. On August 8/20, 1822, he quit St. Petersburg and headed for the baths of Ems, with final destination Geneva, Switzerland. “We shall meet again”, the Emperor told him rather inaccurately, “or at least, you will let me have news of yourself. You may be sure that my feelings for you will never change”. The two men bit farewell never to meet again47.

VII

Capodistrias lived in Switzerland and traveled to several cities of Western Europe, during the next five years. On March 27 / April 8,
1827, he was elected President of Greece by the National Assembly of Troezene.

One year before his election to the presidency of Greece, however, Russia and England had taken the first diplomatic step in solving the Greek question: on April 4, 1826, they signed in St. Petersburg the Anglo-Russian Protocol which called for an end of the hostilities between the Greeks and the Turks and the pacification of Greece. Furthermore, Greece was to become an autonomous but tributary state of the Porte and was to be governed by a native prince\textsuperscript{48}. The Anglo-Russian Protocol was transformed into the Tripartite Treaty of London, when France joined Russia and England. The treaty called for the signatory powers to offer their mediation to the Porte and the Greeks for the conclusion of an armistice before the start of negotiations. The remaining articles of the treaty were similar to the St. Petersburg Protocol.

Reacting to the terms of the Anglo-Russian Protocol, Capodistrias pointed out that each of the contracting powers acted solely on the basis of its own interests. None of them thought of Greece's salvation. The jealousies and suspicion between England and Russia led to the signing of the Protocol, and the selfishness of France transformed it into the Treaty of London\textsuperscript{49}.

Echoing Capodistrias' comment, Middleton expressed a similar view. He wrote that "each of these parties to the treaty looked for separate advantages; and the powers who are not signers to the treaty must also watch over their own interests which are affected by it and they may eventually become parties of the war, having a choice of sides"\textsuperscript{50}. He added that "[t]he discordant views entertained by the Great Powers of Europe will ever prevent any cordial cooperation between them for putting and end to the anarchy which prevails there [in the Ottoman Empire]. It is said that the Turk perseveres in refusing to give any an-

\textsuperscript{48} Middleton included a French extract of the Protocol signed in St. Petersburg by Nesselrode, Lieven, and the Duke of Wellington. An English translation of the Protocol was made at the State Department. Middleton to Clay, Post Scriptum to No 70, St. Petersburg, 11/23 June 1827, \textit{Dispatches from Russia}, vol. 11.


\textsuperscript{50} See Middleton to Clay, No 70, St. Petersburg, 11/23 June 1827, \textit{Dispatches from Russia}, vol. 11.
swer to the preposition of mediation made by England and Russia. It is in his character to continue in his obstinacy until driven to the verge of destruction."51.

A few weeks following the signing of the London Protocol, Capodistrias visited the capitals of Western Europe to secure their support and approval of his election as President of Greece. Finally, on May 24, 1827, he came to St. Petersburg, to ask the Emperor Nicholas for his official resignation from the Russian diplomatic service following his election to the presidency of Greece.

Middleton met Capodistrias for the last time in the Russian capital. He left a few details about Capodistrias in his correspondence to the Secretary of State, Henry Clay. In one of his private dispatches he informed the Secretary of the departure of Baron P. A. Krudener, the newly appointed Russian minister to the United States, and provided him with some details about his association with Capodistrias. Middleton told Clay that Baron Krudener was the son of the famous Baroness Juliana von Krudener, a lady of considerable celebrity in the religious life of Alexander. In 1814 he was attached to Count Capodistrias, who was then in charge of reconstructing the Swiss Confederation. Middleton wrote that it was only through the instrumentality of Capodistrias and the influence of the Emperor Alexander that the reconstitution of the Swiss Confederation had finally been achieved. Austria tried hard to erect an archduchy for a member of the Austrian reigning family in the ci-devant Cantons, but failed. In gratitude for his work in re-establishing the Swiss Confederation, Capodistrias was made an honorary citizen of several Swiss Cantons. Middleton added that Baron Krudener was one of the best informed persons, well acquainted with the political developments in Greece, and one who was inspired with liberal sentiments. From his connection with Count Capodistrias and their recent meeting in England, when Capodistrias visited that country after he was elected President of Greece, Krudener "will be able to give you many particulars relating to Greece and its prospects, unknown to the rest of the world, for I know from Count Capodistrias himself that he has his confidence."52.

51. Middleton to Clay, Private, St. Petersburg, 18/30 April 1827, Dispatches from Russia, vol. 11.
52. Middleton to Clay, Private, St. Petersburg, 5/17 July 1827; Same to Same, 23 September / 5 October 1827, Dispatches from Russia, vol. 11. See E. A. Betant, Corre-
Ind their last meeting, which was very friendly, Capodistrias told Middleton, in a very private manner, of his keen interest for the fate of his native land. Capodistrias was aware of the immense economic problems which Greece was facing ahead, after seven years of war and destruction, as he was to assume the presidency of his country. The immediate need, he explained to Middleton, was to procure for his country economic and material assistance from the Great powers. Middleton retained this portion of their conversation when he wrote that “Capodistrias takes a most deep interest in the Greek cause. He tells me confidentially that he has sent his last farthing to aid it. That he came here hoping that this [Russian] government would enable him to give efficient assistance. Nothing is yet done of that kind ‘mais je ne desespere par encore’, said he to me a few days since”53.

The Emperor Nicholas told Capodistrias that the Russian government approved a grant of two hundred thousand francs from interest and donation which the Greeks in Russia collected for the Greek Revolution. In addition, there were about four hundred thousand rubles (about one million francs), which “the piety and philanthropy of the Russians” had collected and offered for the freedom of Greek prisoners. Capodistrias, wrote Middleton, told him that he gave fifty thousand francs from his own money in support of the Greek cause54.

Following the official resignation from the Russian diplomatic service, Capodistrias visited the Western capitals to secure financial aid for Greece. On August 15, he arrived in London, but the English government gave him a cold reception and remained indifferent to Capodistrias appeal for economic assistance. When he tried to secure a loan, the English government refused to guarantee it, although he found financial backers who were willing to loan money. He then headed for Paris, but he had no better luck there either. The French government received him

with reservation, and he had but little success in getting a French loan.

Finally, on October 22, 1827, Capodistrias left Paris and was headed for Greece—exactly two days following the end of the Turko-Egyptian naval disaster at the Battle of Navarino. On January 6/18, 1828, he reached Nauplion to begin his brief and tragic presidency of Greece.

*Coastal Carolina University*

*Conway-Myrtle Beach, South Carolina*
Protocopy of the coded dispatch (30 August /11 September, 1821), which Capodistrias proposed to Middleton for a Russian-American treaty of alliance.
I have not been able to give any direct answer, but have been the more silent as they stopped without comment.

Your instructions upon that proposition, although this overture was unsatisfactory, may be turned to account if the occasion should offer. Whole those actions in the event whether than he any thing better amid by forming a treaty, and if thereinto I will endeavor to go the way.

As to the anticipation of even I am certain that no one can say whether it will come place as every thing depends upon contingencies.